

The Workers' Literature Bureau is a voluntary independent project organised to propagate Socialist Understanding.

TROTSKYISM, COMMUNISTS, The LABOR PARTY, And SOCIALISM A CRITICAL REVIEW

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In December, 1943, the Workers' Literature Bureau was accused by the Communist "Guardian" (Melbourne) of being a "Trotskyist body."

Since then I have received the manifesto of the IV International, Australian Section, who are the organisation the Communists refer to as "Trotskyists."

As the Communists fail to elucidate the basis of their criticisms of this group which stems from the original Third International now dissolved by Stalin, it will be of interest to most workers to know something about Trotskyism—those who hold to the original basis of the Third International.

On the other hand the Internationalism of the Communist Party is now seen to be one calling upon the national groups of workers to collaborate with Capitalism in its progression towards World Control. World Control by Capitalism implies a greater control OVER the world's workers.

The Fourth International must be criticised also because of vagueness of aim. A policy of reforms will NOT achieve Socialism and so the criticism I interpolate in [square brackets] should show conclusively the wide divergence of interpretation and method of achieving Socialism as advocated by the Workers' Literature Bureau and those adhering to the former Third International and the so-called Fourth International. The greater publicity given to this manifesto may bring its sponsors out into the open of the democratic greater Socialist Movement now that the lip-service of Communists is to be replaced by the abandonment of their alleged traditional objective of establishing Socialism, and their open support and collaboration of Capitalism in their desire to carry out the Teheran policy of the Conservative Churchill, Republican Roosevelt, and Marshall Stalin, Dictator of the U.S.S.R.

It will be too much to expect that the subtle undermining of Socialist understanding* will cease, but at least it is on record that the Communists from now on are open allies of Capitalism.

*L. Sharkey, in the "Guardian" (Melb., 14-2-44) being a repeater of a distortion of Marx that is downright libelous; Sharkey states: "When Communism, a distinct form of Socialism (the 'first phase of Communism') as Marx termed it in the 'Gotha program' . . ."

Marx did nothing of the sort.

I have before me now two translations of what Marx wrote in German in criticism of the program proposed by the German Social Democrats at Gotha in 1874, shortly before the Gotha Fusion Congress.

Eden and Cedar Paul's translation reads:—"What we are here concerned with is a communist society, not as it might have developed upon an independent basis of its own, but as it actually issues from capitalist society. In every respect, alike economically, morally, and intellectually, it is afflicted with the congenital defects of the society from which it has sprung. . . ."

"But such mal-adaptations are inevitable in the first phase of communist society, because it is born out of capitalist society, and after prolonged labor pains. Right can never attain to a higher level than is attained by the economic structure of society and by the consequent cultural development of society."

"In a higher phase of communist society, when the slavish subordination of the individual to the yoke of the division of labor has disappeared, and when concomitantly the distinction between mental and physical work has ceased to exist; when labor is no longer the means to live, but is in itself the first of vital needs; when the productive forces of society have expanded proportionately with the multiform development of the individuals of whom society is made up—then will the narrow bourgeois outlook be utterly transcended, and then will society inscribe upon its banners, 'From everyone according to his capacities, to everyone according to his needs!'"

The translation of Herman Simpson which appeared in "The Weekly People," New York, January 7, 1900, reads very similarly to Eden and Cedar Paul's translation. Herman Simpson (in the passage so lyingly distorted by L. Sharkey) translates thus: "But these shortcomings are unavoidable in the first phase of communist society, as it has just issued from capitalist society after long travail. Right can never be superior to the

SOCIALISM AND ONLY SOCIALISM WILL CONVERT WEAPONS OF DESTRUCTION INTO INSTRUMENTS OF PEACE.

economic development and the stage of civilisation conditioned thereby."

The fact remains that the first phase of communism was a puny child in Russia and with the N.E.P. phase of Lenin petered out altogether. Lenin honestly stated it was a step backward. Owing to the unavoidable "slavish subordination of the individual to the yoke of the division of labor" and the backward economic structure of Russia, the "narrow bourgeois outlook" was incorporated in the Soviet "Constitution" as "to each according to his work." In practice, the ballet dancer's contribution is paid for at several times a higher scale than the manual worker.

Every day Roosevelt, Churchill, Smuts, Curtin or some lesser light, tells us in phrases of polished oratory that the NECESSITY of today's capitalist system calls for sacrifice, sweat, blood, tears and austerity; with little effect upon the daily practice of capitalism. Here and there are highlights of individual rectitude, whilst in the shadows, the profiteer, the black marketer, the racketeer, and the everyday "decent" capitalist shrewdly looks to when and how he can turn a profit. Capitalism is having its day. It is having its needs ministered unto by a working class not yet conscious of their own class needs, nor conscious that the progression of capitalism is such as makes for greater and greater ILL for the world's workers.

The working class must become imbued with the consciousness of their own CLASS NECESSITY and then no sacrifice will be too great in the struggle for emancipation.

J. A. Dawson,
Melbourne, Jan. 17, 1944.

A CRITICISM

[All interpolated matter in square brackets is mine. Matter submitted to Censor in conformity with regulation pp. 90 A, Dawson.]

MANIFESTO OF THE

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (IVTH INTERNATIONAL)

Though not in substance yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie. ("Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels, 1847).

As the betrayal of the working class of the world by the Second "Socialist" International in the World War of 1914-18 made necessary the rise of the Third "Communist" International, so to-day the social-chauvinist and class collaboration policy of the Third International in the current World War, a policy that has led to its dissolution under pressure from the Lease-Lend Allies, makes necessary the building of a Fourth "Revolutionary Workers" International. This International must guide the working class in its historic task of destroying the last of the slave systems, Capitalism, and of rebuilding society on a Socialist basis.

I.

THE FIRST WORLD CRISIS.

The year 1914 marked the first world crisis of capitalism. The normal process of capitalist expansion had

reached its end. No new worlds remained to be exploited. Further expansion on the part of any capitalist nation could only take place at the expense of some other capitalist nation. It was no longer the simple question of seeking a market for consumption goods, the need was for spheres of exploitation—territories to which capital could be exported and in which the population could be directly exploited. The world had been divided; it was now necessary to redivide it.

That the War of 1914-18 was fought under the idealistic slogans of "The Rights of Small Nations," "The Defence of Democracy," "The War to End War," etc., in no way affected its basic causes. In the period of Imperialism

"Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars and in their turn grow out of wars. One is the condition of the other, giving rise to alternate forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle on one and the same basis, that of imperialist connections and interrelations of world economic and world politics."(1)

"The characteristic feature of Imperialism is precisely the fact that it strives to annex NOT ONLY agrarian but even the most industrialised regions (the German appetite for Belgium; the French appetite for Lorraine), first, because the fact that the world is already partitioned makes it necessary, in the event of a REPARTITION, to stretch out one's hand to ANY kind of territory, and second, because an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between a number of powers in striving for hegemony."(1)

Such were the true causes of that "criminal, reactionary and slave-driving war." [Imperialism itself needs to be explained here. Imperialism is expansion of capitalism beyond its national borders. It is necessary to know that "Capitalist production is not merely production of commodities, but something more. Essentially it is production of surplus-value." (profit). "The worker does not produce for himself, but for capital He must produce surplus-value" (profit). "That worker alone is productive who produces surplus-value for the capitalist, and thus works for the expansion of capital."—Karl Marx ("Capital") 1867. Imperialism is the phase of the State being used as a powerful force to extend political control to back up invested capital. J. A. Hobson, an economist who is regarded favorably by the Labor Party in Great Britain, found "the tap-root of imperialism" in under-consumption. This is a faulty approach to the problem so far as the working class is concerned. Arising from such an approach we see the idea formulated of consumer co-operatives, and the "financial reform" movements of Social Creditors, etc., which only deal with effects, and could be no more effective than a linseed poultice on a cancerous growth. Marx was more explicit. Imperialism arises out of excessive production of surplus-value by the workers. It is so obvious that production is carried on mainly for the market—a market limited by "effective demand." Imperialism is the method of increasing this "effective demand" by opening up economically backward countries. Because "effective demand" is determined only by the possibility of profits for the capitalists the workers' demands ensuing from their "under consumption" have little effect because they only receive in wages but a small portion of the wealth they produce, and so a market has to be found abroad by the owners (the capitalists) of the products so produced. In turn the wage-workers of the colonies and India are similarly

(1) Lenin: Imperialism, 1917.

exploited, and the surplus-value they produce for the capitalists comes back as revenue to Great Britain's capitalist class. The resulting low standard of living means millions dying of famine whenever supplies of food are low and the prices correspondingly high. British capitalists rely upon the charitable practice of Quakers and other humanitarians to try and deal with famine. It is a paradox that these same wealthy Quaker humanitarians gained their wealth by a similar process of exploitation. Quakers are pacifists, yet the Du Ponts, the greatest manufacturers of gunpowder and war explosives, are a Quaker family. Increasing the consumption of workers will not cut the "tap-root." Marx's solution: "The abolition of the wages system" is the ONLY solution.] The slogans of idealism were conveniently forgotten when it came to the dictation of Peace Terms.

The armed struggle was brought to a close by the revolutionary action of the toiling masses (Russia, 1917; Central Powers, 1918). [This is straining the facts of history. Russia accepted a loser's treaty at Brest-Litovsk from Germany. Russia was out of the war for the time being. The stalemate on the Western Front was ended by U.S.A. tipping the scales in favor of the Allies. This hastened the break-up of morale on the home front in Germany, largely brought about by inflation. In the ensuing chaotic conditions and the temporary impotence of the ruling class, the Social-Democrats, who were NOT revolutionary socialists, coalesced with the Catholic Centre Party and the Liberal Capitalist Democrats to form the Weimar Republic. Capitalism as a system was NOT challenged in Germany, except by the small minority who formed the Spartacist Group led by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The Communists later gained temporary control of one or two State Governments. But in the ABSENCE of a Class Conscious Revolutionary Socialist Movement knowing what to do, Capitalism was able to survive the crisis and was, in effect, stabilised by the Social Democrats. It is significant that Bavaria, the State that had a temporary Communist Government, also saw the rise of, and became the headquarters of, the Nazis.] In Russia the revolution was carried to a successful conclusion. [Again one must be clear. Czarism was overthrown because it could not serve the purposes of defending Russia against an overwhelmingly efficient capitalist Germany, and was prepared to sell out by an arranged peace with the Kaiser. The capitalist class of Russia was prepared to wrest power out of the hands of Czarism. But in the absence of a Revolutionary Socialist Movement backed up by a class-conscious working class demanding and desiring Socialism, no clear-cut programme for the implementation of Socialism could be attempted. The vicious onslaught of the Western Capitalist Powers to try and retain control of Russian capitalism for banker-finance capital of France, Britain, U.S.A., and Germany (Czecho-Slovakia) brought about further chaotic conditions that forced the Bolsheviks—Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin, etc.—to a forced march to regiment the Russian population to a system of production under capitalistic relationships of commodity production and wage-labor. See footnote.] In the

*It is necessary to understand the nature of the Russian Revolution. In 1917 a revolution took place in Russia overthrowing a predominantly feudal economy and introducing capitalism. Despite the seductive slogans of the Bolsheviks, the basic conditions necessary for the establishment of Socialism—a highly developed production and a working-class conscious of the need for Socialism—did not exist. The Bolsheviks were

rest of Europe the revolutionary wave was checked by the Social Reformists at the behest of the ruling class. The Armistice of 1918, eagerly accepted by the Western Allies, was hastened on so that the German ruling class could rally against the growing German revolutionary movement. The failure of the working class of Europe to achieve the overthrow of capitalism is a basic cause of this present World War. [Again I must stress the FACT that the present war was a logical concomitant of capitalist progression. The Russian Revolution was essentially the bourgeois revolution forced (as far as could be possible under Bolshevik control) along a road of State capitalist socialisation (NOT to be confused with Socialism). This war has clearly defined the trend of Imperialism as one for world control. In no country are there sufficient workers desirous of Socialism aiming to overthrow capitalism. There being NO attempt to overthrow capitalism, there can logically be no failure imputed.] Capitalism was maintained in Germany by the victorious Allies as "a bulwark against Bolshevism." The Imperialists feared that a German Revolution would join hands with the U.S.S.R., an event which would spell the end of capitalism, not only in Europe, but throughout the world.

All the forces the Imperialists could muster with safety to themselves were flung against the first workers' republic. Former enemies became allies in their opposition to the revolution. But revolution releases creative forces in the working masses sufficient to overcome the

confronted with a preponderantly peasant population (over 700 out of every 1000 were peasants) which was private property conscious—it was demanding and taking property in land; a working-class (immature and numbering but 10 million out of a population of 170 million) which was demanding bread and widespread reforms; a decadent aristocracy which was clinging precariously to its parasitical position; a weak and embryonic capitalist class (subservient to Czarism and foreign capital) which was impotent to carry out the tasks of the bourgeois (capitalist) revolution. The disastrous defeats suffered by the Russian armies in the First World War accelerated the forces of revolution.

The Bolsheviks, a small disciplined body of intellectuals and "professional" revolutionaries comprehended Russia's needs and adopted a program that gained the support of the peasants and the workers. They were swept into power on the slogans of "land for the peasants, peace for the soldiers, bread for the workers." They then set about trying to solve the essential task confronting them: overcoming the industrial backwardness of Russia. State capitalism, the form of government best adapted in the 20th Century to enable a backward country to maintain its national independence while rapidly developing industry, was a historical necessity for the Bolsheviks. Fulfilling the natural functions of a capitalist class, the Bolsheviks represented the new ruling and exploiting class.

The leading nations of the world did everything they could to crush the Bolsheviks and put into power a government more subservient to their interests. They saw arising in Russia a new power that cried "world revolution" and threatened to rob them of the lush loot that the tremendous resources of Russia represented. The armies of no less than ten different countries, including expeditionary forces from the United States, invaded Russia. For five years, 1918-1922 the Bolshevik state fought desperately against foes striking from every quarter.

One of the most powerful weapons in the struggle for existence by the Soviet Union was the Communist International. It was created primarily to rally the workers of the world to the defence of Bolshevik power. It was a weapon of war used to weaken the attacking nations by creating disorder in their homelands and colonies. The Russian rulers used the battle-cry of "world revolution" very effectively to terrify the attacking powers to tie up large numbers of their troops at home, and to gain sympathy and support for the Russian cause from workers everywhere. The Comintern served its creators well—it gained them valuable time to consolidate their power and to thrust out the invaders.—"Western Socialist," June, 1943.

most difficult situations. The capitalist armies became infected with the revolutionary virus. The French Fleet in the Black Sea revolted. The working class of Britain refused to permit the export of arms to counter-revolutionary forces. In every country the working class was rising in protest. At the same time the inherent antagonisms between the capitalist nations prevented agreement on the policy to be pursued. The direct attack on the Soviet Union failed; the underground attack has never ceased.

The end of the war found a new Imperialism occupying the centre of the stage—The American Empire. Britain was pushed into second place. The Peace Treaty denuded Germany of her Imperialist possessions, the ambitions of Japan in the Pacific were restricted; Italy was denied the promised price of her betrayal of the Triple Alliance. Germany and Central Europe, Italy and Japan, the defeated and cheated of the War of 1914-18, had an economic basis for a combination as Have-Nots against the dominant victorious Powers, Britain, France and the U.S.A. And against these was a new Power—the Power of the revolutionary working class. Imperialist Russia had given way to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. One sixth of the earth's surface was under the control of the revolutionary forces. The repercussions of the revolution had spread around the world. The stability of capitalism in every country was shaken. The Spectre of Communism was acquiring a body. The names of Lenin and Trotsky became symbols for millions of enslaved workers.

[The "body" has been proved to be no more than a BOGEY. The Third Communistic International was first an ideological structure formulated to spread Working Class Revolt throughout the world. Their own revolution looming up so large in their own views and practice, the Russians hoped for a resurgence of revolutionary ardor to spread throughout the world. The actual facts show that all that did spread was a constant stream of ideologic slogans. The world's workers were not class-conscious enough to respond, having no desire for Socialism. Essentially it was flogging a dead horse. Today shows Nationalism is everywhere a vital force. Internationalism as yet is only in its infancy. No matter how desirous the few Socialists are of an International Classless Society NOW, we must steel ourselves to the task of education, that as the material conditions for Socialism develop, we may aid those workers who are becoming class-conscious, to understand the solution. The Communist Parties of the World, including the followers of Leon Trotsky, have done their worst to destroy the little understanding there was of Socialism. The adherents of the Fourth International who are known as Trotskyists as yet do not see the errors of past practice, as shown in this manifesto. Because of this I am giving it further publicity, and a critical review. Socialists must combat the Communist subtle undermining of class morale which is culminating in Communist Party straight-out support of Imperialism and open advocacy of collaboration with Capitalism.]

THE CRISIS IN THE WORLD ECONOMY

Economically, the end of the war of 1914-18 was as catastrophic as its birth. An industry, geared to war needs was too highly productive for the peace time economy. Unemployment became a permanent feature of all the major capitalist countries. The colonial countries had—during the war—received a tremendous impetus in the development of their secondary industries, thus accentuating the economic crisis in the centres of

Empire. Capitalist Europe was living on its debts. The industries of the victorious countries were choked by the burden placed upon the defeated nations. Loans had to be granted to the defeated Powers to enable them to meet the payments demanded by the victors. [Loans were granted for the purpose of stabilising the World market. Trade is international, and the German slump had repercussions that affected all other countries. For example, prior to 1914 Germany was a good customer for Australian primary exports. Germany at this period could buy little from Australia. Stabilising Germany meant improving world trade for all countries to benefit. The action of U.S.A. in attempting to isolate herself and only trade one way was a decisive factor leading to the present war. This action of U.S.A. however was the outcome of her own capitalist practice of self-sufficiency known as Isolationism.] The contradictions of capitalism became ever more involved. Only in the lesser developed countries engaged in primary production was any progress recorded.

The contradictions became more and more intensified as country after country attempted to solve its own particular problems by a programme of national self-sufficiency. In 1929 the crisis engendered by these policies commenced to spread over the entire capitalist world. Unemployment rose to unprecedented heights. The situation described in the "Communist Manifesto" appeared:

"Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, and too much commerce. . . . And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more excessive and destructive crises and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."

[Both Communists and Trotskyists are prone to talk about the "contradictions" of capitalism as a dynamic force of revolution. As the following paragraph shows, these contradictions are but effects which in their turn cause solutions to be sought by the capitalist class for their own sake irrespective of any effects upon the working class. The "contradictions" of capitalism are therefore but a further incentive to the progression of capitalism. Certainly also they should be an incentive for the working class to find and dynamically implement a working class solution.]

However the development of the armaments struggle, engineered and supported by finance capital and made necessary by international developments, gave an impetus to industry. The worst features of the economic crisis began to disappear before the threat of war.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

When "Democratic" capitalism in Germany collapsed ["Democratic" capitalism did not "collapse" in Germany. It was only suffered to exist, so long as it served the purposes of the capitalist class. When capitalism allied to Junkerdom found it imperative to expand, and found the political vehicle in Nazism (which had been steadily growing by feeding upon the failures and impo-

tent non-understanding frustrations of a politically incompetent Social-Democracy) to effect their purpose, Hitler came to power. Remember that Hitler was supported by big sections of the workers—and many Communists] during the world depression, Hitler, on the one hand backed by the German ruling class and on the other by world capitalism, came to power with a policy directed not only against the Soviet Union but also against the Versailles Settlement. In 1935 permission was given for the rebuilding of the German Navy and the creation of a standing army was connived at. The Western Powers hoped to balance this reviving danger with a System of Pacts which at the time was a bulwark against the U.S.S.R.

Germany met the Pacts by the total militarisation of her economy, a process facilitated by the use of the Fascist technique. [The aim of Fascism is Unity by Force, but that also was the technique of Stalinism. It is also a technique of the Communist Party in Australia, as was shown by their criticism of the Curtin Government in 1943, that it did not move and act fast enough in the further regimentation of the working class to enforce greater production and enforce a greater war effort.] To allay the concern of the Western Powers, Germany launched an unceasing political and diplomatic campaign against the Soviet Union. The ruling class in the Western nations accepted Hitler's suggestion that the U.S.S.R. was the common enemy of capitalism and assisted Germany to develop a "springboard" towards the East. The seizure of Austria, of Czecho-Slovakia, were connived at by the British and the exclusion of the U.S.S.R. from the Munich agreements made the policy plain to the world.

Meanwhile the new world power, America, was asserting herself on the European scene. Europe was an important market for the U.S.A. And she had no intention of accepting a Europe, unified under Hitler, as an Imperialist competitor. After the Munich Conference Cordell Hull, a member of the Cabinet of the U.S.A., threatened the British, saying that if any further concessions were made to Germany then no assistance could be expected in the future from the U.S.A. They realised that Germany controlling Europe would be the greatest Imperialist power. It was under pressure from America that Britain went to war against Germany to defend "poor little Poland" even though America itself did not enter the war until December, 1941.

The signing of the Hitler-Stalin Non-aggression Pact foreshadowed by the change in Soviet policy in March, 1939, freed Germany temporarily from the danger of a war on two fronts. Hitler moved against Poland on September 1, 1939, and left the decision to the Western Powers. They declared for war; the prospect of a unified Europe outweighed the fear of the U.S.S.R. Capitalism had used the twenty years respite since 1918 merely to prepare for the Second Imperialist War. [Capitalism is caught in the current of its own progressive movement. Despite all its ideologic horror and distaste for war, it is forced to the brink and topples in. The significant fact of this war is the realistic acceptance of war by Germany as a way out of the impasse. Germany clearly recognised that Capitalism was headed towards World Control Imperialism and realistically prepared for it. U.S.A. on the other hand was edged further and further towards the brink and really did struggle against the current. Not until Pearl Harbor

did U.S.A. gain the realistic knowledge *that was the driving imperative of Germany in the early 1930's. Russia also realistically understood, and her policy was to keep out if possible.]

*U.S.A. being a capitalist political democracy had to wait until such time as a majority could see as realistically as Roosevelt. Pearl Harbor tore the blinkers from their eyes. Roosevelt actually acted in defiance of the majority of the elected members to Congress, and the odium he incurred thereby is reflected in the political opposition he encounters. It is all part of the political education of the people. The "experts" do not receive the same recognition in a political democracy as they do in a straight-out Totalitarian country. Nevertheless U.S.A., through the progression of capitalism itself, as a system, moves fast towards Totalitarianism.—J.A.D.

WAR AND THE U.S.S.R.

It is commonly asserted that the Hitler-Stalin Pact started the war. Actually the war had been on for years; the Pact gave the signal for military operations. The plots developed between the Western Powers and Germany against the U.S.S.R. were made startlingly clear at Munich; in March, 1939, Stalin indicated the possibility of a realignment. If the U.S.S.R. had not signed the Pact Hitler would have marched East against a Soviet Union left to her own resources. We view with contempt the supporters of Munich and the social-patriots who consider the defence of Anglo-American Imperialism to be the first duty of the U.S.S.R.

The policy of the Soviet Government, which arose from the un-Marxist "theory" of "Socialism in a Single Country," [this is where the disagreement between the Trotsky IV International and the Stalinist Communist Parties shows. The Trotskyites admit clearly that it is NOT socialism in Russia. They clearly see that the Stalin regime has only been enabled to live in the world of capitalism by a dictatorial bureaucratic control of Russia. What they do not see, or will not admit, is that Stalin is administering capitalism in Russia in what is probably the only way possible in the circumstances. They still appear to imply that conditions in Russia are better than elsewhere. See footnotes] led to a failure to

*The "world revolution" which the Bolsheviks seemed convinced would break out momentarily did not take place. The hopes of the Bolsheviks for a "world revolution," modelled after the Russian state capitalist pattern and controlled by the commanders-in-chief at Moscow, were not realised. The line changed from "world revolution" to "socialism in one country" (National "Socialism").

The policy pursued by Russia continually shocked and dismayed its devout followers. The Comintern was continually concocting apologetics to justify such typical events as: the massacre of Kronstadt sailors and workers who petitioned for more democratic rights; the gift of munitions to the Turkish government which used them against the Turkish workers; the support of the Chinese National Movement, headed by Chiang Kai-Shek, which in turn butchered its workers by the thousands in 1927; the "business as usual" policy with the Nazi government from the time it first came to power and was ruthlessly slaughtering the workers; the sale of oil to Italy which used it for the Fascist planes which dropped death upon the Ethiopian serfs and Spanish workers; the work of the Russian secret police in Spain, the trials at Moscow; the Non-aggression Pact with Hitler which Stalin said was "cemented in blood and will be firm and lasting"; and the actions of the Third International which placed it in the same position as the Second International so fittingly described by Rosa Luxemburg as "the stinking corpse."

From the time the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917, the task of the Workers' Socialist Party and its Companion Parties in explaining the reality of Russia has been extremely difficult. As compared with the intriguing slogans and ingratiating propaganda of the Comintern (and its puppet Parties in many lands), the scientific socialist analysis seemed "impractical" and "posterous." However Russia acted as her economy dictated, in a capitalist manner, and soon facts came out of the Soviet Union

rely upon the international working class and to Soviet control of the Comintern as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. From this bureaucratic control arose the tragedies of the Chinese, French, and Spanish Revolutions; it led finally to the resistance of the Finnish workers and peasants against the Red Army. The Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland and its Finnish War were strategic moves aimed solely at strengthening the hand of the Soviet military forces. Nevertheless the Fourth International supported the Soviet Union, once these moves were under way, because the defeat of the U.S.S.R. by capitalist nations would be a tragedy to the world working class, a tragedy that could assist the rule of Imperialism for many decades in every country. Indeed the generous treaty which concluded the Finnish-Soviet War demonstrated the basic difference between the Soviet Union and the Imperialist Powers. Despite the bureaucratic nature of the Soviet Government the Soviet Union does not require territorial conquests.

The Soviet Union has deviated far from the path planned by the leaders of the Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky. But the economy remains, nevertheless, a progressive economy. ["A progressive economy" can be interpreted to mean anything. The IV Internationalists do not "come clean." The workers of Russia are still wage-workers. Wages are a relationship of capital. This "progressive economy" is in essence little different from Nazism in that the forced Labor camp for democratic and socialist opponents of the Hitler regime in Germany are strangely akin to the forced convict labor of Russian workers who do not see eye to eye with the Stalin regime. An interesting item is in "The Economist" October 9, 1943, the Soviet Telegraph Agency announced the completion of work on the North Pechora Railway . . . which starts from the northern Tundra of Vorkuta, almost on the border between Arctic Europe and Arctic Asia, about 700 miles north-east of Archangel. . . . The railway links two new mining basins, one on the river Pechora and the other on the river Ukhta, and links up at Konosha with the Archangel-Vologda-Moscow and Vologda-Lenin-

grad railways. . . . In 1939 the first coal shaft was sunk in the Vorkuta region. The work proceeded slowly at first. The main difficulty was, of course, labor. The job was taken over by the so-called building organisation of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs, which transferred masses of convicts to the northern part of Komi. In 1941 the output of the Vorkuta coal mines was about 1,000,000 tons. The plan for 1942 provided for an output of 3,000,000 tons. No figures for 1943 are given, but it is pretty certain that the plan for 1942 was fulfilled, and that the expansion has since been rapid. The coal could not be carried away till the railway was finished and it was stored on the spot. . . . The new railway will speed the development of the new coal basin. Labor and mining equipment, until recently transported by the most primitive means of communication, will now be moved more quickly and in greater numbers. It will also be possible to improve the living conditions in the labor camps, which until recently were appalling and caused a high rate of mortality among the workers. . . . The regions which nature itself has cursed with frost and ice are being developed by forced labor. The whole "progressive economy" has been ruthlessly carried out according to plan. And this is what the Communists LYINGLY call "socialism." The Trotskyists at least have the decency to say it is not socialism; yet despite this admission they do not say it is capitalism.] The time will come when the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union will regain their revolutionary elan and rid themselves of the bureaucracy led by Stalin; this will be accelerated by successful revolution in the leading capitalist countries. Meantime the Soviet Union must be protected and inside the Soviet Union the Fourth Internationalists pledge unconditional support to the war effort of the Government—unconditional but not uncritical support. We criticise the restoration of officer castes in the Red Army, the political purges designed to protect the bureaucracy, the idealisation of scoundrelly generals of the past, such as Suvarov who fought the French Revolution in 1799, the large wage differentiations in industry, the creation of a privileged peasant section and the militarisation of the industrial workers. Nevertheless the Soviet Union must be defended.

that disillusioned many workers. Many workers learned about Russia from bitter experience; many learned the "Hard way"; many have yet to learn—"Western Socialist."

**Whatever its early faults, the Comintern was a real weapon of World Revolution during its first five years. But with the defeat of the German Revolution in 1923, the death of Lenin and the acute conflict in the Russian Party, there began the second period marked by violent zig-zags to right and left—entry of the Kuomintang in China the policy of dual unionism and social-fascism, etc. The tactics of an International dictated by faction politics within a dominant Party are bound to lead to one disastrous irresponsibility after another.

By 1934 the Comintern had been transformed into nothing but an instrument of Russian foreign policy, world revolution being utterly abandoned in the hunt for military allies.

Despite his tenacious adherence to Bolshevik internationalism, Trotsky's interpretation of this decline, exaggerated as always by his followers, is only partly correct. To examine this, let us pose two questions: Did Stalin's policy, reflected in the Comintern, lead to a partial stabilisation of world capitalism? Or did the inherent recuperative powers of world capitalism produce Stalin's policy? Obviously there was an intricate interaction of the two factors. But the unbending theorist of inevitable world revolution in 1919-23 has tended to see the abandonment of Bolshevik orthodoxy as the decisive influence in the retreat, whereas the Marxist historian can hardly fail to perceive that the inner power of recovery of world capitalism, intensified, it is true, by the policy of the Comintern in China, Germany and elsewhere, was the more important factor. "Socialism" in a single country at the expense of the world struggle was a well-nigh inevitable corollary of the existence of an isolated and backward Workers' State, whose ruling Party effectively controlled an International.—Walter Padley in "Left" (London, June, 1943).

THE DEFENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Revolutionary Workers' Party does not support the defence of the U.S.S.R. as a national state but as a progressive economy. The workers of the world should rally to its defence against the open military attack by Germany, which began in June, 1941, and the underground, but equally menacing attack by the Allies on the economic structure of the Soviet. Everyone recognises the grave nature of the military attack; the economic attack is not so obvious. The Lend-Lease relationship is a serious encroachment on the October Revolution.*

We do not for one moment believe that the people of the U.S.S.R. have achieved a socialist society. It has what we loosely term a progressive economy because it is

*"Dissolution [of the Comintern] is the logical continuation of these three periods of Comintern history. It is simply the cross on the grave of International Bolshevism. And that will remain true whether the National Parties do or do not continue their role as Stalin's sycophants, as the American Party has done since its formal disaffiliation at the behest of the Roosevelt Government in 1940. A few months ago Vice-President Wallace stated that one of the conditions for avoiding a third world war—against Russia—was a burying of the Trotskyist doctrine of world revolution. Thus Stalin's imperialist allies dictate the liquidation of the organisational remnant of Bolshevism."—Walter Padley.

not bound by the limits of capitalism. [No, Stalin regards the limits as boundless as Russian labor can be cajoled and forced to extend it. "Free enterprise capitalism" has almost been wiped out, but a controlled bureaucratic capitalism is forcing Russia ahead regardless of the comfort and well-being of the workers. See footnote.] This economy, based on two classes, the workers and the peasants, under the bureaucratic, bonapartist leadership of the Stalin Government, arose from the October Revolution of 1917 when the feudal-capitalist state was overthrown by the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. The failure of the workers in the leading European countries to join hands with their comrades in the U.S.S.R. resulted in what would have been the building of a Socialist Europe degenerating into a desperate holding on, a fight for time. The eventual reaction which followed brought the Stalinist leadership to power. Yet in spite of this if the U.S.S.R. were to be destroyed it would mean not only that the struggle would have to start again in Russia but that world capitalism would be stabilised by the new Russian market for capital goods and exploitation.

But we differ completely from other parties in the methods we consider should be employed to defend the Soviet Union. The Communist Party is prepared to sell out the working class movement throughout the world for Lend-Lease aid from the U.S.A. The dissolution of the Comintern is ample proof of this. The reformist and capitalist parties support the Soviet Union while it aids their Imperialists to fight the German Imperialists.

The Revolutionary Workers' Party, and the Fourth International as a whole, declares that in the last analysis the only assistance the Soviet Union can have is the extension of the Socialist Revolution to other countries, whether "Allied" or "Axis." The renewing of the proletarian revolution anywhere in the world will shake capitalism to its foundations. That this is the Leninist conception of the defence of the U.S.S.R. cannot be denied. It is well formulated in this extract from a pamphlet issued by the third "Communist" International in 1934:—

*As proof that the conditions were not economically possible for the introduction of Socialism—a classless Society, the admission of Lenin on page 28 of "Left Wing Communism" is significant as to the subtle distortion of socialism as "the lowest stage of communism" Lenin writes: "We in Russia (in the third year after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie) are taking the first steps in the transition from capitalism to socialism, or the lowest stage of communism. Everywhere classes have remained and will remain for years after (emphasis Lenin's) the conquest of power by the proletariat. Perhaps in England, where there is no peasantry (but where, nevertheless, there are small proprietors!), the period will be shorter. The abolition of classes not only means driving out the landlords and capitalists—that we accomplished with comparative ease—it means also getting rid of the small commodity producers, and they cannot be driven out or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated, but this can be done only by very prolonged, slow cautious organisational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere which impregnates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disintegration, individualism and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection . . ." etc. How does this Soviet "socialism" compare with Marx's slogan: "Abolition of the wages system"—"abolition of commodity production." It clearly shows the non-socialist character of Russian totalitarianism. Nazi control and regimentation of business and industry also included closing down compulsorily thousands upon thousands of handicraft and one-man businesses and forcing the petty middle-class owners to work in factories as wage-workers. "Free Enterprise" small business is also facing a crisis in U.S.A. It is all part of the progression of capitalism.

"But supposing Fascist Germany attacks the U.S.S.R.: are you in favor of the workers supporting the British or French Governments in an attack on Fascist Germany?"

"Under no circumstances. . . . Such action would help the German Capitalists to represent the war as one of self-defence, it would strengthen the British Capitalists and weaken the British workers, it would put British Imperialism, in the event of Victory, in a favorable position for attacking the U.S.S.R. it would mean the suppressing of the inevitable revolts in India and the Empire. On the contrary, by supporting the workers in their struggle against exploitation, profiteering and oppression in wartime (a struggle which is unavoidable in any case), and developing it into a struggle against the war itself, the British workers would undermine Hitler's own front which would be the most effective assistance British revolutionaries could give to the U.S.S.R. in such circumstances." (1) [What was it Stalin said? "The logic of events is greater than any other logic." The co-operation of the various capitalist nations takes place whenever it is necessary for their common survival. The workers, as yet, have no say.]

(1) The Labour Party and the Menace of War: R. F. Andrews, C.P.G.B.

II.

THE AUSTRALIAN WORKING CLASS AND THE WAR

"The Imperialist War is not our war, and the militarism of the capitalist state is not our militarism. We do not support the war and militarism of the Imperialists any more than we support the capitalist exploitation of the workers in factories. We are against the war as a whole, just as we are against the rule of the class which conducts it and never under any circumstances vote to give them any confidence in their conduct of the war or preparation for it. . . . Not a man, not a ship, not a gun without support. Our war is the war of the working class against the capitalist order." (1)

But only with the masses is it possible to conquer and establish Socialism; and in these times the masses in the military organisations are destined to play an important role. Consequently it is impossible to effect the course of events by a policy of abstention, by refusing to work in the army or to work in the munition factories. It is necessary to recognise capitalist militarism as an established reality which we are not yet strong enough to abolish, and adapt our practical tactics to it. Our task is to protect the class interest of the workers in uniform and overall. We must endeavour to unite the soldier and the worker in common struggles for common aims. We must, through out activities in the Trade Union Movement, organise combined worker-soldier demands for improvements in the working and living conditions of the workers. We must raise the slogan "Workers in Uniform" in our approach to the soldiers, and break down the hostility which the ruling class through its Press and army officer caste is creating between soldier and worker.

It is implied in this that the revolutionary worker who is forced to participate in the capitalist military machine does not abandon his revolutionary activities. He should stand side by side with the mass of soldier-workers and put forward at all times the revolutionary working class point of view and strive to win over the

(1) Statement on Proletarian Military Policy, Socialist Workers' Party of America (4th Int.).

majority to the idea of transforming the Imperialist war into a struggle for Socialist emancipation. [Idle dreaming—foolish dreaming, that if persisted in to the point of practice will eventually mean civil war. Few of the working class desire Socialism enough to understand what it is they want. The right of the vote implies that Socialist education for that purpose may be carried on openly. If the workers do not desire to understand Socialism openly, is it to be expected they will reach Socialist understanding through underground furtive channels? The way would be made for the disrupting agent-provocateur, and the pimp, to operate. It would make easy the acts of the racketeer and the criminal minded to make catspaws of the workers. This Continental mentality is something alien to a people who have had the vote for generations. At the end of this booklet is a chapter on The Revolutionary Vote as the road to Education and Emancipation. The ONLY way for the working class to organise as a CLASS is on the political field, where the way is open to gain control of the organised force of society. A mandate from the people on a clear-cut issue of Socialism—not reform palliatives—would ensure that the organised physical force of society—the bayonets of the soldiers, the bombs of the airmen and the batons of the police—would not be used against the workers to prevent them from taking possession for their own collective use the wealth they have collectively produced. Socialism can only come about by the conscious and understanding practice of the working class. The ballot paper is a civilised weapon that used for their own class purpose, packs a wallop, backed up by the working class, that no minority could face. The working class should never desire a premature revolution. Kenneth Roberts in "Oliver Wiswell" has something to say in the latter pages of that book on the American Revolution, that is well worth reading and taking notice of. If the working class gain the necessary understanding to exercise the Revolutionary Vote, there is a chance of a peaceful solution.]

Total war, as waged under modern conditions, involves compulsory military training no less than the appropriation of enormous funds and the subordination of the industries to the manufacture of armaments. As long as the masses accept the war preparations, as has so far proved the case in Australia, mere negative opposition to military budgets and conscription cannot, without a revolutionary programme, yield serious results. People like Ward, Blackburn, Cameron, Calwell and Lang, who oppose conscription and yet support an "all-out war effort," [they can do no more, in the light of the mandate they were elected upon. Even Maurice Blackburn who I would say has an intellectual understanding of Socialism—what it means, as well as what it does NOT mean, never lets his understanding impinge into "practical politics"; he never gained votes by a straight-out advocacy of Socialism—in practice he has never risen above Liberalism; Blackburn was returned as a nominee of the Labor Party supporting the palliative sops and vote-catching bait of the A.L.P. His "Socialism" was but a vague nebulous hope that we would somehow evolve to it] merely serve to sow confusion in the Socialist ranks. [These, in practice, anti-socialists do not confuse those who understand Socialism.] Revolutionaries cannot associate with elements such as these and retain their integrity. The anti-conscription movement in Australia, once a great tradition, and almost a revolutionary movement, has degenerated into a conglomeration of opportunists and confused idealists. The Revolutionary

Workers' Party is opposed to conscription as a part of capitalist militarism. It is not prepared to water down its opposition to the Imperialist War in order to carry on a legal fight against conscription. [Socialists are opposed to conscription, because they are opposed to Capitalism. There never was anything revolutionary about anti-conscription in Australia. The fact that most anti-conscriptionists voted for a pro-capitalist reform Labor Party is proof enough of that assertion.]

AUSTRALIA IN THE IMPERIALIST WAR

Australia is a fully developed Capitalist State whose ruling class has hitherto relied on English Imperialism for protection against its working class. The situation in Europe and the entry of Japan into the war left the local ruling class without a protector, and so a hasty alliance was made with the U.S.A. While the capitalist Press has built up a story that America is defending the Australian people from the Japanese hordes, the converse is, in fact, correct—Australia is fighting for the "right" of America to control the Pacific Ocean.

The sudden attack on Pearl Harbour and the unexpected success of the Japanese in the East Indies gave a false picture of the strength of Japanese Imperialism. It suited Australian capitalism to play up the "danger" in order to militarise and conscript the people of this country and to filch from the workers many hard won industrial conditions. Reactionary legislation, introduced under the guise of "National Security," has given the ruling class powers as great as those of Hitler.

The basic fear of the Australian capitalist class was not Japanese invasion but the possibility of the development of a revolutionary situation. At the time of the entry of Japan into the war, the ruling class in Australia was in a condition of semi-collapse. Unable to rule, it had called on its Labor hirelings, the Curtin Government, to take over the task of controlling and disciplining the workers. Owing to their efficiency in this task the ruling class has regained much of its strength and the influence of American troops has given added confidence. Reactionaries like Theodore and de Groot hold important positions in industry and the armed forces. Semi-fascist and fascist parties appear daily. The total militarisation of the workers through the Civil Construction Corps and the Army is all part of a gigantic offensive launched by capitalism against the workers. [This has only been made possible by the almost total lack of class-consciousness and Socialist understanding of the Australian working class. I challenge the workers of Australia to consider their support of the Labor Party in view of their strong administration of the State for the needs of capitalism. A revolutionary party of the working class can do nothing without the working class supports them by vote and practice.]

There has been established in this country an internal police system similar to the Gestapo. Every man suspected of left sympathies has a dossier and his views and actions are recorded. All the incidentals of a police state such as passport system and domiciliary visits are in full operation. The inability of the Labor Party (Social Democrats) to resist reaction has been demonstrated over and over again. France, 1936-39; Germany, 1930-33; Italy, 1920-22 are convincing examples. Only a revolutionary party of the working class can offer serious resistance because such a party recognises the class war and its implications.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDE TO IMPERIALIST WAR

In an economy but recently developed from a colonial status and in a community impregnated with social-patriotism and chauvinism, the revolutionary, faced by a situation such as this war has created, must realise and stand by the international complications of his position. He must remember Lenin's words in 1915; in his work, "Socialism and War," he says:

"The advocates of victory of 'one's own' government in the present war, as well as the advocates of the slogan 'Neither victory nor defeat,' proceed equally from the standpoint of social chauvinism. . . . Only a bourgeois who believes that the war started by the governments will necessarily end as a war between governments, and who wishes it to be so, finds 'ridiculous' or 'absurd' the idea that the Socialists of ALL the belligerent countries should express the wish that ALL 'their' governments be defeated."

We belong to an international movement, a defeat for the workers of any country is a defeat for the workers in Australia. And it must not be forgotten that prior to the outbreak of this war there were over 30,000 political prisoners in Japan. We do not fight alone in the international arena.

Instead of being a "war for democracy" this war has been used successfully to prepare the way for fascism. The people of Australia, under the bogey of overseas fascism, have surrendered their liberty at home. The Labor Party has administered the reaction on behalf of the ruling class. The Communist Party has sold itself in return for Allied "Aid" to the U.S.S.R. Only the Revolutionary Workers' Party remains to carry on the class struggle in accordance with the theory and practice of Leninism.

The class struggle, the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state, must be continued. The defeat or decay of the revolutionary movement would be a greater tragedy than the defeat of Australia in this Imperialist War. The defeat or decay of the revolutionary movement would mean that fascism would triumph and could not be overthrown. Capitalism, with its wars and depressions, would be perpetuated. When Lenin wrote "the defeat of one's own country is the lesser evil" he meant what we have said above. For the war of the working class is the war against their oppressors. The Social-Chauvinists, who betray their class to serve the ruling class in its Imperialist War, are the traitors. "Better to be called a traitor to one's country than to be a traitor to one's class."

Our struggle then is for the overthrow of the Australian ruling class. We strive to turn the workers and soldiers from participation in the Imperialist War to the war against the ruling class. Until the capitalist state is destroyed and a workers' state takes its place we cannot talk about "defence of our country" for, in a capitalist sense, we have no country to defend. But once the workers assume power, when the foundations of a Workers' Socialist Republic of Australia are laid, then its defence would be the duty of the revolutionary movement of the world.

These are unpalatable truths to many who have accepted the shibboleths of the ruling class, its hiring Press, the "Communists" and the social-patriots! But the fact stands that Socialism cannot come through support of Imperialist War. As a section of the International working class, it is our duty not only to ourselves but to

fellow workers throughout the world to continue the struggle for the world revolution, for the emancipation of mankind as a whole. If we abandon that struggle we betray our own class.

Capitalism can be brought to an end only by the complete victory of the proletarian revolution. The fact that it has plunged the world into another blood-bath testifies to its fatal contradictions, its inability to satisfy human needs. We must take advantage of every crisis which confronts the ruling class, and this Imperialist War is a major crisis. [Again the use of the word—almost a shibboleth of Communists—"contradictions." There is nothing "fatal" to the capitalist class in war. War is a rejuvenating process for capitalism—it clears away its frustrations for the time being. This Imperialist War is not a major crisis. The post-war PEACE may be a major crisis. For goodness sake let us be realists. The working class like the concomitant conditions of war. They suffer more under "capitalist peace" when capitalists are more free to wage war upon working class conditions.]

Nothing for Imperialist War. Everything for the Class War.

III.

THE AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY

Some years ago the Australian Section of the Fourth International characterised Australia as "a junior partner of English Imperialism," recognising that, in the period 1925-35, this country has ceased to be a colony but nevertheless could not stand on its own right as an independent Imperialism. Under the drive of war, industrial development has increased in tempo; but England herself has lost her independent status. Australia is now a dependent Imperialism looking for a master. Its capitalism is fully developed. The perspectives are now the Socialist Revolution or Fascism.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Australia commenced as a prison—passed through a stage of industrial pastoralism based on convict labour which ended with the gold discoveries of the 1850's, then through a stage of colonial development based on mining and the wool industry; there was a mass inrush of proletarian elements with a high degree of class consciousness; the Irish rebels and the Chartists mixed with the descendants of the convicts to form the Australian proletariat. The basic industries, grazing and mining, were monopolistic in type, required a relatively small number of highly skilled laborers and had a rate of profit much higher than the world average. The distance from the world markets and the competition of richer virgin countries made industries based on cheap imported labour unprofitable. By 1900 the colonial economy was fully developed. From 1900 until the 1930's Australia was a rapidly developing capitalism, a development forced on by the war of 1914-18 and the depression of 1928-35. During the whole of this period the proletariat engaged in a reformist struggle with a highly integrated capitalist class which depended, in the last resort, for its state apparatus of repression upon English Imperialism.

THE PRESENT STRUCTURE

As this war has dragged along the economy has reached its full capitalist development. With imports cut to the bone and under the drive of industrial war requirements we are making every article that can be made here.

In primary production Australia is organised upon an industrial basis. The great majority of holdings

(158,000 out of 233,000—Commonwealth Year Book 1939, p. 98) are over 500 acres, and machinery is regularly used. The industry is based upon the export trade (66 per cent. of all primary produce by value is exported) and its control lies in the hands of the processing and exporting companies, and, in the last analysis, of the financial institutions.

Our economy has long ceased to be organised mainly for primary production; only 20 per cent. of persons in occupations in 1933 were engaged in primary industries (in the U.S.A. in 1920, 25 per cent. were so engaged). The great bulk of production consists of manufactured goods. These industries have been developed not by cheap labour but on the basis of machine technique and the bulk of local capital has been accumulated from the pastoral and mining industries with their peculiar capital set-up. This, together with the limited home market, has meant that in the major industries the only units technologically efficient have been monopolistic in the sense that the needs of the entire economy have been supplied by one organisation (Iron and Steel, Chemicals, Sugar, Tobacco, Glass, Land Transport, Rubber, etc.), or by very closely interlocked groups (Mining, Sea Transport, Banking and Finance, Insurance, Beer and Spirits, News, Meat, Wheat and Wool Exports, Textiles, etc.), all of which are themselves welded into a coherent whole by the financial houses. Maclaurin in his "Economic Planning in Australia" gives a curious example of the closeness of the integration in connection with the Premiers' Plan.

"Outside the Conference there was very strong opposition in financial quarters in Melbourne to the Conference proposals. When compulsory conversion was being considered, a private meeting of 400 leaders of Australian thought was convened in Melbourne to discuss the financial proposals of the Premiers' Conference. At the meeting Mr. R. G. Menzies declared . . . 'Report of a private meeting convened by Sir W Harrison Moore, Melbourne, June 3, 1937. The meeting was kept private, and the report of the proceedings was not published because it was not believed to be desirable in the national interests. THE REPORT HAS NEVER BEEN MADE PUBLIC.'" [Author's emphasis.]

The result of this large scale organisation has been a highly integrated, flexible economy with a high rate of surplus value. Profits have been poured into every available avenue of investment until further internal development is impossible. Investment henceforth must be in oversea lands, and in the present state of world Imperialism such investment is only possible if backed by military force.

THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL

TABLE I

Yearly Rates of Surplus Values in Factories (in £1,000s)
(From Commonwealth Year Books)

Year	Salaries and Wages	Interest, Profits, etc.
1930-31	£56,930	£55,050
1931-32	62,450	55,860
1932-33	59,416	59,655
1933-34	64,445	64,647
1934-35	72,825	70,703
1935-36	82,098	80,339
1936-37	90,123	87,561
1937-38	102,079	94,409
1938-39	106,743	96,673

(It must be assumed in view of the averaging of the rate of profit and the known uniformity of the wage levels

that these figures are sufficiently generalised to give a general rate for the whole Australian economy).

These figures establish, taking into consideration the natural faking tendency of the keepers of books, that the division of the added value as a result of manufacture is approximately even as between capital and labor.

To view the matter from another angle, we have the following position with regard to the number of persons producing the goods upon which the present standard of living is based:—

TABLE II

Total available for work, including unemployed, 1939	2,700,000
Persons recruited since	300,000
	<hr/>
	3,000,000
Persons engaged in socially useless work:	
Military forces, etc.	800,000
Munition workers, and section industry devoted to war	400,000
Domestics, luxury workers, etc. . .	400,000
	<hr/>
	1,600,000
	<hr/>
	1,400,000

So we have 1,400,000 producing socially useful goods in the community at the present time. In other words, under capitalism, one half of the working population is, without further investment and development, not required. The problem for our ruling class is whether, in the circumstances of a post war world, there will be room for Australian Imperialist development.

Considering both the division of value (Table I) and the activity of the workers (Table II) the rate of surplus value is at least 100 per cent. On a national income of £1,000 million there is available for capitalist consumption and investment some £500 million. We are in a period of acute capital crisis and the higher the value of production the more there is for investment, the more acute the crisis.

THE PANACEA OF PUBLIC WORKS

Such situations as will face the Australian economy after the war have been met in the past in other countries by a lavish programme of public works. In Scandinavia there was a policy of planned public spending, and in the U.S.A. we saw the spectacular instance of the New Deal, a method by which the ruling class bought a respite from a revolutionary situation. But the countries that have used these expedients have had low public debts and stable credit. Australia at the end of the war will have a public debt of crippling dimensions and will be in an intensified inflationary spiral. Public works based on borrowing will be impossible. Even now it is difficult to find loan money for the prosecution of the war; how much more difficult will it be to borrow when the capitalist is assessing his losses.

There are other nostrums, Single Tax, Douglas Credit, Central Bank Credit, but there is no solution for the present capitalist economic impasse, except investment overseas; and investment overseas is a function of military power. It is no longer possible to sell to the wide world; the only salesmanship that is effective at the moment is that backed by military force. Unfortunately for our ruling class they are not in a position to participate as principals in the Imperialist struggle; they have to play the role of jackal to the U.S.A. and England. The difficulties of these leading members of the "Democratic" Alliance are so great that the scavenger's share of the

least must be small; so small, in fact, that it will provide no relief for the problems of the economy. Thus, within the limits of a stable and efficient economy, capitalism cannot continue in this country, consequently it must make way for another system or rely on the techniques of force and improvisation that are called Fascism.

THE WAR PERIOD

Such is the long term, post war view of the Australian economy. We are, however, faced by a period of some three or four years of war. In this, Australian capitalism is the rather despised lackey of Anglo-American Imperialism

The recompense the local ruling class expects to receive after the war is illusory. However, we must recognise that the overseas troops of allied though competing capitalists, e.g., the U.S.A., are available to keep the workers of Australia in order. Under Capitalism, the workers of Australia must, for the period of the war, work and die; after it, they must starve and die.

THE CLASS STRUCTURE

During the rapid development of the economy, the colonial class structure is ceasing to exist. The middle class is being liquidated into the proletariat; the aristocracy of labour are learning their common interest lies with the proletariat; the distinction between Capital and Labour becomes sharper.

Economically the capitalist class is being organised more closely than ever, but as a result of the break in the tradition of servility to England, the loss of the coercive force that England represented, and the rapid growth of new production relations within the economy, it is poli-

tically disoriented. In its fear of working class revolt it prefers, with some loss of profits and prestige, to leave the Labour Parliamentary lackeys to carry out measures the capitalists would not dare to impose. However, the process of integration is proceeding and in the face of a common danger, such as an attack by the workers, the capitalists would unite.

The middle class, on the other hand, has been broken up and dissolved in the course of the war. Many have entered the armed forces; others have sunk into the ranks of the workers. For the period of the war, they are impotent in the class struggle. The armed forces, in a large measure, occupy their place in the social system. At the moment the Forces are not allied politically to either side in the class struggle. Mainly they are unquestioning servants of the Government, engaging in strike-breaking activities and accepting the propaganda of a Press that represents the workers' struggles as a betrayal of the soldier in the line; however they are also oppressed and, insofar as this oppression drives them, they are on the side of the workers. Their final line-up depends on the progress of the war and the pressures brought upon them. Divorced as they are from the process of production they cannot be relied on by either side.

The working class is also in the process of reorientation and economic reorganisation. New recruits with alien ideologies are coming in from the female domestic workers and the middle class; there is a breaking of craft traditions consequent on reorganising and dilution. This has increased the natural confusion arising from the unprecedented position of security of employment and wages coupled with the demands of traditional patriotism. It must be admitted that, at the moment, the workers of Australia are, in the mass, desirous of the defeat of the Axis, especially Japan, and desire not Socialism but the prosperous capitalism of 1928. Only patient explanation of the nature of the Imperialist struggle and the dangers of local fascism can assist their development. It is to the intensification of the class struggle, which the war makes inevitable [in the post-war "peace"] that we must look for their education and realisation of their true role.

Against this background of defined classes, a dubious army and intensified economic and class pressures the struggle proceeds. The roles of the Communist and Labor politicians are demonstrated from day to day; even the trade union officials appear as props of the capitalist system. The workers are spontaneously reorganising their class for the purpose of struggle, the capitalists hurriedly prepare to face any attempt to challenge their rule. In the meantime, the pressure of the war economy increases and the influence of the American Armed Forces becomes more obvious.

The lines of development of the economy can be envisaged. The course of the class struggle depends on the development of local fighting organs of the working class and the creation of a revolutionary political organisation.

IV.

POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AUSTRALIA THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY

Until the most recent times the Australian working class has been satisfied to devote its organising energies to gain a greater share of the profits of expanding Australian capitalism. Through the trade unions and the Labor Party, both essentially reformist organisations, the workers won a relatively high level of wages, and secured

* [That there are some grounds for this assertion will be seen in the U.S.A. Treasury's:

White Plan No. 3

"Details have become available of a third revised draft of the United States Treasury's Stabilisation Fund plan, which in some respects mitigates the backward-looking changes of draft number 2. The latest revision softens the blow of the previous provision that 50 per cent. of a member's quota should be paid in gold, and makes allowances for the size of the gold reserve of the member countries. The actual gold payments are to be arranged on a sliding scale, depending on the ratio and free exchange reserves. For example, countries whose gold

Country	Quotas million dollars	Votes
Australia	149	249
Canada	278	378
India and Burma	367	467
New Zealand	54	154
South Africa	175	275
United Kingdom and Colonies	1,275	1,375
Total British Empire ..	2,298	2,898
Brazil	107	207
China	350	450
Mexico	63	163
U.S.S.R.	763	863
United States	2,929	3,029
Rest	3,554	6,454
Total	10,064	14,064

and free exchange reserves are between twice and three times their quota will pay in gold 40 per cent. of their quota, plus 10 per cent. of their holdings in excess of their quotas. Special terms are to be offered to countries which have suffered enemy occupation. Their gold payments will be scaled down by a uniform 25 per cent. The most interesting feature of the latest revision of the plan is its tabulation of the quotas and votes to be allocated to the principal member countries. Each country is to have a minimum of 100 votes, plus one vote for each 1,000,000 dollars invested in the Fund. The results of these calculations are given in the table above."

"The Economist," 9-11-43.]

social legislation famous throughout the world. These gains were possible because of the rapid expansion of Australian capitalism.

After the great strike defeats of 1890-91, the workers believed that the struggle in the industrial field would have to be accompanied by an attempt to gain representation in Parliament; the Unions sponsored the formation of the Australian Labor Party. In its ideology the Labor Party has never progressed beyond a vague gradualism, rather akin to English Fabianism, but lacking any clear-cut political theory. The Social theories that have been so important elsewhere, Owenite-Socialism, anarchism, syndicalism, Marxism, failed to take root in the insular soil of the Australian Labor movement. Comparatively good wages and plentiful jobs made the workers unresponsive to the idea of any radical change in the ownership of the means of production, a change from Capitalism to Socialism.

There were experiments in state capitalism, such as the railways and other forms of transport, banking and insurance, shipbuilding, brickworks, etc., designed to fill in gaps in the capitalist economy. These, however, either languished in an atmosphere of capitalist hostility or were incorporated in the general structure of Australian capitalism. They in no sense represented a movement towards a working class control of the economy.

Speaking in economic terms the role of the Labor Party has been to assist in the development, along purely capitalist lines, of Australian secondary industries upon whose prosperity the high standards of the workers depended. It endeavoured to prevent the influx of cheap labour by vigorously supporting the White Australia Policy, a policy which has an economic basis that is quite justifiable but which fosters an inter-racial animosity that is entirely opposed to all the international traditions of the working class. No attempt has been made at any time to meet the problem that does exist by action designed to raise the living standards, on an international basis, of the workers of the Pacific and the East. In conformity with its function the Labor Party adopted an extreme protectionist tariff policy and, in general, it has sought, whilst advancing the interests of the workers within the limits of capitalism, to foster national capitalist industry and to protect it against its world rivals.

Thus until the permanent crisis of world capitalism commenced in 1928, the Labor Party tended to reflect the reformist ambitions of the workers. Nevertheless the Party instilled an elementary sense of class unity and of the antagonism between Capital and Labor.

THE LABOR PARTY IN THE DEPRESSION— A NEW ROLE

The world depression found the Labor Party unable to understand what was happening or to point a way to the abolition of capitalism. It capitulated to the "recovery" plans of the government, to the wage cuts, currency depreciation, and miserly doles of the Premiers' Plan. In Australia, as in every other country, the reformist labor movement revealed that it had in its armory neither the ideological nor the organisational weapons to attack the tottering structure of Capitalism. But the setting up of the Socialisation Committees, though they were rapidly liquidated by the bureaucracy, showed that amongst the rank and file of the Party the sparks of revolutionary thought were appearing.

The world crisis, culminating in the present Imperialist War, has brought about radical changes in the roles of the various political groups. Basically these

changes flow out of the new organisational form of capitalism, the totalitarian state. For the purpose of waging war, which is the sole remaining avenue for capitalist expansion, the capitalist groups are forced to introduce some measure of planning into the economy, and to regiment every section of the community. The Labor Party is being used by Capitalism to subject the working class to the rigid discipline of the totalitarian state. This is the prevailing tendency, though it has not yet reached full fruition. Hence, whether in or out of office, the Labor leaders find themselves, willy-nilly, servants of the real controllers of the country, the great capitalist combinations. They are, in an undeveloped, embryonic fashion, performing the function of the Hitlerian Labor Front.

Since even the most immediate needs of the workers cannot be met under declining capitalism, least of all in its semi-fascist form, a split has developed between the Labor Party apparatus and the rank and file members, who are rebelling against the treachery of the bureaucrats. And power seekers such as J. T. Lang seek to capitalise this discontent.

THE TRADE UNIONS

The organisation of workers in Trade Unions has been carried further in Australia than in any other country; in general, all workers capable of organisation in unions have been organised, a position that has not been even approached in any other capitalist country. Inheriting the traditions of Great Britain, unionism in this country began on a craft basis. In a series of strikes, notably by the shearers and seamen, the workers established the right to bargain collectively with their employers. In the course of time the inadequacy of the craft basis became obvious and industrial unions, covering all workers in an industry, have come into existence. Under the pressure of the need for united action a general tendency exists for amalgamation and liquidation amongst the craft bodies, a tendency that must be assisted by all revolutionary workers.

Reformist methods having proved so successful during the continued expansion of the economy, the workers accepted state sanction for their procedure of collective bargaining and the guarantee, by the law of the basic wage and the conditions of the awards. The arbitration system was adopted in all industries, thereby creating the illusion that the class struggle was, and should be, fought out in the Courts. Inevitably the organisation of the unions became more bureaucratic and the workers have become accustomed to compromises with the employers. So far has the process of legalisation been carried that it is at the present time being suggested that, in return for the abandonment of the right to strike, compulsory legal unionism be introduced, a measure that could easily be used to enthrone the bureaucrats permanently and turn the unions from organs of working class struggle into integral parts of the apparatus of capitalist oppression.

An important revolutionary task is the education of the union members in an understanding of the real nature of the Arbitration system. Compulsory Arbitration represents an attempt to reconcile the interests of the capitalists and the workers within the capitalist system. As this is an impossibility the Arbitration system operates increasingly in the interests of the capitalists, whose spokesmen are becoming its keenest supporters just as the workers are becoming increasingly suspicious of it. The Arbitration Judges have the job of preserving peace in industry, which means they must constantly force the

workers to make concessions, since the capitalists are unable and unwilling to do so.

All that has been said about the new role of the Labor Party machine, its functions within the capitalist totalitarian order, applies to the union movement. The bureaucracy collaborates with the capitalists on innumerable boards and commissions, deciding the fate of the workers without consulting their wishes. If the worker still supports his union, it is because he recognises it as the only medium available for the defence of his wages and conditions. At the same time the rank and file are pressing always for a genuine working class struggle, and mass revolts are occurring against the class collaborationist policy of the officialdom. In particular, struggles are now occurring in the Miners, Waterside Workers, and Ironworkers Unions, whose officials (so-called "Communists"), have openly announced a policy of collaboration with the capitalists in the interests of the "war against fascism." Such a policy, if persisted in, will raise the menace of Australian fascism to a new height, and the bulk of the workers instinctively realise this.

In Australia, the workers have developed the shop committee as a method of bridging over the gaps between the various craft unions and of co-ordinating the forces of the workers on the job against the boss. This form of organisation presents the best opportunities for countering the bureaucracies of the unions and transforming them into mass revolutionary organs. Machinery must be devised to co-ordinate the work of the shop committees, giving them contact with each other, arranging for the raising of strike funds, sympathetic strikes, propaganda, etc., generally increasing the influence of this type of rank and file organisation among the workers.

While we sympathise with workers disgusted with some act of betrayal by the union officials, we are strongly opposed to workers leaving their unions or even giving the bureaucracies grounds for expulsion, as this leaves them unorganised, at the mercy of the highly organised employers. We also oppose the building of breakaway unions, on the lines of the "Red" Trade Unions set up at one stage by the Comintern. To do this is to split the ranks of the workers, to remove all opportunities to strengthen the hands of the rank and file, and to isolate the militants and lay them open to attack. The bulk of the workers will remain in the old unions which alone are recognised by the Courts. To try to form pure "left wing" unions is to admit that the militants are unable to gain the leadership of the broad masses, without whose active participation there will be no socialist revolution. It is a tactic of despair not of militancy. The only method to beat treachery is to stay in the union, to intensify job organisation, and to forge links with the workers in other shops, so that the union functionaries are forced to abide by the will of the membership. [The only solution to trade union inadequacy is working class conscious understanding of the nature of capitalism, and the way out to emancipation. As this knowledge and understanding permeate the ranks of wage workers there will be reflected greater class solidarity in the unions and shop organisations. We read once more the ideologic twaddle about "militants" and "leadership of the broad masses." If the workers are to remain "the led" it will be a sure sign of the lack of understanding by the rank and file and hence failure in democratic control and action may be expected. It all keeps coming back to the essential—each individual worker must be prepared to be actively democratic and strive to understand Socialism.

It is the role of the active Socialists to permeate this understanding among the rank and file.]

The policy of the Revolutionary Workers' Party towards the Unions may be summarised: Strengthen all along the line the power of the rank and file against the bureaucracy! The unions remain the basic mass organs of the workers, and they must be transformed into revolutionary weapons of the class struggle.

Within the Labor movement as a whole, the Labor Party as well as the Unions, the revolutionary should not cease in his activity, but should always attempt to stem the rising tide of reaction, calling for resistance to the growing subordination of the officialdom to the capitalist State. He should also co-operate with any section of the movement that adopts a sound working class policy on some particular issue, such as anti-conscription. The aim must be always to steer these limited demands towards the wider goal, the attainment of State power by the workers. There will be no difficulty in showing the rank and file that the attainment of the most limited demand calls, in this epoch of capitalist decay, for the abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation.

FASCISM IN AUSTRALIA

During the depression a fascist movement first showed its teeth in Australia. The New Guard was formed to solve the crisis of capitalism by the violent suppression of all working class activities and the reduction of the workers to the level of the dole. It represented the reaction of the most ruthless section of the ruling class to the hand to mouth policy of J. T. Lang. Financed by the biggest monopoly capitalists, led by every type of political careerist, it found its mass basis in the ruined middle class and farmers. During the worst years of the depression the capitalists were ready to call on these elements to preserve their rule.

Nothing is more certain than that Australian capitalism, faced by the ever intensifying crisis, will turn again for salvation to the fascist gangs. . . . The capitalist press encourages this tendency by incessant propaganda aimed at sowing antagonism between the workers and the soldiers. Ruined petty bourgeois elements such as small farmers and shopkeepers will swell the fascist ranks as the crisis grows. We must expect anti-capitalist demagoguery from the spokesmen of Fascism on the lines of the Nazi slogans, but their objective role in the defence of the capitalist system will be revealed by their hostility of the workers organisations, their opposition to the workers' class struggle, their claim to represent the whole nation, irrespective of class, and above all by their opposition to the demand for the abolition of private property in the means of production.

The answer of the Socialist movement to the onslaught of fascism is not to be found in reliance upon the protection of the law, or an appeal to the State apparatus to restrain the violence of the Storm Troops. European experience proves the capitalist State machine, the police, courts, army, etc., is always thoroughly infected with the virus of fascism. Nor does protection lie in Popular Front movements in which the working class surrenders leadership in the struggle to a motley collection of petty bourgeois elements, many of whom, in the final crisis, will find more in common with the capitalist regime than with the workers. Of course, this does not prevent the workers from finding allies among the other classes, but always the leadership of the anti-fascist struggle must lie with the workers, under the direction of the workers' revolutionary organisations.

The workers' answer to fascist thug tactics lies in building organisations designed for the actual process of fighting physical fighting in the last analysis. Force must be met by force. In the course of the actual class struggle such bodies as strike committees, strike pickets, defence guards, will be set up. These must be placed on a permanent, disciplined basis, forming the nucleus of a workers' anti-fascist militia. [This can only be carried to a successful conclusion by the working class organising consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government. Any talk of "workers' anti-fascist militia" is arrant nonsense under any circumstances.]

So long as there is no slackening in the building of this fighting organisation, and so long as the revolutionary groups preserve their organisational independence, it is correct to call for a united front of all the working class organisations against the fascists. [Unity can never be achieved on the basis of political ignorance. Working class unity to be of any value must be based on Socialist understanding.] Never again must the workers commit the mistake of the German Communist Party in 1932, which split the ranks of the German workers by proclaiming that the Social Democrats were a greater enemy than the Fascists; the notorious theory of "Social Fascism," with its slogan of "After Hitler Our Turn" which resulted in an alliance between the Communists and the Nazis on the basic issue of the Prussian Referendum and the consequential victory of Fascism.

Once it is made clear that the workers intend to fight fascism and not capitulate before it, large sections of the petty bourgeoisie will be attracted to the workers just as the slogans of the Bolsheviks and their determination to seize power in 1917 attracted the vast masses of the peasantry to their leadership.

For some years, since the acceptance of the Popular Front line, great emphasis has been placed on the slogan "War Against Fascism" and it is suggested by the Comintern that Fascism must be met by armed intervention in the countries that have adopted it; particularly at the present time is it alleged that war against the Axis is "War against fascism." Workers must understand that fascism is a system of government that all capitalist powers adopt when the contradictions of their systems pass a certain point, when the strain becomes too great for "democracy" to function. The present war on the other hand is a war between capitalist powers; some, Germany, Poland, Greece and Italy for instance, organised on a fascist basis; others, Great Britain, Finland, America, etc., organised as capitalist "democracies"; the particular form of government is by no means a deciding factor in the side taken. This is no war between ideologies. This line however plays into the hands of the local "Allied" capitalists. It enables them to introduce the most fascist like oppression under the pretext of the "War against fascism." The only true war against fascism is the class struggle of the workers against all the capitalists, whatever their race or nationality. The workers of Australia must fight the war against fascism in their own country.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Twenty-four years after Lenin formed the Third International (Comintern) for the purpose of extending the Socialist Revolution from the Soviet Union to the major capitalist countries of the world, Stalin has decreed its official liquidation. The task set for the Comintern by Lenin remains wholly unfulfilled. Instead the workers

of the world have suffered a series of crushing defeats and capitalism has plunged humanity into another imperialist holocaust.

For these catastrophic defeats, and this major setback to Socialism, the Comintern must bear a great share of the blame. It has not lacked either the numbers, or the organisational principles, or the traditions to lead a successful struggle for Socialism. On the contrary, its numbers in Germany, France, China and elsewhere at the moment, if we can believe them, even in Australia, have far exceeded those of the Bolsheviks in 1917. Many thousands of militant workers have passed through its ranks. It inherited the enormous prestige of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It has failed because it has refused to follow an international working class policy and instead it has subordinated itself to the directives of the bureaucracy of the U.S.S.R. The bureaucracy has been determined at all costs to maintain the status quo of the U.S.S.R., internally and in the field of world politics, even if it means disaster to the workers of the rest of the world. This policy has reached its logical conclusion in the abandonment of even the pretence of interest in the revolutionary movement in the rest of the world and the reliance instead on the Pact with the labor hating Anglo-American Imperialism.

We do not dispute that the failure of the revolutionary wave to extend beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R. in 1917 and the consequential isolation of the Soviet, made it inevitable that the leaders of the country should manoeuvre between the encircling capitalist states, playing upon their mutual antagonisms, and even making pacts with one group against others. This need was recognised by Lenin and Trotsky. The crime of Stalin against the working class has lain in forcing the various national sections of the Comintern to vary their policies in accordance with the temporary expedients of the foreign alliances of the U.S.S.R. But the fault lies not only with Stalin; only leaderships, placing career before principle could allow the organisations, of which they were important members, to be so played upon.

But once granting the complete control that the E.C.C.I. had over the local sections and the domination of that committee by the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union we can understand the unprincipled changes, first to Social Fascism, then to the Popular Front, then to the line against Imperialist War, then to the call for a Just Peace, finally to the call for the cessation of the class struggle in the interests of the "Democratic" powers and the dissolution of the Comintern itself. It is not to be wondered that some of the finest elements of the working class, despairing of following these violent zig-zags, have become disillusioned and apathetic.

Because for the moment, it is in the interest of both the U.S.S.R. and the Allied Imperialists to unite in a military pact against German Imperialism, the Communist Party of Australia is devoting itself to tying the Australian workers to the war chariot of "Our Own" capitalist class. They have declared a state of class peace with the capitalists, they call for class collaboration and national unity, they cripple strikes and support industrial and military conscription. In short, they are acting, in De Leon's phrase adopted by Lenin, as "labour lieutenants of capitalism!" [De Leon merely quoted Mark Hanna a Morgan capitalist henchman who praised trade union officials subservient to capitalism's needs as "our good Labor lieutenants."]

The Communist Party justifies this policy by the need for the defence of the U.S.S.R. As we have shown

earlier and as was stated by Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin himself in his revolutionary days, the U.S.S.R. can only be defended by the resurgence of the revolutionary wave in the major capitalist countries of the world. The Allied Imperialists aim at the winning of their war and the reduction of the U.S.S.R. to a subordinate political and economic position. Their plans against world socialism can only be defeated by the revolutionary activity of the workers and colonial peoples of the world. Opposition to Imperialist war itself must be the basis of this activity while the war lasts.

The slogan "National Unity" can mean nothing but the subordination of the whole community, especially the working class, to the war needs of the capitalists, who control all sources of economic and political power. That is why the capitalists themselves lead in the call for unity and promise that all will be arranged after the war is over.

The Communist Party of Australia is finding increasing difficulty in pursuing this policy of National Unity in the face of the steady movement of the workers towards the left under the pressure of the war. It is in precisely those organisations, such as the Miners and the Waterside Workers' Federation, in which the Communist Party has control of the apparatus, that its troubles are greatest; the workers' hostility most intense. These are merely a prelude to the inevitable widespread disillusionment that is coming to the militant workers as to the ability of the Communist Party to lead the working class to the attainment of Socialism. And that the Communists can see the writing on the wall is shown by their lying attacks on the members of the Fourth International whom they label with venom, "Trotskyists."

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Fourth International, of which the Revolutionary Workers' Party is the Australian Section, began as the Left Opposition within the Comintern, developed during the Third Period, the period of Social Fascism, and was formally founded at an International Conference in Switzerland in September, 1938.

It grew steadily in strength until the present war outlawed its sections, all of which courageously adopted and stood by a policy against Imperialist War and for a revolutionary peace. The German onrush dislocated all work on the Continent, but evidence, mostly of executions, consistently comes through showing that the sections have revived and are in the van in the fight of the European workers against the regime of German Fascism.

In the U.S.A. and the rest of the so-called democracies, although their leaders have been gaoled, the organisations carry on the fight, sometimes in a twilight of semi-legality, at others under the full pressure of illegality. In every country in which the proletariat struggles against the oppression of capitalism, there is a section of the Fourth International, fighting against this Imperialist War, emphasising the international unity of the working class.

[The policies of the Comintern were never in harmony with working class interests; this is shown by an examination of its various manifestoes and pronouncements. At its inception the Comintern made it mandatory that its member parties rigidly adhere to the "Twenty One Points" handed down as commandments from Moscow. These "Points" (and others) stressed the necessity of immediate "armed and open warfare with the State power"; the creation of "illegal organisation

machines"; the "smashing of the State"; the advocacy of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," i.e., a small dictatorial body in each country which was to gain control and direct the destinies of the workers—as in Russia. As the adherents of the Fourth International adhered to the original Comintern, it would appear that they have not shed their Continental illusions nor gained the knowledge that Socialist understanding is the FIRST IMMEDIATE NECESSITY, and that once the workers have gained that understanding, they are capable of translating it into Political Action knowing what to do. Demands must be such as to be a means of rallying workers to establish Socialism. Any policy that has failed in the past, as the policy of the Third International was proven a failure, cannot succeed in the future.]

In Australia, as in the rest of the world, as the workers realise in practice the effects of the social patriotism of the Labor Parties and of the manoeuvres of the "Communists" so must they turn to the only revolutionary socialist party, The Revolutionary Workers' Party, and towards the revolutionary socialist international of the world today, The Fourth International. [The most soundly based revolutionary Socialist Parties in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Great Britain, and U.S.A. are those founded on the Objectives, Principles and Policy as shown on page 18 of this booklet. The Workers' Literature Bureau regard that statement as the most perfect foundation for Socialist understanding and organisation to achieve working class emancipation.]

[This programme of demands needs pertinent criticism, which I have attempted, following each demand with bracketed comment.]

PERSPECTIVES OF STRUGGLES

It is against this background of war, oppression and confusion that every worker must consider his position. This is no time for idle regrets, it is no time for apathy or delay. We are close to a time when we must act or for many decades bear the full burden of Australian Fascism. It is clear that the prime need is organisation. Realising it is only through day to day struggles over concrete issues that the workers will approach the problem of the seizure of power, we call upon them to organise behind our banner and fight for the following demands:—

1. The financial burden of the war to be borne by the ruling class. The living standards of the workers must be maintained.

No deductions from the pay envelopes.

Increased basic wage to offset increased cost of living.

[Let us be clear on this. The "financial burden of the war"—that is in terms of money is being met by an Increase of National Debt. This is a direct charge upon production levied through taxation. As the capitalist class pay their taxes out of the surplus-value produced by the working class, which the capitalists call "their profit," it is clearly seen that under no circumstances can the ruling class be made to bear "the financial burden of war." The "financial" burden of war to the ruling class is the burden of clipping "tax free" interest coupons from Government bonds. "The financial burden of war" is a gilt-edged asset to the capitalist class, its growth will enable them to further enslave and exploit workers and producers. The National Debt is actually the sale of shares

in the State's power to exploit the working class to produce surplus-value; being a first charge upon profits and a permanent part therefore of the cost of production which the workers must honor and redeem by added toil. The demand for "no deduction from the pay envelopes" is correct, because direct taxation is a reduction of wages round which wage-workers can be rallied to resist.]

2. The elimination of dangerous and unhealthy working conditions and the provision of adequate facilities on the job.

Defend the 44 hour week against the threat of organised overtime.

No interference with the right to strike.

3. The wage for the job irrespective of sex.
4. As under conditions of war, unemployment can only be due to capitalist mismanagement, all workers to receive unemployment pay equal to their normal wages.

No overtime to be worked while unemployment exists.

[(4) Unemployment is a concomitant of capitalism. It does not merely arise out of "capitalist mismanagement." "Normal wages" is such an indefinite term and a demand couched in such indefinite language stultifies itself. At the very least the demand should be for "the basic wage" irrespective of sex, and a constant struggle to raise the standard of living and working conditions. The abolition of the wages system must be constantly stressed.]

5. The provision of nation-wide housing, hospital and medical facilities.

Education and the welfare of the children to be recognised as the first charge on society.

[To adopt a policy of primarily aiming to alter the educative system in Australia would not achieve as much as the concentrating on one ISM—Socialism. From whatever angle they are viewed, the reactionary forces, and their reflected ideologies in the mass of the voters, will fight tooth and nail against any progressive move towards Socialism. Such must be met in a frontal attack by the advocates of Socialism, consciously and persistently advocating, explaining and practising the class struggle. Only in this way can the closest touch be maintained to those who are already becoming conscious of the inadequacies of the old order and the old parties. As far as is humanly possible no effort that can be made must be let go by default. DO IT NOW and DO IT OFTEN must be the watchword of all Socialists. Only in such manner can membership be added to, and the movement grow in numbers and understanding.]

6. Nationalisation of the mines, means of communication and transport and of all public utilities.

[(6) Nationalisation can be of no benefit to the working class. It merely extends the activities of the State which is the bulwark of Capitalism. Nationalisation is merely a method of guaranteeing the payment of profit to shareholders of State capital, and at the same time bringing the wage-workers more directly under the control of the State.]

7. Take the profit out of war. The government to take over and run all war industries.

[(7) War arises out of capitalist rivalry. Profit can never be taken out of capitalism. Capitalism is the production of profits. Anything appertaining to capitalism can be made to yield a profit. See criticism of (1). A

misleading and foolish demand that can be used as a red herring to draw the workers off the trail.]

8. The armed forces to have the right to set up committees independent of officers and under rank and file control.

[(8) Without class understanding, this demand can also imply the formation of pro-fascist and imitation of Nazi organisation of soldiers, sailors and airmen, etc. Workers conscripted into the militia, if class-conscious, know they must organise politically with the rest of the working class. Such a demand implies the acceptance of militarism. (9) comes under the same category.]

9. The demand of the forces for improved service conditions and better pay to be met.

10. Rural workers and farmers to receive at least the urban basic wage over and above interest and rent.

[(10) Leaves out of consideration the basis on which wages are fixed. Most farmers are self-employed—many are employers; the demand is equivalent to asking for a State subsidy for them, which is of no concern to wage-workers.]

11. The powers of the special "security" police to be checked.

The move towards military control of the civil population must be fought and defeated.

[(11) Implies the necessity for a strong working class Political Organisation, strong enough to challenge the Curtin administration of the Capitalist State. This should be definitely stated. A strong Political Organisation, even whilst a parliamentary minority, would tend to keep more power in Parliament's hands. At present the major part of government is being carried on by managers—the Professors Copland and the bankers Sir Charles Reading, etc., etc.]

These demands must be realised if the working class are to maintain even their pre-war standards.

[There are no "standards" for the working class. There is a definite civil subjection of the working class by the employing class. The employing class know this, that is why they always shriek out and accuse working class "agitators" of fomenting "civil strife" when the working class attempt to defend themselves. This "civil subjection" of the workers by the capitalist class is the passive side of an unrelenting civil war in which the workers are engaged—even if the workers are not conscious of it.]

While the workers are engaged in this defensive struggle, the ruling class is preparing for the coming struggle for power. It realises that the day of compromise is over, that there will be no surplus out of which the insurgent workers can be bought off. As the war develops we are approaching closer to a revolutionary situation, a situation in which the economy will cease to supply the basic needs of human beings; and the ruling class, under the pressure of the war and the insistence of the masses will be unable to maintain its stable rule. Two of the conditions for revolution predicated by Lenin will then exist; these we can neither control nor affect; they flow from the contradictions of capitalism.

[This implies a breakdown in the capitalist system. I do not think there are any grounds for such an implication. The war has rejuvenated capitalism and shown them an immediate future of unparalleled exploitation of the world. Industry has now been geared to such a colossal output, and the workers are so subservient that

capitalism has been emboldened to make plans for the development of the entire globe. The Communist Parties have rushed to declare their loyalty to, and collaboration with, capitalism. Capitalism will be impelled to implement such plans by necessity. And apparently it is doing so. An understanding of the State is necessary, and the necessity for the working class to gain control of State Government in order to control State power.]

But the third condition for revolution, the building of a competent, disciplined, revolutionary party, lies in our hands. If, when the conditions for revolution come into existence, we have built such a party, then we, the workers of Australia, avoiding the debacles and defeats that have marked the history of the working class during the last twenty years, will lay the foundations of Socialism, will make the first break in the capitalist front in the Second Imperialist War.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY.
July, 1943.

[As an offset to the above manifesto, I can do nothing better than reprint the article on The Revolutionary Vote from "Socialist Comment" issued by the Socialist Party of Australia, Sydney, N.S.W., in 1943.]

THE REVOLUTIONARY VOTE

(Reprinted from "Socialist Comment," Sydney, N.S.W.)

The Socialist Party of Australia is different from any other party in this country in its advocacy of the revolutionary use of the vote.

We advocate that the vote should be used only for the purpose of obtaining a mandate from the people for the specific purpose of establishing SOCIALISM which we define as: "A system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community." Without democracy, Socialism cannot exist; therefore, we advocate the fullest possible use of the methods of democracy and we are in favor of the possibility of establishing Socialism by consent of the majority.

In order to obtain a mandate of such a revolutionary nature it is necessary that the issue should not be obscured by appeals for support on other grounds such as housing reform, pensions, sick insurance, unemployed benefits and other reforms which can be granted inside the framework of the present social system. We hold that support obtained by promises of such reforms is useless for the revolutionary purpose we have in view. Any attempt at revolution by a party elected on reform promises is likely to lead to civil war and disaster and we point out this real danger to the workers.

The innocent and peaceful looking ballot paper disguises the grim reality that the political struggle is a struggle between classes for the supreme power in society, the struggle to determine which section of society shall be able to control the organised force of society. In other words, it is a struggle to decide which class in society shall have at its command the bayonets of the soldiers and the bludgeons of the police. A mandate from the people obtained by the methods we advocate, would ensure that the organised physical force of society would not and could not be used against the workers to prevent them from taking possession for their own collective use the wealth they have collectively produced.

We are not of those who consider themselves supermen, demanding the vote of the unthinking and the blind obedience of followers and who, while professing respect for the forms of democracy, would if elected rely upon terrorism and the secret police for the maintenance of an authority obtained by trickery and promises of reform.

The Communist Party professes to be a revolutionary party but, as we have seen, it steadfastly refuses to make a revolutionary use of the ballot box. It seeks support of any kind from anywhere and from every body and it does so by patriotic appeals and sentimental promises of reforms; in fact, it conducts itself like any other vote catching machine. It pursues, at the ballot box, the same policy which it has often condemned in other parties as "reformist."

No revolutionary vote was asked for by any candidate in the recent Federal election.

To trick working people by appeals to sentiment and by promises of reforms into voting for something which they neither understand nor want and to assume that they cannot be made to understand and, therefore, must be tricked for their own benefit, may suit the ends of the self-styled "Leaders of the Masses" and intellectual snobs; but that is not the policy of the SOCIALIST PARTY.

We of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA have unbounded faith in the working class.— We hold that the working class, whose skill and energy is now used for the purpose of providing wealth and luxury for a small section of society and whose physical courage is exploited to defend the material interests of that small section, is quite capable of using its skill, energy, and courage for the solution of its own problems when it understands the social base from which these problems spring.

As a means to the solution of working class problems the reformist vote is useless. We ask our fellow workers to examine the possibilities of a strictly revolutionary use of the ballot box as a means to emancipation.—C.W.C.

STATEMENT BY WORKERS' LITERATURE BUREAU

The Workers' Literature Bureau is a non-profit project, established for the sole purpose of propagating Socialist Understanding.

Holding that a thorough understanding of Capitalism is a basic essential to wage the class struggle to a successful conclusion—the establishment of a Classless Society—the Bureau's one aim therefore is to critically examine the dialectical progression of the Capitalist System, and as, in the course of such critical examination the PRACTICE of all political parties comes within the province of its range, any and all criticism of these parties is for the sole purpose of furthering Socialist Understanding.

The Workers' Literature Bureau is not connected in any way with any political party or organisation, but, as it regards the Statement of Principles and Policy as enunciated by the Socialist Party of Australia, and its Companion Parties overseas, as the most perfect enunciation of Socialist Principles from which should flow the Political Party of Socialism, the Bureau endorses the Statement of Principles, as printed in much of our literature, and at the same time endorses the Socialist Parties conforming to such principles.

PROPAGATING SOCIALISM

By J. A. Dawson

I regard the Socialist Party of Australia as the custodian of the most perfect Objective and Statement of Principles and Policy (see below) yet enunciated by any Political Party of Socialism. This places the S.P. of A. in the position of occupying the extreme Left of the

S O C I A L I S M

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common-ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interests of the whole community.

The Workers' Literature Bureau, in endorsing the Objective and Principles of the Socialist Party of Australia, does so independently, NOT being connected in any way with that organisation.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA HOLDS:

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., lands, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labor alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That, as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exist only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should get in touch with the hon. secretary, S.P. of A., Box 1440, P.O., Elizabeth Street, Melbourne.

In N.S.W.—S.P. of A., Box 2291, G.P.O., Sydney.

Political Perimeter. The workers as a whole, though many admire the Party Principles, seem loth to join them on the Extreme Left. The experience of the Socialist Party of members who have attempted to water and whittle down these Principles has been such that there is a tendency to be cool and off-hand towards those who desire to join such a revolutionary Party of Socialism. They appear to hold that intending members should first of all make themselves thoroughly conversant with the Objective, Principles and Policy before applying for membership. Yet there are many, many workers who feel that, as the Australian Labor Party has instilled an elementary sense of class unity and of the antagonism between Capital and Labor, that a further attempt should be made to clean up the Labor Party.

The practice of the Curtin Government, which in the words of J. T. Lang, of N.S.W., has now taken the place of the U.A.P., and virtually IS the U.A.P., makes MOST NECESSARY the formation of a strong, virile and aggressive LABOR OPPOSITION to the Curtin Labor Government and the U.A.P. policy now being administered by them.

There are still many avowed Socialists who hold that AS A PROCESS OF EDUCATION towards SOCIALIST UNDERSTANDING, that if a concerted move were made to reconstitute the Labor Party by Abolishing its Present Constitution and adopting such an Objective, Principles and Policy as enunciated by the Socialist Party of Australia, such a move, if it permeated throughout the Trade Unions and wage-worker membership of the A.L.P., would in all probability be as effective towards gaining for the working class the Necessary Understanding to make Socialists of the workers, as the attempt to do so from outside. Although there is a growing understanding as to how muddy and dirty the waters of the A.L.P. are—the working class are loth to throw away the dirty water unless they are sure of clean water to replace it. They do not want to throw away the dish. This of itself, of course, indicates their lack of Understanding. But as the mountain would not come to Mahomet—Mahomet must go to the mountain.

Such a move, if it could be consummated, would imply that the practice and present anti-working class policy of the Labor Party would be under constant criticism in every way until the consummation was achieved by altering the A.L.P. Constitution, objective and platform in conformity with an Objective of Socialism—the Common Ownership and Democratic Control of the means for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interests of the whole community.

The problem of Exchange should be NO PROBLEM TO CLASS CONSCIOUS WORKERS. Capitalism as defined at the top of page 20 of this pamphlet is a system for producing a SURPLUS for the present Owners of the Means of Production.

Socialists intend to Abolish such Owning Property Rights in the means of Production; it is out of such relationships that a Problem of Exchange arises.

The problems of money, the problems of a market—of a World Market—which brings about crises in Capitalism that result in mass unemployment and poverty for the producers, and with the intensification of a struggle to control markets for the disposal of the Surplus result in war.

Under War Conditions, the workers are regimented to the necessities of the Capitalist System. All these things arise out of the Problem of Exchange.

By Abolishing the Wages System and instituting PRODUCTION FOR USE (instead of production to sell, as at present) the need for Exchange ceases. All that is necessary is to IMPLEMENT the distribution of all the necessary things that Labor produces in abundance today to those who need them. And so cause SOCIALISM to become the NEW ORDER for Society wherein:

Each will contribute towards the Common Good according to his abilities; each will willingly and freely serve Society to the extent of his natural endowments and capacity—and each can draw from the Common Pool of Production ALL that they need, and production be PLANNED accordingly.

As now constituted, and in its practice the Labor Party is undermining working-class morale by boosting master-class morale. The Communist Party has become an active agent boosting output which means greater profit for the employers. Such practices as is evinced by the employers of offering Wage Incentives (by piece-work) which have been welcomed and approved by many Communists (see W.L.B. pamphlet and inserts "Speeding Up Wage-labor") and which will be the road of a policy of ingratiating towards Labor by Capital are stated by Karl Marx in "Capital" (now in process of being set up for printing by the Workers' Literature Bureau) to be "the most fruitful source of reductions of wages and capitalistic cheating."

As, from a class view, the workers as a class only receive back a portion of the value that they as a class produce, and therefore can only buy back that equivalent percentage, the time must come when, the war over, the market is glutted with a surplus of products and in turn their labor-power itself, not being required to keep producing products—incentive or no incentive—for which there is no market, becomes a surplus product, and its owner is unemployed.

Everything which capitalism does for its own benefit, works out in due course of time to Labor's ill.

Whilst the Capitalist System continues, Australia will be forced to maintain an ever-growing military personnel (navy, army and airforce) and its concomitant primary and industrial production. Every public work started to provide employment will be examined from the point of view of future military use and needs. The workers will be chained to militarism.

The honest politicians in the Labor Party can do nothing for you. All the Curtin Government does is to administer the State for the further progression of the capitalist system. It is more and more forced to regiment and subject the workers to the driving needs of a capitalist system challenged by a rival capitalist system.

The PEACE may be a GREATER EVIL than War itself.

Is the Peace to be used only to prepare for the next inevitable war?

No matter from what angle the problem is viewed, it all hinges upon the regimentation and subjection of the working class and to a certain degree also the primary producers.

The final problem therefore resolves itself into an International one. Marx's slogan still stands: Workers of the World Unite! You have a world to win, and nothing to lose but your chains.

No government (not even a Labor Government) can

do much for the working class, if the workers as a class fail to provide dynamic direction to their political representatives. This class cohesion can only be built upon the every-day struggle of the workers to combat their exploitation, and to mentally understand the problem and its only solution. As stated before, the Socialism the working class must aim for implies a revolutionary change in the ownership of the means of production and in the system of government which is based—solidly based—on private ownership rights in the means of production. The working class alone can implement such a change by progressively building up and creating the organisation of the New Society to replace the State.

The Constitution and Platform of the Labor Party MUST be brought into line with this concept. Its practice must be made to conform to that end.

Otherwise the Labor Party MUST GO and be replaced by an Active Party of Socialism.

WAGES

Wages are the price paid for the commodity labor-power.

"The value of labor-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labor-time necessary for the production, and consequently also for the reproduction, of this special article. So far as it has value, it represents no more than a definite quantity of the average labor of society incorporated in it. Labor-power exists only as a capacity, or power of the living individual. Its production consequently presupposes his existence. Given the individual, the production of labor-power consists in his reproduction of himself or his maintenance. For his maintenance he requires a given quantity of the means of subsistence. Therefore the labor-time requisite for the production of labor-power reduces itself to that necessary for the production of those means of subsistence; in other words, the value of labor-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer. Labor-power, however, becomes a reality only by its exercise; it sets itself in action only by working. But thereby a definite quantity of human muscle, nerve, brain, etc., is wasted, and these require to be restored. This increased expenditure demands a larger income. (Note: Hence the Roman Villicus, as overlooker of the agricultural slaves, received more meagre fare than working slaves, because his work was lighter). If the owner of labor-power works today, tomorrow he must again be able to repeat the same process in the same condition as regards health and strength. His means of subsistence must therefore be sufficient to maintain him in his normal state as a laboring individual. His natural wants, such as food, clothing, fuel, and housing, vary according to the climatic and other physical conditions of his country. On the other hand, the number and extent of his so-called necessary wants, as also the modes of satisfying them, are themselves the product of historical development, and depend therefore to a great extent on the degree of civilisation of a country, more particularly on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of free workers has been formed. In contradistinction therefore, to the cost of other commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of labor-power a historical and moral element. Nevertheless, in a given country, at a given period, the average quantity of the means of subsistence necessary for the worker is practically known."—Marx, "Capital" (Workers' Literature Bureau).

WHAT IS CAPITALISM

"Capitalist production is not merely production of commodities, but something more. Essentially it is production of surplus-value." [profit]. "The worker does not produce for himself, but for capital. . . . He must produce surplus-value" [profit]. "That worker alone is productive who produces surplus-value for the capitalist, and thus works for the expansion of capital."—Karl Marx ("Capital") 1867.

Socialists regard it as an absolute essential for the working class student to understand the source and nature of Capital. To know, beyond any shadow of doubt, but as a scientific exactitude of fact, that Capital is created out of the profits derived from labor-power, which

under present-day conditions produces its own cost in a fraction of the working day; which is NOT shortened as each labor-saving and technical device shortens that portion of the working day during which the wage-worker is working merely to reproduce the equivalent of his daily wage, but on the other hand, lengthens that part of the working day during which he has to make a FREE GIFT of his labor to the capitalist WITHOUT ANY PAYMENT IN RETURN." (Engels) To know this basic foundation fact of the Capitalist System of production is to understand that any reform that still leaves the working class in the position of wage-workers, cannot be of any permanent benefit to the working class.

The abolition of the wages system is the only cure for working class ills.

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