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THE WORKING CLASS

No student of society can deny the existence of social groups; this is sufficiently indicated by the variety of opinions found in the halls of the old university. Again, the benefits bestowed by capitalism on the masses are clear to all. But the existence of a social class is a different matter, and, in fact, the multiplicity of groups is taken by many theorists as a decisive argument against the class theory of society. Against the recognition of a struggle between two classes, one dominant and the other rising, as society's outstanding feature.

Now it is obvious that society may be divided in all sorts of ways, but such divisions may be of very small social significance unless there is an objective what ever might be taken as the basis for division. For example, we speak of the "educated classes," but it must be admitted that there is no social unity among the persons commonly called "educated" and that they mix in various ways with the "uneducated." The commonest division is according to income or property; the rich are contrasted with the poor. Now, of course, riches and poverty have considerable relevance to the state of society, but to make that division the basis of social theory or practice is to overlook the fundamental fact of production, and poverty being a relative term, to open the way to mere partition. Such divisions also overemphasize the characteristics and the fortunes of individuals. Social theory does not begin until we recognize that society is not a resultant of individual "wills," or a field in which goodwill and disinterestedness are all that is wanted, but is a thing with characters of its own, acting in specific ways under specific conditions.

The contrast between the two outlooks is illustrated in the main views current in the Labour movement about the workers. According to the revolutionary view the workers are regarded as the best class in society—not only because of their breeding or of their peculiar "personality," but the fact that their social position nearest to clouds, not isolated, since no social force is, and that altering the material and the motive force for a new society. On the other view they are regarded as the worst class in society, the most degraded and insulted, and so not as a class in the sense of a unified and active social force, but as a mass of unfortunate individuals. This is the(structural) view which breaks up the movement, and it implies a mere tinkering with social problems, as against a radical treatment of them.

What is required is to deal with social problems to be dealt with as one's own character, and this is recognized by the militant workers in the course of, and, indeed, as essential to their activity, is the complete rejection of the polite of philanthropy. This is the polity of brainlessness, of "good intentions" taking the place of theory, through which individuals are satisfied with their philanthropists, and the reform in praising them and upholding an ethic of altruism; know very well what they are about. We need not long ago of the death of Mr. Balfour, the "millionaire philanthropist," his millions show where his philanthropy began. So the philanthropic benevolences of the financiers echoes prove his solidarity to the last with the system that had upheld him and his desire to perpetuate the conditions under which such philanthropies are necessary. Again, the benefits bestowed by capitalism on the masses are clear to all. But the existence of a social class is a different matter, and, in fact, the multiplicity of groups is taken by many theorists as a decisive argument against the class theory of society. Against the recognition of a struggle between two classes, one dominant and the other rising, as society's outstanding feature.

The conclusion of the "social worker" is apparent in the various schemes for providing work for the unemployed. Such schemes are remarkable as carrying the suggestion that a man who gets "relief work" to do is still somehow employed. His work is not quite work, and what he receives is not quite wages, and thus the payment to him of less than the regular wage, or, indeed, of any sort of pitance that will keep him alive, is justified. Actually, this is nothing but wage reduction. And the social objective of such schemes, even if their well-intentioned agents are ignorant of the fact, is, while reducing discontent, to prevent the organization of the unemployed and the establishment of solidarity between them and the employed.

The recognition of working-class solidarity and the part it plays in society is, of course, very far from the understanding of charitable bodies which want to "do well" and help those in need. In order to do well it is necessary to take account of economic realities, of the conditions of production and not merely of the resulting distribution. It is necessary to appreciate that a particular man what he lacks may not improve social conditions in general. And it is desirable to have at least some idea of how social theory and social forces, and to take for granted a socialist doctrine according to which society is constituted by all (exploiter and exploited alike) standing together, and, until those who assume it have shown the class theory to be false, they do not escape the working-class solidarity of the exploited class.

The same considerations apply to schemes of "vocational guidance." Here the effort is made to place individuals in conditions of life that may benefit them even to the continued availability of such work but, more important, to the fact that the individuals will be working for employers whom they consider to be sufficed to assume that what benefits others will benefit employed, and vice versa. The test of success in guidance is the individual work, and the question is not raised whether workers should be satisfied with the conditions of their employment—or, again, whether any individual satisfaction may not be simply a basis for subjecting workers to a direction.
which must subdue the wills of the controllers of industry and labor.

We must first differentiate between what is desirable and what is essential for the survival of the working class. The task of socialists is to ensure that the interests of the working class are being represented adequately in the political process. Therefore, the actions and decisions taken by socialist politicians are crucial in determining the future of society.

Social organisations have been developing for over 200 years, and the need for such organisations continues to grow. These organisations provide a platform for the working class to come together, share their experiences, and work towards a common goal.

The working class is the backbone of society, and it is essential that their needs and interests are taken into account. This is why socialist politicians must be accountable to the working class and work towards their interests, rather than the interests of the ruling class.

The working class is the most important group in society, and it is essential that their voices are heard. Social organisations provide a platform for the working class to come together, share their experiences, and work towards a common goal. These organisations are essential for the survival of the working class and should be encouraged and supported by all socialist politicians.

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Fascism and "White Terror," may for a time reduce the support of such sections.

It is clear, for example, that the "educated" class has no independent line, no social solution for its problems; that it is not politically educated. It fluctuates between the two classes, though in the main it is subject to the ruling class. Yet education, understood as scholarship, is itself a productive characteristic, and, in so far as it is acquired, creates the impression of the educated and the proletariat. This bond will be strongest where the political leadership of the educated class is accepted, and the sense of "nationalism" will correspondingly diverge from the proletariat.

This in connection may be pointed out that schemes of "University reform," by way of increased labour representation on the governing body, and so forth, are, like the Workers' Educational Association, philistine in character, and are instead tools to scholarship and to working-class education, which consists of education in the struggle. University reform, from the workers' point of view, will come by way of the development of organisations of those who work in Universities, and of contact between them and other workers' organisations. It will not come through the bringing to bear of outside influences, so that the brand of education offered may be of the most generally acceptable character possible.

Such schemes are really pedagogical and commercial and are of no advantage to the working class.

We are thus brought back to the direct class issues and to the working class. Solidarisation denies that the State is the organ of a class, but in so doing it upholds the dominance of the central political power over other bodies of the workers who have had to fight, and still have to fight, for the rights of organisation, agitation and demonstration—a fact which is peculiar to the working class.

When this is recognised, it will be seen that all activities or proposals of a voluntary character, all schemes of education and the "class-collaboration" or socialism in the name of the benefit of the ruling class and of the destruction of the workers. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the Labour party. Instead of being the clearest indication of the independence of the working class, as contrasted with a state of subjection and servitude.

Fascism, the open dictatorship of the property class, in its inception and even largely throughout its development, has always been the domination of property at the expense of its appearance as a "Committee of Public Safety"; but it is only clumsily safe for capitalism. Thus the A.F. of L.

Lewis, for example, by the maintenance of the property relations, seeks to cover capitalist economy, and, in particular, the failure of capitalism, by a new form of society.

Fascism movements like the New Guard propose to defend the "constitutions" against "extremists," propose to defend the "police" against the "revolutionary" and the "socialist"; they are mere tools of the struggle against the working class and for the property of the ruling class.

The Fascist system there is and can be no true freedom of expression in the exploited, if only because the building up of the means of expression, printing, paper supplies and printing works necessary for the utilisation of this freedom are monopolised and to a great extent controlled. This is a continuation of the condition of the "Knight in shining armour" with the title of the exploited. Nevertheless, the agitation of the workers can bring them certain political rights, and it is in this degree of political power that Fascism becomes dangerous to working-class progress (in the name of "the safety of the country") is asserted to.

With the opposition to the capitalist State and the capitalists' opposition to Nationalism (exercised by Fascists), their assertion of the international character of their class—which is but another example of the co- operation of producers, as against the divisions among bourgeois consumer, this again being one main reason why history is on the side of the workers. The acceptance by the Australian Labour Party of the "White Australia" policy (like its acceptance of Arbitration) shows that it is a not a proletarian party. Official Labour parties, and also, indeed, operate against the "traitors"; their function is to pacify and disperse the workers. When elected to office they carry on government according to the desires of the regular apparatus of police, judiciary, etc.; in other words, they carry on capital government, they uphold existing systems and structures.

Orthodox "Labour," then, whether it is showing how it can govern or inventing Utopian schemes of "socialism," is diverting the workers' movement and controlling the true character of the proletarian revolution, which arises from the position of the workers as a productive force in relation to the disintegrating capitalist form of production. Only working-class organisation, preparation to take over industry, to form a workers' State with real political activity for all workers, can prevent Fascism and war, and lead on to a classless society, exhibiting real solidarity. Such a society cannot exist until after the destruction of the State. Thus the working-class is the coming society, and must, like the Sans Fein movement, form its own organisations and not allow the capitalistic state to exploit its production. And in the formation of a productive, and necessarily international, society, it is for the education of active investigators, to be on the side of the producers.

The working-class becomes organised through the operation of capitalist industry, but only because of its struggle against exploitation in that industry, when organised, it is the protagonist of social equality against the exploitation of men and women.

Thus the organised form of the productive, and necessarily international, society, is for the education of active investigators, to be on the side of the producers.

1. By "interest" here I. of. course, mean class interest, not individual interest, but as such, interest is not the only criterion of the value of the work, but it is the only one that can be considered in the present case. The value of the work, as such, is not the only one that can be considered in the present case. The value of the work, as such, is not the only one that can be considered in the present case.
this is when a declining and desperate class demands a certain organization of its interests and a regrouping of the masses as a condition for its survival. Bourgeois democratic periods of capitalism, of expanding markets, of "labor peace." The Open Door and Free Trade, the ability of the bourgeoisie to use its power to the masses.

Today, with the last stage of imperialism and parasitism upon us--capitalism and the state are on the wall of the bourgeoisie and the party of the bourgeoisie in its historical setting. The one is a dictatorship of the ascendant working class (N.B.-Not of Stalin) acting in revolutionary fashion through the Communist Party itself, but also through the Trade Unions and the Soviets. The other is the dictatorship of "the promontory rotten and corrupt bourgeoisie" (N.B.-Not of Mussolini) acting on a basis that must be constantly narrowed. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. is clearly losing its grip and it will come along with the disappearance of distinct economic classes, i.e., with the withering away of the State. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Italy has changed none of the fundamental relations of production--has, in fact, sharpened the constantly growing contradictions of capitalist society and must continue till a working class revolution overthrows it. "Fascism," said Clara Zetkin, the veteran German revolutionary, is "the punishment of the workers for an unfulfilled revolution."

Now, what of the other main theory of the State? This represents the State as in some way divorced from the industrial development of society, and prefer to the idea of a "decadent" so-called "bourgeoisie" or "reactionary" party with which the capitalist class is identified. On the other hand, the contradictions of capitalist society increase and sharpen, so a necessary element in the revolution is the creation of a new social order which would supplant the existing one and tend to separate more and more as a distinct entity outside society. The function of the State is the creation of order in which it can find a refuge and perpetuate class domination by moderating the collisions between classes.

According to this theory, the Marxist holds that any "bourgeoisie"--the "bourgeois government"--can only operate the existing state machinery for the purpose for which it was designed, i.e., it must play capitalism's game. The Third International and the Communist parties of the world alone cling to the lemma of the Paris Commune of 1871 that the working class cannot use the existing state machinery for its own ends. In the light of the new concept of the working class the state machinery, through its leaders the Communist Party moves toward a seizure of power and the establishment of a dictatorship. This involves a certain organization of the working class, a certain organization of the oppressed classes and the creation of a new order which would supplant the existing order.

Now we come to the crux of the whole position. We wish to point out that in practice "bourgeois" and social-democratic governments do not follow the road of Fascism. To do this we must first of all recognize the inability (granted the willingness of "bourgeois" and social-democratic governments to effect a working-class programme) to take a recent case. Before the present great capitalist crisis social-democratic governments were the rule in one form or another. With the coming of the crisis the leaders of these parties and all called to the support of the privileged bourgeoisie.

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H. Ayton Lee
In a letter to his American friend Wendelney, Karl Marx wrote in 1842: "As far as I am concerned, I do not take the credit for having pointed to the existence of the classes in modern society or their struggle with one another. Long before me, middle-class revolutionaries had already written about this struggle of the classes, and middle-class economists had delineated the economic anatomy of the classes. The main contribution of the present work is (1) that the existence of the classes is bound up merely with certain historical stages in the development of production, (2) that the class struggle leads necessarily to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship is only the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society (see "New York", vol. XXV, part 2, p. 164)."

We may concede in full the claims that Marx has here made for himself. But, in connection with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, certain claims have also been made on behalf of two other persons.

LOUIS AUGUSTE BLANQUI (1805-1881)

Thos., in his "Out of the Past," p. 60, R. W. Postgate, the English socialist, writes concerning the method of revolution of the stormiest petrel of French revolutionary, Louis Auguste Blanqui, the "industrial organization of the workers" century, Blanqui, as follows: "It is what we should now call the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which Blanqui (not Marx) was the first formulator and public advocate." Postgate adds that he makes this claim "with reservation and subject to correction." And, indeed, it cannot be substantiated. Postgate himself admits that Blanqui's "advocacy of the dictatorship of the proletariat" is to be dated in the eighteen-sixties, whereas, in his "Class Struggles in France," 1869-1880 (see S.L.P. edition, p. 70), Marx had already "formulated" the idea as early as 1850.

Prior to that date, Blanqui's closest approximation that we can discover to the clear-cut idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was made in 1848, when he began to express a revolutionary policy, can the people govern itself? D. The system of socialism discussed here. Socialism is a system in which the people govern themselves. The phrase "revolutionary power of the people" and the sharply defined formula "dictatorship of the proletariat" does not need to be stressed.

To report exaggerated claims made on behalf of Blanqui is, however, to deny that he contributed anything to the great movement that swept over a long period and that was the culminating point of the great revolution of 1848. On the contrary, we may agree with the German historian of socialism, Max Beer, that "from the very beginning, the dictatorship of the proletariat and communalism leads in the directest manner to Louis Auguste Blanqui, Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin."

The mention of Blanqui brings us to the claim of Marx, Blanqui, and Lenin, which is a claim, provided we again remember that this "socialist dictatorship" is not yet precisely defined, that it is not a "dictatorship of the socialist dictatorship," a claim which was made by Marx in an earlier paper, "The New York Times" (July 26, 1897, p. 39).

According to Marx, Blanqui was the first socialist to see the importance of combining political power and of instituting a temporary dictatorship as the most effective means to a socialist reorganization of society. Marx, like Lehideux and Roux, or Heber and his followers, were ardent social reformers and communists, but deprecated political democracy and dictatorship. Against these men, on the other hand, such as Blanqui, Marx, and Saint-Just, never attained a real appreciation of social reform and communism. Blanqui's work was not so great as they supposed. However, the feeling of both movements. He therefore joined the Revolutionary conspiracy, which had both political and social reform objectives.

The Conspiracy for Equality

The revolutionary organization known as the Conspiracy for Equality (1855-1877) included several members of the great reform and republicans whose program was first formulated in 1856 and supplemented it with economic reforms.

The conspiracy was accused of treason in that, according to its leaders, a French revolution was to be the means to the end of equality and happiness. The conspirators were accused of having formed a secret society, the "socialist conspiracy," and of having plotted to undermine the constitutional order of the country. Some of the leaders of the conspiracy were condemned to death, while others were imprisoned for life.

The conspiracy was led by a man named Augustin Aube, who was later executed. The conspiracy was suppressed by the government, and many of its leaders were arrested and tried.

In conclusion, it can be said that the conspiracy for equality was a failure, but it was an important step in the development of socialist thought in France.
of their contemporaries and those who followed them, and although some of them have been adopted by the bourgeois, they are still the models of the educated classes. At the beginning of a political revolution it is perhaps necessary for us to pay some attention to the fact that the bourgeoisie, who have been the leaders of the revolution, are still the leaders of the revolution. In this sense, the revolution of 1848 is not a revolution against the bourgeoisie, but a revolution of the bourgeoisie. It is a revolution of the bourgeoisie against the revolution of 1848.

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY

The following fragment of a draft, reproduced by Brunatoni (see "Contemporary History," II, pp. 303-31), is not without interest.

"(1) The individuals who do nothing for the motherland cannot exercise any political rights; they are alien to whom the republican grants hospitality. (2) By nature, the motherland must not be permitted to perform any useful labor. (3) The law considers as useful labor: agriculture, industrial life, and manual arts, retail trade, and transport of passengers and goods, war, education, and science. (4) Nevertheless, the work of instruction and science shall not be sold for anything useful unless it is sold for certificates of citizenship. (5) All letters are not admitted to public assembly. (6) The allowance and other special expenses of the supreme administration, which are at rest, and (7) All citizens are not to be called to arms, and (8) The reductions of death, or the surrender of their arms to the revolutionary committee.

The remainder of his life continued closely bound up with socialism until his death in 1857. He lived long enough to transmit his ideas and experiences to the revolutionaries who were to act from 1870 to 1848. His "Confessions of a Young Socialist" is still the best commentary on the most vital problems of the French Revolution in the years 1792-1794 and the best introduction to modern socialist theories.

G. Bartocci

THE NEW REALISM

Every great work of art is a challenge to that familiar attitude which Mr. Lane calls his philosophy of life. The popular work of art, on the other hand, is generally a representation of those phenomena which are too simple to be expressed in the language of the common man. We are not concerned to propagate a particular form of democracy, but rather to understand the life of the common man as it is lived in the midst of this society. The themes of this society are not those of the art of the past, but those of the present day as well as of the past. For the critic, says Professor Richefin, is best typified by a picture of a lady laughing at a lady in a cinema. There are some among us who are not perfectly believing that they can be called advanced thinkers, though they laugh at the lady in the cinema. This theme has very little to do with the process of thought, but it is a great deal to do with their proper capacity for batten

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GERMANY'S CRISIS

The social struggle in Germany is of decisive world significance. The capitalism of that country has completely collapsed, and its collapse has brought to an end the post-war period of restoration and strengthening of capitalism. It marks the beginning of a new revolutionary wave.

The restoration of capitalism in Germany was never more than a desperate gamble, based on money or on fact. The issue was made upon Germany by the victorious powers. The Dawes plan, enforced by international social democracy, resulted in the most merciless class-dividing of the German masses. Then came the tragic contradiction of capitalism: long before the demands of the victims were met, it was found that world markets could not absorb the huge excesses of exports forced on Germany. Actual collapse was warded off by a large influx of American capital, which artificially balanced the reparations budget, but with the Wall Street crash, this palliative disappeared, and the full burden of the Young Plan began to be felt. The crisis became more acute when German liquid short-term loans began to be called in. With the ebbing tide of loans across the danger of a depression in the currency and the costs of reparations, German currency began to sink. The result was a wholesale carousing in the German banks.

The crisis of Germany's collapse would produce violent repercussions, the finance powers hastily formulated the Young Plan. France alone hesitated, being concerned for the economic recovery of her own country and for the safety of her investments in Germany. She was thus steered into a course in European affairs. Nevertheless, the plan was adopted, and results quickly followed its acceptance. The financial policy of the bourgeois politicians and economists, the chief effect of the plan was to draw attention to the desperate plight of German capitalism, so that some 150 to 200 million pounds were invested by capitalists from abroad. But the German bourgeoisie has not been able to invest these sums as thoroughly as the French bourgeoisie is able to invest its own money. The big interests have been unable to invest these sums as thoroughly as the French bourgeoisie is able to invest its own money. The big interests have been unable to invest these sums as thoroughly as the French bourgeoisie is able to invest its own money.

The most obvious fact in the contrast is the degree of activity displayed. On the one hand, under capitalism, the factories are running at full capacity, and the maximum wages are paid. On the other hand, the workers are paid a mere fraction of what they used to be. The contrast is striking. The French working class is working at a lower rate of productivity than it did before the war, while the German working class is working at a higher rate of productivity than it did before the war. The contrast is striking.

THE DEPRESSION AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

Two great events have overshadowed all others during the last three years. The first is the great economic depression, the second is the Five Year Plan. The first event was not without importance. It is the economic depression that has been the cause of the upsurge of Fascism in Italy and France. The second event, the Five Year Plan, is the product of the upsurge of Fascism and has been the cause of the continued rise of Fascism in Italy and France. The first event, the depression, has been the cause of the upsurge of Fascism in Italy and France. The second event, the Five Year Plan, is the product of the upsurge of Fascism and has been the cause of the continued rise of Fascism in Italy and France. The first event, the depression, has been the cause of the upsurge of Fascism in Italy and France. The second event, the Five Year Plan, is the product of the upsurge of Fascism and has been the cause of the continued rise of Fascism in Italy and France. The first event, the depression, has been the cause of the upsurge of Fascism in Italy and France. The second event, the Five Year Plan, is the product of the upsurge of Fascism and has been the cause of the continued rise of Fascism in Italy and France.
the new collective system, under which all the land of the collective farm is divided into work and rented with efficient, up-to-date machinery. A few years ago there were more than 5,000 tractors in the whole Soviet Union; being only 950 in 1929. At the same time the number of plows, which are the mainstay of agriculture, is turning out over 100,000 per year. This machinery has not reached all the collective farms, nor do they use it efficiently. But the great improvement in Russian standards of living, as noted earlier, has had a rapidly increasing inverse effect, not only on farm machinery but on the whole agricultural system.

You may ask how it has been possible, in the midst of a progressive effort that has sacrificed Russian standards of living and shorter hours of work at one and the same time. The answer is that it is the moral and physical result of the rise of the Machine.

Machines have been introduced in capitalist countries in the last few decades which, if fully and intelligently operated, could have led to a tremendous general rise in standards of living simultaneously with a marked reduction in hours of work. In the brown coal industry at Yalutorovsk, for instance, work that used to take six men and 80 days to do now takes 40 men one day to do. Less than one-quarter of the workers can do it in one-eighth of the old time. This is only an extreme example of the general rapid improvement in all branches of mechanical science. But under our present system the capitalist has no sooner introduces his new machine than he makes it as a place of execution for the workers. In order that the latter may no longer require wages. If any reduction is made in the number of men employed, the cost is cut out, and the mails of those workers who remain cannot be lightened. The workers, however, once placed in a position of dependence, become the prey of the new, more efficient, and less expensive machines to drive them out. Then they obtain a new machine with three times the productive power of the old and are left with nothing but the right to work for the production of the new, or, other use for producing large-scale output, or working shorter hours, or both. Such are the mutual relations that are employed for service and not profit. And such is a large part of the future above.

But the full contrast between Capitalist and Socialist production is not yet seen until we begin to examine the province of the peasantry. Throughout the capitalist world the farming population has been one of the hardest hit of all the victims of the depression. In the whole of Germany in 1929 the prices of agricultural products fell with extreme gravity, creating a great deficiency in meat, bread, butter, milk, wool, rubber, and the produce of the fields, the price of which fell rapidly. Many Australian farmers have been driven into bankruptcy by the depression. Those of the community that have been less affected have been driven into debt and have absorbed the money of other countries. The object of the legislation is to prevent the dissipation of agricultural capital through the defection of a section of the community. The federal of such a section is the fullest means of giving and protecting the rights of the community. Exactly do the members of the community say? They hold that the formation of such a section is the fullest means of checking the dissipation of agricultural capital and protecting the rights of the community. Exactly do the members of the community say? They hold that the formation of such a section is the fullest means of checking the dissipation of agricultural capital and protecting the rights of the community.
modern States, offers a sufficient hope of indefinite material and cultural advancement to its citizens.

Surely it must be admitted that Communist theory has intellectual standing and is as worthy of complete investigation and discussion as any other theory. Can the Commonwealth parliament, by an extraneous preoccupation, make those ideas false? Is not free speech, discussion, and admission of all literature on the subject the only way of arriving at the truth? Communism is in the air like Liberty, Fraternity, Equality was in 1775; and no legislation can prevent this.

Russia today is Communism in action. The Russians are human and as likely to be guilty of self-deception as the Britons. Their journals and books cannot escape from being classed as red propaganda any more than the "Argus" and the "Times" can escape from being capitalist propaganda. Does the Commonwealth parliament propose to prohibit the entry of Russian works? Are we to be denied the vital literature produced in a country of 160,000,000 people? At present we do not see their cinema productions, the most artistic in the world; their famous dramatic art is rarely seen here; surely their literature cannot be ignored, or we shall sink into greater depths of provincialism.

Perhaps Mr. Latham's objection to Communism is based on its anti-religious nature, its insistence on the infinite capacities of unaided humanity. He may be like the Russian nobleman mentioned by Cardinal Newman in "Recent Position of Catholics in England." It appears that 80 years ago there was a movement in Russia to introduce a constitution like that of England. As a mere commonplace in that context, this nobleman disparaged the startling discovery that the English constitution is based on a blasphemy—that the king is the focal point of what could only belong to Almighty God. However, it is unlikely that the religious aspect would worry Mr. Latham, who is a Past President of the Rationalist Association.

Is a violent revolution inevitable? Marx said that in England, the national habits of free speech and reasoning might make violence unnecessary. But the best way to make violence inevitable is to deny free speech and drive revolutionary activity underground. Violence breeds violence, white terror breeds red terror. No debate needs probably if instruction is introduced. Moreover, revolution always has to be condemned. Would the Commonwealth parliament under the English and French revolutions? Would they restore the Czar? Abraham Lincoln said, in an interview, "This war is a rebellion against the country and its institutions; if they should win, it they may exercise their constitutional right to amend or their revolutionary right to overthrow it." Shall we be guilty for agreeing with Lincoln and not with Latham?

No additional legislation is required to prevent mere gratuitous violence. The law provides amply for that, without the prohibition of free speech and similar intellectual activity. Man should be punished by what he does, not by what he thinks, and without communication of thought there can be no true thought at all. Truth can prove itself. Free discussion will expose the lies and fallacies of propaganda, which, if driven underground, escapes criticism. This is the basis of the ordinary Australian law. The opposite point of view was adopted by the Romanovs. The Czarist government censored and suppressed books, raised taxes, coerced their inhabitants and persecuted foreigners merely for being members of radical societies. It deported hundreds to Siberia, and exiled hundreds more. Where are the Romansovs today? Repression has been successful only in rare circumstances. The Japanese, some centuries ago, cleared themselves of Christianity by murdering the Christians and closing their doors to foreigners—a policy hardly possible in this era. Communism is a growth of all capitalist souls, not a bare exaggeration introduced into the Russian constitution.

Yet an Australian government announces its intention to imitate Czarism. What is the urgent force? If this government was composed of successful business men or farmers, ignorance would be impossible. The cabinet, however, includes a University graduate, presumably an intellectual. The only basis for this ridiculous proposal is that the government must please its supporters. Instead of leading the multitude, of carrying on its boast of not pandering to the mobs, it says, "Give us your votes and intellectual liberty can go hang and free speech can become a thing of the past. Those who dare to think differently you shall go to gaol." According to the University opinion, it is time that it be given. If the University does not raise its voice against the suppression of such small freedom as we have, it is time for us to take it up.

--Dr. G. F. O' Day, M.D. (M.B.)

April, 1942

WHAT DOES A SOCIALIST MEAN BY EQUALITY?

Review Article

What the Anti-Socialist, or the Conservative, thinks of equality was expressed by Mrs. Marion Pickett in an impromptu address to the A.W.N.L. According to the "Financial Times" (May, 1941), in every country in England, she is reported to have said, "We now have Conservative clubs for women. It is the women who must campaign, not the men, which manifests itself in every day life. Socialism is doing duty for the Communists, teaching that 'man has the right to live,' Man has not the right to live; he must create to live. The Communist has the idea that the worker must rob and destroy to live. The second fallacy they are trying to teach is that all men are equal. They are not equal, but you only look at your own children to see that. It is not reported whether anyone present asked her the question, 'And if society is so organised that many men, however willing, cannot obtain work to live, what then?' But in his book, 'Equality' (Allen & Unwin, 1931), R. H. Tawney, of the University of London, answers our only question, but also explains what Socialists mean by equality.

The book is based on the Halliday Stewart lectures given by Tawney in 1929. The Halliday Stewart trust was founded at the end of 1924 for research towards the Christian ideal in all social life.' If the quality of the work does them full justice, transforms the level reached by Tawney in his lectures, it should have an extremely valuable influence. Though events have moved so fast since the publication of these lectures, this book forms just over a year ago, the conclusions which Tawney arrives at seem to be in no way invalidated by subsequent happenings, disastrous though these have been to those who trusted to the Socialist cause.

To those advocates of Socialism, whose the events of the past 18 months have driven them into the Communist camp, Tawney appears simply as another of the "intellectual Social Democrats." He has been so dubbed by some as "typically bourgeois," because of his immediate aim and the tactics he has adopted. Communists and Socialists alike must remember that Tawney was not preaching for the converted so much as those who have been listening to what Socialism means: to work, the people who still think that Socialism means dividing up all the wealth of society equally between the several classes.

To these people Tawney points out that the present order is functioning badly because it still clings to the idea of private enterprise and competition as fundamental to this or any other economic system. By historical analysis Tawney shows how such ideas were valid and rational in the conditions of Europe a century, or a century and a half ago. In an age when capital was widely distributed in many hands, what was required, the increase of both productivity and social welfare was the existence of privileged ranks and classes.

In the whole of Europe privileges (which gave economic advantages) were guaranteed to different orders of property owners who were also producers. These were the conditions of the century between 1750 and 1850, and if these privileges and practices were valid and competition were generally valid then, why should they not be equally valid today? Simply because the conditions of that period no longer exist. In that age the majority of people in every country, except perhaps England, possessed their own capital by their own production. In the present industrial era the majority of those engaged in production in every "advanced" country are wage and salary earners. In other words, a privileged plutocracy has replaced the antiquated order of privilege.

Being the case, Tawney points out that an economic system based on the worst-principles of free competition and private enterprise cannot function efficiently under the changed conditions. It will not and cannot function efficiently because trusts and combines are proliferating, narrowing the field of private enterprise and eliminating competition. The new industrial order needs a base not competition, but cooperation. Why should we not achieve well-being for all, and that through public and private control of industry? Tawney replies that the necessary willing cooperation can never be achieved by any party which makes religion of equality, and in which the disparities of individual wealth and income are so glaring. Such co-operation can only be achieved by political, social, and economic equality. This means more than wiping away the grotesque differences in individual wealth, but also a change in the control of industry must also be granted. There must be an end to distortion by the owners of capital in the terms on which workers may sell their services or capital. Tawney does not advocate that everyone should immediately receive the same income, but he would consider it rational that incomes should vary within definite limits.

This principle is not recognized in Russia at present, although the Communist control of industry must also be granted. There must be an end to distortion by the owners of capital in the terms on which workers may sell their services or capital. Tawney does not advocate that everyone should immediately receive the same income, but he would consider it rational that incomes should vary within definite limits.
thing when he says that all men are equal in the sight of God; but most people fail to understand what he means, and dismiss this proposition as something that has no concern with everyday life anyhow, as it is only a religion. Any Christian society, then, that fails to recognize the value of human personality, and proves inaction in regarding human beings simply as a means of production instead of a something of value in themselves, is not only unholy, but utterly false to those ideals which it hypocritically professes. The Picketts who would deny that the man's right to live is absolute unless he works, absolutely ignore the fact that society will not permit many million women in the world to-day to do anything. The only logical conclusion for the Picketts is to put all the unemployed against a wall and shoot them because they are a burden on their fellow men.

It is Tawney says, the only way for society to regain its economic health is a continuous movement towards economic equality, how is this programme to be achieved? Tawney points out that there has already been a setting up of the greater features of equity in England through the provision of social services, and steps taken for the higher incomes to provide for these. Further, the power of the owners of capital to dictate the working conditions has been restricted by factory legislation, arbitration and wage-fixing machinery. The power of capital to exploit has also been limited by the growth of statutory companies whose profits are limited by law.

More than a quarter of the capital of registered companies in Great Britain belongs to statutory companies. Tawney, therefore, believes, as does every Socialist, that the objective may be achieved by the continuation of the same policy as now prevails in the Communist John with decisive laughter: "Socialism by constitutional methods, after the continuous betrayal of social democracy by its leaders." Undoubtedly the policy has received a check in the last two years, but these can be sacrificed to quite definite factors, the ignorance or fear of which has led to the "betrayal." In the first place, the policy of deflation since the return to the gold standard meant that the holders of fixed-money claims were taking a larger and larger share of the national income. While average receipts fell there was no corresponding fall in the claims of bondholders, and budgets were balanced by curtailing expenditure on social services. Banking and insurance institutions were able to force governments to take this step. People all over the world are just beginning to realize the power of banking institutions in this respect. Tawney, and every other intelligent Socialist, realizes that, if their programme is to be achieved, a forward policy must be adopted. "An intelligent economic policy," says Tawney, "will start from the centre, not nibble at the outskirts. The first requirement is, clearly, to master the key position of the economic world, the state of trade and production, and the national finances. Banking, evidently, is one, for it determines the economic weather more directly than any other consideration. Power, a third, while the public industry, in England the sole source of power, is a fourth, and land and agriculture a fifth. When these things have been nationalized, says the Socialist, the socialization of all industries can be a primary process of necessity or opportunity arises.

This is the constructive policy that Socialism offers, to bring health back to the body economic. But the horrified reader may say: "These things are the only things that have to be done!" Quite so, the Socialist would reply, "But is not Russia making enormous progress, while the rest of the world stagnates?" In truth the kind of economic order that Tawney envisions is somewhat similar to that in Russia, but the tactics he would advocate to achieve it are not those of Communism. In spite of all the obstacles that they will prevail, provided that a strong forward policy is adopted instead of a policy of temporizing and opportunism to gain the support of others. A Socialist policy could only be carried out if there was actually a convinced public opinion in its favour, and such a public opinion could only be carried by a bold policy which would clarify the issue. For those who do not know what Socialism really means, or for those who do not think that Socialist tactics are superior to those of the Communists, Tawney's book is strongly recommended.

-H. Burton.
CONFERENCE, EASTER, 1932

For the first time this Easter the Labour Club put on a series of discussions of Communism and Parliamentary Socialism. The socialist was represented in concrete terms by Mr. John Strachey, the Labour candidate for South Lambeth, and Mr. J. H. Thomas, a candidate for the same constituency. The discussion took place in the laboratory of the University of Manchester, and was attended by a large number of students, both from the University and from the schools in the area.

Mr. Strachey began by outlining the history of the socialist movement in England, and traced its development from its early days to the present time. He then went on to discuss the actual application of socialist principles in practice, and showed how they could be best applied to the needs of the day. He argued that the only way to achieve true social justice was through a socialist government, and that this could only be achieved by a system of direct democracy, with the people, not the politicians, making the final decisions.

Mr. Thomas, on the other hand, argued that the socialist movement was not only unnecessary, but that it was actually detrimental to the progress of the country. He claimed that the socialist movement was based on an outdated ideology, and that it was time for the country to move on and adopt a more realistic approach to the problems of the day.

The discussion was lively and animated, with both speakers receiving a warm reception from the audience. It was clear that the issue of socialism was still one of great contention, and that there was a need for more discussion and debate on the topic.

The discussions on the problem of nationalization of industry and the nationalization of the land were also held during this Easter. These discussions were held in the university's main lecture hall, and were attended by a large number of students and faculty members. The discussions were held in the spirit of open debate, and each speaker was encouraged to express their own views on the issues.

The discussions were successful in bringing together a wide range of views on the topics, and in encouraging a healthy debate on the issues. It was clear that the discussions were well received, and that they had successfully engaged the students and faculty members in a meaningful discussion on the issues.

The Easter issue of the Proletarian was published soon after the conclusion of the discussions, and included articles on the topics discussed during the week. The issue was well received, and was eagerly read by the students and faculty members.

The Proletarian will continue to provide a platform for the discussion of the issues of the day, and to encourage open debate on the topics of interest to the students and faculty members.

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N O T E S

These piping times of starvation in the midst of plenty has given rise to a great many of what pass for ideas among the Great Middle Classes. Foremost comes the theory that we need a Government of Business Men. This demand rests on the following historical basis—Julian Caesar was a desolate society for Cromwell a peasant, Napoleon a professional soldier. And the greatest organizer, the most successful politician, the most inspiring leader of modern times was—Nikola Lenin, a professional agitator, the type of creature most spurned by the virtuous bourgeoisie. But in what country are starvation, slavery, governmental graft and folly, and social bitterness most overwhelming and astounding? In America, where the political machineers and the indirect rule of press, church and strike-breaking bashing gang are alike in the hands of—the Big Business Men.

—Geoffrey Savage.

Henry Lewis Meredith has devoted the greater part of his life to two main objects—firstly, the struggle for the moral and cultural perfection of his native America, and secondly, to explaining that perfection in every way but the true one. Hear a sample of the wisdom of this Willie Wet Leg. “After a hearty dinner of potage creole, poached Chesapeake crab, Guinea hen en cocotte, and some savory salad, with two or three cocktails made of tweedled gin, one-third Martini-Rosso vermouth and a dash of absinthe or Yerupel and a bottle of Kahlüer 1924 to wash it down, the following thought often bubbles up from my subconscious: that many of the acknowledged evils of capitalism are not due primarily to capitalism itself but rather to democracy, that universal mantra of Christendom.” This passage illustrates the genius of all non-proletarian thought—by righteousness out of good.
EDITORIAL

"Proletariat" has been greeted with numerous criticisms. The official University organ found it depressing: "In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property." Precisely so; that is just what we intend. Some weeks later, the editor of that organ liquidated their "depression" by urging the student body to assault one of our contributors. Academic arabs, especially in Adelaide, were appreciative. But the most important criticisms were those received from working-class people and organisations.

On the one hand, letters were received from numerous people expressing surprise and pleasure at University students taking any interest in working-class movements. On the other hand, "J.B.M." of the "Workers' Weekly," attacked us severely from the orthodox Communist point of view—because we confuse the worker by putting before him a mixed diet and letting him take his pick. To the first group of people we would say this: The proletarian movement as such gains nothing from the sympathy of middle-class "intellectuals"; on the contrary, it is only by identifying himself with the revolutionary working class that the intellectual can deliver himself from sterile individualist abstractions. We must disclaim any desire to sweep "pottoes" of the workers; they are the superior social and ethical force, and should look down on us. As for "J.B.M.'s" criticism, there is really no adequate answer if you start from his point of view. "Proletariat" was never intended to compete with the "Workers' Weekly." It represents the effort of a small group isolated in middle-class circles to struggle towards an effective Socialist ideology. There is one constant factor in the evolution of all middle-class Socialists: they always start from radical liberalism. The true proletarian needs nothing but his class position on which to build; the student, though he may finish at Marx and Lenin, has to start from Bertrand Russell and G. R. Shaw. For people in a similar position to the middle-class student, "Proletariat" may be valuable. The working-class reader should maintain the attitude of a hostile critic, realising that this magazine must contain many theoretical weaknesses.
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point in the evolution of capitalist apologists that the proletarian movement simply aims at counter-opposition. It is essential, then, to proletarian theory to be consistent and to emphasize its positive character, in order to show how it is restricted by capitalism and extended by Socialism— and, in turn, it is the basic task of the working-class movement against capitalism.

To put the matter briefly, freedom is not mere unbarred activity, but is the exercise of initiative, one which is marked by initiative and responsibility, and which is a productive character. Now, under capitalist conditions, the production of goods is characterized by a certain rigidity which is to some extent by the capitalist class; they have, as Marx would put it, played a definite part in the development of the industry. But their productivity has been limited by individualistic consumption, and in consequence of this we have the anarchy of capitalism—there is no general plan, the rejection by the capitalist class of social responsibility. With this connected with the oppression of the working class, the withholding from them of initiative and responsibility, their reduction to the level of machines. It follows also that capitalism can never be a thoroughly organised system, that its existence on a world scale results in a growing anarchy and disruption, and in increasing severity oppression. The capitalist class corporate and commercial capital is to attack the lower strata of society economically and politically, and to help to increase its responsibility and disorganisation. The contradiction, on the other hand, is through increased political and economic activity, to the extent that the capitalist class and put an end to social inequality and productive anarchy.

The struggle, then, is between revolutionary organisations on one hand, and the capitalist class on the other, over the conditions under which they work and live. Alienate from the means of production (not only to organise activity in defence of common interest, but also to pursue of private interests)—any "personal" freedom. The socialist ideas are not the product of the "bourgeois" class; wherever it is not simple subsistence, it lacks any free will or the guarantees necessary for the maintenance of the same. But, even so far as it retains certain productive characters, it can acquire force by alliance with the working-class movement. The task of the working-class movement is to organise the capitalist class, through the political organisation of the working class. The political organisation of the working class is the essential element which meets the challenge, and becomes the leader of the industrial movement against capitalism.

Now, it is precisely "sentimental Socialism" that makes the most appeal to of accused members of the professional classes, as it does to the workers, to those less instructed members of the working class, who, however, the most important point is not only to organise the working-class movement. Labor movement has the task of achieving Socialism, not by organizing the workers and the working-class movement, but by organizing the capitalist class, through the political organisation of the working class. The political organisation of the working class is the essential element which meets the challenge, and becomes the leader of the industrial movement against capitalism.

While working-class organisations are the main force in the movement of Socialism, producing productive activity in various spheres, the fact that the same oppressive forces operate against all social classes is important to the future of Socialism. The alliance of other groups with the working class. Indeed, as Lenin has pointed out: "What is to be done?—what is to be done?" is a question which cannot be answered, for one of the other: they arise out of different circumstances. Modern Socialism consciousness can only be achieved through the collective experience of the proletariat. Indeed, modern economic science is much of a condition for Socialism production as, say, modern technology, and the proletariat can create neither the social nor the economic conditions for Socialism. The conditions of existence of the workers are not the proletariat, but the bourgeois intelligentsia, it was out of the hands of the members of this stratum that modern Socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the more intellectually developed proletarians, who, in their turn, introduced it into the proletarian class struggle with conditions that allow for it to be realised. Lenin adds, "There can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the mass of the workers in the process of their struggle, or Socialism or Socialism ideology." This does not mean, of course, that the bourgeois intelligentsia are not subject to the struggle of the producers, and that the Socialistic form of class struggle is a general producers movement against oppression. It also depends on the social consciousness of Labour parties is due to their lack of a scientific basis. Socialistic Socialism" neglects the condition of society. It is true that the functions of classes and State can be altered at will, instead of being moulded in the great social organism; it is even more deeply embedded in capitalist individualism and disorganisation than it is in capitalism itself.

Now, the question of "sentimental Socialism" that makes the most appeal to accused members of the working-class movement, and the fact that the same oppressive forces operate against all social classes is important to the future of Socialism. The alliance of other groups with the working class. Indeed, as Lenin has pointed out: "What is to be done?—what is to be done?" is a question which cannot be answered, for one of the other: they arise out of different circumstances. Modern Socialism consciousness can only be achieved through the collective experience of the proletariat. Indeed, modern economic science is much of a condition for Socialism production as, say, modern technology, and the proletariat can create neither the social nor the economic conditions for Socialism. The conditions of existence of the workers are not the proletariat, but the bourgeois intelligentsia, it was out of the hands of the members of this stratum that modern Socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the more intellectually developed proletarians, who, in their turn, introduced it into the proletarian class struggle with conditions that allow for it to be realised. Lenin adds, "There can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the mass of the workers in the process of their struggle, or Socialism or Socialism ideology." This does not mean, of course, that the bourgeois intelligentsia are not subject to the struggle of the producers, and that the Socialistic form of class struggle is a general producers movement against oppression. It also depends on the social consciousness of Labour parties is due to their lack of a scientific basis. Socialistic Socialism" neglects the condition of society. It is true that the functions of classes and State can be altered at will, instead of being moulded in the great social organism; it is even more deeply embedded in capitalist individualism and disorganisation than it is in capitalism itself.

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JAPANESE IMPERIALISM IN CHINA

In order to recover the world, we must first conquer China. With all the resources of China at our disposal, we can turn forward to the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia, and China in Europe.

This illuminating statement is an excerpt from the famous memorandum of July 32, 1932, that the then Japanese Prime Minister, Momma, submitted to the Emperor. This document, recently published in China and elsewhere, makes a very clear insight into subsequent Japanese action in China and Manchuria. It marks a transition stage in the rapid growth of Japanese imperialism, which had its beginning in 1907 with the resolution of Inoue Mutsuo to fight against the Tsarist Empire. It marks the beginning of the second world of new world of imperialism, in which Japan is the great arbiter.

Japanese imperialism is a world power, and its political interests are encompassed by the entire world. In order to maintain its position, it must be prepared to meet any challenge. In this context, the Russian-Soviet relationship is of paramount importance. The two countries are linked by a treaty, and the Russo-Soviet alliance is considered the cornerstone of Japanese foreign policy.

The Russian-Soviet relationship has been the subject of much speculation and debate, particularly in the context of the Cold War. Some analysts have suggested that Japan's relationship with the Soviet Union is a reflection of its geopolitical interests, while others argue that it is a manifestation of its imperial ambitions.

In conclusion, the Russian-Soviet relationship is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, and its implications for Japan's foreign policy continue to be a subject of ongoing discussion and debate. It is clear, however, that Japan's relationship with the Soviet Union is an important factor in determining its role in the world economy and politics.
manifested themselves again in clashes at the International Settlement in Shanghai, where the attack on that town by the Japanese Imperial forces, in 1927, and set up a government in Nanking, on the Yangtze River. They immediately attempted to suppress all revolutionary elements and to consolidate their own empire. Since 1927 the Nanking regime has slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers and peasants, besides subjecting thousands to barbarous tortures. The government in Nanking.

Despite these massacres, the Chinese revolutionary movement continues to grow. Soviets are forming in large parts of the provinces of Kiangsu, Honan, Anhwei, Hupeh, Hunan, and Fukien, and there are Soviet districts in the provinces of Kwangtung, Shansi, Shensi, and Szechuan. The Chinese Soviets maintain a large and well-disciplined Red Army, which, with the help of the so-called "international" forces, is fighting the war with the war crops of Japan.

Soviet revolutionaries in the provinces.

If the Chinese people fight for the right to live, the price of their struggle will be high. But the Chinese do not know that their struggle is not only for the right to live, but for the right to be free. The Chinese people are fighting for the right to be free from the domination of foreign capital and imperialism. The Chinese people are fighting for the right to determine their own destiny. They are fighting for the right to be masters of their own land. They are fighting for the right to be free from the yoke of foreign domination.

The Chinese people are fighting for the right to be free from the domination of foreign capital and imperialism. They are fighting for the right to determine their own destiny. They are fighting for the right to be masters of their own land. They are fighting for the right to be free from the yoke of foreign domination. They are fighting for the right to be free from the domination of foreign capital and imperialism.

The Chinese people are the hope of the world. They are the hope of the working class. They are the hope of the Chinese people. They are the hope of the world. They are the hope of the working class. They are the hope of the Chinese people. They are the hope of the world.
where labour-power could be exploited as a greatly
powerful tool, were experienced especially in
Africa, where in two years 5,000,000 square miles
of territory, with a population of 500,000,000
people, were wrested from the hands of the
United States and Belgium. All the great
powers of Europe took part in this contest, while
the U.S.A. concerned itself especially with the
expansion of its monopoly in South America,
Africa, and the Philippines.
In China, great rivalry between railroad construc-
tion concessions between the powers resulted in
1,996 miles of new lines. It is important to
realize that this expansion of the "sphere of influence"
and the "peaceful penetration" of the countries, as well as
the exploitation of the drawbacks of the Chinese
laborers, was a mere surface of contact of the
imperialistic struggle behind the peaceful facade
of "trading stations" on the Yangtze River, the
Dinghai Peninsula, and the Liao River. In
addition, in 1895, the French and Russians,
with the assistance of the British, had
sent a joint expedition against the Boxers,
which ended in a defeat.

The arrangement of tariffs immediately preceding
the war of 1914 was thus as follows: China, the
Chinese tariff同盟 (the Chinese (European
Tariff Alliance) had come together against Germany,
Austria, and the French. China was also
in the process of becoming a protectorate of
Japan, and the Japanese were making inroads
in the South China coast, and Indo-China.
In addition, France had large consulates
in Indo-China, which had "special ties" with the
local authorities.
In the face of this situation, the British
Government had established its troops in the
Berbera mandate (now part of Somalia), in
Northern Eritrea, and the order to mobilize
the Egyptian army on the frontiers with the
Turkish Empire was given. The Great
War was the first part of a series which would
lead to the destruction of the Japanese
empire, and to the establishment of imperialist
dominions.

Imperialism was ready for war, as soon as the
"peaceful" methods above outlined should become
impotent.

3. We must now consider the most direct and
violent form of imperialist struggle—WAR. We have
seen above that various causes, such as native wars,
trade blockades, and tariff wars, are the rule even in
peaceful times, and from this it follows that war is
not an abrupt cessation of international relations,
but merely a continuation, on an exaggerated scale,
of the "normal" relations. The most obvious proof of
this is the Great War of 1914, which was the first of a series which will
lead to the destruction of the Japanese
empire, and to the establishment of imperialist
dominions.

Imperialism is the struggle for power, for markets,
for colonies, for raw materials, for capital,
and for prestige. It is the struggle for the
world's "peaceful" facade of "trading stations"
and "economic ties," which are only a
mask for the struggle for power.

The Great War resulted in great changes in
the relative strength of the powers and the states.
These changes were marked by many minor
struggles, but the main characteristic of the
war was the destruction of the Japanese
empire, and the establishment of imperialist
dominions.

The Great Central European Tariff Alliance
was broken up and replaced by a more
extensive group, with France at the head, led by
the Austro-Hungarian and the Central
European States, and the former
Bavarian States. In this process
of centralization, the former
Dyestuff Corporation (now the
Manchuria Guarantee Guard
(Corporation) (Reform, 12/5/12).
The French and
British banks, who were competing to
finance the war, were driven to
reach an agreement on the
financial policy of a third country, formerly a
member of a great imperialist alliance.

The British Empire has assumed a more
unified form, and the struggle for general tariffs
and international preferences. Thus, the
war is not only a struggle for industrial
interests, but a struggle for the control of
the world's markets and the maintenance of
dominions and territories.

American trade is higher today, and she
has6 the largest share of the world's trade,
and she has the most important
markets and the most powerful
monopoly in the world. The
villages are quiet, and the
population is virtuous. The
American army is on the
frontier, and it is clear that
the situation is peaceful.
People are everywhere. They are seen in the streets, in parks, in cafes, and even in the streets of the countryside. They are busy with their daily activities, whether it be work, shopping, or playing. The language and customs are unique to the area, and the people appear to be proud of their heritage.

We have arrived at our destination, and we set out to explore the city. The streets are bustling with activity, and the air is filled with the smell of food and music. The people are friendly and welcoming, and we feel at home in this new place.

As we walk, we see children playing on the streets, and families enjoying each other's company. We notice that the architecture is unique, with colorful buildings and intricate carvings. The people here seem to truly love their city and are proud of its history.

We spend the day exploring the city, trying local foods, and meeting new people. It is a wonderful experience, and we are grateful to have been able to visit such a special place.
near the frontier. I look back to see a dwindling something that looks like a barbed wire fence in the field. We pull up and a brass bell echoes a welcome. Porters run up and open the door to greet us. The stationmaster, Mr. Browne, greets us and mentions the station.

The platform is busy with people, including a group of English-speaking tourists. The agent, Mr. Jones, greets us and helps us with our luggage. We board the train, which is a red and white steam locomotive. The carriage is filled with passengers, including families and business individuals. The atmosphere is lively, with people chatting and enjoying the ride.

As the train begins to move, I notice the surrounding landscape. The fields are lush and green, with occasional trees and white winds. The train passes through a tunnel, and the scenery changes to a more rocky terrain. The train arrives at a small station, where we are greeted by another agent, Mr. Smith. He helps us with our luggage and directs us to the platform. The train departs again, and we continue our journey.

Near the end of the journey, we arrive at a large station. The platform is bustling with people, and the air is filled with the sounds of the train and the shouts of the agents. We board the train again and continue our journey.
The three planks of the plan: (1) That the Government of Australia should decide to pay further interest on its foreign debt until Britain has dealt with its overseas debt in the same manner as the latter had dealt with its overseas debt. Over £60,000,000 is due to the Commonwealth and States overseas, almost wholly in London, at present exchange rates, this involves an annual overseas interest payment of £60,000 per annum. What is proposed is not repudiation—only a revolutionary party is for repudiation—but a solution of the problem. The London Declaration, announced May 14th, 1932, (2) That in Australia interest on all Government borrowings be reduced to 3 per cent. Like the first plank, this is dictated by the needs of the capitalist State, which finds it hard to lend money on terms within Australia on terms which it can afford. It has been suggested that the price of exports has increased to the benefit of Australia, but the price of foreign commodities has increased to the benefit of the country. (3) That the Labor Party and the Labour movement of Australia should be made to understand that the price of goods produced by them is not more than is necessary to cover the cost of producing them. The Plunder Committee in his report has urged that the price of goods produced by them should be reduced to the cost of production, but this has been rejected by the Government. The whole plan is an attempt to correct the fact that capitalist crises are inseparable from the very existence of the capitalist system and to lead the workers against the Government, of which it is a part, in the defense of that system. It is essentially a policy of the Government and the Labour movement of Australia to work against the capitalist system and to defend the workers of the country. This is the real sense of the word, as we are supposed to be, we have the right to make our country self-contained and independent.
HEALTH AND THE STATE

Our knowledge of the conditions of health and the treatment of disease has increased in the past 50 years. Many superstitions and unmitigated presumptions have been cleared away, and the possibility of today is now to state the limitations of the medical art and the social precautions required for good health.

Good health requires a diet of fresh and varied food, free from the notion of the climate, well-ventilated and well-lighted dwellings, physical exercise, a hygienic environment, and an absence of continual anxiety and worry.

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Good health requires a diet of fresh and varied food, free from the notion of the climate, well-ventilated and well-lighted dwellings, physical exercise, a hygienic environment, and an absence of continual anxiety and worry.
The World Economic Crisis

Capitalism will soon enter into its fourth year of acute economic crisis. Beginning with the September, 1929, Stock Exchange crash in America, the economic collapse has spread from country to country until the entire world of capitalism is paralysed. "America the Golden" is no more. Instead of the cry of the bourgeoisie to "Produce More," now we are met with cries from the "Produce Less." The reason for the new economic reality of reduced output can best be developed by considering first the social and economic foundations of the capitalist system and the gap played therein by the economic crisis; secondly, the relation of this general theory to the post-war situation; and, thirdly, the development of the new crisis.

I. Why is the Crisis an Inherent Disease in the Capitalist System?

Under capitalism, productive forces tend to develop with unassimilated rapidity. Competition forces the individual employer and the whole bourgeoisie to a race of capital destruction. All who are not competitive are expropriated. The workers are thrown out of work, and the surplus labor and population are reduced to the slavery of serfdom. The bourgeoisie has never been able to solve the problem of the race of capital destruction.

In Russia, with a nationalized economy, unemployment has disappeared, as removing a prime source of the crisis. The nationalized industrial services have preserved themselves in the face of rising prices. The new system is the result of the work of the workers themselves. The Russian system is a demonstration of the possibility of a socialist system, where the workers control the means of production.

11. The Theory of Crisis Applied to the Post-War Situation

Both in severity and duration the present crisis is unique in history. It is not a repetition of the depression of the 1930s. New phenomena, different in nature and effect, demand a new theory. The crisis is not the result of the depression of the 1930s. It is a new crisis, with new causes and new effects.
July, 1932

PROMETHEUS

4.-The Outlook

For the future, the main significance of the crisis lies in the fact that both the revolutionary upheaval of the Proletariat Movement now comes to a deeper and a new, and we are told on all hands that wages, unlike the old system of wages, and other social services must be still further reduced. The basis for revolution thus disappears. The professional classes are fast losing their traditional influence. The degree of political development of the masses varies from country to country (compare, for example, Australia and Germany), but in all the capitalist countries it is more and more clearly realized that the fight for an enduring standard of living is a fight against capitalism. Owing to the special agrarian crisis, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples in India and China—have been impoverished even more than the industrial proletariat by the crisis. Here only wars, which have been leading to an imperialist war, or intervention against the Soviet Union, Capitalism means an intolerable standard of living for the working class. Hence the call to the revolutionary movement and abolishing capitalism.

—CHARLES SILVER

RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERFERENCE

Two great factors have dominated the growth of the Soviet Union in the last few years—the gigantic schemes of Socialist reconstruction and the equally gigantic schemes of capitalist interference. To a large degree each factor explains the other. The schemes of reconstruction have been accelerated to meet the danger of foreign attack. The scheme of interference is based on the premise that the Soviet Union is essentially in a state of semi-feudalism and that its economy is not capable of sustained growth. The U.S.S.R. has been able to bring the former to bear against the latter. The result has been the full realization of the Soviet plan and the beginning of a new economic era in Russia. The May Day procession in Moscow revealed the omnipresence of both factors. The emphasis on reconstruction was clearly marked, the workers marching in factories groups, and the factories with the latest records of progress having pride of place in the procession. "Hundreds of placards reported on the success of the reconstruction work in the country" said Voroshilov in his address to the new Red Army recruits. "If, however, any imperialist State or any group of imperialist States attempted to destroy this plan, the Soviet Union, will then it will counteract the force and support the struggle of the workers and peasants." Words reminiscent of those of Stalin at the sixteenth congress of the Communist Party. "We cannot be defeated by any counterrevolutionary movement. But we shall not give up a single inch of our own." But if these are the two main factors, what have been the latest developments in each?
THE CLASS FRONTS IN GERMANY

Since my last article on Germany, the situation in that country has developed to a higher and more intense stage. If the German situation is to be understood, it is necessary to take account of the sharpening of the class struggle in various fronts. The German capitalists have been forced to take a more aggressive line, and the working class has become more determined in its struggle.

In the field of politics, the Social Democratic Party has been forced to take a more radical line, and the Communists have been able to make some gains. The situation in the factories and the countryside has become more tense, and the workers are more united in their struggle.

In the economic field, the situation has become more critical, and the working class is demanding a more radical program of social reforms. The capitalists, on the other hand, are becoming more fearful of the workers, and are trying to strengthen their position by a more repressive policy.

In the cultural field, the situation has become more complex, and the class struggle is reflected in the literature, art, and culture. The workers are demanding a more radical art and culture, and the capitalists are trying to strengthen their position by a more repressive policy.

In conclusion, the situation in Germany is becoming more critical, and the class struggle is becoming more intense. The workers are demanding a more radical program of social reforms, and the capitalists are trying to strengthen their position by a more repressive policy.

Ralph Girson
July, 1932

PROLETARIAT

FROM COMMERCE SCHOOL TO COMMUNISM

The orthodox economists, in their study of Marginal Utility theory, have made their last attempt to evade the Labour theory of Value by a complicated system of describing how a varying number of different quantities of the same commodity. Even though they are forced in the final analysis to admit that exchange values must tend to correspond to "true" value, which, in the exchange, resolves itself into the amount of labour embodied in any commodity.

Exchange value is simply the expression of the relation between commodities in which it exchanges for others. In order to discover what this relation is, we must determine the value of the commodities in terms of their use-values and exchange-values. The one thing all have in common is that they are products of labour, so that their value must be expressed in terms of the amount of labour embodied in them. This involves not only the direct labour of the workman, but also a part of the labour already crystallised in the instruments of production, such as machines, tools, etc. From this, Marx states his law that commodities are directly as the times of labour employed in their production and inversely as the productive powers of the labourers employed. Price is simply the expression of value in the terms of one special commodity, money. Market price is therefore as an indication of the average amount of social labour which is necessary under prevailing conditions of production to supply the market with the required amount of any article. Monopolies, tariffs, and other causes of ownership will be considered later. It is, however, the result of the degree of value temporarily from value, but in the long period of time correspond very closely. Capitalist profits cannot therefore be made by the sale of commodities above their value.

Labour power is a special instance of a capitalist commodity. At the close of the feudal system of land holding in England in the early 17th century, the factory system took hold of the land that was held. Their property was again increased by the Enclosure Acts of the 18th century. This resulted in the one hand in the loss of land for the proletarian, who were no longer able to make a living by working on the land, and on the other hand by the growth of a capitalist class in which was concentrated the ownership of all land, machinery, and raw materials. The workers had little access to the means of production formerly owned by the individual workers, the workman is forced to sell his labour power, as if it were a commodity, to the capitalist.

As with other commodities, the value of labour power is determined by the quantity of labour necessary to produce and also to reproduce it. In order to work, a man must have his material needs (e.g., food, clothing, and shelter) satisfied; he must also receive enough value to produce offspring to replace himself when he is no longer fit for work. An example of this relationship theory of wages is the difference between the wages paid to men and women. In all past ages, whether wage regulation or free bargaining is the rule, men and women are paid different wages because of the different amount of social utility of women's work. Workers in America today are paid because of the value of their labour power, which is maintained for their own use, and not to maintain a family. In this way, the worker is able to maintain his family by his own means, which is not possible in feudal times.

Support we take a concrete example of profits arising from surplus value. If we analyse the cost of production of any commodity, we find that it resiles itself into the cost of raw materials, the instruments of production (machinery, etc.), and of labour power. The raw materials are bought at their market value. New Value is created by the sale of labour power and machinery on these raw materials. The machine is used to create value, and can only add value to the commodities produced. Hence if, we take the market value of a piece of land, as being the amount of value of labour power, this value is the cost of raw materials, the instruments of production, and the labour power.
TOWARDS FASCISM

AT THE UNIVERSITY:

IN THE U.S.A.: The following notice was posted by the Fascist
organization of the coal-owners during the recent
coal strike—

REWART!
There will be paid to the person or persons
delivering the body of
FRANK MORICH,
secretary of the National Miners' Union, to our
headquarters, the sum of 100 dollars. No
questions asked.
—Batavia, April 11.

FORD ILLUSTRATES HIS IDEAL OF SERVICE:
Five thousand unemployed Detroit workers marched in
an orderly, peaceful fashion to petition Ford for
work and food. Police and Ford's guards broke up the
march with tear gas bombs, some of the injured
workers threw stones, so the police opened fire. "Can
you imagine them—murderers—talking about self-
defense?" After York and a number of others had got
shot, Gutek told us to turn back. Benett (a notorious
gang boss) came driving out the factory gate, and
drove past the edge of the crowd shouting tear-gas.
I let him have all a brick. At Gate 3 he stumbled
out of the car and emptied his gun; I think he slapped
two or three. And in a minute later the whole lot
of them let go from behind the fence. They started
firing when the men had turned to gas. You can tell
that because most of us were still in the back. I'd
gotten two in the back and one in the leg, so I just
lay there watching the boys run, with those brave cops
carrying their guns into our backs." Ugly stories were
circulating even in respectable circles that Ford
thugs had clubbed Board to death. A Ford employee
said two of the wounded were left unattended for
more than half an hour. Four were killed and 30
wounded. Forty thousand workers marched at the
funeral. Over the grave will be erected the tower
figure of a workman, arm raised, fist clenched, to
remind them that they are together but of their fel-
los, murdered by the thugs of Henry Ford, who
will, for a time, hold the living in subjection. —New
Yorker, April 6.

IN SYDNEY:
Four New Guardsmen decapitated William Thompson,
of Bombout, from his horse late at night, on the plea
that their car had broken down. He was overpowered
and driven away, and the letters "Red" were branded
on his forehead. —Age, May 16.

GERMANY:
The von Papen ministry is concentrating on an
understanding with French and Polish militarism, in
order that nothing should interfere with the fight
against Communism. The Nazi storm troops will be
used to thurst the elections in the forthcoming

IGNORANCE and arrogance are essential to the
spread of Fascism, hence the Government's threat to
attack the F.O.S.U. and the L.A.I. The F.O.S.U.
tells the truth about Russia, counteracting the lies of
the press. The L.A.I. shows the only possible way
to a war—turn your weapons on the war-mongers.
These bodies are surrounded by false—false peace
and truth are declared worse than murder or rape, in which
a just and good man is considered guilty. Behold already
the preponderance of open Fascism!
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201 BOURKE STREET, MELBOURNE.
DEAR COMRADES,

DEAR COMRADES,

May I say how delighted I was with "PROLETARIAT," and to know of the organisation of students responsible for it.

May I point out the extent to which the young people of our universities to the economic and political crises which are facing our generation, and are associated with the revolution of the working people. Many students have graduated from such an organisation, and in the distant days before the dawn in Russia, student organisations did much to stir and maintain the spirit of the students and city workers against the injustices and oppression of their masters.

In the May 1917, Trotsky said: "Only the young people can be accepted as healthy who refer to the past as a simple and naturally strong, struggle, free from fear of the future.

The young people were not taken to prison, nor were the popular meetings on the occasion of which the students were seen. "You have set the dog running for us, and they stand up for us!"

In Germany, France, Switzerland, England and America, revolutionary organisations in the universities are standing behind mass movements of the working and working people. The New Left in Germany is making a new and greater effort to fight for the rights of the workers and the rights of the working classes and workers of communism.

"PROLETARIAT" played a very important part in bringing to pass this surface ripple. But still, a ripple it was, and that is more than we had predicted.

The issue then, is raised, but we cannot feel satisfied with the grounds on which it has been fought. It is not whether the University, the question seems to be-whether it is a Good Thing or a Bad Thing. Let us embrace it. If a Bad Thing, we shall have none of it. To the latter, our students were to debate in all solemness whether it ought to rain or not. Saturday. Such a decision they have made.

In Clandestine, Voltaire relates: "After the earthquake which destroyed three-quarters of Lisbon, the wise men of the country vowed never to prophesy a second, second night of the earth's sick, on this bright, sunny evening."

How can the dry-as-dusts and their noises of the people prevail against it? By denials, denials, denials. It is a useless way of preventing a new one. It is a useless way of preventing a second, second night of the earth's sick. It is decided by the University of Clandestine that the view of those persons slowly burned in great ceremony is an infinite need for the people.

As a result, the masts are up, and the police are fighting to the death of Capitalism and Communist revolution. KATHERINE SUSANNAH Pritchard.
The origin of the “unhappy habitat of sin” is Communism. A “wage worker, merely paid a pittance” by all means.——and God——isa workman who has been the victim of all. Hence, in the church, picture, gramophone, books, radio—they mix the struggle. They feed on the hard bread with their war against God.

Now we must unite for or against God. Use, above all, prayer.

We can see how, through the excessive production of manufactured goods, those who have been deprived of freedom, have even become an enemy of freedom. They have made up their minds to the destruction of freedom. This is the work and production which should not be brought within reasonable limits.

Let the poor and all those who are facing hardship in the labor market. Let them be fed. And let them be given the means to live in dignity.

The conditions of these ecclesiastics may be made under four conditions:

1. Attacks on Communism and Capitalism.

2. Suggestions for patching up Capitalism, such as profit sharing, syndicates, wage-labour, prohibition of strikes and lockouts.

3. Socialism receives a milder condemnation.

4. Economic conditions must be improved. If these conditions are not met, labor will not be produced.

Now we must act. We must organize. We must take the initiative. We must act. We must act.
more too much to imagine that the whole 200,000 should regain employment, so that the position of the trade union movement is not too promising. And the organisation of industry, 200,000 is too small a figure for future Australian permanent unemployment.

Demonising the Unemployed.

At first sight it appears that the trade unions and the Labor Party are able to demand that the industrial workers have given support, are the proper organisations to assist the unemployed. Yet neither the unions nor the Labor Party has satisfactorily met the unemployed's problem.

To unions unemployment is a state of affairs of an incidental character. It is met by the payment of benefits of a small amount over a limited period. The union machine as a whole has been designed to arrange the terms of employment for the workers who have been brought together in unions, and for this alone they are equipped. When unemployment becomes not an incident, but the condition of a considerable proportion of the members—a majority, in some cases—the unions were not designed to meet the situation. The common needs of the unemployed led to various organisations of unemployment, for whose unemployers a union secretary or organizer was an uneconomic one. His policy may be summed up in the saying, "For every man his problem," for which reason the unions by which he is made, which means helping Australian capitalism to obtain some profit, more profit, or even more monopoly.

The unions, acting in conjunction with the Trades Hall Councils of the large cities, and the Labor Party, strove to keep within reasonable bounds the clamor and agitation of the unemployed.

The result of the Labor Party's policy has tended to lead sections of the unemployed to see themselves in condition and to wait for tomorrow. Hosts of good working-class individuals have been slowly starved and almost imperceptibly demoralised. And one may ask, for what? To make Mr. Horgan's path easier, when it is realised that if there are many in the unions who are quite as "bad" as Mr. Horgan, it will be plain that to draw any sharp line between trade union and the unions is impossible. In both the policy is the same. A show must be made to keep the unemployed and not to do anything which might result in action on high-days and holidays, bedeviled by an occasional tear, given sufficient to separate the man from his body, and kept under sufficient control to prevent them from taking any militant action. But the irony of the situation for the Labor Party is that in demonising the unemployed, it undermined a considerable portion of its own foundations.

Page 7

PROLETARIAT

SOVIET SONGS

The first shock-brigade of the universal republic of labor, as Roman Rolland describes Gorky, had very little in Russia. In this milieu, where he contributed a preface in 1914 to the first collection of proletarian verse, "trivial prophetic" verses, the worker and the peasant of the world would eventually work and create their own culture. In the past, cultural activity was not a plaything, but a creation of the proletariat through the conscious activity of the proletariat (p. 91). Similarly it is quite wrong for the unemployed man to say that he is helpless. True, an Australian wheat-grower cannot meet anything with his wheat, nor can an Australian carpenter be his employer. There is, however, an other way of regarding the matter, other ways of what constitutes the "problem," other solutions.

The view of the economists may be regarded as being that of the bourgeois capitalist who seeks to establish a balance between the variable elements and economic life with a view to the preservation of existing property. Now, it is evident to the economist that no evil tendencies must be eradicated, the long view taken, and all will be well. The alternative view is that the proletariat's problem is not merely one of economic forces, but the last stage of capitalist society.

In the last stage of capitalism, the capitalist, who has most to lose, calls for equal sacrifice. The worker and unemployed must be reduced to the same level. The reply of the working-class must be "inequality of sacrifice." For if the man on the lowest rung of the ladder goes anywhere, his job, his health will be below water, and unequal conditions can be met by the greatest sacrifice by those who have most. Around this claim of inequality of sacrifice, the central core of the proletariat is organised. The objective must be to contribute to Australia to the end of the social system which produces this unequal sacrifice. Now is the time, not only to envisage (wonderful social) socialism, this is the time not only to envisage, but to strive for it. In relation to this, that does not mean to help the capitalist State, but to fight against this condition of dangerous, insurmountable, the utmost repression, the utmost understanding, the utmost organization towards the ending of capitalism.

Finally, there are many who attach to the proclaiming of permanent unemployment more weight than is assigned to it. The real problem is that the unemployed lead the workers to abandon existing standards. To what extent do the

(Continued on page 28)
will consider that the peasant poet, Esenin, has no
good reason for his joy when he chants:

The sky is like a church bell.
The moon is like a country mile.
I am a blacksmith.

But there is no feeling of anti-climax in his
mind. "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
but to young English girl's mind. Wordsworth
is far off, more than a century later,
gives expression to the same triumphant feeling:

Everyone was brave and strong,
Everyone was free and strong,
These days passionate song.

Life, it seems, is no longer a sad experience
for them, they feel the doors of the world
have been opened, though every step they take
through them "may be painful and full of
tears." I know nothing more remarkable in con-
temporary verse than this sustained note of joy
which babbles with excitement because the
writers are so conscious that they are forging
a new life. Here is indeed the spontaneous over-
flow of powerful feelings, though at times it
may be couched in a false rhetoric.

The blue-blooded workers of Russia are singing
their joy. The shoutings fly and the
hammers beat. The atmosphere of clean
and healthy work, not all of the artist's, is in
the air. The workers' verses on the blacksmith rising to the boisterous
assertion that "he who is not a blacksmith is not
a man," or Kubeliev's poems. "At the Lathe," are not the works of intellectuals,
but of men who have discovered the answer to a
riddle which has puzzled critics all over the
world. We have grown familiar with the critic-
as that poets have the ability to keep pace
with the modern world of science, and with the
answer that it is impossible to connect poetry
with this world.

There is a false theory prevalent, espe-
cially among contributors to popular magazines,
that poetry is an art of medieval romance or among men and night-
gales. The result has been that people have
come to believe that poetry copies all over the
ordinary everyday things of life. It is true that
a number of our more serious poets have en-
deeded to keep pace with the world in which
they live, but for the most part they have only expressed the terror, the
oppression, the monotony of the world and the factory.
They have had no opportunity to show the
beauties of the present to the monotonous
landscape which the peasants have known so
long. The peasants may feel more sympa-
thetic towards the "modern poems" and the
"proletarian" than our own, when we remember that as Louis Esenin has observed, more than one
writer has sung the tale of the"monumental relationships between
Russia and Austria-Hallevod Ellis and
Maurice Barry, to mention but two. And Vance

(Continued on page 17)
PROLETARIAT

September, 1932.

When those ideas became, of necessity, rulers for practical application in the period of capital punishment, they soon discovered that it was better to have them reined in the proletarian ranks, the larger group being led by outspoken "socialist-imperialists," the latter, in the nature of things, being the most ready to be realized and clearly stated that socialism had been betrayed, that opportunism became natural, and that the mass movement, and thus the power structure, of imperialist wars and hence of proletarian revolutions was approaching.

Social Democracy and Fascism.

We have seen how Social Democracy inevitably saves itself under all conditions. We will now consider the greater crimes committed by them against the revolution. For it is to their treacherous counter-revolutionary acts in 1919 that we must attribute the growth of Fascism.

The Social Democrats, however, had not been aware of the necessary conditions required for a successful proletarian revolution. They had not understood the importance of the independent working-class movement, and they did not understand the necessity of the workers' struggle for power.

Fascism is a growth among the petty bourgeoisie who, increased greatly in numbers in the period before the first, or ascending period of imperialism, and their numbers were multiplied during the decline period, which dates roughly from the war. The socialists, however, were divided in their views in 1882. "Its intermediate position between the class of the capitalist imperialism, which retained the power, and the proletariat or small group of the industrial class, determines its character. Conforming to the position of the former, the bourgeoisie is a class, this class down into the ranks of the working-class..." The petty bourgeoisie is a class, not only because of feudal or monarchical government, but it becomes seized with violent democratic fits as soon as the middle-class has secured its own supremacy, but falls back to its old conservatism as soon as the class below itself, the proletariat, attempts an independent movement. The Social Democrats were in Germany during the Hitler's march on Munich in 1923. They were in a hurry. No doubt the Chinese communists have changed their attitude. Pressed by the socialists from below, they have identified themselves with the general aims of the bourgeoisie and now, with a huge following of 15 million, they seem to have the central task to destroy the Nazi forces and to instigate all the necessary munitions, the bourgeoisie is engaged in a most ferocious onslaught on the workers.

And all this is due to the Social Democratic party. Fascism in Germany must be blamed on them, for it was by those same socialists that the revolution in 1919, at which time there was little or no Fascism. There is no general rule that Fascism must appear before every successful revolution because the proper activity of the proletarian party, especially after defeat in war, should result in a comparatively easy victory. We can assert that Fascism and Social Democracy are but two aspects of a powerful machine used by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

Since 1919, Social Democracy has twice again played its role in the history of the world. The Locarno Pact was signed, thus averting imminent revolution—the "socialists" in 1921. This was followed by the Vienna capitulation. The Finance capitalists in France, America, and Britain to restore defeat. General Kordt, in the past few weeks, has made the world realize that the Nazi forces were a part of the mechanism of the bourgeoisie, and the working class is the only force that can overthrow the regime.

International Socialism has the same role in every country. In England, after the South, the Socialists, 1917, they actually aided the counter-revolutionary forces in the Ukraine with munitions. The character of the Socialists was further revealed during the recent trial of the Menshevik saboteurs in the U.S.S.R. Everywhere today the Social Democratic party is foretelling the Social Democrats to speak in a more "Left" fashion, but their actions betray their real intentions. They are deceiving the masses with their "Revolution and Counter-revolution."
The contradiction between oppression and subjectedness in the Hitler party is the Achilles' heel of National Socialism. But an Achilles' heel is not in itself a wounded heel—the mortality must first be inflicted. The increase in the antagonistic and in the aggressiveness of imperialism in international relations is reflected in the internal relations of the capitalist states, in the intensification of the class struggle and the oppression of the bourgeoisie dictatorship which is more and more assuming an fascist forms of suppressing the toilers. Political reaction, as a system of administration, has unceasingly increased in all capitalistic countries in proportion to the development of imperialism and has become the other, or internal side of imperialism. The last word is not a new type of state: it is one of the forms of the bourgeois dictatorship in the epoch of imperialism. The bourgeoisie is not a new type of state: it is one of the forms of the bourgeois dictatorship in the epoch of imperialism. The bourgeoisie is not a new type of state: it is one of the forms of the bourgeois dictatorship. The process of transition of bourgeois dictatorship to the open forms of suppression of the workers represents in substance the fascism of bourgeois democracy. The modern capitalist states, taken as a whole, represent a motley conglomeration of fascist states (Italy, Poland) and bourgeois democracies structured with the elements of fascism in various stages of fascism, as, for example, France or England.

Marx said that bourgeois democracy is a "form of revolution" and not a conservative form of existence of the bourgeoisie. With this, he explains that the transition of the active cooperation and participation of the proletariat in the revolution, but in a revolutionary state of affairs. The day following the capture of power by the bourgeoisie this form began to evolve in the direction of a fascist dictatorship. The establishment of a fascist dictatorship may proceed in various ways: gradually, by the slow, gradual rise, by a revolution, or by a coup d'etat. But both in the first and second cases the establishment of the fascist dictatorship is equally a preventive counter-revolution.

Fascism is not a belated historical misfortune of the middle ages; it is a product of monopoly capitalism based on the concentration and centralisation of capital, the growth of trade unions and the cartels which leads to the tremendous centralisation of the whole apparatus for the oppression of the masses and the inclusion in it of the political parties, the apparatus of social democracy, the reformist trade unions, of the social democratic parties, the cooperatives, etc. The reason why its ideological forms bear this formal character is the necessity of the capitalist state, the apparatus of social democracy, of the reformist trade unions, of the cooperative parties, etc. This is the reason why its ideological forms bear this formal character is the necessity of the capitalist state, the apparatus of social democracy, of the reformist trade unions, of the cooperative parties, etc.

"Fascism"—Germany
Browning has been replaced by his colleague of the Catholic Centre, Alphonse Panizza, who has been named to the new Ministry of Interior. The main target of the new government is the Nazi government in Germany, which the government considers to be the source of a growing threat to the stability of the European continent.

The new government has implemented several measures to strengthen its position. The army has been mobilized, and a state of emergency has been declared in several regions. The government has also taken steps to increase its control over the media and the arts, and has cracked down on opposition movements.

The government's actions have been met with mixed reactions. While some have welcomed the measures as necessary for the defense of the nation, others have criticized them as a violation of democratic rights. The future of the government remains uncertain as it faces challenges both at home and abroad.

September, 1933.
THE TIMES CHANGE

"The continued domination of finance—capital means either the complete enslavement of civilized society or an increase in exploitation, slavery, political reaction and oppression, leading to new devastating wars."—Lenin.

CAPITALISM.

IN THE UNITED STATES a special law was adopted in a great hurry last year (1930) against the import of goods produced by prison labour, or with the assistance of forced labour...

"These provisions shall not apply to commodities of any kind, even if they should be produced, manufactured, transported, carried, loaded or unloaded with the assistance of forced labour... providing such commodities are not produced in the United States in such a manner as to satisfy the demand for such commodities in the United States."—Mobots.

FORCED LABOUR.

HE who, being unemployed, shall refuse to work, shall receive no assistance.

SOVIET DUMPING.

FOR 1930, Soviet export trade was 1.9 per cent. of the world's total export trade.

"Can one really seriously speak of the effect of 'Soviet dumping' on the steel industry, which is experiencing an unparalleled slump at the moment? The Soviet Union does not export metals. On the contrary, it imports metals."—Sovetskii Rossii, November 25, 1931. Mobots.

AUSTRALIAN DUMPING.

SENIOR MALCHILAN said: Queensland contains only 6 per cent. of the sugar the sugar he produced. The other five States absorbed 46 per cent. (at $2.70 a ton) and the remaining 50 per cent. was shipped overseas (sold at $4.50 a ton).

"There is no strike pay, nor is there likely to be any, and the Government has announced that there can be no unemployed sustenance for any who refuse to work."—Herald, 26/8/32.

CLASS WAR.

ARGYLE ADDRESSING city people at the Town Hall:

"I cannot say more—I am not prepared to borrow more money because that would be un-economic...; then, the community itself can work to its own help and see what it can do."—Argus, 24/8/32.

September, 1932.

PROLETARIAT

RUSSIAN FAILURE.

W.A.R. FOR STARVING.

Published in "The Times.”

Riga, August 30.

"... The Five Year Plan... is an incident in a long series of plans; it is a symptom of a new spirit, the spirit of science introduced into agriculture and industry."—Lenin.

"It heralds the birth of a new kind of society—a society which is coherently planned, and has not, like Topsey and the out-of-hand individuals that constitute our Western nations, 'just grown.'"

"Socialism is an essential part of the Russian Plan."—Julian Huxley.

THE CHURCH.

"WE AS A CHURCH want to bring our people to faith; to gather round a center of faith, to comprehend all our problems in terms of material wealth—riches and poverty, employer and employed, profits and wages—to the moral question of the right to serve to full capacity. Then men will listen when we remind them that what comes first is not the wage, but the good work for which the wage is paid.

"Today we have gone too far in repressing the freedom of the strong man, whether employer or workman in the interests of the weak."—Archbishop Head, Address to Synod. Argus, 28/9/31.

We would add: "Never mind the housing problem. Heaven is our home." There is some millions of unemployed.

THE DOLE.

"IF WE HAD NOT the dole, there would have been a revolution in this country long ago. You would not keep a dog on your premises unless you had a bone to give him."—Lloyd George: Manchester Guardian, 7/1/31.

"The Minister in Charge of Sustenance (Mr. Kent, M.P.) has declared that this new social system is to be brought into life next week, with the object of making detection of impostors much easier and more certain than it has been in the past.

"The picture of U.S. restraining the freedom of Rockefeller, in the interests of the weak, tests the imagination beyond the limit."

"The amount in the fund (the Superannuation Fund of the Methodist Church of Australia) was over $375,000, the actuarial reserve for ministers, and ministers' widows' claims were over $50,000. The sum had accumulated over many years. In 1931 the fund had become too small, and the surplus had been deducted, of $15,000 per cent., and the surplus had been

9,000 years.

The surplus carries for three years

had been $13,905, and the bonus payments in that period had been $13,775. Much less interest may be had in 1932—Argus, 29/7/32.

The conference, after discussing this small aspect of its financial affairs in such manner as it could, passed this pious and useful resolution:

"The conference views with concern the grave problem of unemployment in this country, and of the work that ought to be made available."

"The conference is aware that much unemployment results from the intrusion of industrial workers into the labor market, and that the attitude of mind and spirit of the employers (sic) and employees...

"The conference is aware that the giving of sustenance, productive work ought to be made available."

"The conference resolved to resolve regarding its loyalty to King George and all constituted authority."

"In view of the Churches' temporary interests, it is possible that the King, because he would not agree beforehand to "work harmoniously" with capitalists, was excluded from the State Employment Council as workers' representatives."

The place was filled by the philanthropist, Rev. J. H. Cain.

2000 GUESTS FOR CIVIC BALL.

NOVEL WRITING ON CARD.

THE DOLE.

-Argus, 25/7/32.

"The Minister in Charge of Sustenance (Mr. Kent, M.P.) has declared that this new social system shall cease, and he has designed the social index system, which is to be brought into life next week, with the object of making detection of impostors much easier and more certain than it has been in the past."

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2000 GUESTS FOR CIVIC BALL.

NOVEL WRITING ON CARD.

THE DOLE.
ANOTHER £13 FOR BLANKET FUND.

Successful Bridge Parties.
-Herald, 9/7/32.

... E V I C T I O N  P H I L I S O P H Y ...

C A I R N S  S H O W G R O U N D S
... evacuation of July, 1932. The Home Secretary thought "... that proceeding for eviction should be the courts. That might have taken months, and prevented the holding of the Show. So a strong band of Cairns people (400) decided to take a short cut and hence the brawl. It was soon over, with a few broken heads, and the grounds were soon cleared. Thus we have a lesson that if a job of eviction is necessary..."

... N E W  P A G E  I N  H I S T O R Y ...

KING'S MESSAGE.

"Empire Can Give Lead to the World."-Herald, 23/7/32.

"RUSSIAN WHEAT dumping in Britain has aroused a strong Australian feeling."-Herald, 23/7/32.

"The Chicago Tribune ... that Mr. Berendt demanded complete exclusion of Soviet wheat and lumber, but that the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Chamberlain) suspended this proposal by declaring that Britain's hands were tied by the millions of sterling credits advanced to Russia by trade agreements. President of the Board of Trade replied: "Oh, dear, no."

We have 42 treaties with "most favored nation" clauses, and these are the basis and backbone of our export trade.

"No Canadian newspaper reports this alleged dialogue."-Herald, 23/7/32.

The probable causes of decline of the sterling rate include...

"The technically improved condition of the dollar."-Herald, 9/7/32.

"Economic and banking advisers at the Ottawa Imperial Conference have reached a momentous decision regarding the Imperial Currency question. If the Ministers accept their recommendations, the effect will be instantaneous and world-wide."-Argus, 8/8/32.

I have never seen such a scarab of interests," declared Mr. John Bromley, chairman of the Trade Union Congress and an advisor to the British delegation, "on his return from Ottawa. The delegates to the conference exhibited the harest desire for what they could get from it than for the glory of the Empire, the revival of world trade, or any other consideration."-Argus, 28/8/32.

DISARMAMENT.

"Addressing Journalists at Geneva, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald drew a parallel between Creation and the Disarmament Conference. "Mr. MacDonald prophesied that the sixth day would come on which work would be accomplished worthy of being recorded in the most illustrious pages of history."-Argus, 28/8/32.

"They used to call him the Loom of Loosnboth, this erstwhile poor Scotch lad, who look back over half a century and perhaps marvel at the strange destiny which has brought him to become the Peace-maker of Europe—or perhaps of the world!"-Herald, 12/7/32.

We would add that this former leader in the Second International, may, very approximately, wear the mitre before his respectable career closes.

"One of the lessons he had learned from his visit abroad, Latham said, was that the real work was now done in private conversations between the leaders of the delegations. If the actual figures brought to Geneva by some of the nations had been made public, Latham went on, everyone would have thought it was a disarmament and not a dis-armament conference."-Report on Lecture, "Disarmament," at Auditorium, 5:30.

"U.S. ARMAMENT reduction proposals: Air force—air bombing planes should be abolished. . . . Navy—number and tonnage of aircraft carriers and destroyers to be reduced by one-half. . . ."-Worker's Weekly.

"Although I am an enthusiastic supporter of the League of Nations, the position taken by us many grounds for doubt (sigh) whether the nationalism of each nation has not really crippled the hands of the League..."-The Australian.

"Each nation also gracefully offers to give up what she fears most: for example, England surrenders submarines. In other words, we have evolved machinery for peace... but have we evolved the will for peace?"-Prof. Paton: Herald, 25/7/32.

CONCLUSION.

MOLOTOV, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, in The Success of the Five Year Plan (1931), writes: "It must be admitted that the bourgeoisie economists are in a difficult position. They are incessantly obliged to find fresh explanations for the present 'economic crisis' incapable of grasping the Marxist—that is, the actual scientific recognition of the causes of the crisis these economists are last in a maze of endless contradictions.

We have landed in an incredible chaos, states the well-known English economist, Keynes—'for whilst having to do with an extremely sensitive machine, whose laws are unknown to us, we have committed some bad blunder.'—Wirtschaftsblatt, 19th Dec., 1930.

... The distinguished German economist, Bonn, declares: "In the mind of thousands of people an extremely naive question has arisen: Does the capitalist system still possess any right to exist, if it is incapable, in the richest country in the world, comparatively only populated, with industries and capable people, of securing for this population the means of living in accordance with the demands developed in human beings by modern technique, without from time to time forcing millions of people to suffer depravation, or to resort to charity and night shelters? The import and meaning of the American crisis lie in the fact that at the present juncture it is not merely a question of economic leadership or politics, but of the existence of the capitalist system as such."—Die Neue Rundschau, Feb. 1931.

... the organ of the Austrian big bourgeoisie, the Neue Freie Presse, wrote in its editorial on August 1951: "Many are the questions by the question whether the capitalist economic system is not to blame for all this misery."

"Professor Gregory was convinced that the problem of falling prices, 'if it is going to be solved at all, must be solved by the agency of the central bankers; but I am bound to admit,' he added, 'that the process of solving this problem is a much more heart-breaking than it appears to first sight.' The events of the last two years have lent a great amount of clout to the 'protectionists'—Austria's Share in International Recovery: Davidson.

This misery is ended by "the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, skilled, disciplined, united, organized, by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of the mode of production which has arisen and flourished with and under it. Capitalism's value determination of the means of production, at last reach a point where they become incompatible with the capitalist husk. The husk is burst sounder."

-Mare Capital.

"Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win!"-ALAN FINGER.
great naval powers, and the relative weakness of Great Britain. The number of warships and their relative strength have been greatly reduced in recent years, with the result that the British navy is now considerably inferior to the United States navy in total tonnage. The British navy is now vastly inferior to the United States navy in tonnage. The British navy is now vastly inferior to the United States navy in total tonnage.

Arms Expenditure.

While the total cost of warships is but a small fraction of the cost of war preparations, it is not yet known how much these preparations will cost. The arms expenditure of the United States is now estimated at $2,475,000,000, as compared with $2,375,000,000 in 1926. The arms expenditure of the United States is now estimated at $2,475,000,000, as compared with $2,375,000,000 in 1926.

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Women In The Soviet Union

A CHICKEN is not a bird and a baba (woman) is not a human being. They run the old Russian world. Since the Russian Revolution, women's position has been changed. No longer is she the core of the family; now she is the equal of the man. No longer is the breadwinner; now the husband is the breadwinner. Women work alongside men in the fields and factories, and are not only equal to men, but often surpass them in skill and productivity.

Most important is women's economic emancipation. The equality that has been attained in every direction would carry no significance if women were not materially independent. Women are now required to prove their own financial independence. For the first time, women, both in industry and in the professions, are placing on a par. They may receive equal pay for equal work. Women's work is not only equal to that of men, but often surpasses it, because the majority are better skilled.

The right to own property, to receive equal pay, and to be independent economically, are the most important gains for women. The right to own property is essential to their economic independence. Equality in pay is essential to their professional and social advancement. These gains, however, are not enough. Women's lives must be free from all discrimination and oppression.

In conclusion, women's position has been changed. They are now equal to men in every way. They are working alongside men in the fields and factories, and are not only equal to men, but often surpass them in skill and productivity. Women's work is not only equal to that of men, but often surpasses it, because the majority are better skilled.

The Soviet women have made great progress in their struggle for economic and political equality. They now enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of life. They are working alongside men in the fields and factories, and are not only equal to men, but often surpass them in skill and productivity. They are also free from all discrimination and oppression. Women's work is not only equal to that of men, but often surpasses it, because the majority are better skilled.

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a woman has been ambassador in a foreign land.

She is Alexandra Kollontai who after serving in Mexico is now in Sweden.

Progress towards the complete fulfillment of the Soviet's schemes is necessarily slow—especially in the field of education and social change. But such institutions are springing up even in remote regions. Economic, social, cultural, legal, political and social equality with man have been won by Soviet women. Only time is necessary before woman can take full advantage of her new position.

BEATRICE PETERSON


NO. IX.

Communism v. Civilization

THERE is no conflict between Communism and Civilization, as is frequently said. The fact is that what are called cultural activities and spiritual values are being undermined, restricted, destroyed or rendered decadent by being put in the outworn terms of capitalism. The intellect and feeling of mankind cry aloud for the opportunity for freedom and growth and are told to be content and await the return of prosperity. There is much in existing culture that a new age will assuredly reject with scorn. But, in this connection, the aim of communism is not to save all that is worthless from destruction, to make it the possession of all people, and to provide opportunities for the development by all men of their manyfold aptitudes.

A.T.R.

The Imperialist Powers are Preparing for War.

We are now in the midst of the largest and most acute crisis in the history of capitalism—a crisis which is a phase, perhaps the final phase, in the general decline of the system. In every capitalist country popular opinion is agitated by the prospects of a new war. Money that is "saved" by reductions of unemployment, insurance, wages, and social services is spent on preparations for a disaster which may hit at any moment. Money that is "saved" by reductions of unemployment, insurance, wages, and social services is spent on preparations for a disaster which may hit at any moment. Money that is "saved" by reductions of unemployment, insurance, wages, and social services is spent on preparations for a disaster which may hit at any moment. Money that is "saved" by reductions of unemployment, insurance, wages, and social services is spent on preparations for a disaster which may hit at any moment. Money that is "saved" by reductions of unemployment, insurance, wages, and social services is spent on preparations for a disaster which may hit at any moment.

First, by recognizing that capitalism involves, on the one hand, a struggle between national and imperialist groups for markets, raw materials, and fields for investment; and also the exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples abroad and the working classes at home. Viewed from either of these angles, war is the inevitable product of capitalist antagonisms.

The preparations for war in our own era are peculiarly intense, because to-day these antagonisms have taken peculiarly acute forms. The analysis leads to the conclusion that in order to abolish war we must first abolish capitalism, in order to abolish war we must first abolish capitalism.

The trimmer's war into a civil war."

"Fischer, page 740.

Melbourne University Labour Club, at its convocation, has been engaging the attention of some workers. In fact, the first effort to do so was to invite a distinguished man to address the University. This effort met with a cordial response from the University, and the audience was highly satisfied with the lecture. It was a very interesting and well-attended event, and the speaker was praised for his excellent work.
lives again for us the generation that first modernized the art of Rembrandt in epoch-making wise from the earlier by his predecessors was of revolution. Out of the self-consciousness and pride of the bourgeois revolution arose the portraits of the noblemen and rulers; the victorious bourgeois did not demand battle, but the government and the individual portrait and from the group portrait formed the modern sphere of this historical painting. The bourgeois also agreed with Trevithick's saying: What fitness of historical life is in all these namesake "Jan de Maurits," who bore checks among the guild, or, festively attired, making the shooting ball, or, festively attired, making the shooting ball, and so, the living content of the Biblical material is transformed under the hands of Rembrandt and his pupils. They no longer painted religious pictures destined to decorate altars and awaken pious reverence; the bourgeois church disdained ecclesiastical art. Their religious pictures were destined to adorn the bourgeois home, and under the light veil of Biblical tradition they depicted the bourgeois life of their time in all its powerfully upspringing freshness and vigor. And even the technique of Rembrandt's painting has been changed by his art's revolutionary origin. It is already a considerable advance on Lessing's "smudging" when Treviske traced

"If Winter Comes..." Continued from page 6.

employed become unemployed? For until now, everybody has been a man of "vice" largely, the importance of unemployment as a factor in ending the capitalist system is merely partially recognised, but this will not be the case. The need to create jobs for the unemployed will be a key issue in upcoming elections.

Peaceful or Revolutionary Methods.

Peaceful or Revolutionary Methods. How to achieve communism, by revolution, or by revolution, or by negotiation, has been a much argued question in the Labor Club. But this is a false opposition, and the problem does not arise because of the relationships, associations, and institutions of society. The character of the revolution may then be interpreted as: is it likely to be violent or peaceful? Unemployment does not arise because of the capitalist system, but because of the capitalist system, and because of the capitalist system. The communist, methods of revolution are of secondary importance. Unemployment is the result of the methods of revolution while mentally rejecting capitalism, and the solution to all social problems lies in the struggle for the emancipation of themselves and of society at large.

A.T.B.

PROLETARIAT September, 1933.

Red Vienna

N Schilling v. Melbourne (1925) "Ar" quoted, p. 586, 293. Sir John Harri-terian Supreme Court decided that the Melbourne City Council could not pay wages to its employees. In Roberts v. Hopkins (1925) Appeal Cases, p. 578, the House of Lords decided that the council itself could not pay wages to its employees. Legal difficulties, such as these, add to the property franchise of the capitalist classes, and to the growth of municipal socialism a dead subject in this country. Prices, on the other hand, are relatively high in Vienna. Austria is a Federal State, and Vienna is not merely a city, but a Federal Province, the mayor and council are also the organs of a provin-ncial government. Hence the Viennese munici-pality is in a peculiarly favourable position for socialist experiments, having (i) a unitary legislature, (ii) a strong central fiscal power, (iii) a varied and extensive control, including forests and farms, and (iv) a politically advanced proletariat with full represen-tation in the City Council. On the other hand, (i) the economic crisis produced the splitting up of Austria-Hungary into separate States, with tariff barriers; (ii) the strong central control of international finance-commercial opera-tions through the League of Nations and the International Banks; (iii) the opposition of the Austrian Government, where conservative parties usually hold the power.

The Austro-Hungarian Party-It is the Social Demo-cratic party which has come to power in Vienna since 1919. It has carried out an extensive program of "municipal socialism," including municipal housing, penetration into private busi-ness, penalisation of private enterprise, land ownership, and heavy taxation of private capital. These new enterprises are provided by municipally owned or controlled services, from antinatal care and child welfare, to the provision of mass transportation. Finance is ingenious and involved. House property in the shanties was redeemed almost entirely with mortgage bonds. The line of public debt, however, was then bought up, and huge workmen's blocs built, with communal kitchens, gardens, libraries, clubs, and municipal services and meeting halls. Rents are very low—"approximately as compare to 20% in most countries." Income is earned by working for the government, advertising, bache, motor-cars, servants, luxury-restaurants, etc. provide a large income for the Austrian "aristocracy".

This case is ruled conforming to the common Law of Wages.

Compare Lang's position in Australia.

Austria has been doing this directly of many large companies.


Printed by the Ruskin Press, Ltd., 120 Victoria St., Melbourne, and published by T. Gibson, Hon. Secretary, University Labor Club, University Grammar, Carlton.
J'ACCUSE!

Henri Barbusse to the French Murderers

ACCUSE all French Governments which have been in power since the end of the war of having encouraged, aided, financed and armed, those assassins of the White Guardists now entering into the foreground with increasing openness, this international organization of criminals, whose aims are murder and war.

Hundreds of millions of francs were paid over to the French Empire and distributed—thanks to the favours bestowed by Clemenceau and Milan—to those infamous white hordes of Kotlikoff and Wrozdel who devastated Russia by fire and sword. The main masses of the white army—200,000 men, ready to commit any deed—are concentrated in France. General Miller admits they would not have been possible without the readiness to help shown by the French Government.

I accuse these Governments of being responsible for the repeated murderous deeds committed by these hordes, whose immovable and financially powerful groups stretch out their tentacles over the whole world.

Under Tardieu's Government, the contacts between the General Staff and the French Government were strengthened by the activities of General Schneider, who was closely connected with General Weygand—his orders by cable to Rochard—Even the activities of Lebrun, the Foreign Minister, were appreciated by Schneider in the Schneider-CreFLT enterprises. The White Guards and the traitor leaders in the French army, the Remailer de CreFLT, take part in giving appointments for White Guards and in financing their operations.

I accuse in particular the Tardieu Government of being responsible for the assassination of President Dunoyer by the White Guards, Gorugov, who in touch with the Paris police, had orders to murder every day in White Guard papers—"Kill the Communsists. Do not perturb the children of our masters."

The people's terror—He is the sword of God." Everyone who supports the Red Guard power is the enemy of the Russian people, and such foreigners will be destroyed to death throughout the world."

If we can solve our problems and clear the foreigner, the advantage is obvious: a revolver shot fired at a foreigner can get the Bolshevik into serious trouble, and even cause political complications." A holy terror action for the defense of the people and the rights of the people." Gorugov said: "I wanted to force France to pass the White Guards, but they knew Igorov, and Gorugov was able to approach President Dunoyer without any difficulty during a ceremony, and so wound him fatally by numerous revolver shots—16 to 18 seconds separated the shots—the attention of the police was drawn to Gorugov's strange conduct before the shooting, but they did nothing.

I accuse Tardieu of having played a comedy rather more utterly base than ridiculous in this affair, in that he made use of the means of propaganda and corruption available to him in the press for spreading the rumour that Gorugov was a Bolshevik, or an instrument of the Bolsheviks—a despicable lie, which was nevertheless exploited by all the forces of the working class.

Gorugov was the son of a large landowner expropriated by the Revolution, then a White Guard officer, and founder of the Landowners Patriotic Party, the first article of the program of the Greens is war against present Russia.

The false statement that Gorugov was a Red was repeated by the Melbourne "Soul"—Saturday, September 3rd, at p. 7.
J'ACCUSE!

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Hundreds of millions of francs were squandered out of the French taxpayers' pockets and distributed—thanks to the famous bastard by Clemenceau and Mitterand—among these infamous white hordes of Kollontai and Wansee who devoured Russia by fire and sword. The main mass of the white army—200,000 men ready to commit any deed—are concentrated in France. General Miller acknowledges this would not have been possible without the readiness to help shown by the French Government.

I accuse these Governments of being responsible for the repeated massacres of innocent civilians committed by these bands, whose innumerable and financially powerful groups stretch out their tentacles over the whole world.

Under Tardieu's Government, the contact between the recent victims and the Gazetted *milice* was strengthened by the activities of General Sokoloff, who was closely connected with General Wayand—from the orders by Japan to Foch-Trotignon, Breckwell and Rubicon, there is a whole chain of one-time Wrangel soldiers employed in the Schendler-Henry works. The White Guardsmen practice murder on the road among the French army. The authors of the crime take part in finding appointments for White Guards and in neutralising their operations.

I accuse in particular the Tardieu Government of being responsible for the assassination of President Doumer by the White Guardsman Gorgulov, who was in touch with the Paris police.

Leaflets calling for murder appear every day in White Guard papers—"kill the Communists! Do not permit even the children of this serpent to remain alive! Everyone who supports the Soviet power is the enemy of the Russian, and such foreigners will be reduced to dust." "Let us force war on, and throw the foreigners, the adventurers, killings, and all enemies of the revolution into the abyss!" "A holy terror must be the death of the people," Gorgulov said. "I want to force France to the point of no return, and the windows of the people." Gorgulov and his police knew this policy of the White Guards, they knew Gorgulov. The Gorgulov affair is rather a comedy rather than a series of miracles, for, in that, he made use of the means of propaganda and corruption available to him in the press for spreading the rumour that Gorgulov was a Bolshevik, even an instrument of the Bolsheviks—a despicable lie, which was nevertheless exploited by all the foes of the working class.

Gorgulov was the son of a large landlord, expropriated by the Revolution, the Green Peasants' Party. The fact of the murder of the Gorgulov affair is war against present Russia.

The false statement that Gorgulov was a Red was repeated by the Melbourne "Sun"—Saturday, September 3rd, at p. 7.

In conclusion, I accuse the French Government of being responsible for the murder of President Doumer by the White Guardsman Gorgulov, who was in touch with the Paris police.
The Australian Situation

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

So we read in the financial supplement of the “Argus,” 26th LXXX:

“It is wisely recognized that nothing but intensive vigilance will convert what is little more than a temporary immunity from catastrophe into financial security.”

This vigilance must be directed toward the avoidance of unemployment and the production of industry. Government budgets are to be balanced, and a continuance of the attacks on old age, and invalid pensions, on maternity allowances, on the unemployed through reductions in the dole by the operation of the Permissible Income Regulations, etc. on workers in industry by taxation, and by the dismissal of Government employees.

In industry, costs will be reduced by further wage-cuts, by speeding-up and in other words, only further further attacks on the working class can the “temporary immunity from catastrophe” be maintained.

A serious analysis of the economic position reveals the weakness of capital. For instance, Australia’s basic industry, is a passing condition. The raising of the rate of exchange for foreign gold is a means of facing the immediate future. Africa’s abandonment of the gold standard, and the worsening of the position of the Canadian dollar will affect Australia’s export industries, and allow these countries to compete with Australia on more favorable terms than hitherto. Due to the fall of both wheat and wool prices, a record year for wool and almost a record for wheat will yield a lower return. The better heretofore has been affected by the world prices. Australian foreign trade declined from £144 million sterling in 1930-31 to £157 million sterling in 1931-32.

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

Australia’s Capitalist attack on the working class is now reaching a climax with a growing resistance. Strike struggles have developed in the mining industries of Broken Hill and underground coalfields (Victoria and Tasmania), meat industry (Sydney and Victoria), clothing industry (Victoria), and among the fruit pickers in the orchards at Young, N.S.W., etc. Two struggles have taken place in the glass industry in Sydney, and a series of smaller struggles have occurred among construction workers (Wyangala Dam, Midland, Mt. Coolon, etc.), wool and woollen, timber workers (Cardwell, Qld), and on a number of large estates. The second round of the meetings of the dockers in Sydney, which witnessed the successful conclusion of a long-drawn-out struggle of the Dockers’ Union, was marred by serious conflict with the police. This, however, provides only one part of the evidence of the extent of the growth and spread of the new wave of class struggles. The mass participation in demonstrations secured by Lang and Gard in Western Australia shows that the workers are determined to resist the attacks on their living standards.
the correct cry, "Against the capitalist offensive," to mislead the workers, the successful one-day strikes in the unoccupied firms, the development of agitation for the general strike which forced the union leaders to call the ACTU to the same, the agitation and thus assist Capitalists), the staid movement of the miners, textile-workers, and the like. The workers are on the waterfront and the successful agitation against the 16 November 7th Soviet anniversary demonstration in Melbourne, 1933: in W.A., where the Communist party was attacked last year. Open-air meetings are organised in support of the General strike. The more this agitation is stifled, partly in preparation for imperialism wars (as seen by the destruction of Darwin, 1931, the Sudan of "internal troubles" of the ACTU, etc. [then] the Australian workers are able to reassure the General Federation that Australia's military preparedness was understandable.

The militia is boosted; its troops are trained in street fighting. Fancied organization, the Small Knights and their "Little Guard," have risen among the petit-bourgeoisie. They receive the "moral" support of the government, which becomes to suppress them. They prepare feverishly to preserve "law and order" by force, and acquire that all Communists (i.e., militants) shall be arrested.

More subtle forms of hindering the organized struggle are used. These are potent weapons, especially among those whose discontent has as yet had no organized expression. The press is used to discredit militant action, not only in Australia, but the world over. The workers are kept in ignorance of the struggles of workers in other capitalist countries. Attempts are made to create any further economic disturbances (the removal of Mullins, of Beatrice Taylor, and the banning of the Five Year Plan film).

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

The organized struggles of the workers are diverted by the leadership of the official Labour Party and the treachery of the Trade Union bureaucrats. The so-called working-class leaders resort to more and more "radical" talking which is expressed by the old form of slogans put forward, as the leftward swing of the masses in N.S.W., the Lang Plan is now being abandoned and a new left plan for social revolution is being put forward. But these socialisers put forward only capitalist solutions for the crisis, such as Socialism without an evolutionary overthrow of the system, and all the fake currency nostrums.

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

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

February, 1933.

**PROLETARIAT**

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In order to escape from internal crisis; in order to divert the attention of the outside world; in order to strengthen the imperialist powers of the United States and Britain, and against the Japanese war economy, the Japanese militarists who were attacked by Manchuria.

Internally, Japan's position was very precarious. Japan was committed to abandon the gold standard in 1931; it was to their former 1,183,300 dollars, 330,000 dollars to gold alone to preserve the gold standard, and America, then a very thick, high price of 100 yen. Britain's Bank of France and its vassal European states, Japanese capitalists launched bloody attack on the government. The invasion of China, Japan had carried out two political military moves. She took advantage of the antagonisms between China and Japan. She was always willing to be bought, and inspired an attack by General Sui Yu's attack on Peking and Tsingtao. The attack was followed by an occupation of troops from Southern Manchuria. China promised support to the Canton group of militarists and promised return to Manchuria. Thus she hoped to weaken China internally in preparation for future invasion. She had previously given help to China in return for promises that things would be made easy in Manchuria.

Taking advantage of the murder officer as a pretext, she commenced hostile relations. Chinese soldiers were blamed for slight damage done to the Manchuria Railway by Japanese agents, and Manchuria was invaded in the following manner on September 18th, 1931. Japan attacked Manchuria, with the political and military centre of the country, and, after a campaign made it all too clear for the Japanese authorities, she was able to establish control through agents among the Manchurian bourgeoisie suppressing thebourgeoisie, establishing an "Independent State." She has encountered brave resistance from the peasants and workers of Manchuria, half a million Chinese and Korean armed peasants are already fighting against this Japanese counter-revolutionary action. (The invasion of the Chinese government the Soviets have advanced, and a fifth army required by Britain and America, has been successfully sustained.

As stated above, Japan made her attack at a time when Britain and America were occupied with the situation in Japan was not prepared for war; such action on her part might easily precipitate the situation of the situation by consolidating her position in Europe; she was favored by Japan to return for France, which controlled the League of Nations (through her control of many representatives) in a good position.

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

Knowing Japan's designs on Siberia, America has directly invaded Japan to attack that country. This would serve American ends. The proof of these statements are many. As the American press referred to the advantages of such an attack as a means of "integrating" or "acquiring" the Japanese. The American press supports false accusations made of the support of the Manchurian government. (Who was actually regained with arms by the Japanese.) It spreads the lies of the Soviet's "smallest intentions in Manchuria.

The role of the League of Nations is clearly shown in its treatment of the matter. The League found no "imperialism" in Japan's actions. It found the Chinese revolution, an expression of "imperialism". (It is a thing to be crushed out by international co-operation, and a thing that requires intervention. The League's role is best exposed by the chairman of the association of journals, "New York Times," 9th September, 1931. She quoted the report of the League: First, that the League should accept the report despite the possible resigna-

ion of Japan (which would ruin the value of the League), the League as a possible reason for the "imperialist" action, and thus did not submit the report to the League. This policy (the latter) is based on the supposition that the further developments of the financial, commercial, and political crisis of the League, or of open war with China, will lead to Japan's giving way!"
THE NEW YEAR HONOURS LIST.

FOR MEN LIKE THESE.

The fatted men of leisure.

The guinea pigs, basking in the sunshine;

They are the gold mines of our social treasure.

FOR MEN LIKE THESE.

The grey-haired, dry of soul.

The pinches, the righteous and the reformers.

They are the salt of our national treasure.

FOR MEN LIKE THESE.

For Fortune's Favourite Sons.

The perturbed things and perplexed abstractions

We here our peace.

Our day will come.

We'll raise a gibbet—maypole from fell trees

And the last hoot shall be a dirge.

FOR MEN LIKE THESE.

[In Italic]

We shall show by two examples what meaning is to be attached to the recent consignments of arms and munitions by the Union officials. The first is the granting of the leases by the Union officials.

In 1928 the water side workers were prepared to resist the proposed application of the Bree Member, whose demand from them all that the workers' struggle had gained. An All-Port's Conference of water side workers was called. This instructed the branch to accept the award. The workers in Fremantle, W.A., in Adelaide, the Deep Sea Branch in Melbourne and Brisbane, with all Queensland ports except those, refused to accept this decision and struck. Despite this decision being arrived at by a majority of its members, the Federal Council of the Waterside Workers' Federation tried to bring about a surrender on the grounds of "the inevitability of defeat." Great leaders here! The strike was broken, largely by the action of the Sydney stevedores. In 1932, Sydney stevedores, in fear of being invaded by scale, and those had only recently been admitted to the union. They continued to work the cargoes not cleared for all ports. The General Council was quite aware that, without Sydney, the strike was lost. The result of its not being carried out, unity was lost, and the necessary solidarity was impossible to achieve.

In Victoria the part played by the A.C.T.U. was clear. The motion to declare Victoria Dock closed, thus supporting the strike movement.

Four officials voted for; four against. The revolting went against the motion, as two officials changed over because Turkish Federal Secretary of water side workers, and B_THET had voted against it in the first place. Turkey, who at the time of (Feb. 19), had carried out the same action before the Congress (Feb. 29), had carried out the same action before the Congress. He has never adequately explained the bad conditions of the men in the country, although he has had many opportunities to do so, and he knows of men repeatedly worried from 4:00-09:00, only storing for meetings.

At the special A.L.P. Conference in 1931, when the Turkish delegation, led by Mr. Haliday and with their delegates, it was exiled for three years. The A.L.P. Conference tried to discredit those to the Federal Secretary, in the presence of Mr.干事, who occupied no official position in their union. But, in any case, the export of Government-passed regulations under the Transport Workers' Act, so that no more than nine hours' work be done (in each twenty-four hours).
other matters. In "The Labor Call" of February 9, it is recorded that:

"The action of the Executive, Assistant Secretary Monck urges that:

That this Council deplore the members of the Australian Workers' Union who have their actions in opposing child labor wages and that the statement of the 10 per cent. reduction imposed by the Commonwealth Act of 1912 be the reason for their action. The members of the union are against any reduction of wages, and that for the following reason. There is a type of political theory rampant at the present day, which maintains that the maintenance of the authority of the state is under various guises, as the controlling factor in, or at any rate the ultimate justification for, the maintenance of the authority of the state, to be abolished. Thus, to take a few examples, Macfarlane argues that the state in an association which is the outcome of the "general will" of the community that order be preserved in that community—"the general will" being the underlying texture of public opinion, which persist irrespective of the transcendent control of majority or even minority. Green and Bosanquet would exalt this "general will," to the position of an embodiment of the common good of the community. Again, according to political theory, regard the state merely as legal embodiments of public opinion, differing only from custom in the fact of explicitness. At any rate, it is this type of theory, then, that introduces the need for an examination of the nature, origin, and role of custom.

Workers, aware of the fact that their self-styled leaders are in enemy in reality, to win your fight against the capitalist system which makes you feel the brunt of depression. Workers, unite to fight, and you own struggle.

Charles Silver

Mr. L. Mullins, A.B.E., delegate to the U.S. R.S.R., last year, returned to find the union leaders cowed by the recently amended Crimes Act and the public officials, who had him by contract to lecture only with their consent. Now he found that they ceased, then, the lectures, and then, finally, the union releasing him from his contract, the union claiming no responsibility for his utterances.

He was dismissed from the railways. His union officials have done nothing about the matter. The railways, in their report, give the reason for his action. The directors of the railways can use its facilities—obviously political in motive. The railway officials are of the utmost importance in the railway system. And the railway officials are thus protected by the railway officials, and are the railway officials who are responsible for their utterances.

Thus we do find that the texture of common opinion is as called public opinion; and the interests which the common opinion is implied, it is principally the interest in maintaining an order in which these ideas can find expression, would seem to be among the most effective means of obtaining public cooperation.
The German Crisis

T HE GREAT DAY of the Nazis has arrived. They have entered the government, and Hitler and the rest of the Third Reich has been established. This re-grouping of the capitalist forces in Germany marks a further stage in the development of the capitalist crisis, and it is not surprising that the reaction against it has become stronger since the comparatively peaceful periods of last century. Indeed, in the past, the power and influence of public opinion—frequently, indeed, the central state—have been felt in the development of the capitalist system, and the common bond of religion is to be noticed.

Here we find the general mood ideas and institutions which pervade a community. Are they not honest, of good character, charity, or virtuous; independence, among others virtuous? And is it not wrong to steal? Present-day public opinion would answer yes.

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

SUCH is a self-consistent statement of the position. It remains to show its consistency with experience. Let us deal in turn with the main elements of utility. Movement of public opinion—frequently, indeed, the central state—have been felt in the development of the capitalist system, and the common bond of religion is to be noticed.

Finally, we have the general mood ideas and institutions which pervade a community. Are they not honest, of good character, charity, or virtuous; independence, among others virtuous? And is it not wrong to steal? Present-day public opinion would answer yes.

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

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

The CENTRAL AND DECISIVE factor of German politics is the rapid growth of communist propaganda. That such a threat is not met by the bourgeoisie was particularly good in those areas where big strikes had taken place under Communist leadership. Three of the big strikes in Berlin (the strike of the big factories in the east), Hamburg, East Düsseldorf, West and South Westphalia.

The central idea of the Communist Party is to secure the German working class a living wage; a state which recognises the rights of the workers. The party is the German working class for the people. The programme of the German party is the programme of the German workers, and the workers for the people, working for the German workers.
THE COMMUNIST Party of Germany published some of the "Letters to German leaders," (Deutsche Nachrichten, N° 76 to 78, of 16th and 20th September, 1932), private correspondence, intended only for a select circle of less than 100 of the true friends and bank magistrates at the head of German finance capital, and edited by Dr. Franz Bader. In these letters is contained a remarkable outline of the role of Social Democracy, as the following quotations will show:

"Thanks to its social character as being originally a workers' party, the social democracy has been able to maintain the appearance of a workers' party, in addition to its political adaptability and flexibility, the organized working class, and while preserving their economic, cultural and political activity, they have maintained some bourgeois character.

Moreover, the social democratic capitalism of the revolution into social democracy coincided with the transformation of the Social Democratic Party and the streets to Parliament, the Ministers, and the street of Social Democracy, and the States into Branches of Social Democracy, and from the former into security and property, from the latter into Social Democracy, and with them also that part of the working class that led them, were firmly bound to the bourgeois party and its power.

The "Letters to Leaders" compare the Hitler regime with Social Democrats, who say:

"The parliamentary system is indeed existing. The Social Democrats are in power, the Workers Party is in power, but the workers in the streets are fighting for the return of Social Democracy. The workers are demanding a Social Democracy that is not only in power, but that can maintain the workers' controls, that is, to maintain the revolutionary character of Social Democracy."

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

DAYS before the November elections, the PCG, and hence its special task to destroy Bolshevism, root and branches. A special part of bolshevism was Hitler's main slogan. "War with the Junkers and the C.P. of Germany" was the first slogan of Hugenow. All these are now united in one government of bourgeois "national concentration." Press cables announce that Hitler has denied that he intends suppressing the Freie Volksstimme, the Social Democratic Party, to a recognition of its strength among the masses. Moreover, it is clearly indicated that repressive measures against increasing the protection of the press, the terror, and increasing armed clashes of police and fascists against the workers, has reached the stage of open civil war.

All hopes of escape from the economic crisis are vain for the German bourgeoisie. The Nazi government will inevitably fail to alleviate conditions in the face of deepening economic crisis. The disintegration in the ranks of the Hitler Party will proceed more rapidly. The revolutionary upsurge of the working class continues. The revolutionary party leads mass actions, and constantly extends its leadership over broader strata of the working class. The external contradictions are equally acute. The Nazis exploited to the full the national sentiment engendered by the Versailles Treaty, but the Versailles system will remain despite the vogue of Hitler. Hitler knows the principle, so he will exploit the German bourgeoisie.

February, 1932

THE PROLETARIAT

The International Labour Defence

In the latter half of 1922, in common with most other capitalist countries, industrial uneasiness in Australia suddenly slumbered, and unemployment was not suddenly commenced to mount. Since then has been a continuing problem, with the result that over half a million workers are now either wholly or partially idle. Comparing this situation to those of previous years, there is no question of a great increase in the class consciousness and militancy of Australian workers.

To counter this an intense repressive drive by the ruling class has now been made and continues. Early last year this drive was crystallised in all its intensity in the Amendments to the Crimes Act. By this legislation the Federal Government is enabled to outlaw any militant working-class organisation, and although such organisations are still carrying on legally, a marked increase in the number of prosecutions against their members for working-class activities has taken place. Added to this oppression in the all-round 25 per cent wage cut, with others pending, the frequent, and where necessary, violent evictions of workers from their homes, the cutting down of pensions and social benefits, and the continued government are not matters of indifference.

In this period, therefore, the role of the International Labour Defence is made clear. Ten years ago the necessity for such an international organisation was clearly foreseen by the old and well-tried Bolshevik leaders, who had their memory of the lesson of the temporary organisation under the czarist regime. Mustering their forces in the Soviet Union, the M.O.F., came into being, and in the life-time of the International Labour Defence Committee, the International Red Aid, was formed. This was for the defence, assistance, and support of workers all over the world. In November of last year the tenth anniversary of the I.R.A. was marked throughout the world, with the participation of approximately twelve millions. This is the largest international working-class organisation in existence.

In Australia, there are huge tasks facing the I.L.D. Due to the activities of the I.R.A. in Australia, over 100,000 men were arrested and a number of framed charges were brought against a large number. The I.L.D. has not been so active, but its influence is felt throughout the country. The I.L.D. has as one of its tasks the organisation of the workers against this monstrous war.

The attack on the workers of the capitalist world continues. In Australia, there is increasing capitalisation of free speech and free organisation. The workers of the capitalist world are struggling to maintain their own organisations, while the I.L.D. is struggling to hold its position against the constant attacks of the employers and the authorities. The I.L.D. is one of the last bastions of the working class in Australia, and it is essential for the I.L.D. to continue its work in order to hold back the attacks of the employers and the authorities.

ALICE S. STEWART.
The Times Change!

UNEMPLOYED.

SURPLUS WHEAT PROBLEM.

Wheat Cheaper than Sawdust.

("Sun" World Cables.)

Vancouver, Friday.

"In the coming winter much wheat will probably be used in farmhouses. In some places today it was quoted below the rate of a corresponding weight of sawdust."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 20, 1932.)

NEVERTHELESS, millions of workers starve in the Capitalist countries.

FAMILY "ALMOST STARVING."

"Sitting that the wife and six children of Mr. O'Farrell, of School Road, North Melbourne, were almost starving. Mr. O'Farrell, sustenance officer, said at the North Melbourne Court on Monday that because of the exceptional circumstances of the case O'Farrell's family was still receiving sustenance. O'Farrell was charged with leaving on September 14 made a false statement to the North and West Melbourne Unemployment Relief Committee."

(The "Argus," Feb. 14, 1932.)

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

GIRLS TO WORK OR LOSE DOLE.

Placed on Same Footing as Workless Men.

"A girl who is unemployed will have her sustenance payments stopped. In this they will be treated like the men who refuse to work. This decision was announced by the Minister for Sustenance (Mr. Kent Hughes).

"Ministry officials have complained that, although they have positions, they have been refused by girls and women out of employment. "Unemployed girls are partly employed at relief works, and yet a sustenance将继续. Some have stated that they are better off as they are, than if they accept these welfare payments."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Oct. 20, 1932.)

RELIGION.

CHURCH DENOUNCES SOVIET.

Campaign Against God and Huckster.

("Herald" Special Representative.)

London, October 21.

"A pastoral letter denouncing the Comminist campaign and hatred of God and hucksterism, issued by the Archbishop, Lord Muggeridge, in South Australia, was burned in South Australian churches on Wednesday."

"The power behind the persecution is no chance outbreak of fury against the Church, the letter says, but a relentless war going on in a system that is anti-God movement."

INSPIRED BY DEMONS.

"To accomplish this, they must step up at no inconvenience," it adds, "and will not shrink from doing the work that is required of the entire human race in the future."

"The letter is the first official expression of the fundamental beliefs of the organisation, which is inspired by demons."

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

TALKING AND ACTING.

IF ARMS TALK FAIL.

Hoever says America will build to Full Strength.

"SUN" WORLD CABLES.

"Speaking at a Navy Day function yesterday, President Hoover said that America would maintain a large navy and would build to full strength if the disarmament conference failed."

(Rev. John Lewis, B.C., Ph.D., of "The Christian World," 1932.)

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

MIDDLE-CLASS "LIBERTY."

"MIDDLE-CLASS MOST VALUABLE."

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

Geelong, Monday.

"Discussing class conflict in various parts of the world, at a meeting at Ocean Grove yesterday, the Australian Labor Commissioner (Mr. Latham) said that in Australia few people seemed to have thought too much about the class struggle which is the most important class in the world."

"This is the middle-class, which I regard as the most stable and valuable class in Australia," he added. It comprises professional men, shopkeepers, businessmen, gardeners, shoemakers, shopkeepers, a host of industrial workers, including the skilled manual worker, who had not been treated too well in recent years."

"Australia is fortunate in not possessing a proletarian class," he said. "The existence of this class is regarded by any country to be a sign that it is not a class which the Communist needs or has created in order to begin a revolution."

("Sun News-Pictorial," Jan. 17, 1932.)

DISARMAMENT Conference has lost all their prestige values as "blinds" for the war-sale masses. They are for those who have always been—Armament Adjustment Conferences.

CRIMINAL COURT STATISTICS.

Figures Lower than in 1931.

("The Argus," Jan. 9, 1932.)

AND at the same time the "inadequate" police force is being strengthened. Political squatters are being Lorenzed. Their purpose was made clear on Nov. 7, 1931, in Melbourne streets.

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

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

WE see now that you are only concerned with Communists, and the Communists".

JAPAN IN MANCHURIA.

CIVILISING AIM CLAIMED.

No Invasion.

(Chicago Sun-Times, November 21, 1932.)

THIS request, no comment.
THIRD INDIAN CONFERENCE.

Selection of Delegates Fairly Well Received.

NO PUBLIC SESSION.

("Sun" World Cobals.

"It is officially announced that there will be no public session of the Third Round Table Conference today. The Indian delegates were received in London next week. The number of delegates will be limited to 40.

It is said that the list of delegates has been fairly well received in India.

The Indian delegation remained the subject of the conference. The members of the conference are ending it difficult to believe in a "peaceful" solution. The Mysore Congress does not appear to be interested in the proceedings."

RUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

The Indian masses are represented by such people as Sir Pratap Ambedkar—business man enough for British Capitalism to respect. Social movements.

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

ORDER RETURNING TO INDIA.

Civil Disobedience Dying Under Firm Treatment.

"It is becoming difficult for "nonpoliticians" to keep up the spirit of the movement. It is evident that the people are generally weary of it."

RANJITS MEDITATIONS.

"Even Gandhi appears tired, and, according to one well informed source, his health is failing. There are those who believe that in his lecture Gandhists are¬

The dissatisfaction in the Dutch navy recruits of the government's action is shown in a statement by a well-known lawyer: "At present, 12 European sailors and 190 natives are imprisoned, at Mores about 400 natives are prisoners, and there are 71 Europeans in custody at Malacca."

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


THER, then, is the paradox state of Capital's defense. The revolutionaries proceed aspace. —A. F.

February, 1932.

PROLETARIAT

A Programme for the Farmers

THE EXTENT OF THE DISTRESS prevailing among Australian farmers can be gauged from official applications for relief made under the Farmers' Relief Act of South Australia, 1932, as given in the Auditor-General's report for the year ending June 30, 1932. The number of applications for relief was 4,627, and the total amount granted was $315,608.

Cost of Production in Pence per Bushel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of</th>
<th>Weighting Degree</th>
<th>Interest</th>
<th>Taxes</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>111.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IT WILL BE seen that in general, interest is by far the biggest item. These particular farmers were considered to have a chance of regaining their financial stability "with good seasons and good prices". So the condition of many more who were considered to be in a hopeless position can be imagined. In any case, the prices for wheat as low as they are in the big manufacturing interests, they have a certain rate of production at the end of the last season, and the total price obtained per bushel at the end of the season. The following are some of the typical figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of</th>
<th>Weighting Degree</th>
<th>Interest</th>
<th>Taxes</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>22.5</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The smaller farmers in Australia have been, and are being, forced down into a condition of slavery and servitude, compelled to work for 12 to 16 hours daily on their farms in order to produce interest on the banks and to maintain their positions. They have lost all their former opportunity of independent producers. The depression has revealed the extent to which the victims of the loan and mortgage companies.

This fact is quite openly admitted by the capitalistic farming community. The various State Governments in the past two or three years have conducted active campaigns of investigating the process of extracting profit out of the poorer farmers. This process has been revealed by Western Australia, as the Royal Commission made a detailed investigation in 1931.
ing industry in a state of dissolution as a result of "lavish spendings".

At the close of the statement, it included an item not noted in the text box above, that the industry be relieved by the creation of all interest and debt burdens, but that the farmers be considered a separate class, at the mercy of their creditors. They aimed at giving the control of the farmer's income to the farmers themselves and their chief creditors. Out of 14,000 wheat farmers, 9,000 have the Agricultural Bank as their chief creditor; and that the control of the income be vested in the hands of the farmers themselves.

MANY ORGANISATIONS, such as the Victorian Wheatgrowers' Association and the Primary Producers' Restoration League, exist among the farmers. But these organisations, with various and conflicting interests, are not able to exert any influence on the actual vote of wheat farmers. The big city banks and bondholders sit at the table of the Agricultural Journal, etc., and the balance sheet of the Bank of New South Wales is not in the hands of the farmers. The banks and bondholders are making sure that, in this period of reduced profits, they are going to have first call on the meagre earnings of the farmers. In actual fact, they are also making sure that small creditors, such as shopkeepers, do not get their money. The controlling director, the chief creditor, has the collection of crop proceeds, and the allocation thereof is a matter of the following manner. After the costs, charges, etc., of the preparation and registration of the security and expenses of the crop proceeds (this may be a lifetime) have been met, 5 per cent of the value of the rice is to be paid to the farmer for his personal use; then for approved current supplies, services or advances, etc., and the final balance of the rice is to be paid to the farmers. If the rice is not sold, the farmer is bound to cultivate large farms employed by many laborers.

What is the difference between the wheat farmers and other farmers who share in the profits of the family? The wheat farmers are large landholders whose interests lie more with the landlords than with the farmers. The wheat farmers are opposed to anything which would improve the lot of the poor poor farmer, the reduction in their own profits. This class-cleavage is well shown by the sizes of holdings and number of landholders in N.S.W.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Holding (Acre)</th>
<th>No. of Settlers</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-24.9</td>
<td>14,924</td>
<td>2,25,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-49.9</td>
<td>7,840</td>
<td>4,36,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-100</td>
<td>2,620</td>
<td>1,14,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-1,000</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>1,23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,001-3,000</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>72,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,001-5,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,001-10,000</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,001-20,000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,001-50,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 50,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To simplify these figures, it is seen that 57,703 holdings of 1,000 acres or less occupy only 15,629,199 acres. (As the majority are sheep farms, 1,000 acres is not a large farm.)

In other words, 78.7 per cent. of the total number of farmers and pastoralists possess farms of 1,000 acres or less, while 9.1 per cent. of the total land area is held by the other farmers, their farms ranging in size from 50,000 to 1,000,000 acres.

The future of the wheat farmers depends on the success of their organisation, the Wheatgrowers' League, which is beginning to appear in isolated areas to the south. So far, the League is only a small organisation, composed of working farmers and excludes self-seekers who are only interested in a political party. The farmers need help and assistance from the agricultural labourers and the industrial workers of the big towns and cities, for it is these sections which are the true friends of the farmers who want to struggle against the common enemy who exploits them. Its immediate programme is briefly as follows:

1. The revaluation of all holdings and cancellation of all arrears, including those of rent and interest due for all areas.
2. No forced sales, foreclosures, or evictions for arrears of debt.
3. Government aid, free of interest, for necessary farmers, for superfluous workers.
4. Railway freight to be reduced by 25 per cent.

5. All shire rates and taxes to be spent in localities of which they are raised, for road repairs, etc.

6. A 10% reduction in agents' commission.

The wheat farmers might be able to find in the social struggle during the daily struggle, such as free medical attention, better educational facilities, etc. The League, therefore, seeks to achieve the following measures:

1. To aid each one in the day-to-day struggles with the banks, machinery trusts, agents, etc., and for security of tenure.
2. To unite all the workers in the struggle for the establishment of the industrial league.

This provides a sound basis for struggle which will lead to greater economic security. In the near future it is to be expected that the growing misery of the farmers will find an outlet in the formation of such Leagues in each local district.

They should take care that their leadership is always kept under the control of the rank-and-file, otherwise it is possible for them to be betrayed. They should not lose the opportunity to establish a worker's league of broad character, for such a league will be able to establish a Socialist League of National scale. In Canada recently a strike by the wheat farmers conducted under such a League has been successful.

The sort of organisation and the oppressed farmers need is one composed of poor farmers and control workers. Such an organisation is the Farmers' Unity League, which is just beginning to appear in the isolated areas to the south. If the League is successful, it is not merely a public service of working farmers and excludes self-seekers who are only interested in a political party. It seeks to protect the rights of the agricultural labourers and the industrial workers of the big towns and cities, for it is these sections which are the true friends of the farmers who want to struggle against the common enemy who exploits them. Its immediate programme is briefly as follows:

1. The revaluation of all holdings and cancellation of all arrears of debt due for all areas.
2. No forced sales, foreclosures, or evictions for arrears of debt.
3. Government aid, free of interest, for necessary farmers, for superfluous workers.
4. Railway freight to be reduced by 25 per cent.

5. All shire rates and taxes to be spent in localities of which they are raised, for road repairs, etc.

6. A 10% reduction in agents' commission.

The future of the wheat farmers depends on the success of their organisation, the Wheatgrowers' League, which is beginning to appear in the isolated areas to the south. So far, the League is only a small organisation, composed of working farmers and excludes self-seekers who are only interested in a political party. It seeks to protect the rights of the agricultural labourers and the industrial workers of the big towns and cities, for it is these sections which are the true friends of the farmers who want to struggle against the common enemy who exploits them. Its immediate programme is briefly as follows:

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American Scenario

SCENE

The United States of America is the Promised Land of capitalism... Nowhere else does the desire for gain play so large a part. Every moment of life is filled with the struggle, and death alone ends the insatiable pursuit... The capitalist class furthers its interests unaffected by any scruples, even though the body is over the corpse... Nowhere else are the absolute contrasts between the rich and the poor so sharp. The life-style of the American is not found in the pleasurable development of self, not in the beautiful harmony of a well-lived life, but only in 'getting ahead.'

—Professor Werner Bombart, 1905.

UNEMPLOYMENT REACHES TEN MILLION MARK.

J. P. MORGAN LAUNCHES $2,500,000 YACHT.

SUB-TITLES

my country 'tis of thee

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


"No easy road of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

—Judge Thayer, at the trial of Van Zandt.

THEME

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

The message of the one and the message of the other do not converge on the same point. The revolution is not yet formed. Unfused it cannot prevail against the entrenchment of the Old. We must begin to generate within ourselves the energy which is love of life... Its action is creation... And in a dying world, creation is revolution.


CLOSE-UPS

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

For twenty years he fought the working class of the West. He organized the State of Miners, I.W.W., strikes, lock-outs, frame-ups, conferences, soap-box, Big Bill was always there, a mighty reservoir of energy, power, direct, primitive. He was a spokesman and symbol of revolutionary labor. He was in Patterson in 1912 when the striking textile workers were beaten up by cops. And in 1917, when the Morgan interests sold the coal to the American textile workers, Big Bill was there, with a hundred other nobodies for saying then what the laborers have found out since—that it wasn't a war to end war, but a war to save Wall Street.

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

John was the son of a comfortable Babbitt in Portland. He lived among smooth Tories and big-time gaffers and auto-nobles. He was sent to Harvard to learn good English and to become a Good American Citizen.

—Judge Thayer, after sentencing Sacco and Vanzetti.

"Did you see what I did to those anarchists bastard?"

Citizen, Rotarian, patriot, and popular writer. But he got a job reporting, and he was in Paterson in 1913 when the striking textile workers were beaten up by the cops. Reed was mistaken for a striker (it doesn't matter much who gets hit when they're swinging blackjacks) and hushed by the W.S.P.U. He was chosen to bill him out, but Reed said he'd stay in jail and bill them. He was young and alive, and Harvard hadn't altogether killed his intellectual honesty.

In jail Reed learned the meaning of the class-struggle. He came out clearer and scarrier. He was a socialist. The revolution was not yet formed. Unfused it cannot prevail against the entrenchment of the Old. He stood for something real. He'd seen hungry fellows grubbing over rubbish for something to eat, but somehow he hadn't linked up with society as an organic whole.

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

In Russia he died.

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

In a dying world, creation is revolution.

John Reed wanted to create things. As a kid he used to paint and write, and because his people had money he was sent to Harvard to learn good English and respectability. He liked Haywood, the democracy and the humorous, the socialist, but he liked life also, and he wanted to meet it first-hand and make books about it. So in 1917 he volunteered for army service in France. He was twenty-three, and had some vague idealistic feeling about the war and American democracy. He went to Russia, and returned to America in 1919. It was a period of intense disillusion; the intelligentsia had seen through the lies; the capitalists were introducing fascist terrorism to exclude workers from participation in the golden war-time harvest of profit. Wilson, the hope of the liberals, had sold himself to Big Business, and was sanctioning bloody repression of the working-class.

400,000 steel workers struck for union recognition, an eight-hour day, one day's rest in seven. Unions, whose balance-sheets showed a profit of $233,000,000, smashed the strikes with cannon and dynamite, bombs, machine guns. Labor organizations everywhere were raided, members beaten up, their possessions burned. In Centralia, after a raid of incredible brutality on the local I.W.W., 11 workers, 9 men and 2 women, were murdered, 6 in cold blood.

Young Joe Masses knew of these things. For a while he tried to forget them. He could paint them, he could piece them together into an escape that might be another place and another time. They could be powerfully built without any further protest, and the escape could exist as a thing. He knew, of course, that a woman striker had been shot in the back in Pennsylvania, that thousands of workers were being starved and tortured in 'bull pens.' But these things were beyond the domain of art, they represented the American scene in terms of petty parties and jazzy weddings, cocktails and bootleggers.

John Reed was a painter. He wrote a book about the War called Three Soldiers, that appeared in 1921. It was a study of mental degradation under militarism, and brought to Reed, who was America's first war poet, it was generally denounced. Then he wrote another novel called Street of Shadows, in which he finally purged himself of his sophisticate soul-sickness. It is a story of a Harvard, and three young people who turn it into a song. "We don't fit in," says one, "we are like beautiful lean-faced people of the Renaissance lost in a marsh, a diaphanous sea, a body of water blown and tossed by black walls and towering steel girders."

One of the trio finds release through suicide; the man walks into the water.
The Crisis and Modern Science

The present world-wide economic depression has produced marked changes in every sphere of human activity. In the past few years, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of people who are finding it difficult to make ends meet. This is partly due to the increased cost of living, but it is also due to the fact that many industries have been hit by a recession.

The industrial revolution, which began in the eighteenth century, spread rapidly throughout Europe and America. It brought about a revolution in agriculture, industry, and commerce. It was a time of great change, and it was a time of great opportunity. Many new inventions were made, and many new industries were formed. It was a time of great progress, and it was a time of great promise.

But the industrial revolution was not without its problems. It brought about a great deal of hardship and suffering. It was a time of great inequality, and it was a time of great materialism. It was a time of great exploitation, and it was a time of great waste.

In the face of these problems, a new generation of thinkers emerged. They were called modernists, and they sought to solve the problems of the industrial revolution. They believed that science was the key to solving these problems. They believed that by understanding the natural world, they could find solutions to the problems of human life.

The modernists were not afraid to challenge the established order. They were not afraid to speak out against injustice and inequality. They were not afraid to challenge the power of the church and the state. They were not afraid to challenge the authority of the ruling class.

The modernists were not afraid to be controversial. They were not afraid to be radical. They were not afraid to be brave. They were not afraid to be true. They were not afraid to be themselves.

The modernists were not afraid to be different. They were not afraid to be creative. They were not afraid to be original. They were not afraid to be unique. They were not afraid to be true to themselves.

The modernists were not afraid to be free. They were not afraid to be independent. They were not afraid to be individual. They were not afraid to be free.

The modernists were not afraid to be true. They were not afraid to be honest. They were not afraid to be courageous. They were not afraid to be strong.

The modernists were not afraid to be true to themselves. They were not afraid to be true to their ideals. They were not afraid to be true to their principles.

The modernists were not afraid to be true to their visions. They were not afraid to be true to their dreams. They were not afraid to be true to their hopes.

The modernists were not afraid to be true to their selves. They were not afraid to be true to their own paths. They were not afraid to be true to their own hearts.

The modernists were not afraid to be true to their own convictions. They were not afraid to be true to their own beliefs. They were not afraid to be true to their own values.

The modernists were not afraid to be true to their own truths. They were not afraid to be true to their own realities. They were not afraid to be true to their own realities.

The modernists were not afraid to be true to their own identities. They were not afraid to be true to their own selves. They were not afraid to be true to their own spirits.

The modernists were not afraid to be true to their own souls. They were not afraid to be true to their own passions. They were not afraid to be true to their own spirits.

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Truly, science has at last achieved the “impossible” and received the church’s blessing!... or so the scientists believe.

SO MUCH FOR THE CRISES in science as represented by the “latest” observations. We will now see how this practice reveals itself to be just as reactionary.

The scientists quoted above have not been so much aware of the great crisis in science as another crisis, one which is perhaps, more importantly, indirectly connected with the process of production, and the control of the production process. One example of how this is regarded as “purely” an economic problem is the recognition in the USSR that the major problem in economic production is production of energy. In the past decades, a separate science of Energetics has been built up. Why has this occurred? The answer is to be found in numerous books.

The centralisation of production and the centralisation of mental activity. Centralisation is necessary for capitalist. The centralisation of production and accumulation of productive forces around certain gigantic centres has made it more and more necessary to centralise production and distribution. The best example of this centralisation in the capitalist world is to be found in the USSR, where all the major electrical power stations situated between the Mississippi River in the west and the Baltic Sea in the east are linked by a series of approximately 500,000 square miles, or an area twice the size of England, Germany, and France put together. The American Union, the John E. Holmes paper, which supplies 18,000,000 people, is the first link in a chain of ever-bigger rivers which will ultimately bring a revolution in capitalist countries.

In other words, centralised electrical energy will be the future method of supplying energy for capitalist. But capitalism limits the development of such schemes to their full extent, especially in such places as Ireland, where political barriers are insurmountable obstacles to scientific progress. Nevertheless, science still goes on finding “new” things, such as the high hopes for cold fusion, which produce the long-sought atomic energy.

The whole bourgeois world is agog with excitement when even the cold fusion is made, and photographs of Lord Rutherford and others appear on front pages under screaming headlines. Captain Scott, who was to have opened up the Antarctic, and Lord Rutherford is trying to oblige. Yet such an authority as Professor Andrade, who recently ascribed the discovery of atomic energy to the talk of a maniac than a scientist. Certainly experience has shown that the present economic conditions of the capitalist production, the job of the medical profession is to patch up the working class and attempt to keep it as fit as possible. But who is the one who knows anything of our Melbourne public hospitals, let alone its practical experience of sickness?

Actually, science has at last achieved the “impossible”, and received the church’s blessing!... but only to succumb to the pervasive influence of an ideology which has even drawn it back to partake of their own harshness. And so we conclude that the major crisis in science is not the crisis of the class-controlled nature of the prevailing ideas in society, but the crisis of the class-consciousness of the scientists and the scientific community, and the struggle of the working class to assert its role in the production of knowledge, and to overcome the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie.
“Call Quiet on the Soviet Border”

February, 1933.

As July, 1931, explained at a speech at the Legacy Club in Sydney the plans of the British Army for pushing forward railways, roads, and harbours in the Soviet Union, the British have the spirit of independence of the British to fight against the Abyssinian Abyssinians. The African, the border tribes in the British occupation of their territories. Abyssinia promises to become the spearhead, no longer of the British, but of the Abyssinians. The question is to carry out the Struggle for independence, and not of a capitalist attack on Abyssinia. And Tibet? Tibet has been virtually a British protectorate since the turn of the 19th century. The New York Times of August 21st, 1932, tells us that a treaty has just been signed securing the rights of British capital in this region, and providing that British instead of Chinese troops should be responsible for its defense. The head of the Tibet government had already received from British Headquarters 40 pieces of field artillery, a large number of shells, 2,000 service rifles and two million rounds of ammunition!

Finally, we arrive at the eastern end of the border, where the Chinese Imperialist, not British, is first of all the great heartland of Mongolia. “Outer Mongolia,” near the Soviet Border, has been for many years the capital of China, standing in close friendship with the Soviet Union—“Inner Mongolia,” for it is under the protection of the Chinese government, not of an imperialist proletariat—but still a Chinese republic, not capitalist and not national, but both, a “national” Chinese republic of “North China Daily News.” Leading organ on British Imperialism in the Far East, states that “to a great extent imperialist advancement in many of whom hold high administrative and political positions in Manchuria, have formed an alliance one of whose main objects is to win back Outer Mongolia (for capitalism); and that a force of 50,000 Mongols, under effect with strong and powerful training, is now at work for that purpose.

Meanwhile Manchuria, to the eastward, is already a conquered territory under imperialist domination whose works recently have been approaching the Soviet frontier along three lines—the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Trans-Siberian railway commanding the Soviet outlet to the Pacific Ocean. The Soviet Union could not allow these projections to pass. “We don’t want a single foot of foreign territory,” said Stalin, “but we shall not be treated as if we forget our own history.” And what have the Imperialists of the “London Commission” to say on this matter? Only this: “It is an unanswerable statement that a new restoration of the status quo would be no solution, since the present conflict arose out of the conditions existing before last September, and to restore these conditions would merely be to invite the repetition of the trouble.” These words, Imperialist editorial, is that the “restoration of the status quo” is not a concrete issue at all. The concrete issue is not whether Japan can invade and retire from Manchuria, but whether it will stop short of occupying the occupation of Manchuria to an actual state of partition. The question is to carry out the transition from the “manipulation of China” with special reference to the question of Manchuria, “has become an actual rival of the national government”—in other words, they want a great capital to attack the Chinese. But that is as far as they are prepared to express themselves openly—yet. For further information we have to go to other capitalist organs which maintain a less elaborate smoke-screen. The Memorandum of Prime Minister Tanaka in 1937 speaks of “the inevitability of crossing swords with Russia,” the Memorandum of General Hojo, in 1933, speaks of “squeezing out the Far Eastern region of the Soviet Union.” A well-known Japanese journalist, in the columns of “Nichon,” announces that “if the Japanese are to be able to forget unemployment and economic crisis for ever.” The Paris Press, with special references to the “necessary economic conditions of social peace” toward the civilisation, the end of the mode of existence of Siberia, and the end of the “socialist revolution” on which Bolshevik supervisions. The financial editor of the “New York Telegram,” more busily occupied in the task of his duty toward the internationalisation, the end of the mode of existence of Siberia, and the end of the “socialist revolution” on which Bolshevik supervisions.

Behind these states lies Germany, with its plans for “re-armament.” As the Berlin correspondent of the “Prolletariat” informed us last June, “Olympien von Papen last year visited Paris and discussed with French Colonialists the plans for the Soviet Union’s Five Year Plan and the re-arming of Germany,” and it was agreed...
Proletariat

February, 1933.

and Germany—were fitted against the Soviet Union at one and the same time. Today we find that the same worker, depending on his industry, may be a millionaire and获 prose, has made the competition between the capitalist powers more bitter, has also made their common antagonism to the Soviet Union more bitter. As markets contract the struggle for what is left of them becomes more intense—and hence a sharpening of the antagonism between the capitalist groups; but as these markets contract the tremendous expansion of the Soviet Union becomes more impressive by comparison—hence the need for a combination of all capitalist groups against it. Thus the danger of a war of rival imperialisms and the danger of a general counter-revolutionary war of intervention go hand in hand.

In the mighty chain of capitalist armaments round the Soviet Union there is, however, one weak link. That is that these frontier states, heavily-armed and Fascised as they may be, are the scene of some of the strongest revolutionary movements in the world. Poland is on the verge of a working-class revolution, aided by peasants and by national minorities. Early in 1932, Polish workers and soldiers disarmed and disarmed their officers, and a large number of the workers and peasants have been killed. In Latvia, too, much of the working-class movement has been suppressed by force of arms, while in Estonia, the capital of the Baltic states, a great number of workers and peasants have been killed. In the Baltic states, too, the workers have been forced to work long hours, and have been compelled to give up their right to organize and to strike.

Mr. J. H. Thomas: “I think the bottom has "Morning Post": “More signs of trade boom.”—Sept., 1932.

—Feb., 1932.

—March, 1932.

—March, 1932.

—Jan., 1931.

—May, 1931.

—Feb., 1930.

—June, 1930.

—Jan., 1930.

“Daily Express”: “No more of the old régime.”—Sept., 1932.

“Daily Mail”: “The dark cloud has passed.”—March, 1932.

Sir Harry McGowan: “We have turned the corner.”—March, 1932.

Sir L. J. Braye: “We are beginning to get out of the weather.”—June, 1932.


Sir Robert Horne: “Our noses are round the corner.”—Sept., 1932.

In Britain there were 2,697,886 unemployed at the end of 1932.—“New Leader,” Dec. 25, 1932.

Oxford Undergraduates Marching with the Hunger Marchers in England. Since that time many undergraduates have had their names and addresses taken by “bull-dogs” while participating in working-class demonstrations.
IS BRITAIN DIFFERENT?

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

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

The boasted 'superiorities' and 'differences' dwindle more and more the basic issues stand out ever more merely as the present crisis extends. Where are now the 'democratic' institutions in Germany for the sake of which the Second International leaders had the millions of German workers and soldiers when they held power in their hands in 1818, sacrificed the social revolution that was within their grasp? The mass of workers are faced with the hopeless struggle for bread, and in this struggle are confronted with the apparition of capitalist violence. In the streets of Belfast the masses of workers demonstrate, crying, 'We want bread,' and are met with bullets. Is all this so different from Germany?

THERE BERLINHEAD. Before the present crisis had taken effect, in 1930, 28.1% of the insured workers were unemployed. Unemployed single men were to exist on 12 shillings a week. Driven by need, ten thousand unemployed workers in Berlinhead demonstrated to present their demands, a delegation their demands before the Public Assistance Committee—their demands for existence—for an increased rate for coal, for food, for clothes. What is the result? The police are sent upon them. All the witnesses agree as to the fully peaceful character of the demonstration until the police attack began; only in the face of actual attack the workers were driven to resist, and by their resistance showed their solidarity and determination, and extracted the concessions that were won. On peaceful demonstrations of unarmed workers, without strikes and under martial law, forces of armed police, specially drafted in, are let loose to make their baton charges, until the scene is a 'battlefield.' Then follows the vengeance of the successive nights, the 'night of terror' in the working-class quarters.

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

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

Mr. MacDonald lost no time to respond:

"He recognized fully that Sir S. Cripps and his immediate associates held precisely the same views as he did on the question."

"Times" Report, October 20, 1932.

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

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

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

We witnessed similar baton charges against peaceful demonstrations in Melbourne in connection with the November 7th Celebrations.—(Id. "Proletariat!")
IS BRITAIN DIFFERENT?

PROLETARIAT

June 1933

Price 6d.
ENGELS’ SPEECH OVER MARX’ GRAVE

Delivered at Highgate Cemetery, London, March 17th, 1883.

On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two months, and then we came back and found him in an exalted, persevering, and steadfast—forever.

An inestimable loss has been sustained by the militant proletariat of Europe and America and by his historical science in the death of this man. The gap has been left by the death of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human society. He discovered the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first eat and drink, then shelter and clothe, before it can pursue politics, science, religion, art, etc.; and that therefore the production of the immediate material means of life, and consequently in the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the form of government, the legal conceptions, the art, and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which these things must therefore be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist method of production and the bourgeois society that this method of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly lighted up the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigators, both bourgeois economists and socialists, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated, marred no fewer than the many, none of them superficially—every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries and all made in half the man. Science was for Marx historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which his contemporaries hailed his work, he knew it to be of such importance that it would not only reconcile him with the difficulties of his time and his opponents, but would also lead to a new discovery in some theoretical science where his practical application to the idea of the metalanguage which he had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the lives of the governed, in which he made him think of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was its life. He was self-sacrificing, whether in theory or in practical life, without a rival. In his work on the socialist “Habemus Zeitung” (1842), the Paris “Gazette” (1841), the Brussels “Gazette” (1842), the Paris “Panaeotist” (1843), the London “Western Times” (1845), and in addition to these a host of pamphlets, periodicals, books in revolutionaries’ clubs in Paris, Brussels, and London, and in the 183rd volume of the history of the International Workingmen’s Association (the First International)—the last volume of which was published, in 1882, by the Marx family.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionary. His real existence in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the forms of government which it has brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the lives of the governed, and to make himself conscious of his own position and its needs—of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was in the very core of his being. He fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few can boast of.

And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few can boast of. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few can boast of. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few can boast of. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few can boast of. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few can boast of. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few can boast of. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few can boast of.

In his name and his work will endure through the ages!
CURRENT NOTES --

THE WAR DANGER

The Achilles' heel of capitalist production lies in the fact that whereas power to produce commodities increases without a halt, the imperialist division of the world, the working class places definite limits on the expansion of the market. As loan capital accumulates in the advanced capitalist countries, the possibility of profitable investments declines. So the capitalist class searches frantically all over the world for relatively underdeveloped countries requiring capital. Every advanced capitalist country depends more and more on the profits derived from capital invested abroad. In 1916 Lenin wrote: "The revenue of the British bondholders is five times greater than that from the foreign trade of the greatest trading country of the world. (Lenin: "Imperialism," p. 110.) Since the war, Britain's foreign investments have declined. Yet before 1929, "of the annual saving in this country of about £400 million, rather more than £200 million used to be invested abroad." Capital is owned by national groups; each group is supported by a State apparatus and a division of the world amongst capitalist States is almost complete, and so the struggle for the remaining areas of exploitation (for example, China) and for a reduction of the world becomes particularly intense. In Manchuria it has already led to war. In Paraguay and Bolivia, in Peru and Colombia, the struggle between England and America has also issued in war. In Europe, the struggle between groups headed by France and England on the one hand, and Germany on the other, for fields for investment in Europe and abroad (Alsace and Lorraine, Germany's erstwhile colonies, etc.) threatens another world war on a scale far exceeding that of 1914-1918.

FREE competition between relatively small capitalist groups has grown into the era of monopoly capitalism. Monopolies are more solid when all the sources of raw materials are controlled by one group. The international capitalist groups fiercely devote themselves to the task of preventing competition by acquiring all. (Lenin: "Imperialism," p. 87.) This struggle by monopolist groups for raw materials emerges in war. We saw the process in the years before 1914. Manchuria is rich in primary products—oil, rubber, and minerals. The most profitable industry is coal; so is Jethol. So Japan invades China, and hundreds of thousands of Chinese are slain. According to the ethics of capitalism, murder is a legitimate means of acquiring. The United States in South America (particularly in Nicaragua), England in India, and France in Indo-China are applying this capitalist criterion — "We (that is Standard Oil and the Anglo-Dutch Oil Co.) — "We fight for oil." And at the same time America and England pile up huge armaments for the time when the "fight" takes the form of armed conflict rather than a trade war.

UNDER capitalism, capacity to produce commodities far exceeds capacity to consume. So overseas markets are of primary importance for an industrial State. In these circumstances, a feverish struggle for colonies becomes a distinguishing mark of imperialism. Again, each imperialist group raises tariff barriers or introduces the quota system against foreign commodities, particularly to protect the home market and partly in order that the profits created by selling commodities at high prices can be used to dump the same commodities overseas at much lower prices. Thus tariffs and quotas limit the world market, and, in so far as they lead to dumping, the struggle in the reduced market is intensified.

ARGUMENT as to whether the struggle between imperialist groups for fields of investment, for raw materials and markets, leads to war is futile. The concrete evidence of the war of 1914-1918, and the wars before and since that date, make an affirmative answer inevitable. The point that must be stressed is that in our own era the menace of imperialist war is peculiarly acute. For "the novelty of the recent imperial war, translated as policy consists" (partly—C.S.) "in its adoption by several nations." Up to 1870 Great Britain had a virtual monopoly of the trade and colonies of the world, but gradually increasing from 1870 to 1914 Great Britain had a virtual monopoly of the trade and colonies of the world, and particularly Germany, the United States, France, and Japan) began to rival her ascendancy. Thus we see how the unequal development of capitalist countries produces an outmoded which is a result of the conflict between imperialist groups.

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tries leads to war. When imperialism was adapted to by the advanced countries, and the division of the world was virtually complete, the period of relatively peaceful capitalism came to an end; we live to-day in the era of imperialist imperialism. There is another side to the picture. As the struggle between imperialist groups becomes more acute, the world market becomes saturated, the period of capitalist expansion ends, and this results in increased attacks on the working class follow, and this leads to the revolutionary uprising of the toiling masses. Ours is the era of wars and revolutions.

More than half a century ago Marx pointed out that as capitalism spread throughout the world, the areas for exploitation would decline until capitalism entered into the phase of its general crisis, in which the antagonisms between classes would be intensified, finally emerging in armed conflict. The general crisis of capitalism began with the imperialist war of 1914-1918. This war did not solve the crisis; it merely led to a new alignment of forces, and above all to the beginning of the world revolution with the triumph of the working class in Russia. On the contrary, after a period of temporary stabilization between 1923-1929, the general crisis has now entered on another particularly acute phase. Since 1929 the value of world trade has declined by approximately 50 per cent. During the same period there has been a corresponding decline in home production in most countries. At present the conflict between imperialist groups must be intensified. War comes to be regarded as the only way out of the crisis, not only in Japan and Germany, but also in the other countries. As a result of the conflict between the rival imperialists takes the form (mainly) of tariff increases, dumping depreciation of the exchange, etc. But it is recognized that at any time the trade war may pass into the phase of armed conflict. This is proved by the fact that during a crisis unprecedented in intensity, range, or duration, the capitalistic countries in competition with each other have increased their armaments. Consider "pacify" England. For the coming year the estimates for the fighting forces of Great Britain have been increased by £4,881,000 over those of last year. Elsewhere there is to be "economy"; for example, the education grant is to be cut by £2,000,000. The international price level has declined steadily since 1925, but expenditure on world armaments continues at the same level.

World Armaments Expenditure
(Artarms Year Book, 1932, p. 484)

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expenditure in millions of £</th>
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<tr>
<td>1925</td>
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<td>1929</td>
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Here is the clearest evidence that the capitalist States regard war as the outcome of their economic rivalries.

WE turn now to consider in greater detail the antagonisms which explain this vast increase in armaments expenditure during the period of capitalist decay. Leaving the question of the Soviet Union for later consideration, we find that the central fact in the European armaments crisis is the division of Europe into two capitalist camps. Led by France and England, we have on the one hand the States that gained by the redistribution of the world in 1919. They are determined to maintain the status quo. On the other hand, we have the States whose expansionist tendencies were checked by the Peace Treaties, or who, having lost ground, they are hostile to Germany and Italy, and are determined on a further redistribution of the world—notwithstanding the fact that this redistribution can only be achieved by the destruction of the capitalist system. In order to sustain herself in the event of a war of revenge, and as a bulwark against Soviet Russia, France created Poland and Czechoslovakia out of the Habsburg Empire and the Russian Army. She greatly increased the territory of Serbia (the present Yugoslavia) and Rumania. France does everything possible to strengthen the ties that bind her allies to her. But in addition she has more than doubled her armaments expenditure between 1925 and 1931, the increase was from 5,543,000 francs (1925) to 11,599,700,000 francs (1931). (Armaments Year Book, 1932, p. 124.) The Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia) also realizes the imminence of war, and recently concluded an alliance which involved the creation of a
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federation. Undoubtedly this was a war measure dictated mainly by the situation in Germany. Poland endeavours to strengthen her hold on the "free" city of Danzig, and so she lands troops in the city, as a preventative step against German occupation. Hence the recent crisis. Later the Nazis raid the trade union headquarters in Danzig. The accession of Fascists to power vastly increased the danger of war. The Nazis have constantly exploited all the chauvinist feelings in Germany arising from the fact that by the Treaty of Versailles the Reich lost seven million Germans and all her colonies. In addition, she was forced to pay huge reparations and was compulsorily disarmed. Now we find that Germany has determined to disarm. "We will be forced to complete our armaments whatever be the general limitations within the British plan," writes Baron von Neurath, Germany's Foreign Minister. The military character of the Fascist German Government becomes apparent when we remember that, in addition to the War Office, the Nazis on coming to power created two new War Ministries: the Special Aviation and a second War Ministry for military training of German youths. The Nazis make gestures against Denmark in the north and Poland in the east. Both are crossing the border from Germany territorial in Upper Silesia, the Polish Corridor, and Danzig. Why is Germany so insistent on rearming? Because her expansionist pretensions, chauvinist and militarist, are thwarted by the fact that she has not a military machine of sufficient strength to back up her demands. War alone will serve the ends of the Fascist German militarist class. In my view, Mussolini stated that his basis should be the revision of the Peace treaties—the goal of the foreign policy of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

It is against this background that we should regard the Franco-British note protesting against the smuggling of Italian arms into Austria. Comrade Thaelmann, leader of the Communist Party of Germany, has given the correct working-class answer to this chauvinist propaganda: "We Communists say to you, French workers, masses of the toiling people: 'Your fellow-sufferers in Germany, the workers and peasants there, are not your enemies, but your natural allies!' And at the same time we tell the German toilers that the French workers and toilers are never their foes, but their class allies and comrades." This is true proletarian internationalism. The unity of the workers of the world as contrasted with the chauvinist war gestures and war preparations characteristic of capitalism.

The antagonism between the defeated and victorious bourgeois States (enormously exacerbated by the weakness of Fascism in Central Europe) remains the main danger as the most acute facing the working class. The colonial question has actually led to war at the present time. With regard to the colonial question, Lenin has drawn attention to the supremely important fact that the bourgeois States now export capital rather than manufactured goods to the colonial and semi-colonial countries. So we get the emergence of capitalism, and therefore of a working class, in these countries too. Imperialism thus prepares the way for the world revolution. (See in this connection the growth of the Soviet China and the struggle of the workers and peasants of India against foreign exploitation.) The Lytton Report suggests "international action" to crush the "selfish, selfish rival". Lenin and the "Socialist Aviation" which is the rival of the imperialist rival of the National Government. They possess their own law, army, and Government, and their own territorial sphere (Lytton Report, pp. 23 and 24.) With the steady growth of Communism throughout China the resistance to foreign penetration grows (despite the defeatist attitude of the Comintern) and already the capitalists are considering "international action" for "national reconstruction." Because Japan is the bulwark of capitalism against Communism in the East (China and Japan), the existence of a Communist China (created by the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets), France and England have steadily refused to take any effective steps to check Japan in her attacks on Manchuria, Jehol, and Sinkiang, or in her advance south of the Great Wall.

Thus we have the antagonism between the United States and Japan in the Pacific—an antagonism which has been further accentuated as a result of Japan's invasion of China.

Imperialism does not mark merely an era of imperialist wars. It is above all the last stage of capitalism: the era of proletarian revolution. In the Soviet Union the revolution has already freed over 160 million people, and the existence of the Communist State is a bulwark of capitalism against the working class of China. Can we imagine harmonious relations between the World of the modern Capitalist dictatorship and the World of the proletarian revolution? Clearly no. Because the capitalist class all over the world lives in mortal fear of the proletarian revolution; the capitalist class knows that the Soviet Union demonstrates the possibility of the working class' control, and therefore it is an inspiration to all toilers. So the Soviet Union must be isolated and, if possible, crushed. And in 1917, Russia was the extremely valuable field for investment. In this sense Russia was a "colony country." We may note in this connection the huge demands for the German gold and the extent to which foreign capital controlled Russia's financial and industrial life. To bring Russia back into the imperialist fold appears to be one of the main objects of the German policy. That the imperialist powers desire to crush the Soviet Union, and that they are prepared to embark on a war of intervention to achieve this aim, is a fact which can be proved by history. After the Russian Revolution, Japan and the United States invaded Siberia, France and England sent troops to Archangel, and all the great imperialist powers spent huge sums in financing the counter-revolutionary generals. Intervention was followed by economic blockades. The attitude of the imperialists to the Soviet Union has not changed. No one can doubt that if the Czar still ruled in Russia, Japan's conquest of Manchuria would have led to war with the Soviet Union. Only the current policy of the Soviet Union has prevented war. With regard to Japan's determination to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway (opened now by Russia) in South Manchuria, the "Sydney Morning Herald" stated on April 27th that "It looks very much as if Japan is seeking a pretext for taking action against the Soviet Union." Bourgeois newspapers constantly refer to the probability of the Japanese invasion of Siberia. France strengthens her alliance with the League against the Soviet Union, as well as against Germany. The United States has never recognized the Soviet Union which is allied with Germany Hitler, and which is anti-Soviet. But England at present takes the lead in provocative acts against the Soviet Union. It is well known that England's foreign trade has declined sharply since 1939; while on the other hand its trade with the Soviet Union has steadily grown. Yet after the Ottawa Conference the British Government abandoned its intention of breaking the trade treaty with Russia; and the trial of the Vick's saboteurs and spies was chosen as a pretext for breaking off trade relations. At the same
time we observe rapid intensification of the campaign of lies against the Soviet Union. War is capitalist policy continued by other means. Capitalist policy today is directed against the Soviet Union; only the sympathy felt by the workers in the capitalist countries for their class brothers in the Soviet Union prevents capitalist policy taking the form of war.

WHAT of the League of Nations? When Baron von Neurath announced Germany's intention to re-arm, the British Secretary for War (Lord Hailsham) immediately threatened that the League would employ "sanctions" against her; that is, economic boycott or war. The League is clearly revealed as a military alliance of the powers victorious at Versailles against the defeated countries, and as the Lytton Report shows) against Communism. Hence the League's "strange" failure to invoke sanctions against Japan when, in defiance of her covenant obligations, she invaded China. While the capitalists talk peace at Geneva, the realities of war preparations and actual armed conflict (in Manchuria, etc.) proceed. War is the only path to take the path of the League of Nations is to take the path of the bourgeoisie—the path that leads to war. Peace can only be achieved by the proletarian revolution, by Communism.

We are accustomed to read in our columns of a capitalist newspaper that Communism is a very wicked doctrine, because, forsooth! It involves violence. And in the next we learn that millions must be spent on armaments. So the question is not violence or Pacifism. The capitalist class employs violence normally against the workers and colonial peoples. We have shown concretely that it is preparing for imperialist war and for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. So the real question is: "In whose interests is the force to be employed?" The capitalist class in France, for example, arms its workers in order to protect its interests against the capitalists of Germany, supported for the moment by their workers. The workers are to do the fighting; the workers are to suffer. The question is only in whose interests?

Surely the proletariat must use force in its own interests, and against the exploiters who are preparing war. When confronted with the call to arms, the working-class reply must be: "The enemy is in our own country!" After every modern war the workers have realized this fundamental fact. Every modern war has been followed by a proletarian revolution, in which the workers have turned their arms against the war-mongers. The aftermath of the Franco-Russian War was the Paris Commune; of the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Revolution of 1905; of the Great War, the triumphant insurrection of November 1917, and revolutions in Hungary, Germany, and elsewhere—revolutions which were crushed owing to the treachery of the social democrats in causing sections of the workers to fight, in the name of 'democracy,' for the bourgeoisie. Owing to the proletarian revolution, Russia withdrew from the Great War nearly twelve months before the Armistice. Imperialist war or intervention against the Soviet Union can be crushed at the outset if the opponents of war carry out the necessary preparatory work; if a sufficient and well-planned offensive and defensive movement is carried out before the outbreak of war; if the lesson that proletarian revolution is the true reply to imperialist war is recognized by every worker and intellectual. The fundamental task confronting the working class to-day is to build up now a broad, united front against imperialist war and against a war of intervention in the Soviet Union.

Charles Silver

Australian capital has commenced the exploitation of the goldfields in New Guinea. The workers have increased the work of the Administration, which has accordingly been extended by the establishment of an Executive Council appointed by the Governor-General and a Legislative Council appointed from the Executive and containing in addition seven representatives of mining, commercial, and plantations, also appointed by the Governor-General. This Administration will carry on and extend the imperialist task of exploiting New Guinea's natural resources, using the cheap and, in reality, forced labor of the 50,000 natives in their country. The capitalists from this exploitation arises the unity of the New Guinea natives and the natives who are preparing war. When
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The fifth article, on the question of the militia, discussed the comparative merits of voluntary and compulsory systems of training. While admitting that in one branch—the Citizen Air Force—the voluntary system gave better results because of more careful selection of recruits, the writer drew the conclusion from his review of the situation that a satisfactory reserve of properly-trained men can be established only by reversion to compulsory training. Three months previously (August 15) it had been announced that the introduction of compulsory military training, though favoured by both the military and political authorities, was not likely until the next financial year, on account of expense.

"In the meantime," the Minister for Defence hopes to make voluntary training more attractive"—and in what way? One method was indicated in the "Argus" of Nov. 16: "Among the pleasant memories which former trainees may have borne from Seymour ... there are more painful reminiscences of heat, flies, dust, and sometimes bush fires. ... The experiment is therefore being made of holding camps in spring instead of autumn." Compulsions calculated to arouse the interest of youths are held in militia circles; newspaper illustrations receive the uniformed heroes. But is it possible that the numbers should return to a high figure? The mechanization of the army has been credited with competent observers with increasing the efficiency of each man by 300%. Mr. Latham stated recently in the House of Representatives that Australia was well up to European standards in this matter.

The concluding article treated the subject of poor pay, assigning this as a reason for lack of interest in the militia. Five days later Brigadier-General McNicol bought the matter up in the House of Representatives, and on December 8 increases in naval pay to the extent of an additional £60,000 annually. An increase in the pay of militia (to 8s. per day) is now under consideration.

These increases are part only of a general raising of expenditure that precedes in draggers of the Defence Forces of the Commonwealth will be before the Federal Cabinet within the next few months by the Minister for Defence (Sir George Pearce). Believing that more money is needed for expenditure on defence in the next financial year, Sir George Pearce desires to increase the scope of each section of the forces to the greatest possible extent." At the beginning of May, Cabinet was discussing an increase of 25% in the Defence estimates—last year's vote of £3,000,000 being declared inadequate. This clamour for increased expenditure on war preparations coincides with reductions in wages, pensions, child endowment, part of the Guadalcanal rush made by the capitalists in a bid to war. War brings the destruction of materials, the creation of markets, the absorption of the discontented unemployed, "the revolution of the class struggle"—for a moment. But this "solution" involves the capitalists' reliance on immense numbers of workers—both in and behind the lines. Only the workers can carry out the war preparations, and thus the working class, if it is organised, has in its hands the power to prevent war. "The fundamental and standing task confronting every branch of war is to burn into the consciousness of every worker the lesson that he has no interest in supporting imperialist war, and that the exploiting class can carry on the war only by the force of the working class, standing behind such a war, then his reply must be: 'The enemy is in our own country.'"—H.

This new Union of Nations, it may be assumed, will be managed just as existing alliances are managed. ... The Union itself will be managed by the governing authorities of the nations from whose point of view its activities will be conducted. ... It will certainly have the small nations of Europe and America; in the case of small nations it would suppress rebellion, it would have no power to deal with the demand of subject peoples striving for liberty. The landing of the issues of the peace and war to an international committee of the governing classes.—J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P. (National Defence: A Study of Militarism; 1917).

The League of Nations, Ramsay Macdonald's dove of peace, is "controlled by the governing authorities"; has the smallest nations at its mercy; advocates suppression of revolutions in China; the subject peoples still strive for liberty from the dominion of its members.
In his report to the 16th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Stalin said, "We have succeeded in maintaining peace... For the future no less we shall continue this policy of peace, with all our strength and all our resources."

In what ways has Russia attempted with all her strength and all her resources to maintain peace? What chance has she of succeeding? Why does she want peace? Are other countries opposed to her peace policy? If so, why? These are the questions which this article proposes to answer.

The Soviet Union makes no secret of its belief that the only way to prevent war is to prevent the causes of war. M. Litvinov, Soviet delegate to the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, said outright to the assembled delegates of the other nations: "The triumph of Socialist principles, removing the causes giving rise to armed conflicts, is the only absolute guarantee of peace." (Speech given on Feb. 11, 1932.)

This reason for the belief is plain to see: the world can be prevented from falling back into the conditions because it is the only means of redressing the world, of redressing markets, sources of raw materials, spheres for capital investment. (Stalin, "Questions of Imperialism.")

But if the impossible happened and the rival capitalist powers disarmed, there would not be complete security from war, for commercial aeroplanes and industrial chemicals may be converted into weapons of destruction. Hence the only absolute guarantee of peace is the triumph of Socialist principles.

What, then, of the Disarmament Conference which opened its meetings at Geneva at the end of January, 1932, and which has not yet reached a decision? Delegates from all the nations of the world, whether or not they were members of the League of Nations, attended this conference. This, of course, was necessary, for if disarmament is to prevent war it must be universal. Hence Russia was invited to attend the conference.

Russia did so. Why? Had she any faith that in this way war might be stopped? No. As early as 1930, Stalin pointed out that the bourgeois governments were arming and rearming themselves. For what? Naturally not for a tea-party," he says, "but for war.

Conferences for the reduction of naval armaments become conferences for the renewal and enlargement of the navies." (Questions of Imperialism.) However, there was no faith then, in conferences established by bourgeois governments, why did the Soviet send delegates to the Disarmament Conference? For two reasons. Firstly, because if she had nothing to fear, the capitalist and the disarming delegates would have used this as propaganda against her, telling the masses of their people that Russia had proved herself to be in favour of war by not sending delegates to the World Disarmament Conference. It is not the Soviet policy to give bourgeois governments any pretext for arousing popular feeling against her. Secondly, the Soviet delegates could do useful work at the conference by putting forward a consistent peace policy, which necessarily had to be answered by the delegates from the other countries. By doing so, and by insisting that the workings of the conference should be made public, Russia has complete and final proof to show the world that her government is the only one in existence that is willing and able to work for the interests of mankind by abolishing war.

Let us look briefly at some of the Soviet anti-war activities at capitalist conferences. As early as 1922, at her first appearance at an international conference, the Soviet Union put forward a complete, general, and simultaneous disarmament. But at that time the project was not even discussed, for the reason, as Lloyd George expressed it, "that it would lead the ship of the conference with a superfluous ballast." Time and time again throughout the past ten years we find Russia insisting that as long as capitalist principles exist in five-sixths of the world, the only means of organizing some sort of security against war is by total and general disarmament.

Her warning that pacts and treaties are not sufficient guarantees for the preserving of peace—a warning lightly dismissed by the other powers—has been proved to be justified. Japan and China were mutually bound by the League of Nations and the Paris Treaty of 1928; now they are at war.
IN THE DUNGEONS OF THE BERLIN POLICE HEADQUARTERS

By Egon Erwin Kisch

[The Prussian Minister of the Interior, Gerhardt, recently made a confidential statement to foreign correspondents denying that a fascist terror was raging in Germany. He admitted only that large numbers of Communist Party officials had been arrested at “protective custody.” Reports of the tortures of the prisoners, however, belonged to the realm of fairy stories. The following personal experiences of Egon Brumm Kisch, a witness in the prison of the Berlin Police Headquarters (Kisch was arrested at the beginning of March and later expelled to Czechoslovakia) stamp Gerhardt’s statement as a lie.

They show us what horrible physical and moral tortures the imprisoned revolutionaries in Germany are subjected. — Ed.]

I had hardly time to fold my coat on the plank bed, in order thereby to reserve a place in the crowded cell, before I was surrounded by all its inmates; fifteen to twenty imprisoned workers began talking to me, showing me their ghastly wounds and relating their terrible experiences.

They rushed at me, thrusting one another aside; their stories were like a jumble that I could only grasp the details and could obtain from them no connected story. Again and again a fresh prisoner would hold forth, telling me his experiences and showing me his wounds.

For five or six days they had been sitting there together, suffering increasingly the most unimaginable tortures, and now their comrades had come in who had not been with them; they wished to unburden their hearts to him, to tell him their grievances, to give him proofs of the bestiality of their tormentors. And that was why there was this throng around me — that was why I was assailed by this flood of facts and sights which left me quite faint and dizzy.

They had all been surprised in their houses by Storm Troopers on the Sunday of the elections, or the day after, and had been ill-treated in front of their terrified families; their furniture had been smashed to bits and their books torn to pieces. Without being allowed to dress completely — many of them were without shoes — they had been dragged away to the Nazi barracks, first to the so-called “Priesenkaserne” (barracks), and later to a factory in the Friedrichstrasse converted into a barracks for the Storm Troops.

“We’ll soon knock the Communism out of you!”

For five days and five nights the Storm Troops had been doing their best to drive Communism out of them in every possible way.

One of the chief ways in which the spirit of the non-commissioned officer, now awakened from the depths of the barracks, itself was as follows: The workers had been compelled to exercise in the courtyard, to throw themselves in the mud and jump up again at the word of command, again and again; for weeks they had been covered with mud and water, and had to stand up and jump up again until their legs were no longer able to follow them. They were forced to jump in the mud again and again, until they were covered with mud and water.

The prisoners were continually given warning that they would be shot, and for five days had been shot down in the cellar. At night their tormentors amused themselves by shooting into their sleeping quarters. One or other of the victims would usually shoot out, “Shoot me then, you coward!” whereverupon he would be beheaded with more cruel fury.

The Jews amongst the prisoners had suffered most, for they were the most cruelly beaten; every day they were taken to “execution,” placed against a wall, and revolvers shot into their heads to frighten them.

All this time there was in the barracks a young cell queue of fourteen, who had been imprisoned because it was desired to obtain from him the address of his mother who was in hiding.

From other prisoners the Nazis wanted to discover the addresses of officials or of houses in which secret press, explosives or arms were to be found. Of all the prisoners only one gave away all the more fun. In nine months’ time your wife will have little Hitler-kids!"

These remarks were the more disturbing and tormenting in that not one of the prisoners was in even the slightest communication with his relatives or knew whether his wife had not also been dragged off.

A game of question and answer, which was described as “Cross-examination,” was carried out as follows — “What are you?” “I am a Communist.” “Anyone who did not answer thus received a series of blows on the face and in the mouth; but if he gave this answer his tormentors corrected him with a blow: “— swine of a Communist.”

In reply to a question as to how they came by their wounds, the wounded had to reply: “I fell against a stove when I was drunk."

The beards were cut off, the heads shaved, generally on one side only, and Angela or a thing was put on their heads and faces terribly injured, the father’s right eye bloodshot and protruding, and his jaw swollen, perhaps smashed.

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ONE ASPECT OF MARXIAN PHILOSOPHY

MARXISM is a theoretical system encompassing political, ideological, and economic thought; it is the revolutionary theory of emancipation of the workers and society at large from the limitations placed on them by the bourgeoisie. In all Marxian philosophy is a militant materialism. As Lenin aptly summarised it, Marxism “has completed the three chief ideological currents of the nineteenth century; represents respectively the three most advanced tendencies of humanism: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines.”

It was through his studies of philosophy which led him to study sociology and economics that Marx realised the impossibility of their separation. Bourgeois philosophers in general have not yet recognised this unity. There is a two-fold desire to distinguish between them. The one is to distinguish between them, the other is to distinguish them further by Kant (dualism). But this movement is justified not only by the fact that Hegel’s philosophy contains a vague element “the inner idea of Nature,” etc.

Feuerbach criticised this standpoint. “Hegel’s doctrine that nature is postulated by the idea is nothing less than a translation into philosophical language of the ethical doctrine according to which nature is created by God, material being abstract or immaterial being.”

Thus, according to Hegel, the thought is creator of the real, or, in other words, thought determines being. The subject is the subject of itself. This conception was vigorously attacked by Feuerbach, who considered that Hegel tried to suppress the contradiction between thought and reality. He brought forth a materialism in Kant’s dualism. This suppression of the contradiction by transferring it into the realm of thought does not solve it.

Marx demanded the existence of this contradiction. Thought does not come before being, but is its consequence. According to Marx, world not only exists outside the ego, but also within the world is only a part of nature, a part of being, and that is why there can be no contradiction between thought and being.

Hegel wrote in Anti-Dühring. “If we enquire... what thought and consciousness are, whence they come, we find that they are products of the human brain, and that man himself is a product of nature developing in and along with his environment. Obviously, therefore, the products of the human brain being in the last analysis products of nature, do not contradict the rest of nature but correspond to it.”

But Marx’s philosophy is an advance Feuerbach’s. According to Marx, Feuerbach, occluded the conception of the natural world as being “mechanical,” “causal,” and “naturalistic” (not dialectical) as far as the human nature abstractly, not as a definite “thesis” of social relationships. It thus only “interpreted” the world, whereas “it was a question of changing it.” That is, it did not grasp the significance of “practical revolutionary theory.”

In his thesis on Feuerbach, Marx stated: “The materialist doctrine according to which men are the product of circumstances and education... fails to take into account the fact that the circumstances are moulded by men, and that the educator must himself be educated.” Old materialism was unable to solve this problem. The great discovery in this domain belongs to Marx.” Hence that which Marxian philosophy carries on they enter into definite relations, which are determined, that is to say, independent of their will, production relations— which is the definite evolutionary phase of the material forces of production. The totality of these production relations forms the economic structure of society—the real basis on which superstructure develops, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond.

This is the essence of historical materialism, or, to give another name to it, the science of history. Thus the whole problem of the economic development of society is given place to the problem of the causation of the evolution of the productive forces. In this light the problem is solved simply in reference to the nature of the geographical environment. But it is only a partial answer because, with the development of definite social relations, these in their turn influence the development of the forces of production. Thus, which formerly was an effect becomes in its turn a cause; between the evolution of the forces of production on the one hand and the social system on the other there exists a constant and effect which assumes at various epochs most divergent forms.
This discovery of the "motive" has elevated history to the realm of science. Marx goes beyond the mere idea of production of material life, and addiction to that. Marx insists that nature is the test of dialectics, and that we must say that in nature there exists a vast and daily increasing mass of material for this test, thereby proving that in the last analysis nature proceeds dialectically and not metaphysically. This is one of the sequences that makes the discovery so striking. By recent advances in science, we are now forced to a new consideration of the idea of man's conscious will. The history of man is one of continual change in the environment of the human being. Marx's point is that by changing the environment, we can change the human being, but not the human being by constantly changing their environment constantly change their own nature. This is seen in the framework of old production relations as an idle occupation which was taken up by the proletariat of the 19th century. Marx pointed out the fundamental fallacy of this approach, and demonstrated that the fundamental problem is not the framework itself, but the framework of the environment. Marx's point is that by changing the environment, we can change the human being, but not the human being by constantly changing their environment constantly change their own nature.

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mobilization of the police on May Day, the arrest of five peaceful demonstrators, and the savage sentences of £3 fine or 21 days' imprisonment and no time to pay. Again, the more powerful workers' clubs are sometimes able to hire halls for their meetings, or even to occupy them as full-time tenants; and of what use is it to drive "agitators" from the streets when they have these halls for a sanctuary of sorts? The law therefore demands the closing down of working-class halls. Hence the recent history of the Friends of the Soviet Union Hall in Melbourne, which was first (in September, 1922) attacked by hooligans armed with guns (who were allowed to escape by the police, the defenders being arrested instead of the assailants), and has since been attacked by the Taxation and Public Health authorities armed with regulation books and legal documents. The sudden and simultaneous interest of these authorities in all the legal niceties surrounding the management of this hall would be baffling to anyone who did not understand the political motive behind it. To cripple the organization financially, to close down the hall—such is the object of these official threats.

But some of the most striking manifestations of Fascism in Melbourne have been on the field of industry. More important even than the street and the meeting-hall is the factory or other workplace, where the "agitator" has for his audience the whole of the working class, and where he has Silva means of agitation that could be effective even under the most adverse conditions. Here fascism plants itself with determination, seeking to root out not only Communists, but "mischief-makers" in general; not only strikers, but all active organizers of struggle. The result has been a ruthless campaign of victimization and repression by private employers and Government departments alike. A long line of victims is formed, dismissed on specially invented charges, stranded on the streets, or not fined at all—Mullins (no reason given), Miss Taylor (trumped-up charge), the Hawthorn unemployed leaders, the General Secretary of the Liberal and Radical Union (again no reason given)—victims from all quarters sharing the common characteristic that they were striving to build up the workers' struggle against the State and the capitalist order. All were clearly political in every case. They were the penalty for speaking about the Soviet Union, and for undermining the system of work for the duration. But it would be wrong to interpret the word "political" in a narrow sense. With the approach of Fascism every sign of agitation comes to be viewed as a threat to the present social order, and therefore as a major political issue. This was vividly demonstrated when Councillor Wiles made the statement (publicly praised by General Blamitt) that he would make every employee of the City Council sign a oath of loyalty to King and Country and to the Council. It was also illustrated in the dispute on the "sustenance jobs" at Hawthorn, where the issues were of "industrial" character—character rights and clothing dismissals, etc.—where the men's leaders were arrested, and where a member of the Political Squad was despatched to make the arrested men disappear.

Not only is there wholesale victimization of political office-bearers, but all industrial agitation or struggle comes to be regarded as a political offence. This is a clear sign of Fascism in an advanced stage of development.

Lastly, there has been a further attack on the "Freedom of the Press." This "freedom" under capitalism has always been a thinly disguised ammunition of the "freedom of those who can afford to own a newspaper to denounce the minds of those who can only afford to buy it." Yet even this thin disguise does not satisfy the capitalists in the era of the approach to Fascism. Working-class newspapers must go. The "Workers Weekly" and The Red Banner have been outlawed. The Government has been called on to shut down the "unpopular" newspapers. Among the "unpopular," the "prejudiced to the complete suppression of the newspapers concerned. Among the "unpopular," by the way, there is included the "Soviets To-day," which is widely read even in liberal circles, and does not engage in propaganda for revolution. The suppression of this journal shows clearly that even the bare truth about present conditions under capitalism and socialism has no place in the development of a new order. In Germany, Fascism and Social Fascism have developed side by side. Almost opposite the Central Police Station stands the Trades Hall, and these two buildings are in close political as well as physical proximity to each other. In June, when he refused to repeal the Crimes Act of 1926, Tunnicliffe, when he authorized repeated banning of workers and repudiated General Blamitt as President of the Police, 62 and 63, when they facilitated Mullins' victimization, the Brunswick reformists, when they decided to remain outside of active struggle for free speech—these men have all helped to lay the path for the Fascist advance. Fascism thrives on passivity as well as on active capitalist aggression, and the reformist leaders have not stopped short even at passivity. Time and time again they have co-operated actively in the new offensive on the workers.

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**JUNE, 1933**

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Our answer to Fascism and to Social Fascism must be the building of every possible form of mass resistance to the Fascist attack. Mass resistance has shown its power in the reinstatement of Miss Taylor, in the victory of the Hawthorn unemployed, and in a hundred other instances. Capitalism can still be defeated by determined struggle, even if the Fascist attack is only the opening move for a new and more vicious campaign of repression. It is clear that this struggle, when pursued to its logical conclusion, must lead to the destruction of the Versailles System. 

—Ralph Gibson.
PROLETARIAT

February, 1933.

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PROLETARIAT

The advent of the German Fascist concentration Government enormously intensifies the war danger in Europe. The aggressive nationalism capitalised by the Fascists in the sphere of foreign policy, calls for revision of the Versailles Treaty, equality of armaments, abolition of the Polish Corridor, resurrection of colonies, and union with Austria. These questions constitute the source of serious antagonisms making for war. Following on Hitler's rise to Chancellor, the rumour was widespread in France that Germany had concluded a military alliance with Italy and Hungary. Whilst pursuing these imperialist aims against the other imperialist powers, the German bourgeoisie nevertheless counts most on reaching agreement with France and joining with France in the anti-Soviet bloc. In his speech to the Reichstag prior to the carrying of the Enabling Bill, Hitler referred to foreign affairs as follows: "We accept Signor Mussolini's far-sighted plan, and are ready to collaborate sincerely and peacefully with Britain, France, and Italy. We are convinced that agreement could be reached with France if the problems were tackled vigorously." - "Sydney Morning Herald," 25/3/33.

This statement is in agreement with the proposal of Von Pappen: "There should be a union of Germany, France, and Poland against the Soviet Union. The present Government has shown that it is prepared to sacrifice its relations with the interests of a bloc with the imperialist powers. Recent weeks have witnessed raids on Soviet trade agencies and the arrest and ill-treatment of Soviet citizens.

How long will German Fascism survive? This depends mainly on the strength of the working class. It is noticeable that, despite the unprecedented terror, the proletarian ranks have remained firm. The Communists retained 50,000,000 votes and the Social Democrats 7,000,000 voters. For the Communist Party increased its vote by more than 300,000—a fact of enormous significance. In some of the rural areas workers were forced to vote for the Nazis. The Fascists gained mainly at the expense of the other open bourgeois parties. Fascism—bourgeois imperialist counter-revolution—and its blow at the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party. In order to kill the vigilance of the working class, the Nazis first declared that they would not suppress the Communist Party, and afterwards proceeded to destroy it piecemeal. With shameless provocation they sought to isolate the Communists from the masses of workers while intensifying the war. Great losses have been sustained, including the imprisonment and murder of many leaders. "Shot while trying to escape"—the Fascist formula for the murder of its leaders—has become a daily occurrence against the best leaders of the working class. But the Communist Party of Germany, which, in its infancy, had its leaders (Liebermeister, Luxembourg, Zeldis) similarly murdered, with the connivance of Social Democratic leaders, has had tremendous experience. It has previously experienced illegal. Against all provocations and treachery, its iron ranks maintain connections with the masses. The revolutionary crisis matures the proletarians move forward to the struggle for Socialism. Parallel movements develop everywhere. The victory of the workers is assured.

—W.

In the past month further events have revealed the bankruptcy of the Hitler regime. In his speech on May 17 Hitler announced that "Germany will tread no other path but that of Socialism." Thus he has capitulated to the Imperialist powers, and in doing so he has betrayed many of his followers.

The real opposition to the Fascists is increasing as the Social Democratic workers see more and more clearly the rôle of Socialism in their lives. Their leaders have capitulated to the Fascists. These endorsed the Nazi foreign policy, and have declared that their opposition to Hitler will be purely legal. Legal opposition to the Fascists has met working class activity with murder, terror, and rigorous armed repression.

The revolutionary movement is growing. Despite repression, strike actions are common. In them a greater solidarity of workers is in evidence. The sole leader in the fight against Fascism—the Communist Party of Germany—is not disrupted. It is able to publish its newspaper illegally, and in most cities and towns local offices are produced. The struggle is growing, and it is possible that one day a Bolshevik revolutionary movement may arise.
MEMBERS of the Oxford Union recently decided, by 275 votes to 153, that under no circumstances would they fight for King and Country. This decision resulted in a tremendous outburst from the whole bourgeois press. All the "diehards," the representatives of the exploiters and landlords, denounced the resolution with rabid ferocity. The British capitalist class used the event to conduct a widespread campaign designed to accentuate jingoism throughout the country. The warmongers showed their true character. They demonstrated that they regard war as the only way left out of the crisis. The world is at present pregnant with the war danger.

Parallel with the unprecedented war preparations and activities of the imperialist powers there has been an ever-growing wave of resistance to wars. Among the workers tremendous struggles are taking place, especially in Japan, China, and Germany. This struggle has the appearance of a civil war in which there is no quarter. Strikes, demonstrations, and conferences have helped to weld working class solidarity. In these countries especially the struggle against war and imperialism has become identical with the struggle for liberation from wage-slavery and exploitation. It has become the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a republic.

In other countries fierce anti-war struggles are taking place. In Britain itself the tremendous feeling against war, not only among the workers, but also among the bourgeoisie, students, etc., is evidenced by the motion of the Oxford Union. In Australia members of all sections of the community have shown themselves opposed to war. It is now becoming necessary for Australian students to face up to the facts of the war danger and to organize in order to assist in the prevention of war. We shall see that in Australia, as elsewhere, the struggle against war is closely linked up with the struggle for working-class freedom. We will first deal with the experience of workers in one or two other countries where the conflict is more advanced.

Chinese students have a long history of struggle behind them. For many years they have conducted a persistent fight for the national liberation of China from the domination of the great powers—England, France, Germany, and Japan. The National Kuomintang Government is conducting a savage campaign in Northern China against the Chinese workers and students. Despite the fact that the Japanese imperialism has killed thousands of Chinese soldiers and workers in their advance through Jehol and across the Great Wall, the Kuomintang has made not the slightest effort to oppose them. The rank and file of the army have been boycotted by the generals. Communications and supplies have been completely neglected. There has been not one arrest made of the persons connected with the Japanese, although dozens of students and hundreds of workers have been arrested for attempting to arouse the people against the danger threatening China. This suppression has been carried on under the smoke screen of the "Communist menace." In short, the Chinese ruling class is taking the part of the Japanese, British, and other imperialist powers, and is vitally concerned in the attempt to stamp out the Chinese Soviet which already have the adherence of over 80,000,000 peasants and workers. The very name of the Chinese bourgeoisie, everywhere—in India, South America, Cuba, etc.—and that is why the struggle against the war danger and against national oppression becomes identical with the struggle of the working class for power. There is no other way for those who are opposed to war but that of the proletarian revolution. Wars of national liberation become one and the same struggle for revolutionary wars. The Kuomintang actually permitted Prince Kung to stay for three weeks in Peiping organizing, on behalf of the Japanese Government, a puppet Government similar to that in Manchukuo. After he left the authorities issued an order for his "arrest." At the same time, there were in Peiping alone 100 students under arrest for attempting to organize a national resistance to the Japanese. These events will compel the Chinese students to realize that their efforts must be directed into revolutionary channels.

The anti-war activities of American students are linked up with their economic struggle. American universities are full of proletarian and semi-proletarian students, who are compelled to work for a good part of their time in order to pay fees, expenses, etc. The frightful depression in America has led to a marked aggravation of the poverty of these students. No attempt has been made to cut down fees. As a result, the depression has been raised. (This has also been the case at the Melbourne University.) At the same time, the American Government has been expending vast sums on preparations, etc. There has been a well-organized campaign to repress anti-war moves among the students, and the right of free speech has been interfered with in subjects concerning Socialism, working-class politics, etc. As a result, there have been big strike moves in various academic centres. For example, in the New York University a three-hours' strike was conducted on February 2nd, 1933. It rose primarily from the refusal of the athletic authorities to continue medical treatment for a student boxer whose arm had been dislocated. Authorities stated that this arm was "incurable," and that the "depression had hit the University." The University paper, "Daily News," attacked the authorities, who, in punishment, broke off relations with the strike leaders. Thus the strike was initiated under such slogans as "For academic freedom," "Fight the gag rule," "Demand free press," etc. A similar protest, lasting a whole day, occurred in the College of the City of New York on February 25th under similar slogans.

2,900 students, or 15 per cent. of all students at the college, went out on strike on February 25th, in protest against repressive measures adopted by the university authorities. In these same educational institutions strong anti-war moves are under way. In many cases, many widely divergent opinions as to how the struggle should be carried on.

We have considered these examples in order to prove the statement that the struggle against war is to attain any permanent result at all, must be linked up with the everyday struggle of the workers, students, etc., for their economic demands. We are conscious that the resolution of this is in the realization that wars, exploitation of workers, high fees, gagging of free speech and discussion, all proceed from the one cause—the existence of the capitalist form of society, with the State apparatus as its organ of oppression, employing armed forces for repressive measures. The authorities in the universities and schools exercise the same repressive functions in a concealed form. As a result, out of the struggle of students for their rights there must inevitably develop a struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist State. The anti-war struggle will naturally be linked up with the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

These are some of the problems facing Australian students very openly to-day. The recent debate on war held at this University revealed that there is a small but definite anti-war feeling growing among the students. This feeling takes many forms, such as pacifism. Pacifist students will learn as time goes on that pacifism actually aids war preparation and manoeuvres. The essence of pacifism is the denial of all resistance and struggle, and hence leads to the disarming of those sections of the population opposed to war. It must be realized that the working class is the main force opposed to war, because from the proletariat the support for any kind of war can not be made. The working class will fight against wars by strikes, demonstrations, and finally with armed insurrection. This is the path towards a radical change of society. So it is with the students, who should conduct a persistent anti-war campaign keeping these things well in mind. The history of the present century proves this contention, and events are rapidly developing in Australia towards a similar conclusion.

—W.C.
THE STATE ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

In August, 1932, at Amsterdam, the World Congress Against War, convened by Henri Barbusse and Roman Rolland, was attended by 3,200 delegates representing 30,000,000 people. An International Committee Against War was established. National anti-war movements were formed.

A National Provisional Anti-War Committee for Australia was set up in Sydney in February, 1933. This was followed by the establishment of State Provisional Committees to arrange for State Conferences which should elect State Councils against war.

In April, 1933, conferences were held in Sydney and Brisbane (8th), Melbourne, Perth, and Adelaide (22nd). At these State Councils were elected to organize the fight against war, and to arrange for an All-Australian Anti-War Conference in the near future.

The task of organizing was no light one. As a first step, the Victorian Provisional Anti-War Committee applied to the Melbourne City Council for the use of the Town Hall. The request was granted, the contract signed, and the exorbitant rate of £40 a day paid in full. The committee proceeded to advertise the conference as to be held at the Town Hall, leaflets being printed and invitations being sent out on this understanding: 20,000 leaflets and circular letters to the number of 1,600 were distributed.

To quote the official statement on subsequent events:—"On the 13th April notice was received from the City Council requesting the names of the official speakers at the Conference. It was contemplated that as far as was possible, seeing that our Conference was to be a delegate conference, and it was impossible to determine beforehand what delegates would be taking the floor in discussion. The list submitted included such prominent people as the Rev. J. T. Lawton; Maurice Blackburn, M.L.A.; H. Burton; Vance Palmer. . . . On the 15th we received a notification from the City Council that our engagement of the Town Hall had been cancelled—no reasons being given."

One week was left to engage another hall and re-circulate all those societies and individuals who had been approached concerning the conference, pointing out the change of places. "Everyone," wrote a prominent Melbourne figure in response to the committee's decision, "is opposed to war. But apparently there are some who also oppose opposition to war."

Despite the attitude of the City authorities, the conference held at the Bijou Theatre on Saturday, April 22, was a success by virtue not only of the enthusiasm which characterized the proceedings, but also of the determined and concrete proposals for organizing the anti-war fight. "Empty phrases, masking apathy or despair, were of no avail here. The gathering realized the necessity of embarking upon an organized and active struggle against war, and wholeheartedly took the following pledge:

"We swear that we will never allow the formidable unity which has been established here among the masses of people opposed to war to be broken up.

"We swear to fight with all our force and with the means at command against war and the causes of war.

"We swear to dedicate ourselves with all our forces and all our resources to our immediate and pressing tasks, viz. the reduction of present arms, against armaments, against war preparations, and in consequence against the governments preparing for wars.

"Against the participation of Australia in the arising new wars, and against the supplying by Australia of war materials to any belligerent power."

"For active support of the anti-war struggle throughout the world, and the development of bonds of international solidarity between the masses of peoples of all countries.

"For active participation in all forms of the anti-war struggle throughout the State of Victoria."

"And we continue to appeal to all— to appeal to the workers, farmers, and intellectuals of Australia; to the newspapers and the organs of protest; to all democratic and anti-war organizations; to all public meetings and demonstrations to enter into the pledges we have entered into, and to put them into effect.

"This pledge was attached to the final resolution of the day—a statement of the causes, effects, and cure of the war disease. From this resolution, the adoption of which was moved by Mr. H. Burton, of the University, and seconded by Sister St. Clair, D.C.M., we quote a few salient paragraphs. Lack of space prevents the giving of the text in full.

"The workers by heart and brain united in this Conference against war, in order to lay a solid foundation for their future work, wish to record in a single document the efforts and the difficulties encountered in this Conference, and to come to an agreement on the essential points and conditions of the struggle against war, and the duties and responsibilities incumbent upon each and all.

"The Conference, regardless of the ideological and political differences which may separate its various component elements, desires to face facts, and facts only. It emphasizes that the dangers of war are no less real and grave to-day than in the years immediately preceding 1914.

"The Conference demonstrates the attitude of the big newspapers and of public men who, through servility or love of gain, either maintain silence about the wars which are now in progress, or else misrepresented or distorted the truth concerning them and the catastrophes towards which the present generations are being driven, and in which, unless they make a vigorous resistance, they may be the first victims.

"The Conference notes and condemns the huge and ever-growing armaments throughout the world, which fully contradict the ideals of the present international organization and the declarations of the governments concerned. It denounces the terrible efficiency of these armaments, as well as the sinister instruments of destruction, namely, poison gases and disease germs, certain to be brought into use in the next world war.

"The Conference urgently draws attention to the war preparations being carried on in Australia at the present time, to the press campaigns for the increasing of the effectiveness of the war machine, the statements of the leaders of Federal and State politicians, and the announcements that the cost of armaments for 1933 is £7,000,000 increased armaments."

"The Conference points out that all capitalist powers treat the Soviet Union as a common enemy, which is attempting to undermine and overthrow. To-day is being openly prepared in the Far East a definite armed crusade against the Soviet Union. The Conference points to the steadfast peace policy systematically pursued by the Soviet Union, and repudiates the legend of 'red imperialism.'

"The Conference proclaims that the present and future victims of the whole situation and the great masses of the people. . . . It points out that the Japanese workers have, by their heroic example, already shown how the fight against imperialist war must be carried on. They have stood up against their own war-makers, held up war production and munition convoys, and revealed this war in the eyes of the Japanese soldier for what it is—a war of piracy.

"Determined, as it is to offer every resistance in its power to the current which is sweeping the whole of the present generation towards disaster, the Conference sees salvation only in the concerted action of the workers and farmers, with the co-operation of humanitarians, intellectuals, and other sections of the population.

"It is aware that many distinguished minds are desperately seeking to find a means of saving society by noble dreams. It is aware that there are men who offer a personal resistance to war. . . . But it considers that in the face of the terrible challenge offered by present imperialist war, it is impossible to stop short at abstract formulas, or to confine oneself to means of resistance foredoomed to failure, notably the unfruitful futile sacrifice of the present attitude adopted after a declaration of war by conscientious objectors, and by all others who fling themselves individually against a collective disaster.

"It hopes that the men of character and courage who preach those heroic measures, and who are prepared to accept for themselves the very grave consequences of such an attitude, will join with the others in creating a mass collective barrier against war. Every form of opposition to this work merely helps the enemy."

Among the speakers on this resolution were T. J. Lawton, Miss Eleanor Moore, Dr. G. P. O'Day, C. W. H. Turner (of the Carters and Drivers' Union), and A. W. Nichols—people of widely differing political views, but all united in their opposition to war. The same unity was preserved in discussion on the second resolution—that upon organization of the struggle against war, for future work. Mr. H. Payne, of the Clerks' Union, sponsored this resolution, stressing the urgency of deter-
mined and widespread effort. The activity of the movement should be both intensive and extensive. The immediate task was the establishment of anti-war committees throughout Victoria. "These committees must be set up in every suburb of Melbourne, in every city, town, and village in the country, in every factory, mine, and mill. . . . The committees must take up the task of educating the great mass of the people to the meaning of war and how to fight against war. The organization of this propaganda against war can take many forms—meetings and lectures, leaflets and pamphlets, etc.

"Committees must be set up in the war industries and in the transport industry to develop a strong agitation for the stopping of munition manufacture and transport. The great mass of the unemployed and pensioners must be organized to demand the ceasing of all expenditure on armaments and war preparations, and the diverting of this money for relief of the unemployed and the restoration of 'economy' cuts in pensions."

Mrs. Boyle Gibson, in seconding the resolution, emphasized the necessity for spreading the anti-war sentiment among the workers and children. To draw women into the struggle, to give children an anti-war atmosphere in the home, to create a definite public opinion against war, anti-war committees were as essential in the domestic sphere as in the industrial.

This resolution, like its predecessor, was adopted unanimously. 174 credentialed delegates, representing 60 organizations, were present and the galleries (open to the public) were filled with an enthusiastic crowd. The conduct of the meeting was admirably summed up in the concluding remarks of the chairman (Maurice Blackburn, M.L.A.). "I congratulate you on this meeting. I congratulate you on the excellent fraternal spirit and tolerance shown to one another's views. And I congratulate you on the decisions you have made."

The daily press, which seized with avidity upon the fact that mention of the Soviet Union was greeted with cheers, failed to record that speakers who could by no means be regarded as Communist in opinion or even in sympathies were also warmly applauded by the assembly. The conference was one against war, and all sincere opponents of war were welcomed, as they are now welcomed into the anti-war committees which are being formed in every suburb of Melbourne and every country town.

All information may be obtained from the hon. secretary, N. E. Seeligson, Box 1312, G.P.O., Melbourne.

J.H.

THE AUSTRALIAN CLASS MOVEMENT

THE first forms of the Australian Labour movement were a reflection of the Chartist movement and the English trade unions of the time. This was the result of the immigration of large numbers of artisans from England into Australia, for these workers brought with them the traditions of the movement in England. Thus it was that the earliest trade unions in Australia were rather of the nature of friendly societies than organs of class struggle. Their sole object had been to organize workmen for the purpose of bettering their condition. This led to a large measure of class collaboration and the prevention of strike movements.

Up till 1890 in Australia there had been numerous strikes, which had been settled by conciliatory means. In 1890 an attack by the shipowners on the conditions of ship's officers led to the Great Maritime Strike which extended to include many other workers. The fundamental issue was the struggle for the recognition of the trade unions and their right to carry on negotiations on behalf of the workers. The strike was lost. The defeat emphasized the fact that the workers' struggle could not be confined to the industrial field, but that it was necessary to achieve political power for the workers. The Workers' Party, therefore, set to work to establish a working-class movement for the creation of their own political party.

Labour leagues were set up in all parts of New South Wales, and preparations for the forthcoming Parliamentary elections were made. Similar moves were made in other States. A number of Labour Party candidates were successful at the elections. Here it must be emphasized that, from its inception, the Labour Party was formed with the sole idea of securing representation in Parliament. This fact is explained by the incorrect idea prevalent at that time that politics accords nothing more than Parliamentary action.

This period in the development of the Australian Labour movement is marked by the birth and rapid growth of the arbitration system.

Since the beginning of this century these institutions—the Labour Parties and the arbitration systems—have developed co-operatively with the rapid growth of Australian industry. This growth was particularly intensified during the Great War, 1914-1918, when Australia was forced to rely upon its own resources for the production of the greater part of the manufactured goods previously imported from Great Britain and the Continent. At the same time the prices of wool and wheat on the world market as the result of the demands of the war period assisted industrial development by providing additional capital for investment.

This rapid industrial growth, with its accompanying huge profits for the capitalists, provided a basis for granting concessions to a large section of the workers, the Labour aristocracy, and, in comparison with European countries, high wages were paid. In these circumstances, the arbitration system developed rapidly. Able to give concessions to the workers, it was an ideal instrument with which to conciliate class antagonisms from them. The concessions were merely taken from the list of war profits granted to hold the workers back from greater demands, but they served the purpose of creating the illusion that the interests of capitalists and workers were not essentially different. Herein is displayed the opportunism upon which the arbitration system is based.

The adoption of arbitration led to a general development of trade union organisation in Australia. The powerful trade union bureaucracy became an appendage of the Arbitration Court. The trade union officials were, in the main, isolated from all forms of class struggle, and devoted to the preparation of court cases, and in general performed the duties of lawyers in the Arbitration Courts. Thus the trade unions became legalistic organizations, and in the courts the trade union officials fought any suggestion of class struggle, and branded strikes as "barbarous" and "unlawful."

This deep-rooted opportunism of the unions was reflected in the political policy of the Labour Party, which had been born out of the working-class movement, and, as such, was working-class in content. Australia in its history has carried through a working-class policy. In the earliest period the Labour Party was mainly concerned with attempting to use the differences in the ranks of the bourgeoisie over Protection versus Free Trade. The Labour Party sold its support to one or the other section in return for promises of small concessions to the workers. Its policy even then showed itself as the Parliamentary expression of the opportunism of the arbitration system. Both had the same result.

The Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy were, therefore, closely allied. This close relationship was emphasized by Lenin in a letter written in 1913 after the Labour Party had been expelled from the cabinet.

"And if in England the so-called Labour Party represents an alliance between the non-socialist trade unions and the extremely ineffective Labour Party, in Australia the Labour Party constitutes a pure representation of the non-socialist trade unions. . . ."

The leaders of the Australian Labour Party are the trade union officials, an element everywhere moderate and subservient to capital, but in Australia altogether peaceable and purely liberal.

There had been little or no knowledge of Marxist theory by the early leaders of the Australian Labour Party. This lack of theory was as much due to the fact that the time had not been ripe as to the lack of an adequate theory. The theory was an integral part of the opportunism which permeated the Labour movement, and, in its turn, the absence of theory, and especially of Marxist theory, fostered the opportunism.

During the war the opposition of the workers to the opportunist policy of the
Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy became widespread. The fight was led by the I.W.W., which also fought against the war and against conscription. The I.W.W. did not understand the true nature of war, and, therefore, could not fight against it correctly, and it left a legacy of anarchist-syndicalism to the Australian Labour movement, which has been responsible for many mistakes in the workers' struggles in the recent past.

Shortly after the war, the One Big Union movement, while reflecting the growing desire of the Australian workers for unity, was an expression of the anarchist-syndicalist influence of the I.W.W.

In Australia economic conditions favoured the growth of opportunism in the Labour movement. Although there were circumstances peculiar to Australia, the basic cause of opportunism was the same here as elsewhere. There have been many occasions on which the Australian workers have not forsaken the methods of class struggle for those of coalition. The first of these was in the strike period, 1899-1901. In the years preceding the war, and again in 1917, when strike movements were carried on, the strike wave lasted through 1917-20, and many other strikes have occurred since then. Those strikes in which the trade union bureaucracy has had control have usually ended in defeat for the workers, as in 1917. The Australian workers have a long, militant tradition.

In the present period the crisis has destroyed the economic basis of the opportunistic policy of the Labour movement. The Labour aristocracy has lost its exalted position. Wholesale wage-cuts have been forced on all sections of the workers. The first stages of this offensive were met by a number of strikes—timber workers, railway workers, shearsers, and the northern miners, among others. Now more than one-third of the working class of the whole country is unemployed, and of those still working many are little above starvation level, owing to wage-cuts and rationing. This situation, in which the burden of the crisis is thrust on to the shoulders of the working class as far as possible, has completely changed the role of the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour Party. At present the Arbitration Court is the leading weapon for wage-cuts. The Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy still support the Arbitration Court, and are thus openly aligned with the capitalist forces. Their former policy led to a prevention of the workers from the Arbitration Courts—now it leaves the workers unarmed in the face of a determined offensive. The Labour Party and the trade union officials act as the main support of the capitalist state against the workers. So long as they retain their influence over the masses of the working class, they will continue to act in this way. To retain their influence over the more advanced sections of the workers, they resort to a "revolutionary" policy. Hence the left wing of the Australian Labour party and the trade union bureaucracy has taken up the cry of "socialism." The workers are offered a policy for the attainment of Socialism through peaceful Parliamentary methods. Workers in the political arena no word of struggle against ever-worsening conditions — no word even of these conditions.

The Australian workers are taking up the fight for Socialism. Their so-called leaders are now in circumstances where their capitalist role may be easily reversed. Their exposure to the masses will be effected by the militant leadership of the socialist movement, its everyday struggles. The road of these struggles is the road which prepares the workers for the final struggle for power and for Socialism. — T.
AN OPEN LETTER TO OUR READERS

"PROLETARIAT" has undoubtedly established itself in the Australian working-class movement. The fact that this is our sixth issue speaks eloquently for the support of this. We have had enquiries from all quarters. We are read in all parts of Australia, in New Zealand, America, England, and the Soviet Union. We have given a faithful picture of international affairs, and interpreted the ever-changing face of the world arena. In fact, we can honestly say that "Proletariat" has an important place in Australasian radical thought and literature.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

We foresee a future even brighter than the past. We will expand! But to do this we need the active support of our readers. The cost of producing "Proletariat" taxes our slender resources. We therefore appeal most urgently for assistance. Help us grow. All contributions, however small, will be most welcome. Your donation will help to keep "Proletariat" in existence as a vital force for social change. All contributions should be forwarded to Business Manager, "Proletariat," Clubhouse, Melbourne University, Carlton, N.S.W.

The Editorial Board.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

Owing to the generosity of a subscriber, we are able to offer a prize of one guinea for the best short story of working-class interest. Stories should not be longer than 3000 words. Pen-names will be accepted. Many people should avail themselves of the chance to compete for this prize. The judges will be appointed by the Editorial Board, and the winning story published in our next issue. Entries should be in the hands of the Editors not later than the 20th November. Send them to The Editors, "Proletariat," Clubhouse, Melbourne University, Carlton, N.S.W.

CURRENT NOTES

I. THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

A writer in a New South Wales business journal recently stated that Australian wool exporters should make use of the increased demand for wool at the present period. The Soviet Union intended to make use of the surplus wool produced by the second Five-Year Plan. He pointed out that Russia would purchase huge quantities of wool during the coming years of the Plan. By 1937, the Soviet Union would absorb the whole of the world's wool surplus. From these facts he drew a very peculiar "conclusion"—namely, that this increased demand for raw materials represented the beginnings of a revival in world trade—a revival which would rapidly spread to the rest of the world and bring about a rise in commodity prices which the capitalists have been expecting for so long. We thank the writer for admitting that the Soviet Union is at present the only country whose production and consumption are increasing, but we would wish him to consider the facts a little more deeply before he proclaims that the end of the depression is at hand.

The period of the greatest economic depression in the capitalist world has coincided exactly with the period of rapid expansion in the U.S.S.R., which is the only Socialist country. If we compare the present industrial output of Russia with the year 1928 as the standard (represented by 100), we find that in 1932 the index was 218.5. A similar comparison reveals that in the capitalist world, as a whole, production has shrunk to 67, while in the most powerful capitalist country, U.S.A., it has fallen to 57. Since 1928 also, the Soviet Union has grown from fifth place in industrial output to second place, just behind America.

So it is not to be wondered at, during its second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union has increased its demands, especially of consumption goods. But in the light of the above, it would be surprising if such an increase in demand could prove to be the herald of a general improvement.

All the facts indicate, on the contrary, that the depression has entered a new phase, which is quite definitely leading to a violent outcome—to a violent attempt at solving the problem of the depression for the capitalist world. We will consider briefly some of the more important of recent events and attempt to trace their connection with this new phase of the depression.

The World Economic Conference.

This international conference was held recently in London in an attempt to order the world in such a way as to end the depression. After a sitting lasting a few weeks, it was almost unanimously adjourned until some future date. Quite obviously very few of the participants believed in the end that future meetings would prove of any value. The conference met at a period when the economic rivalry between the great imperialist powers was becoming particularly acute. Britain was engaged in a currency warfare with the United States. By means of depreciating her
OCTOBER, 1933

that 2,000,000 unemployed have been "absorbed." Actually the working class is putting up a stern resistance to these attacks. A wave of strikes has broken out. In Philadelphia two strikers were killed and many wounded. In St. Louis there was a break in the dumping of the factories. In Chicago 70 factories were recently reported to be on strike.

It is true that this plan coincides with an increased industrial activity. For example, the textile industry is producing 56% more than last year. The index of activity in the iron industry (1928-100) rose from 14 up to 33. The production of automobiles has risen from 100,000 to 200,000. But the basic industries concerned with the production of means of production (especially the building and engineering industries) are at a lower level than last year. The growth in the foundry industry is due to the increased demand resulting from the expenditure of 287,000,000 dollars on railroad construction. Then again production has been stimulated largely by the inflation, for it is a law of inflation that it is better to produce buses, motor cars, houses, etc., rather than money, which is considerably depreciated.

These facts explain the increase in industrial activity by inflation and inflation, the latter being a prelude to an inflationary boom which must inevitably end in a great smash such as that seen after the Great War.

Thus, the American optimism in the U.S.A. The New Deal is an episodic move of Roosevelt tend towards a centralisation of the State power in the hands of the ruling class—a subjugation of all outside elements to those of the powerful financial and industrial groups. These preparations are of supreme importance in view of the great danger of war. A depression which does not break out in the immediate future will lead to the development of the crisis into the least intensified form of the depression, but the development of the crisis into another and more violent convulsion.

Japan's Bid for Supremacy in Asia.

Japan is at present conducting a powerful struggle for overseas markets. Japanese imperialism has been enabled to carry out a policy of dumping in China, India, Australia, and Europe and America, as a result of its peculiar domestic conditions. First, the yen has been depreciated by 60%. Second, wages and production costs are extremely low; in fact, despite the value of the yen, which has fallen in the last two years, wages have been still further depressed during 1932-33. Real wages have, of course, fallen enormously. As a result of this advantage, Japan has been able to compete successfully with England on the textile market. Since August, 1932, Japan has been able to export more textile products than England. This process has been greatly assisted by the impoverishment of British and colonial workers during the crisis, which has thus far made this a ready market for low-priced goods. This factor is clearly seen at work in Australia at present. Goloshes are produced in Japan at a wages cost of 1d. per pair. Australian and British manufacturers find it almost impossible to compete under these conditions. Japanese manufacturers in the textile industry have been enabled to make remarkable profits in some cases. The position of Japanese imperialism is fundamentally unsound. Despite the tremendous dumping which is going on at present, the actual volume of exports increased, except perhaps in the last few months. The main point is that goods are being sold at abnormally low prices in foreign countries. The country's foreign trade volume of exports is seen in the following figures:

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value of Exports (in million yen)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>175</td>
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<td>1930</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>175</td>
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The volume increase does not make up for the drop in sales prices. And this fact is one piece of evidence of the fundamental weakness of Japanese imperialism, which has largely been masked by the inflation. The war in Manchuria has been a heavy burden on the State economy. The burden has been largely one of carrying the balance of the yen, but at the present the Treasury shows a considerable deficit. Nevertheless, Japan occupies a peculiar position at present. It is a country that has been able to get the measures outlined above, to maintain its production at about the level of 1929. Again, America has been prevented from dumping markets even more severely because of the depression in China, by the fact that Japan in Manchuria imposes a
solid military bar between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets. Also, America is in a poor strategic position with regard to Japan from the point of view of naval warfare. But Japan cannot go on indefinitely as it is now. The very fact of the low wages and inflation at home, upon which the conquering of new markets depends, means that the growth of the revolutionary movement is extremely rapid. The preconditions for revolutionary crisis are rapidly maturing in Japan.

Conclusion: "Economic Nationalism." Japanese imperialism has named its present policy in Asia "the application of the Monroe doctrine in Asia." Roosevelt's plan in America is based on the "economic nationalism." Hitler is aiming at "national autarchic" in Germany. British capitalism hopes for nothing less modest than "Empire unity." What is the real meaning of these terms?

They mean that, as a result of the crisis, every capitalist country is attempting to stabilise itself at the expense of others. By means of high tariffs, low wages, and inflation, they are attempting to build up their home market as a protective bulwark to wining further markets overseas. Particularly in the case of Germany (as we shall soon see), an attempt is being made to be entirely self-sufficient. Old copper and zinc mines are being reopened by means of State aid. The automobile industry is being artificially stimulated, and unnecessary and unproductive roads built. In all of these countries, the whole internal economy is being prepared for military lines. This is openly stated in America. The whole policy of internal autarchic in the capitalist countries is insidiously linked with preparations for war. But the process reveals the inner contradiction of capitalism in the clearest light. For by inflating the currency and reducing wages in order to dump goods in new markets, the ruling class reduces the purchasing power of the home market and thereby undermines the basis of damping.

Secondly, the plan of "national autarchic" produces the material conditions for unrest. It results inevitably in a growth of the revolutionary working-class movement, which is the only way by which all these contradictions can be solved.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: THE WAR DANGER.

We have considered very briefly the more important changes in the structure of capital which have taken place in the last few months. It will be seen that, with the narrowing of its economic stability, capitalism has been forced into a series of measures which merely increase the existing contradictions. These contradictions are very clearly revealed in international policy. We will deal here almost exclusively with the situation in Germany, as the key country of the world, and as the country of which most is being said, in the key position of the European position at present. Lack of space prevents a complete consideration of the international situation.

Germany: The Foreign Policy of Fascism.

Hitler's foreign policy is the same as that of any capitalist politician. Germany is an imperialist country, and remains despite all ranting about the "national revolution" Germany, therefore, is pursuing a desperate aggressive policy towards its neighbours. Hitler himself declared that he wished to form a Central European Fascist State. He has very good reasons for wishing this. Since the set-up of the general world crisis the Danubian States have formed the so-called "Central Europe." Germany's export trade to the Danubian countries amounted to 10.1% of its total exports, but accounted for a surplus of 64,9 million marks, while its total trade balance surplus of only 35,9 million. That is, the Danubian countries were the only ones with which Germany had a satisfactory trade balance.

The road to the East. Hitler, through his Austrian friends, has been exploiting the political situation in Austria. But Austria has powerful and influential ties in Italy and especially France, who will not consider the possibility of a union between Austria and Germany. Hence, the activities in the Austrian frontier make the possibility of a general European war very acute. The activity of France has also resulted in the almost complete isolation of Fascist Germany. At the World Economic Conference, Hugenberg brought forward in a very concrete manner the 'peace policy' of the Socialists. He demanded that the policy of the Socialists should be to form a united front against the Soviet Union, using the German army as its main weapon and paying Germany with the Polish corridor. Poland was to have the Ukraine "when it was conquered." However, the project was far from German's immediate possibilities. French and British foreign policy. Their antagonisms are at present great enough to make such a united front extremely difficult. In addition, Poland adopted a "uncompromising" attitude in spite of repeated social and economic relations with the Soviet Union in the Saar basin, Danzig, and on the Swiss border. They have assisted in the isolation of Germany. In addition, the Czechoslovakian and Italian agreements for Germany have kept up for a few hours march of centaurs, form a very practical bar to the "antarcic" aims of German Fascism.

On the Eastern frontier lies the Soviet Union. Germany would, above all, prefer war on Russia, and is at present conducting a campaign of anti-Soviet incitement even more vicious than usual. A great lie is being told of the state of the German collective farmers in the Volga region. They are depicted as perverts in distress. Hitler is said to have contributed 10,000 marks from his own pocket for some mythical fund to relieve their distress. The valuable thing about the campaign is that it opens up a popularly appealing financial support for Germany's agrarian population.

Hitler is openly preparing for war. Munition factories, unproductive roads, forced labor camps, provocative acts on all fronts, all are a preparation for a most bloody conflict.

The Internal Situation of Germany.

When Hitler came to power he had a whole host of promises behind him. He was going to free Germany from the Versailles treaty. His program was to look ahead from the bonds of interest slavery. Unemployment was to be relieved. Profit-making was to be done away with, and small enterprises aided at the expense of the trusts. His promises are now in pitiful ruins. From the earliest period of his rule he did nothing about the burden of Versailles. Instead, he said that he would fight against "aspirations of the proletariat." His promises with regard to interest slavery have not been kept. Instead of reducing interest from 5% to 2%, he has reduced it to 4½%. The "peace policy" of the Socialists, who so violently condemned Hugenberg for reducing it to 4½%, only now declares that Hugenberg's law will be observed. With regard to profit-making, the most shameful deceit has been practised. An absurd agrarian policy which Inspector of Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Economy, have announced that this programme must be scrapped, and pronouncement made that "our economy needs peace" an "agricultural policy to be pursued" for the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Economy, have announced that this programme must be scrapped, and pronounced therefore "that our economy needs peace" a "Fascist agrarian policy" for the great masses of poor peasants and the workers. To "stimulate" German primary production, prices of farm produce, etc., have been raised several times. This has given great profit to the wealthy farmers, but is disastrous for the poor peasants, who feel particularly the abrupt rise in the cost of living.

All these factors have resulted in a great feeling of disillusion with Hitler. This fact is indicated by the new wave of terror which commenced in the middle of July. This new wave differs from that of the earlier period by the fact that it is directed not only against the revolutionary working-class, but also against a much wider social mass. Discontent among the industrial workers and the peasants. It has given rise to great popular revolts. A wave of strikes has broken out. This change of attitude is well shown in the following statements. First, an old member of Berlin Storm Troops declared: "I and all the other members are certainly dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. There can be no doubt that there has been a revolution. As a matter of fact, things are just the same as before. All that we have had is a change of bureaucrats." Also, a leader of Berlin Storm Troops declared: "It is happening more and more frequently that old S.A. (Storm Troop) men out of work in order to look for work. They, of course, believe that the new State would find them work, and now feel that they have been deceived."

Things have reached such a state that the leaders have been compelled to declare that any criticism of the present party is criminal. All members of the party are now compelled to sign the following declaration: "I am aware that I must refrain from any criticism of the measures of the Government, the party, and the leading men. I know that otherwise I shall be held before a party court, but before a penal court."
This extraordinary document force us to the sober conclusion that the disintegration among the Nazis. This decay and growing revolt is of great importance. It live to some extent the pressure on the revolutionaries. This, in the end, leads them to a greater response in their anti-Fascist activities. Nevertheless, the wave of terror is at its height, and it is marked by such acts as beheading victims in groups of four or more at a time, etc.

The revolutionary workers are constantly at work. They are getting a much better response to their appeals for strikes, etc., especially among the Rhein and in the big ports such as Hamburg. There can be no doubt, that the disintegration among the Fascists and the increasing activity of the revolutionaries mark a big step towards the maturity of the revolutionary crisis.

Lack of space prevents a satisfactory account of the latest developments in all international spheres. However, without exception, there is a serious advance in political tension—foreign and internal.

III. THE SITUATION IN AUSTRALIA:

Australia is conducting on a smaller scale an economic policy comparable to that of many capitalist countries at present. A good deal has been said in the press to prove that the depression is lifting in Australia. Unemployment, it is said, is decreasing. But the result of the depression has been due to the wide application of the work-for-sustenance schemes in every State. Then, also, as a result of the ban on regulation of wages and prices, many unemployed workers have been forced off sustenance, and, as they do not register at unemployment bureaus and no longer appear on the sustenance lists, there has been a "reduction" in the number of unemployed—on paper alone. An unemployed worker who is off sustenance is no longer unemployed, according to the capitalist class. In a number of cases the amounts of the unemployed have been considerably increased. For example, 300 girls were recently dismissed from the Lincoln Knitting Mills.

The recent increase in wool prices has been hailed as a sign of recovery. But this is the season of greatest demand for wool. In addition, Japan, which is at present engaged in securing greater wool supplies in China, is buying up large quantities of wool for war purposes. It has been pointed out that the Soviet Union will need more wool during the Second Five-Year Plan. There is no reason to suppose that the rise in prices will be general or permanent. In fact, precisely this same thing happened at the same time last year (and was hailed as an indication of returning prosperity). In actual fact the basic industries, such as building construction and engineering, have shown no increase, and in this way resemble the corresponding industries in other countries. That is to say, the industries which formed the basis of industrial improvement are remaining in a stagnant condition. It is perfectly true that there has not been an increase in the output of war material from Marconi's and Ealing, but that the budget about to be presented will include a laying down of a new cordite and munition factories. But we must not imagine that the increase in the production of explosives and poison gases means that a country's economy is in a healthy progressive state.

The attacks on wages and working conditions which were such a feature of the first years of the crisis have been continued in the past few months.

Assassins'这种 kill in present making use of violent agitation against Japanese dumping in order to find an excuse for increasing tariffs (thus raising commodity prices) and lowering wages and working conditions even further. They openly state that Australian industry cannot compete with Japanese unless "conditions are created whereby competition can be conducted on an equitable basis." An example of this propaganda is seen in the attack made by certain employers to infect textile-workers with a violent anti-Japanese feeling. The Rev. D. W. Quade, representing the "Get a Move On Society," recently spoke to a meeting of 700 employees (mostly girls) at the Richmond Pencil factory. They told these girls that they "enjoy a liberty of which you should be proud," despite the bad working conditions, low wages, and constant speed-up which is the rule in this factory. It is necessary to combat such attempts to destroy trade unionism among workers by explaining that these smooth-fronted individuals propose to combat the Japanese "menace" by measures (high tariffs, wage cuts) which will directly and indirectly lower the living standard of Australian workers.

In the past few months there has been a considerable increase in strikes. The splendid struggle of the Melbourne unemployed against forced labor is dealt with in a separate article. A number of unemployed actions on the job (such as the harrying of Haywards, Macquarie, and other stockyards, N.S.W., and on 25th August) show that the unemployed are entering the struggle against capitalist brutality in increasing numbers, and, above all, under rank-and-file leadership. The most workers have conducted a persistent struggle against the new chain-system, with its accompanying speed-up and reduced wages. At present the government, the employers, and the union (the ship of the union having capitulated to the demands of the employers. Nevertheless, the militant attitude of the rank-and-file and their sincere indication that the fight is not yet over. The struggle at the Steel Coal Mine, Wonthaggi, is still in progress. The miners have been confined and misled by their union officials, but have persistently shown their willingness to fight. A rapid strike move (which was almost completely successful) among 300 miners at Kalgooorie recently showed that the workers, by all means, are a big basis for militant struggle. A number of other strikes, which have been successful in some cases, have taken place.

In general it may be said that the Australian workers are beginning to reply to the attacks of the employers. So far most of the struggles have been local and isolated, but rank-and-file leadership has been well to the fore.

However, the necessary task of forming a united front of workers against unemployment has not been accomplished. In the Melbourne police strike the Trades Hall succeeded in maintaining the strike, but prevented the union from winning their full demands.

The Labor Party, especially in N.S.W., is faced with growing dissatisfaction amongst its members and supporters. The disgraceful manoeuvres of the "inner group" and the struggles between various factions have destroyed large numbers of the rank and file. The spectacular of Lang "appealing" by petition to the King against "unconstitutional" acts by the Stevens Government must be a bitter sight for the workers who followed Lang in his "rebellions" days. In Victoria the recent by-election at Polwarth threw interesting light upon the manoeuvres of the Labor Party. In an attempt to catch votes, Furnerchief made a great noise in Parliament about certain police scandals and dishonest practices by manufacturers who supplied sustenance clothing. Now that the election is over, the whole thing has gone for the time being, and the Labor Party is not making any protest. The matter will be dropped—and some new one taken up next election.

War preparations in Australia and the struggle against war are dealt with elsewhere in this issue.

—Ian C. Macdonald.

"THE MENACE OF FASCISM," John Strachey (Victor Gollancz, 7/6).

What is Fascism? Is it a new philosophy, a new politics? What is the common ground of Hitler, Mussolini, and the embryo Fascists—Sir Oswald Mosley, General de Gaulle and Eric Campbell? What is its economic basis? What constitutes its mass basis? What allows it to grow? What can prevent it? To what does it lead?

All these questions are clearly and brilliantly answered in "The Menace of Fascism." John Strachey, nephew of Lytton Strachey, was in 1930 a Labor member of the House of Commons and Parliamentary private secretary to Sir Oswald Mosley. He has, therefore, special qualifications for the task. It is evident, too, that not only three years have intervened, since "The Menace of Fascism," but two, and the world has not changed for the better. Strachey has now reached reality.
THE FIGHT AGAINST FORCED LABOR

THE general principle of work for sustenance, on extended terms of payment as compared with the rates usually offered, calls for a review of the unemployment position which has given rise to this situation. Unemployment, as a problem of first political magnitude in this State with the development of the depression in 1928-29, and, with a steady increase of those without regular work, has remained in the forefront ever since. At first unemployed workers were able to return to industry, or at least had prospects of doing so after a short period of idleness, but as the situation became steadily worse, and weeks of unemployment drew out into months, the unemployed, organising as unemployed for the first time in the State, raised demands for Government assistance, and by mass protest meetings and demonstrations were successful in forcing the Government to grant a measure of relief. The first assistance given took the form of a handout of food from depots established in the various areas. This sufficed for a time, but with continued unemployment it soon became no longer sufficient, and the demands of the unemployed workers and their families.

As clothing bought before unemployment was now becoming threadbare and in urgent need of replacement, and there was no prospect of work or money to effect this, the demand for clothing was made the central feature of further representations to the Government, backed by the use of mass demonstrations, supporting petitions, mass meetings, etc. To meet this situation the Government introduced a scheme of rationed relief work, giving each unemployed man two or three months’ laboring work with one of the Government Departments. The hand-out system of relief was never popular with the men or their wives. "Take what you are given" was the slogan of those in control of the depots. No consideration was given to the needs of different types of families and their dietary needs. The resentment against the treatment handed out at the depots finally flamed into open resistance, which was declared black and picketed. The Government capitulated to the demands of the unemployed, and introduced the system of sustenance orders on tradesmen, by which the men were given the right of selection from a varied number of commodities. The scale of sustenance orders was fixed at 5/- for single men, and 8/-6 for families, with the addition of 1/6 for each child.

The first inkling of changing Government attitude to the relief of unemployment and the dole was obtained when Mr. Welber, M.L.A. for Heidelberg, Honorary Minister in charge of Sustenance in the Hogan Government, broadcast the details of a proposed work instead of sustenance scheme, under which single men would receive £40 per annum and married men £70 per annum in return for work performed. (Note the similarity between this proposal and the terms now being worked for—single men £31/4/-, married men £52 per annum, plus family allowances to a maximum total of £110/10/-, with an average of £75/- per annum.) On the basis of this statement a large propaganda campaign against the dole and in favor of work was launched through every publicity channel in the hands of the employing class. The rates put forward as compared with the then rates of sustenance payment tended to make the scheme popular with the unemployed, but the real intention of the Government was disclosed when, and when the scheme was rejected by the House for discussion, the Budget was also introduced. It provided money sufficient to cover sustenance or work at the existing rates and no more. The rate of payment for direct representation on the Trade Union Council was answered by the的办法 of the police, secreted in the hall to prevent the unemployed gaining admission when the Council sat to consider the question. The Labor Party in power showed itself to be incapable of handling the question of unemployment. The longer they were in office, the more openly did the Labour Government come to the interest of capital. All the forces of the State were used against the workers in any fight for better conditions.

The only gains made by the labor movement during Labor’s term of office were achieved as the result of open struggle against the Government and all the forces at its disposal. The hypocrisy of the Labor Party’s avowals of principle are clearly exposed by their open avowal that they were willing to introduce a sustenance scheme while in office, and their present attitude to practically the same scheme sponsored by the Angler Government.

Montis went by without any attempt to only generally the work-for-the-dole, and, as a result, the unemployed were lured into a sense of false security. The campaign popularising the scheme continued, and preparations were made for its enforcement. Isolated, unmobilised, or poorly organised sections of the unemployed were selected for attack, and the militants sent to the Bush on relief work. With the ground carefully prepared, the most backward of the local unemployed were called up, and finally all the unemployed in the area were forced to take work. In spite of the careful preparations made by the Government and the Municipal Councils, the initial attempts to make the unemployed work for the dole met with strong opposition in many areas, the work was declared black, strikes organised, mass demonstrations held, and many effective protests made. The authorities, who were the whole of the outer suburbs and many of the country areas, work for the dole was in operation. Meanwhile, many thousands of wage earners suffered through the imposition of permissible income regulations, which were introduced under the cloak of an increase in sustenance rates to 6/- for single men, 14/- for families, who remained on the dole received a slight improvement, though the general position was worsened; the cost of the new scheme to the Government was less than the old.

The Municipal Councils, authorised by the Hogan Government as the organs to apply work-for-the-dole, had in practice proved to be inefficient and corrupt, where there was the greatest unemployment and greatest need to introduce dole-work, if the scheme was to be successful, were the areas where this was most difficult, owing to the political and mass pressure that the unemployed were able to bring to bear on councillors, and thus tie their hands. To meet this situation new authorities, the Public Assistance Committees, over which the public have no control, were established new authorities, the Public Assistance Committees, over which the public have no control, who are given the task of enforcing
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war preparations with the armaments conferences, etc., have been described, and the world economic conference has failed dismally.

In these circumstances it is only to be expected that Australia is making her preparations for war—that is to say, her capitalist class is strengthening its apparatus of butchery and class oppression. Under cover of a vast cloud of militarist propaganda, the pokey the economy—"practical" preparations are actually being made.

Fresh coastal defences at Darwin, Sydney Heads, Fremantle—all important centres in the event of war—are being prepared or are already installed. Demands are being made for 16-inch guns to displace the 9.2 guns at the three latter places. The navy has been considerably strengthened. Destroyers and cruisers from the British navy age to be brought to Australia to "replace" vessels which are supposed to be obsolete. In actual fact, they will supplement the Australian and New Zealand fleets which are at present manœuvring in New Zealand waters.

A slop is to be built at once, at a cost of £20,000,000. Hawkers "Fury" aeroplanes, capable of achieving a speed of 210 miles an hour, have been ordered to be built. The Wapitis purchased only a year or two ago. Steps are being taken to mechanise the army. It is in this direction that certain important advances have now been made. The Government has decided that the expense of providing mechanised units with motor vehicles, as well as tanks, etc., is at present beyond its means. It has therefore undertaken the provision of tanks on condition that the members of the unit provide motor cycles, trucks, etc. The Defence Ministry Report states that the A.S.C. in Victoria and N.S.W. will be entirely mechanised for the coming training season.

The importance of these moves is obvious. In the first place, they indicate a most significant relationship between the forces of peace and those of war. The forces are at present raised on a voluntary basis, but it is a natural conclusion that in future all civil industries and services will be organised on a basis of utility in war time. Rifle clubs throughout the Commonwealth have changed over from long-range to short-range Lee Enfields—the latter type being that most used on active service.

Conscription is as yet in embryo, but it nevertheless exists, and is growing. It is seen at its greatest stage of development in U.S.A., where the unemployed are being driven into forced labor camps directed by military officers, and where, moreover, industries have been dealt with under the provisions of the War Recovery Act, which gives the State exceedingly wide powers over all the important industries, and compels the workers within a rigid code of working conditions, wage agreements, etc. The significance of such moves is apparent if the imminence of war is kept in mind. Certain newspapers have remarked on the similarity between this situation and those that attended the ship of NIRA and DORA (the infamous Defence of the Realm Act) is all too obvious.

Though an infinitely smaller scale, Australia is moving toward the same end. Another important aspect of the system of voluntary subscription of motor trucks and cycles is that the nucleus being formed is comprised of soldiers who belong to the middle classes rather than to the proletariat, who also have a more or less direct interest in war as a solution of the crisis. This tendency must nevertheless be considered in any analysis of the war preparations. It is more than is the case with the voluntary enlistment for service overseas. There is no doubt of the fact that it is a part of the policy of the Defence Department to exclude "unsuitable" elements as much as possible from these preparations.

Coincident with these alterations in the organisation of the armed forces, the apparatus for the production of munitions and supplies is being perfected. Extensive additions are being made to the shipyards at Newcastle and Sydney, capable of producing such complex implements as tanks and armoured cars, is being installed. Some of these latter have been introduced by the German Navy and the Royal Navy, and others have been made by private employers. In the case of naval guns is now manufactured at Lithgow. Thus the "sweats of war" are being rapidly strengthened. Finally, an organised campaign is being carried on with the intention of popularising warlike pursuits. A big Navy and Army Week has been mooted. Attempts are being made to popularise military training by marching uniformed men with brass bands through suburbs, by increasing activities centred in camps, and by making camp life more attractive. Military officers complain that it is difficult to get workers to attend these camps, as they receive only 4/- per day. An attempt will be made to gain the assistance of the employers in paying them the basic wage whilst in camp. Again the connection between the employing ruling class and war preparations becomes clear.

From the above necessarily brief note it will be seen that Australia is by no means lagging behind her neighbors in preparing for "justifiable" bloodshed. It is impossible in this short space to indicate more than the general tendencies. We can only consider the other side of the matter—opposition to war.

Throughout the world there is a powerful anti-war movement. This reached its highest organisation and was brought to a head at the great American Anti-War Congress held last year, at which over 200 delegates, representing 30,000,000 people, discussed the war danger, methods of fighting against war, and a programme of action. The congress resolved that the working class is the chief bulwark against war, and occupies the clearest and most uncompromising position. Nevertheless, certain sections of all classes are actively concerned in the movement. But because it suffers most from the ravages of war, and because it faces war clearly, it is the working class with the clear realisation that it has nothing to gain from the conflict, because it is exposed most directly to the brutality of capitalist exploitation, the proletariat must necessarily occupy this position in every country. It will be of particular value, therefore, to examine the attitude of the Australian Labor Movement to the whole question of war.

There is at present a fairly large and active anti-war movement in Australia. But this movement has been completely ignored by the A.L.P. as a party. In N.S.W., the movement has been either dismissed as "red" and thus an excuse provided for refusing to join in. With a few exceptions, the "left" Labor politicians of the Lang Party, in opposition to the rank and file, adopt a similar attitude. We quote below a letter received from the Canterbury Anti-War Council. This letter was sent to the Labor Daily, which failed to publish it after a period of several weeks. It was then sent to us.

The letter has been slightly abridged by the deletion of those facts not relevant to the necessity for organisation.

To the Editor,

Sir,—I know of no one who has consistently supported the Labor Movement for a great many years, I would like you, through the columns of your newspaper, to let the members of the A.L.P. know that I have been a member for over 15 years, and that I am an active worker in the Labor Movement. To me it appears that such a question should be above the confines of any sect, religious, political, or otherwise. I have always believed that we should not become embroiled in a struggle for which we are not prepared. It is impossible for any one to fight the war without being prepared for it. To me it appears that such a question should be above the confines of any sect, religious, political, or otherwise. I have always believed that we should not become embroiled in a struggle for which we are not prepared. It is impossible for any one to fight the war without being prepared for it. To me it appears that such a question should be above the confines of any sect, religious, political, or otherwise. I have always believed that we should not become embroiled in a struggle for which we are not prepared. It is impossible for any one to fight the war without being prepared for it. To me it appears that such a question should be above the confines of any sect, religious, political, or otherwise. I have always believed that we should not become embroiled in a struggle for which we are not prepared. It is impossible for any one to fight the war without being prepared for it. To me it appears that such a question should be above the confines of any sect, religious, political, or otherwise.
war movement inaugurated at Amsterdam several years ago, and which has since spread throughout the world. This movement embraces peoples of every shade of thought: such as Professor Einstein, Maxim Gorky, and Bernard Shaw, and hosts of others, from ministers of religion to rank atheists, all united on the one principle of unyielding opposition to war.

Again I ask—where does the A.I.P. stand?—Yours sincerely, Canterbury Anti-War Council, per H. Lawrence, Press Correspondent 2/8/33.

This letter is important for several reasons. First, it is not merely the expression of an individual, but is the expression of the class-conscious workers who are asking themselves these questions to-day. The writer has put the fundamental questions with admirable simplicity: “Where do you stand on the war question?” “If opposed to war, what measures have you taken to organise resistance thereto?” This was the voice of the class-conscious proletariat. Many of these workers are foreign to the Labour Party for a long time, and the Labour leaders have let them down! The trade union leaders have ignored their appeals for guidance. The leaders of the left give the illusion that of the Gilbertian type, the leaders of the right have betrayed the workers. Behind this is the letter’s significant feature. The rank and file has been betrayed by the leaders, and fears that “the story of 1914 will be repeated.” Thus the Anti-War Movement is faced, at its coming Congress, with the need for winning the support of the masses of organised workers. The rank and file of the trades unions and the A.I.P. lack of organisation and concrete demands are more and more a hindrance to the political effect.

The left-wing movement was the only correct slogan of the time: “The mines and the factories!” This was the only correct slogan of the time. The anti-war movement will be without a firm basis.

—J. Hunter

**HOW WAR IS PREPARED:**

In his speech to the Millions Club on Monday, September 25, Sir George Pearce told in some detail how the “defence” preparations had been elaborately prepared for in conjunction with the German government. He made it perfectly clear that these arrangements had been proceeding over a period of years, but that the time had now arrived when it was necessary to have the direct support of the people. His announcement came no two days later, making it clear that compulsory military training is to be reintroduced in order to get sufficient trained cannon fodder with which to defend the country. The state of emergency, in the event of a war, is thus prepared.

**INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY IN THE SOVIET UNION.**

**OCTOBER, 1933**

**INTRODUCTION.**

The writer visited the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics at the end of last year as a delegate to the 6th Mendeleef Assembly. This was a Conference of Chemists, and was attended by over 3000 delegates from all over the Union, one party being from Vladivostock, another from Armenia, and quite a big delegation from Karelia. The Conference was held in Charkov—administrative centre of the Ukrainian Republic.

The invitation received by the writer was a personal one, and was a courteous act of the "Committee for Promotion of Applied Chemistry" of the State Planning Commission, prompted by the editors of a Leningrad technical journal to which the writer had contributed an article. As an official delegate, and later for services rendered as a consultant in a metallurgical capacity, every opportunity was afforded of visiting engineering and metallurgical works, and only limitation of time made it impossible to take advantage of the proffered visit to Magnitogorsk. There was no indication whatever of any interference from the writer’s movements, and really a few days in Russia is sufficient to indicate how futile are such suggestions. It was soon obvious that one万一的蔗糖 times like to feel, and indeed Russians can appear their time much more profitably than by following about people who do not even know the language, and could do so little harm even if they were so minded. But one thing, the writer was very obvious—that forlorn hope was treated with every respect.

On occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Revolution, although the writer had no ticket, he was allowed to attend the public assembly at the Centre simply by saying to each policeman who tried to divert him, “Foreigner from Australia.” The little Russian he had learned came in useful on such occasions.

What It All About?

Since leaving Moscow at the beginning of last December, the writer has been in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, England, Canada, and U.S.A. And everywhere he has met with eager questions. Does the Russia give us a right impression of Russia? “Are the people in Russia starving?” “Has the five-year plan failed?” To all these questions a careful, unbiased observer can frankly answer—No! But then so many people have left Russia with quite opposite opinions to his. In fact, is it possible to be unbiased in this matter? In reality, is it not necessary to declare for or against? And so is despair, so many people say. “What is it all about?” “Is there really any difference?”

There is undoubtedly a difference. For having passed through the U.S.A. and England on the way to Russia, and having seen in those countries hopelessness and pessimism—just the same as had been left behind in Australia—the optimistic optimism of Russia came as a refreshing change.

There the papers—the very atmosphere—was full of big industrial schemes—schemes actually in course of being carried out. Industrial undertakings on a scale unparalleled by those of the U.S.A. in times of prosperity, are being opened and carried out by people who but 15 years before were classed as the most backward of Europe—literate, down-trodden peasants. And all this industry—without private enterprise. For the first time in their history these people are getting a chance—they have hold of the capitalist world and have decided that that is not good enough for them—and so they have set on open and unchartered seas, to lead the people of the world to a better and higher view of life. Their future is notours—ours are old and theirs are new—so, according to the general laws of progress, it is more likely that theirs are the ways of the future—ours of the past.
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In any case, the capitalist world is so sick that it has to be operated upon. We should examine the conditions which seem to be leading to such healthy development in that vast area comprising eight republics and many nationalities where a truly socialist economy is being constructed. It can surely do no harm, and may even be good, to try to see things as others see them. After all, the human race is developing, and if there are one or occasionally groups of people who have to readjust themselves. Unless we are sufficiently arrogant and pessimistic to think that we have at least attained the highest level of human evolution that we can imagine, we must be willing to profit from the mistakes of others. We must see whether it is not time that some of our accepted institutions, conventions, moral codes, and motives for behavior in general be subjected to severe overhauling.

Humanity moves, as it were, from one level to another. For long periods it lives more or less at one level. Then it begins to erect ladders to climb. And in the climb some are above others, but all are essentially of the plane from which they are ascending. But at the last rung a new level is reached—an entirely new vista opens up. Those on the upper level look down on the new level; they do not have the advantage of being so much "above" those on the plane below. They therefore try to prevent knowledge of these new vistas from travelling back to the masses. But such knowledge gradually leaks back, opposing factors on the level below cause unrest, until the desire to attain these new fields of culture and life wins the day—those holding the ladder are thrown down, and the whole mass moves upward to new realms. So it has been throughout, and so it has recently happened in the Soviet Union.

How Is It Different?

What is the new vista which has opened up? It is a vista in which the degrading spectacle of man exploiting man has no place—where all work for the good of all—where the function of machines is to release man from labor and monetary profit for the "owners" of those machines—where man freed from labor is at liberty to follow cultural pursuits—where the fear of want is banished, and the law of the forest is at last no more. The prospects of socialists are indeed inspiring, but, having attained the new level, all old ideas must go into the melting pot, for a new organization is needed. And those who lead on the lower level are not necessarily the best to lead on the higher level—in fact, those very qualities which served them well may handicap them. Hence the struggle to maintain the old conditions; but change is inevitable, and whilst man can learn those laws and use them, he is full of life and after in the fullness of time, first there then there, as conditions become right, the change takes place—willy-nilly.

Since the change from Feudal-Capitalist to Socialist-Capitalist in the Soviet Union, it will be interesting to see in what respects this has altered the industrial outlook. It is evidently no answer to say that the present rapidly increasing economic activity in Russia is due to the fact that which these backward people had to make up. For there are other backward peoples—Europe, Asia, Africa; and yet in none of these countries do the capitalist methods have the same effect. The capitalist methods have given rise to conditions which cause rapid development. Rather are they included in the capitalist depression, because the depression itself has been caused by the over-exploitation which, in turn, in prosperous times, supply the raw materials for capitalist industry. And since the latter is operating at a slower pace, obviously the demand for raw materials is less. And it is better flooded than not—then it will be flooded.

No longer do private individuals "save" the surplus profits from other people's labor and then "lend" such surplus to induce more labor to increase the surplus. Therefore, the production of materials is organized; labor is no longer a commodity to be bought—every man (or woman) gets his fair share, and there is sufficient work organized to give everybody the opportunity to earn his living. But, people say, there will be no incentive to progress. Such people are still on the lower level; the new ideas and motives have not yet entered into their minds. Man is essentially competitive in spirit; free him from the anxiety of earning a living in the present and future; free him for his self-appointed task in quite a different spirit from that which actuates him at present. He will be part of a big scheme. He will not let his fellows down. His part will be well done—he will endeavor to do it better than the other fellow. So life becomes a big game—and everybody becomes interested in it and gives vent to his individual personality. Naturally not literally everybody—but sufficient to make for progress.

What Is Being Done?

Lenin very early conceived a scheme for the electrification of the country. His keen analytical mind saw that in electrical energy only was there an unfailing source which required a minimum of human labor, both for its generation and for its distribution. Hence, wherever possible, hydro-electric stations are being erected. The first was the Volsky, near Leningrad; the latest the Donetzky, in which each of the nine units is equivalent to the whole station at Volsky. At Chelyabinsk it was in course of erection which would make the station a great 25,000-kilowatt capacity. (The total capacity of the Volsky stations is 250,000 kilowatts.) It is not so much to see that these hydro-electric stations have been built out of current savings, so to speak, that the workers have given their services and exchanged activities for living—only a very few years ago, the pay was 50,000 kilowatts. So low. Indeed, the whole country is being electrified. The country is being covered with a network of transmission lines linking up the various giant generating stations. Thus the hydro-electric power stations all over the country are connected with the coal power stations in the Don Basin. Each district is utilizing the type of fuel occurring locally. Hence Moscow is now the largest city, utilizing black coal, which formerly had to be transported 1000 miles from the Don Basin coalfields.

Heavily industries being grouped so that the various raw materials (including steam and heat) from one may be the raw material of another. Thus at Donetzky there is a chemical plant, aluminum plant, electric steel plant, and ferro-alloy plant. The writer visited all these, as well as the power stations. At the time, the aluminum and chemical plants were not completed, but the time English journalists witnessed the completion of and commencement of operations at several of the incomplete plants he visited.

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From this brief sketch of the changed outlook of industrial activity in the Soviet Union, it will be evident that it is not just something which is of passing interest. It concerns not only those who, like the writer, are engaged in technological pursuits, but everybody. The planning economy which has been developed challenges the "go-as-you-please" and "Desert-the-hindmost" competitive economy with which we are all familiar.

It is significant that the Soviet Union is the only country of those with which we visited during the last year in which more and more people are devoting their time to pure and applied scientific research. Everywhere research in institutions is springing up, well equipped and well staffed. The whole task was marked in one such institution devoted to the study of refractory materials, that Western countries were spending less and less on research because they "had no money," the director commented, "Our country is not so rich that we can afford to give up research."

It behoves all scientific workers seriously to consider where our present system is leading, and at least give careful consideration to the Socialist method of planning the industrial and also social activities of the community, in which we live. The higher which has soared many—namely, the possibility of planning the lives of individuals—simply does not exist. The difficulties connected with the completion of the five-year plan was that labor was too free to wander and change as it wished. That there was no difficulty in finding something else to do for those who did not like the work they were doing. Consequently, it will be seen that a Socialist planned economy by promoting an industrial and social development on a social basis gives ample scope to that freedom of life which, under the capitalist system, is for many almost non-existent. It is particularly necessary at present in finding something else to do for those who do not like the work they were doing. This was not the case in the five-year plan, where labor was too free to wander and change, and that there was no difficulty in finding something else to do for those who did not like the work they were doing. Consequently, the Socialist planned economy by promoting an industrial and social development on a social basis gives ample scope to that freedom of life which, under the capitalist system, is for many almost non-existent. It is particularly necessary at present in finding something else to do for those who do not like the work they were doing.
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These are but temporary expedients. Similarly, the views of those people who travel to Russia and are disillusioned with the absence of certain conveniences, in which they have in a generation become accustomed should be analysed. The fact that they are absent is most probably attributable to the backwardness of the Tsarist regime—for it has not been possible to overcome completely that backwardness in 10 years of intensive reconstruction—and in any case it has been necessity such as factories and power stations before personal luxuries.

The writer left the Soviet Union with the firm impression that the underlying philosophy of Communism, with its high aim for improving the cultural and material conditions of life, holds out a bright light of hope for the world, and heralds the dawn of a new era.

—Professor J. Neill Greenwood.

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The journal “Smad” has confined itself to the production of harmless nonsense for some considerable time, and it is a bitter task to assert that controversial articles (i.e., articles which put forward a working-class point of view) would have any chance of acceptance. Articles are judged on their “merit” for

sooth!

The issue of “Student” which appeared following this action stated: “We appear in no cheap spirit of defence. As yet before us are simple enough. In response to student request, to fill a long-standing need at the University, the committee of the Free Discussion Club decided to bring out a magazine entirely student-produced, which would breach serious problems in a non-controversial manner. Because we believed that in this day and age issues are so clear that a man must take sides, that the old-style agnostic liberalism leads only to defeat, we embarked definitely on an editorial policy. That policy is well to the left. Editorial, “Student” has taken its stand with the N.Z. working class; it studies the problems and fights working-class battles as they find reflection at the college. We do not deny that Student is committed to this policy; but by no means and in no respect whatsoever does this mean that opposing opinion will not be published. Let those who charge this read the whole magazine carefully. They will see that not only are opposition views represented, but that they are fully encouraged. We want nothing so much as full discussion of the momentous issues on the campus, and maintain our right to draw conclusions for ourselves.”

It will be seen that the editorial board does not attempt to confuse the issue as the editorial attempts to do. It points out that it has taken its stand with the working-class view in opposition to that of the capitalist class. It does not shrink from the free expression of opinion as long as it is honest and serious. For example, there is a discussion on the subject of special police in times of strike. One student explains why he would be a special, while another shows why he would not, and so on.

But this really free and genuine expression of opinion raised a howl throughout the most reactionary circles of New Zealand students. They claimed that the published howl was headed by the worthy “teachers” and leaders of the New Zealand University. The Professorial Board put forth its policeman’s hand, banned the paper for ever, and seriously reprimanded the editor. The chairman of the Board, Professor Gould, in a manner similar to his satellites of the Students’ Association: “He did not think the magazine was a desirable publication, and one of his reasons was that it was not of a literary or academic standard. And the students would have a beneficial effect on them.”

These statements seem to emanate from a police court rather than from a “seat of learning.”

The character of the “beneficial effect” promised by Dr. Stout can be gauged from a quotation from a letter received from the N.Z. Truth (June 7) from a student of the college: “If our student friends persist much longer in their agitation, you will probably be publishing accounts of their being hauled into the trough.” The same paper publishes a number of statements by “prominent public men attacking the hold reds.” These writers are mainly ex-Major-Generals, big business men, and leaders of the Fascist organisation—New Zealand Legion. Thus the circle of accusations, the intellectual flower of New Zealand, and on the other the would-be Hitlers of the country.

One and all they have revealed their fear of anti-capitalist activity among the N.Z. workers. They have made complete references to the subject under the old story of “attacks not only on the Empire, but on everything they hold sacred.” All they hold sacred are their money-bags, and they are determined to keep their clothes on those money-bags at the expense of the working class. By starving them, by the use of violence, by impeding their criticism in every possible way. We greet our New Zealand comrades heartily, and congratulate them on the fine struggle they are putting up against the forces of reaction.

—Editorial Board, Proletariat.

NEW ZEALAND STUDENT ACTIVITIES

We were expecting an article from our comrades in Wellington, New Zealand, dealing with the situation in that country. The article, however, failed to arrive, the reasons being very obvious, as the following will show. Our New Zealand comrades have been engaged very busily on “domestic” affairs, which reveal just how hypotetical our Governments are, and, especially, how carefully our “liberal” educational establishments support the present system of starvation, unemployment, and brutality.

Three small students’ papers recently commenced publication in the more important N.Z. universities. The editorial boards of these papers quite openly placed themselves on the side of the working class. To date we have only seen one of these papers, “Student,” of Victoria University College, Wellington. All of these papers have been suppressed—in the case of “Student,” by the combined action of the University Students’ Association and the Professorial Board. “Student” only saw the light of day, although it was produced despite the “ban” imposed by the students’ body, which stated among other things that “there is already a periodical in the University, Smad!” and it is superfluous to publish another. You have no reason to believe that any contribution which is controversial will be refused. Articles are judged purely on their merit, and if they have any intrinsic value they will be accepted. You must agree that there is a definite tendency on the part of your committee to publish only articles which state the opinion of which you are in favor. This monstrous attack on freedom of speech (“Student” is the official organ of the Free Discussion Club) is couched in terms very familiar to those who have already realised the wretched hypocrisy of the ruling class.
RELIGION IS OPIUM FOR THE PEOPLE

"RELIGION is opium for the people," thus Marx described religion as one means by which the ruling class has attempted to keep the masses in subjection. The masses produce its wealth. Through religion the bourgeoisie has sought to explain to the worker that his miserable condition is the will of God, that it is for his own good that his labors on earth lead to a reward in heaven, and to cajole him into obedience of its self-protecting laws and decrees by the threat of everlasting hell fire.

It is argued by bourgeois philosophers and theologians that religion is innate in man—
that he cannot live without it. This is the false theory of thinkers whose task it is to explain the immutability of capitalist social relations and institutions. In reality, religion developed at any given period as a reaction to external circumstances which man at that time was unable to understand or to control. This is the case with religion in general and of religion will be the subject of a later article.

At present we will see that it is true by considering the history of religion in the past century and a half. France is the country in which to begin.

The dominant philosophy of the rising French bourgeoisie at the end of the 18th century was materialistic. This attitude was a direct reflection of the struggle of the developing industrial economy against the restrictions of the outworn feudal system, not the least part of which was the dominance of a wealthy, feudal Church. The issues were clear-cut and early. The bourgeoisie believed that, to overcome the Church, it must abolish religion. So God was denounced and the Goddess of Reason took his place. The bourgeoisie, helped by the proletariat, was victorious. It conducted a victorious struggle against the Church, which seemed annihilated. But the line of bourgeois development was now no longer clear-cut. The bourgeoisie found itself faced by an indefinite future. Moreover, it found itself in company with a proletariat which the struggle had made partly conscious of proletarian aims, and which was now to learn the meaning of liberty.

In Britain the same general changes took place. During the expansive period of British capitalism the materialism of the dominant thinkers found expression in the Rationalist Movement, which was essentially an intellectual protest against religious dogmatism. But even as it appeared that the enlightened sons of the middle class to be disgraceful that archeic religious doctrines should have been taught while science had discovered the truth about the relations of man and society, the bourgeoisie feared that the mass of the working class might then drift away from the Church. The bourgeoisie felt all-powerful, reassured by its apparently complete control over nature. It had no need for supernatural ideas to explain the phenomena of its existence. Materialism, a mechanical materialism, became the dominant philosophy. Religion and science were in conflict, and science won the day. In France the Church went into a decline. When, however, the process of capitalist expansion was checked as the contradictions within the system became more manifest, it is in the class of the bourgeoisie, faced by inexplicable crises and barriers, became less sure of its mechanistic explanation of nature and reverted to philosophies which allowed for the inexplicable. This is reflected in the mysticism of modern bourgeois thought, and it is manifest also in the attitudes of some of its best scientists, like Eddington and Jeans, to reconcile science and faith.

The popularity of the Church is returning among the French bourgeoisie.

But, while the attitude of the ruling class has shown these remarkable variations towards religion, it has been characterized by the Church. It did not cease to encourage the spread of religious beliefs among the working class and the lower strata of the middle class. Voltaire, who served as the model of the atheistic French bourgeoisie,会员 as a "whirlwind among the common people.

This incitement was carried out by the atheist rulers, whose "reasoned godlessness" did not prevent their ruthless opposition to all forms of working class activity and movement.

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State schools in school hours. Its educational establishments have official recognition. In the country the State school often serves as the cradle of the young people. The ministers of the Church are special civil servants, in order to protect the public from the religious influence of the clergy. The clergy are not allowed to teach in school, or to have any influence over the students. In this respect the Church is not different from other organizations.

But the opposition to the Soviet Union is not an isolated example of the imperialist role of the Church. Religion has been used to justify slavery in America. In their savage penetration of Africa, India, China, and the Pacific Islands, the imperialists have made use of the Church, and have declared their mission to be a Christianizing one. They have made use of religious differences between the natives, particularly in India, where Hindu and Mahometan are set against each other. When it is considered by the English Government to be an imperialist activity or to distract attention from another. In the Great War every combatant made use of the Churches as recruiting agencies, and from this the idea that the Church was used to defend the right was born.

The capitalist nature of the Church has a firm foundation in its wealth. The Church of England has large incomes derived from investments, and from the land and property which it owns. The Church of England is one of the wealthiest institutions in the world, and it has a great influence over the life of the country. It is a powerful force in social and political life, and it is a symbol of the power of the landed interest.

In Australia the Church is not directly connected with the State, but it is in a position to influence the political and social life of the country. It is a powerful force in social and political life, and it is a symbol of the power of the landed interest.

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basis of the class struggle actually proceeding

a struggle which is educating the masses better than anything else (Lenin, "Religion"). It is necessary to do everything possible to enlighten the workers about re-
ligion, to help spread the anti-religious

literature. It is necessary to point out the rôle of

the Church in the every-day events of

the workers’ lives. For instance, it usually hap-
pens that the clergy pray and preach for the

peaceful settlement of all industrial disputes

for harmony between employer and employee.

Here the identical policy of the reactionary

trade union leaders is repeated. This forms a

basis for exposing the Church; but it is essen-
tial that the working-class opponent of

religion does not adopt the anarchistic atti-

tude of attacking the Church on every possible

occasion. It would be definitely against the

interests of the workers to bring up religious

matters during a strike. This would lead to a

split, and experience has shown that the em-

ployers try every device to smash strikes.

This attitude is the direct result of realising

that the struggle against capitalism as a whole

is much more important than the struggle

against the Church part and parcel. Rising from

this realisation also, the value of a worker

who, while fully prepared to work actively in

the working-class movement, has not yet given

up his religious beliefs, is recognised to be

equal to that of other religion-free workers

so long as his religious remnants do not in-
fuence his activities to any extent. They are

unimportant, and will probably be lost in the

struggle. And it is certain that having freed

themselves from the yoke of capitalist eco-
nomic and ideological suppression, the work-
ers will become free of religious superstitions

as they learn to construct their own Socialist

society.

—R. Nixon.

DIALECTICS

AND IDEOLOGY

In a previous article we outlined briefly the

fundamentals of Marxist philosophy, but we

made only casual remarks as to how Marxism,

both as a politico-revolutionary theory and materi-

alist philosophy, has withstood the test of actual

practice: how dialectical materialism has found its

justification by the recent events in the historical

world arena; and how dialectical materialism has

found its confirmation in science and scientific

developments—in other words, how the theory

and practice of Marxism have actually merged

into one another. For theory now is insepara-

ble from practice. But, in attempting to pre-

sent our case, we will be forced to dwell upon

the problems of ideology in general, and those

of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in par-

icular. This is inevitable, since bourgeois

philosophy and the science which follows in

its train have denied their own revolutionary

heritage, and have reverted to idealism,* which is

that weapon by means of which the bour-

geois thinkers hope to undermine the his-

torical materialism. This idealist and sub-

jective philosophy is playing a reactionary

role, in so far as it attempts to undermine the

belief in science, and it denies the possibility

of understanding objective reality; whereas the

latter is the source of the pro-

letariat’s unadulterated conviction of the inevi-

tability of the fall of the old order and the

building of the new.

Bourgeois Ideology.

By ideology in general we mean all the

manifestations of intellectual life processes,

and these, as has been pointed out by Marx,

reflect the social consciousness of a class.

This social consciousness is based on social

conditions of existence, and the latter, in turn,

corresponds to the economic structure of

society. Thus, broadly speaking, philosophy,

science, and literature will reflect the methods

of thought, aspirations, sentiments, and moods

of a class which expresses them per medium of

its spokesmen—that is, scientists, philoso-

phers, writers, etc. But the dialectic of his-

torical process does not permit the view that

this ideology is eternal, "fixed once and for

all"; but, on the other hand, it forces one to

regard it as being in a continual process

of change, since this ideology changes with the

shifting of class forces in society. When

viewed in this light, many perplexing incon-
sistencies and contradictions (themselves re-

flections of the contradictions of bourgeois

society) of bourgeois ideology become disen-
tangled and intelligible.

Thus bourgeois ideology can be subdivided

into three basic phases, these being purely

arbitrary lines of division:

(a) Protestantism and Atheism, the former

corresponding to the great peasant struggles

during the sixteenth century against the

landowners and the seventeenth century

English Revolution; and the latter appearing

during the eighteenth century life-and-death

struggles of the French bourgeoisie against

absolutism.

(b) Bourgeois liberalism and agnosticism

corresponding to the epoch of expansion of

bourgeois methods of production.

(c) "Modern" idealism and bourgeois Fas-

cism, characteristic of its own heritage,

developed in the epoch of the decline of the

capitalist mode of production, coincident with

imperialism and proletarian revolution. The

former two are essentially progressive epochs

of bourgeois ideology.

Protestantism and Atheism.

The great religious movements of the six-

teenth century, which threw Europe into such

violent convulsions, were merely reflections

of violent class struggles which were under-

mining the foundations of medieval feudalism.

These class wars between the rising petty

bourgeoisie and peasantry against the feudal

exploitation assumed a religious mask. But

this religious camouflagc represented an im-

portant ideological weapon, because the class

struggle against the church, which was the

most powerful feudal institutions—the Catho-

lic Church. Where the politico-economic basis

of the petit bourgeoisie was strongest,

Catholicism was swept out of existence. Thus

the North of Germany is an industrial coun-

try, and there Protestantism developed to

today. The South of Germany is still peasant,

has many feudal relics, and Catholicism is

still intact. Thus we see that religious re-

visionism was one of the ideological weapons

of the rising bourgeoisie.

Another manifestation of the same phe-

nomenon is Puritanism and the English Revo-

lution. There the class nature of these

struggles manifested itself even more strongly.

Unprecedented violence marked the attacks

of the English bourgeoisie to free itself from

the political domination of the landed aris-

tocracy. The bourgeoisie, then a revolutiona-

ry class, utilized materialism as a militant

weapon in order to fight the ideology of feudalism,

that is, religion and theology. Let us hear

Lafargue:

"The bourgeois revolutionists of 1789,

imagining that France could be de-christian-

ised, persecuted the clergy with unqualified

vigor: the more logical of them, thinking that

nothing would be accomplished as long as the

belief in God existed, abolished God by law,

like a functionary of the old regime, and

replaced him by the Goddess of Reason..."

Thus the ideology forged by the French

materialists (Encyclopaedists—Helvetius, d’Holbach, etc.) found its full expression as a

class weapon of the bourgeoisie. This

ideology denied the interference of a super-

human force with man’s activity. To them

everything observable in man’s existence;

man’s history was the result of man’s own

activity. They were unable, however, to

explain what determined this activity. Anoth-

er source of their limitations lay in the fact that

the data of scientific knowledge was

low at the time.

Thus the bourgeois ideology in its revolu-

tional epoch served the function of discredit-

ing the past, and set itself to paint the new

civilisation in contrast to the crumbling old

world. But as soon as it had consolidated its

power after the destruction of feudalism, the

bourgeoisie found to its horror that class

consciousness had not been eliminated from

society, but merely class shifting had resulted.

It had hitherto appealed to the proletariat

with the slogans of liberty, equality, and fra-

ternity; none of these would it grant—none of

these could it grant.

This realisation revealed to the bourgeois

social forces which wanted to go farther than

themselves. These new forces began to be

more dangerous than the bourgeoisie; old.

To come to agreement with the latter

became a necessity to the bourgeoisie. With

this, therefore, their ideology was bound to

become more and more diluted.
Bourgeois Liberalism and Aestheticism.*

The nineteenth century witnessed the unprecedented spectacle of capitalist progress and expansion. It also bore evidence of tremendous achievements by the mechanism of natural science. But the very nature of the class position of the bourgeoisie prevented the possibility of similar progress in social sciences. This is especially true of political economy, when, during its "classical" (that is, scientific) period, the Physiocrats, Adam Smith and Ricardo, attempted to make an objective study of the phenomena and to search out the general laws of production.

"But since the machine-tool and steam engine require the co-operative efforts of wage workers alone in the creation of wealth, the economists confine themselves to the collection of facts and statistical figures (La芳gue). In other words, the science becomes purely descriptive. It was even doomed to lose its youthful innocence when it was confronted with proletarian criticisms. Let us hear the secret revealed through the mouth of a bourgeois economist: "That labor is the only source of wealth appears to be an idea which is no less dangerous than false, because the idea is in the hands of those who argue that all wealth belongs to the laboring classes, and the portion which the other classes have been stolen or robbed from them, in order to increase its value is produced by labor simply does not suit the bourgeoisie." (Quoted from Marxist Study Course, No. 1.)

Thus during the period of greatest optimism of the bourgeois—during the epoch of liberalism (granting of concessions to the proletariat)—the bourgeoisie was unable to grant complete freedom to its official spokesmen.

If philosophical determinism reigns in the natural sciences, it is only because the bourgeoisie has permitted its scientists to study only the physical and natural forces which it has every motive to understand, since it utilizes them in the production of wealth; but by reason of the situation that it occupies in society it could not grant the same liberty to its economists, philosophers, moralists, historians, sociologists, and politicians, and that is why they have not been able to introduce philosophical determinism into sciences of the social world." (Lens.)

For the above reason the physicalists obtain full freedom, the biologist half freedom, and the philosopher no freedom at all to pursue his studies in their proper way, that is to say, to consider every human phenomenon in its relation to the broadest possible framework of causes and effects, to draw conclusions from historical phenomena in order to find an apology for capitalist plunder. Thus physics is the fairs science to the point for knowledge; while, simultaneously, the economist is given the task of giving an apology for the capitalist system, the sociologist the task of confounding the social relations of mankind with respect to the history of the distortion of social relations and misinterpreting economic history in order to find an apology for imperialist plunder. Thus physics is the fairest science to the point for knowledge, while, simultaneously, the economic and social sciences are hopelessly theological and idealistic. Thus, in rebellion against determinism in science, the physicists became victims of "mechanicism." This failure on their part permits us to understand why, later, physics was doomed to pass through a crisis." (Both biologists and physicists were necessarily subjected to the influence of materialism. This, of course, could not be sympathetically regarded by the bourgeois, whose idealism regarded it as intolerable and improper; and as something which is unworthy of orderly minded people in general, and of respectable men of science, in particular. It is not surprising that all these respectable men of science consider themselves morally obliged to free themselves from any suspicion of sympathy for materialism. Often enough, they denounce it as the one mere value in proportion to the degree in which, in their own special researches, they incline to adopt a materialist outlook." (Plehanov.)

It took a long time for Darwin to be in a position to state whether he should publish his "Origin of Species," because he foresaw it would deliver a deadly blow to religion. But agnostic Thomas Huxley was the "doubly agnostic": on the one hand, he would conduct polemics with bishops against religion, and, on the other hand, he advocated the study of the Bible in the elementary schools.

Thus we see that the liberal bourgeoisie ceases to be "liberal" as soon as its class interests are concerned, and that even during its most prosperous times their science and philosophy are permeated and limited by the narrow horizon of its own class outlook.

Period of Decline.

This was further accentuated during the period of decline of capitalist economy. On the one hand we witness the break-down of the economic basis of capitalism, and on the other an explosion of criticism of the growth of the parasitism of the capitalist class, as reflected in the rentier-holders class of the 1914-18 war. It is not merely that the world war, Fascism complete the group of people in the world of economic and political chaos, and, of course, this must exert a profound influence on contemporary bourgeois ideology. This stage is reached when the bourgeoisie is directly faced by the revolutionary proletariat on the one hand, and on the other by successful building of Socialism in the Soviet Bosphorus. The beginning of the twentieth century was marked by complete revolutionisation of physical science. Its exponents made most vital and profound discoveries in practical physics, having unerringly utilised the dadaist method. But having achieved this, they are horrified by the fact that these discoveries do not lead, of course, to anything that would have consonance with the logical and mental development of the nineteenth century—that is, mechanism. They see themselves compelled to abandon materialism precisely because of their ignorance of dialectal materialism. This ignorance results from the hostility of the bourgeoisie class to dialectical materialism, and precludes the physicists from acquainting themselves with this method of knowing the dominating world. Thus they renounce materialism and embrace idealism. Hence a "crisis" results in modern physics.

Recent physics fell into an idealist swamp mainly because the physicists did not know dialectics. They combated metaphysical materialism and its one-sided "mechanicism," and by doing so they not only threw the water out of the boat, but the child as well. By denying the universality of the elements and the properties of matter known hitherto, they ended with the denial of "objective reality of the physical world" (Lenin, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism").

"Thus matter disappears and formula remains. But to say that only ignorance guided them would be to absolve them. The declining bourgeoisie demanded of its spokesmen just as the "spiritual values" against materialist pastors, that they "regain their rightful place in the heaven from which it was so rudely ejected by the bourgeois scientists of the pre-crisis generations. "The philosophy woven into the new physical theories is entirely conditioned by the ideological needs of a ruling class approaching its doom, which is afraid of truth—its own truth—and asks for its being able to stay the advance of proletarian materialism." (D. S. Mirksey.)

This glaring reversion to idealism is the most important symptom of complete disintegration of bourgeois ideology, and it pervades all the avenues of knowledge and philosophy. Yet there is another factor which influences these developments. The decline of capitalist rule is marked by the growing pessimism of this class. It needs a spiritual comfort. Science is not only able to give it to the bourgeoisie, but spells its veritable doom. The bourgeoisie is seized by a panic, the physician has diagnosed a fatal illness; it cannot believe this—it dare not believe this. The bourgeoisie goes to consult a quack. It is thus able to obtain consolation. The fortune-teller, the "economist," the "herald," the astrologer, promises to acquire an increasing importance in the bourgeois scheme of things. This debacle is completed in the Fascism of the capitalist State.

Proletarian Ideology.

"The interests of the proletariat are diametrically opposed to the interests of the bourgeoisie. But they are in complete accord with the objective course of social development and with the interests of the whole of humanity" (Lapidus and Ostrovsky). The above quotation puts into a nutshell the whole position and the historical mission of the working class in society to-day. This, of course, profoundly influences the ideology of the proletariat. Its historical roots are again to be found in its material mode of existence.

The birth of the proletariat coincides with that of Capital. Its appearance is accompanied by unseated violence. "The expenditure of the immediate producers is affected with ruthless vandalism, and under stimulus of the most profound hatred, and the most odious passions." (Capital.")

In its infancy it is compelled to fight the capit
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The proletariat is a class of laborers who are alienated from the product of their labor and who live on the labor of others. This class is characterized by the fact that they do not produce their own means of subsistence and are dependent on the employers for their livelihood. The proletariat is the most oppressed and exploited class in society, and its struggle for freedom and emancipation is one of the main themes of Marxist theory.

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overthrew their bourgeoisie. Today, it becomes the question of practical politics in all the countries of the world. Communism becomes a life question for millions of workers and for the progress of society at large. In the industrial area, we have been all through the whole of the history of the working class and the proletariat, and it is not important for us that the masses were not ready for the revolution. In the industrial area, we have been all through the whole of the history of the working class and the proletariat, and it is not important for us that the masses were not ready for the revolution.

Humanity is passing out of pre-history into the kingdom of necessity, into the kingdom of freedom. —S.R.

OUR UNIVERSITY

It is the custom in radical circles to decry Universities as “class institutions,” whose function is to serve the bourgeoisie at the expense of the working class. From time to time, the University of Melbourne has been criticised by its own Labor Club, but up to the present attack has been merely sporadic. It is the intention of this article to state the case against Universities more successively, and by reference to local institutions, not academic, but of much less importance, than the general case.

One might begin by examining the traditional conception of a University. In academic circles it is contended, and, such is the power of self-deception, generally believed, that the University is constituted for the pursuit of truth—often spelt with a capital “T.” The theory is that, all other and contingent circumstances disregarded, professor and student will discover and fearlessly proclaim what they consider to be the truth of any situation, scientific or otherwise, political. And they will do this whatever obloquy they may bring upon themselves, whatever persecution, real or imaginary. That is to say, if, in their fearless way of thought, they do not violate the truth of the Marxist theories, they will immediately become revolutionary, and seek to overturn the State for the benefit of mankind.

No very profound acquaintance with Universities is needed to realise the absurdity of this position. Alas, it is, however, especially in the working-class and particularly in the workers of the twentieth century, that the University will separate men and women, human beings.

What a magnificent spectacle! At first, in the history of humanity it was a scientific viewpoint embracing in one tremendous synthesis all the problems of knowledge and all the questions of social life and history; now it becomes the property of the masses.

The Universities of belligerent nations follow—indeed, they often lead—the ignis fatuus of the people. Learned doctors produce literary, scientific, and philosophical proofs of the greatness of their race and the depravity of their enemies; historians employ their genius to show the righteousness of the national cause. The published war-time speeches of our own professors (available in the Universal library) give an excellent illustration of the way in which these excoriating words are thrown at the heads of the enemies after truth pander to the national arrogance. If every University is right, but truth must be many, and not one—a proposition repugnant to most philosophers. No, this truth theory will not do at all. It is so absurd that one can only wonder at the childish faith of those who accept it.

The contrary position, and the one which is the intention of this article to justify, is that the function of a University is to train and teach men in the sciences, to make them servants and supporters of the bourgeois State. It is not contended that this is done consciously and with Machiavellian deliberation. The curricula of the faculties are not under the direct control of a secret council of professors, who decide our fate while grudgingly chewing their fat cigars. It is not simple coercion that determines the function of any institution. Rather it is the resultant of a number of forces, some obscure, some plain for all to see. The necessity for preserving and increasing the population is the most obvious clear influence. The desire of the Science and Economics staffs to serve the State in public capacities is another. Again, it is important to the social status of
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University men that they shall conform and be respectable, for if they fail in that, their professions are in jeopardy. These are only a few of the ways in which the ruling class guides and directs University thought to safe conclusions, curbs its enthusiasms, checks what it calls its extravagances, and in general moulds undergraduates to be ornaments of their chosen professions, and good members of society. They will teach us to think, will they? Not much after truth? Tackle the average undergraduate, and you will see in what way they have succeeded.

This is a strong indictment, but it is not wanting in facts to justify it. Perhaps the best method of demonstration will be a piecemeal review of schools, faculties, and student activities.

To begin with the school of Philosophy. Here, if nowhere else, does one expect to find reason enthroned, and truth fearlessly proclaimed. At first sight, one is not disappointed. The staff is above suspicion. No deliberate perversion of youthful thought here, no forcing of tender minds into rigid molds, no suppression of truth and elevation of falsehood. But after a little quiet meditation, one is not surprised to find the system is not quite good, certainly, and there is no lack of hard logic.

But where is the laborious digging about the roots of society that one is led to expect? Where is the laying bare of hidden springs of human behavior, of social maladjustment? Where are the full-blooded philosophies that would emerge from such an analysis? There is no hint of these in the so-called Philosophy.

It is not surprising, then, since the teaching of history is a social menace, to find that the University it is not taught at all—unless, perhaps, you want to know the story of the most complex of events. This sort of things bears much the same relation to flesh-and-blood reality as does "Alice in Wonderland," and it seems to many for want of something to exert so much imagination.

Indeed, the analogy goes deeper. Idealism: philosophy bears the same relation to State authority as does Lewis Carroll's fantasy to general authority. The staff do not provide naughty rebellious children to keep them quiet, and if the children happen to like that sort of thing, the result is perfect peace—the peace that passes understanding.

Of course, you are free to ask questions, but the answers, when intelligible, are apt to be diverging rather than informative. For instance, if you ask the simple question, "What is the State?" you are to read Bosanquet, who reveals to you in a kind of esoteric mystery exactly what the State would be like if it were not the State at all, but a kind of demi-phantasm. Which, as has been said, is an interesting and instructive framework at the mid-party, and about as intelligent. The intention is good, but one cannot help feeling that there is a mistake somewhere, and in any case, instead of being enthralled, the mind is embalmed. And so the enquiring and rebellious mind is beguiled with fairy tales, and those dangerous secrets—the nature of the State and of the springs of human behavior—remain in safe keeping.

Now for the History school. It must be remembered in this connection that history is a dangerous explosive when properly understood. It was a knowledge of history that sent the throne of the Tsars toppling, and set up a Socialist State that is admitted by the daily press to be a menace to the world. If the working class had had history, there would be no Communism, no twentieth century ferment. That is why history is so carefully administered to school children. If the workers of Quebec, they are told, that they would rather have written Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard"—a fact perhaps more interesting to a child, but scarcely of equal value in determining his future conduct toward the Empire.

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All these facts support the thesis that the function of Universities is to produce servants and supporters of the present order. But how is this to be reconciled with the opinions of professors and the like, who honestly believe that they are engaged in the pursuit of truth? The two theories gain their difficulty from reconciling the fact that there are at least two different kinds of truth. There is a truth for the middle classes, because for them everything which tends to support their interests, or to increase their security, or flatter their sense of power is true. And there is also a truth for those who have nothing to do with the capitalist society, and nothing to lose but their chains. Truth for such is to be found by reading the cipher of history, so that they learn their true relation to society, the nature of the deadlock which threatens to involve them in war, and also the means of their salvation. Certainly the professors are seekers after truth, but it is the middle-class truth they pursue, the truth that made England rich and Englishmen poor, the truth that wasted Europe in 1914, the truth that has succeeded, in this twentieth century, in making life for the majority hardly worth the living. Professors would have a plain record.

The net result of all this is that the University exercises an oppressive class function, even when the students are least aware of it. That this need not necessarily be so shown by the occasional radical activity of Universities in other countries—notably in Cuba recently. This being so, it is the business of the Labor Club and of all clear-thinking men to oppose the middle-class "truth" of the Universities, and to promote the right truth, in which the working class has freedom.

—Colin Fraser.

The Editors of Proletariat welcome any discussion on and criticism of this article which is written by a student. If they consider that some valuable discussion will result, they are quite willing to publish any communication they may receive.

RAISE HIGHER THE FLAG OF SOCIALIST CULTURE!

On May 10 last, the square between the Berlin Opera and the Berlin University presented a strange spectacle. Student detachments in the uniform of Nazi Storm Troops, with torches in hand, surrounded a huge pile of books. The Berlin authorities ordered the books should be burnt. Motor lorries drove up with fresh baskets full of literature. The bands struck up, and as the flames seared the pile of books there arose to heaven the hymn of Germany's emancipation.

All this took place in front of the Berlin University, where 120 years ago Fichte delivered his speeches: "To the German People," in which he called upon them to fight against Napoleon, but defended the heritage of the French Revolution. For Fichte never forgot that he once wrote: "From now on (since the French Revolution) only the French Republic can be the fatherland of an honest man." And from their pedestals the statues of Alexander and Wilhelm Humboldt looked down on their son Robert. For Humboldt, the founder of the Berlin University, fostered the spirit of the epoch of French Enlightenment and set himself the task "to study the progress of the spirit of the times, the progress of the spirit of the science." He was a liberal courtier, and strove to raise the Prussia of the junkers to the level where the bourgeois world of the West had attained. Wilhelm Humboldt was a great natural scientist, and had mastered the scientific knowledge of his time. Before the eyes of these two eminent Germans, the German students, caged on by the authorities, made a bonfire of the literature which was considered to be hostile to the "German spirit."

That they burnt the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin is not surprising. It is obvious that all they can oppose to the great scientists who have lifted the way for humanity is helping and medieval fanaticism. The study of modern Communism is the momento mori for those who wish to turn back the wheel of history. The Fascist Töpfeke Rundschau warned the authorities against prohibiting the works of Marx, pointing out that it is impossible for a man to-day to get a clear idea of the course of economic development without a knowledge of Marx, even if one holds the teachings of Marx to be false. For this the paper got the reward it deserved. It was suppressed, and was only able to appear after it had promised not to publish any work which might be considered to be hostile to the German spirits. This attitude, however, is not only indefensible, but also fatal for the university literature. They are burning the books which have appeared in other countries—and notably in Cuba recently. This being so, it is the business of the Labor Club and of all clear-thinking men to oppose the middle-class "truth" of the Universities, and to promote the right truth, in which the working class has freedom.

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ism. Communism leads the fight against the legacy of idealistic philosophy. Whilst, however, the German black hundreds to-day burn the works of Marx, Engels, and Stalin in order to-morrow to burn the works of Darwin, we, on the other hand, are publishing translations of the works of the great idealist, Hegel, in order to study the way along which history came to Marxism. Communism is not afraid of idealistic teachings, for it vanquishes them ideologically and by actions. Communism builds its edifice upon the ruins of the great achievements of the human spirit in the past. Fascism destroys the germ of the future lying in modern bourgeois science in order to study the way along which history came to Marxism. If it should succeed in this, then pagan Germany is bound to perish, for no development is possible, even for the bourgeois world, in the straight-jacket of medieval obscurantism, in the claws of savage nationalism. This obscurantism is incompatible with modern technique and industry. This savage nationalism is bound to lead to disastrous war. From the bonfire which was lit in front of the Berlin University there arises not the smoke and fumes of burning papers, but the pestilential stench of the rotting German bourgeoisie.

But no matter how Fascism may rage, it will not achieve its aim. The economic and social development of Germany has also advanced to be driven back, even with fire and sword, into the middle ages. This development has created those social forces which will become the instrument of revolt. The blind fury which drives the Fascists to the demonstration of burning books is not a proof of their strength, but of their sense of weakness. They indulge in wild excesses, for it is only in the excesses that they see a chance of salvation. These excesses show to all people to whom the cause of human culture is dear, to whom the achievements of the human spirit are dear, where are the savours of this spirit, where are the seeds of the future. The heritage of Fichte and Hegel, the heritage of Schopenhauer and Heidegger from the Fascist insurrectional fires. This force is the force that protects the heritage of Marx and Engels from the modern barbarians, and proves the truth of the words of Marx that the German Labor Movement is the successor of classic German philosophy.

Public opinion in the Soviet Union, in face of the bonfires on which the works of German progressive writers are burnt, will not forget the heritage of Marx and Engels from the past to the spiritual life of Germany. Public opinion in the Soviet Union will not believe for a moment that with the bonfires which flared up on the night of the 19th of May there disappeared Germany's capacity to serve the development of human culture. Public opinion in the Soviet Union will not permit Germany to be identified with the Fascists, no matter how much they may claim to be the representatives of the "true German spirit." Public opinion in the Soviet Union knows that those capacities which made Germany the leading country will also in the future make it the leading Socialist country.

The burning of the heaps of books in front of the Berlin University is not a proof of the public opinion of the Soviet Union nor the decline of culture, but the decline of bourgeois culture. It means that the flag of Socialist culture must be raised higher, that the men of science must make common cause with the working class which is building Socialism, for the working class is the only power which can create the conditions under which the new great culture of humanity arises.

—Karl Radek.
talist society is finally replaced by Socialism, there will be continual danger of war, and that "only organised resistance to war preparations can effectively hamper the war plans of the imperialists." The resolution was published in part in the Herald, and in full in the previous (Anti-War) number of Proletariat (page 23). On April 22 the Club took part in the mass Anti-War Conference in the Bijou Theatre (reported in the same number of Proletariat), at which the Victorian Council Against War was formed. The resolution adopted by the World Conference at Amsterdam last year was moved by Comrade Burton. Comrade Nicholls spoke on behalf of the Club.

On May 9, a combined anti-war meeting was organised at the University together with the Students' Christian Movement and the International Relations Society. The speaker was the Rev. J. T. Lawton, and a united front resolution was carried. On the suggestion of Comrade Ian MacDonald, a provisional Anti-War Committee in the University was appointed. With the co-operation of other members, a permanent University Anti-War Committee was subsequently constituted, with Comrade Nicholls as chairman. The committee has since held lunch-hour meetings and had its articles published fortnightly in Farago. The Labor Club has willingly helped the committee in all ways.

CONFERENCE.—The five-day conference held at Mt. Dandenong at Easter gave members of the Club a greater opportunity for discussion among themselves. The Young Labor Group and the Youth Section of the Friends of the Soviet Union were also present, and the conference a broader basis. The resolutions submitted included resolutions on the Easter Conference, participation in Anti-War and Child-Deterioration Conferences, and, above all, the whole question of a National Labor Party. The resolutions were adopted and will now be considered by the Executive Committee.

EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES.—As can be seen from the above account, the Club's activities are centred mainly within the University, but it maintains also a connection with the movement outside. The invitation of members of other organisations to the Easter Conference, participation in Anti-War and Child-Deterioration Conferences, and, above all, the whole question of a National Labor Party, are evidences of this.

The Club has been able to grant a small amount of financial assistance to the International Labor Defence, the Workers' International Relief, and the Central Strike Committee in the recent struggle against work for subsistence. Also, coaches in English have been provided for members of the Jago-Task workers' organisation. Thus, by its activities both inside and outside the University, the Club attempts in its small way to play its part in the fight for Socialism.

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MISCELLANEOUS:
CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1933: Allen Hutt. 3/9, posted 4/-.—A complete exposure of the appalling conditions of Britain's workers.


THE GREAT OFFENSIVE: Maurice Hindus. 7/6, posted 8/6.

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Also, "The Workers' Voice," "Workers' Weekly," "Red Leader," "Working Woman," "Young Worker," and "Proletariat" are on sale.

For information and books, visit or write to E. E. DAVIS, POPULAR BOOKSHOP, 201 BOURKE ST., MELB.
STUDENTS AND WAR

"We do not want war, but if it comes we must be prepared for defence."

This is the type of argument used by all imperialist war organizations in their attempt to gain public support. It is the type of argument used by our own Melbourne University Rifles, i.e., Officers' Training Corps, for the purpose of attracting recruits.

The question is: How much longer shall we allow ourselves to be deceived by this type of specious argument? How long will it be before we begin to suspect that every imperialist country can't fight a defensive war, and so there must be something hypocritical in the assertion that they are preparing merely for defence? How long before we see that, if we really do not want war, we can spend our time more profitably than by learning how to conduct it if it comes? Why not learn instead how to prevent it from coming?

The University Anti-War Council is a branch of the World Anti-War Movement, which aims at a scientific understanding and eradication of the causes of war. It points out that no isolated, emotional protests can save the world from the terrible destruction that will come with another war. Only a sober and scientific consideration of the facts, a penetration to the root-cause of war, and the organization of a force that will stamp out that cause, can serve any purpose. The Anti-War Council is opposed to all war preparations, no matter how they disguise themselves.

At its meetings and conferences it welcomes discussion, relying solely on the irrefutable logic of its arguments for their acceptance by the students.

EASTER ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE
OPEN TO ALL STUDENTS.

CURRENT NOTES

1934.

The closing months of 1933 were marked by a great increase in propaganda put forth by the ruling class throughout the whole world, stating that the end of the crisis is in sight. It is true that these bourgeois propagandists admitted that there is a long road to travel to the "prosperity" which they desire; but they nevertheless pointed to certain improvements in trade and production which, they said, marked the commencement of a general improvement in capitalist economy. How do these statements compare with the facts?

A host of events has shattered the illusions which the bourgeoisie has attempted to create. The crisis is deepening in Germany. Profound disillusion with the fascist régime exists among the great masses of the population. The working-class, despite the maintenance of the most ferocious terror, is rapidly gathering its forces and consolidating them. War preparations are being pushed ahead. The whole capitalist world has been shaken by the violent revolutionary events in France and Austria. The ruling class is having recourse, more and more, to naked white terror. The revolutionary upsurge in the Balkan States is evidenced by the fresh wave of terror there; for example, the shooting of the Romanian railway workers, the torture of political prisoners on a gigantic scale, etc. Poland is the scene of constant fierce conflicts. The peasants, especially in White West Ukraine, are becoming more and more insurgent. In Ireland the workers are putting up a fierce struggle against the bourgeoisie and their fascist Blue-shirt agents. In Britain, as elsewhere, the Reichstag fire trial has worked a great anti-capitalist outburst. In Spain, the working-class is continuing its persistent struggle against the forces of counter-revolution. In Italy, especially in the northern areas, numerous mass movements of workers and peasants, against the Mussolini regime, have taken place. In America the Roosevelt plan has proved to be incapable of solving the crisis of capitalism, but has resulted in a great intensification of the class struggle. In Japan the revolutionary crisis is rapidly approaching. The burdens of the Chinese war have opened wide the cracks in Japanese Imperialism. Fascist terror is more and more necessary to maintain capitalist rule.

In a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries great anti-imperialist struggles are taking place. The Cuban workers are preparing for the decisive struggles. In Palestine the Arab workers have made a powerful counter-thrust against British Imperialism, masking itself under the cloak of Zionism. In China the Soviets have again defeated the armies of the Kuomintang and the foreign Imperialists. In India revolts are constantly occurring.

All of these events indicate that the crisis in the capitalist system is producing violent convulsions within that system. The contradictions between capitalism and socialism are being accentuated. But the growth and strength of socialism in the U.S.S.R., together with its consistent peace policy and the revolutionary upsurge in all capitalist countries on the one hand, and the antagonisms between the
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It was recently announced that the 4,400,000 families receiving socialized winter (i.e., about 20,000,000 people), there has been added a further 1,000,000. This does not include several million people who are receiving from public relief. From all this it is evident that the significance of such facts as these is obvious: They indicate that the crisis is not passing. In fact, the true explanation is that American capitalism is making a prolonged and savage onslaught on the conditions that support the whole population, particularly the workers, while at the same time increasing the means of destruction. The outcome of the Roosevelt plan will also be serious. The masses can now be seen to be an increase in the instability of American capitalism, and hence of world capitalism, and the preparation of an attempt at solving the crisis by an armed conflict.

In the closing months of 1933 industrial production again declined rapidly, following the increase which amounted, at its peak in the middle of June, to 50% more than at the beginning of the year. As this time the index of monthly production (1929 = 100) was 97. In August it fell to 85.8, in September to 78.0. It has since continued to decline.

Of great importance is the fact that American capitalism is also increasing its production in the basic heavy industries. In past crises it has always been the rule for an increase in engineering production and the building of new industrial establishments to herald the end of the crisis. No such move has yet occurred, and, despite the pressure which Roosevelt is bringing to bear on them, many of the trusts, especially the railway companies, are extremely unwilling to renew their stock, because, in the past few years, they have been working only 30-40% of their capacity.

In addition, the increase in exports which was expected to follow inflation has not occurred, because of a general shrinkage of the world market and increased foreign tariffs. Actually a drop in exports can be noted. Thus it has happened that, just when the plan seemed to be succeeding, it suddenly and "unexpectedly" failed.

It has aggravated the class-struggle to a very high pitch. The wave of strikes which broke out and spread at the commencement of the plan has continued right up to the present day. These struggles are becoming wider in their scope, and there is an increasing tendency for those participating in them to follow revolution.

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tionary leadership. Bitter struggles are taking place in the coal and steel industries. The main scene of these is Pennsylvania, where 110,000 miners fought against the steel code. This struggle extended to 14 other States. Martial law was declared in New Mexico, while virtual martial law existed in many other places. The following happened at the town of Ambridge. Armed guards in hundreds were made deputy sheriffs. They attacked unarmed strike pickets. In a struggle lasting 45 minutes several workers were shot dead and forty seriously wounded. "In the words of the sheriff, the picket lines were shot out of existence."

Strikes among textile and clothing workers, among the meat workers in Chicago, in the automobile industry, and a widespread struggle involving several million farmers in the wheat-growing States, give the lie to the talk of recovery.

Not only the American capitalist class, but the ruling class throughout the whole world, watched the progress of the Roosevelt plan with great interest. They felt that its success would bring about a revival in world trade, and thus would provide a way to the rapid upsurge of the revolutionary movement. In this belief they were supported by the Labor parties. They attempted to convince the masses of the people that the Roosevelt plan was the only way out of the crisis. It was a "bloodless revolution."

The rapid worsening of the workers' conditions and dependence of the farmers, the bodies of the murdered miners and steel workers in Pennsylvania, the growth of naval, military, and air expenditure, the militarization of the unemployed, all expose the plan in the eyes of the toilers as an attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to force an even larger share of the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers as a prelude to the armed conflict which is threatening.

British Optimism

In many ways it seems that British capitalism has suffered less during the crisis than any other capitalist center. In the statements of its diplomats there has been an air of guarded optimism. There has been an increase in the number of exports. There has been a definite increase in production in the last six months. Largely as a result of the Means Test, which has reduced expenditure on unemployment insurcance, the Budget has been balanced. Share quotations have risen steadily.

Since the war Britain has suffered from a chronic crisis in its economy and, even before the present economic crisis commenced, industrial production had not touched the 1913 level. Thus the crisis was less intense than in France, America, and Germany. As a result, Britain has been able to concentrate on the basis of the chronic stagnation of production. Stabilization at the present level has been attained in the following ways:

First, by abandoning free-trade and adopting an import duty policy. Britain made use of its position as the only large importer of agricultural products (now that Germany, France, and Italy have made themselves self-supporting) to compel agrarian countries which supply Britain to take in return larger quantities of British products. Denmark, for example, must purchase 80% of its coal, iron, and steel goods from Britain. Thus Britain has practically succeeded in incorporating "independent" countries into its home market.

Second, Britain is the country richest in colonies, and has, thanks to the Ottawa Agreement a strong position in the Dominions.

Finally, following the abandonment of the gold standard to stabilize its currency, to a large extent by maintaining a "sterling bloc" comprising about one-third of the world's population, and more than one-third of the world's trade.

As a result of these measures, British im- ports have been reduced by one-half in the last two years while exports have increased slightly. Britain is now the greatest exporting country in the world. Nevertheless, its exports have fallen 30% during the crisis.

In Britain it is evident that British optimism is based upon the exploitation of weaker competitors, and further oppression of the workers. The bourgeoisie themselves admit that a general improvement in capitalist economy is necessary before a marked improvement in British economy is possible. As in America, too, the export of munitions is very important at the present time.

This brief consideration of the state of the economic crisis in the two most important capitalist countries shows that capitalism is not passing out of the crisis. Desperate manoeuvres follow another in quick succession. Sudden and dangerous rifts appear. The violent contradiction between imperialist powers on the other, have so far prevented a renewal of armed intervention against the workers' revolution. But the imperialist ambitions of Japan in the East, and the savage threat on the European front, make the danger of war on the Soviet Union the main problem for the international proletariat.

Despite this situation, the U.S.S.R. has had numerous victories, of which the most important is the recognition of diplomatic relations with America.

From this brief outline it will be seen that 1934 is to be a year of storm. Wars and revolutions are already in progress. It will be possible to deal here only with some aspects of the crisis, with the acute threat of war, and with the latest developments in Australia.

Bankruptcy of Roosevelt Plan.

The tremendous wave of propaganda designed to confuse and obscure the real issues has now largely died down as a result of the exposure of the plan in practice. It was easy for Marxists to predict this failure. We knew at the outset that the ultimate result would be an aggravation of the depression. From the inception it was obvious that it was designed to seize more profits for the big industrial and finance capitalists by crushing out their small, unorganized competitors.

It is distressing to millions of farmers, and above all, by conducting a nation-wide campaign against the working conditions and living standards of the working-class on an unscrupulous scale. There has been a revival of industry to some extent. Especially in the steel, textile, and automobile industries there has been a sharp rise in production. But this is the result of two main factors: first, the wild speculation which is the result of inflation; and second, the increase in armaments and war preparations evidenced by the expenditure of hundreds of millions on the building, the construction of scores of new aeroplanes, etc. This is the true face of the "recovery" which, it is alleged, has taken place.
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by America, the non-aggressive pacts with Poland and France, and the re-opening of trade negotiations with Great Britain were made possible. Not only is the Soviet Union the bulwark of the anti-imperialist revolution. The international proletariat is united in the work of the Soviet Union. The two are indissolubly linked. The fear of revolution is a major reason why the imperialists have been prevented from conducting a new war of intervention.

A single instance will suffice. It could be multiplied indefinitely from every-day experience. Japanese imperialism is being compelled by the crisis of capitalism and violent military adventures in Northern China and along the Soviet border. It is attempting to solve the crisis at the expense of the workers and peasants in Japan and China, and also by seizing the rich territories of Eastern Siberia. But the very measures intended to solve the crisis have only served to intensify it. The revolutionary ferment among the workers and peasants has flared into open revolt in some places.

An incident reported in the press a few weeks ago revealed clearly the military presence in Manchuria. Many workers and peasants gathered to support the central station of Tokyo workers, fast-trackers, and the president of the Manchurian war zone. A crowd of 30,000 assembled to “see them off.” In the excitement of the departure, the bourgeoisie, many of the soldiers were prevented from leaving. In other words, the Tokyo workers held a fighting anti-war demonstration in the heart of the city and prevented troops from going to the frontiers of the Soviet Union. No matter how the capitalists attempt to disguise the character of these events and prevent their occurrence, they occur again and again throughout the world.

In 1932, 800 people were arrested in Japan for “communism.” In 1933, 9000. Mass terror, torture, and brutality of every description are necessary to maintain the existing system. Any attempt to overthrow this system is subjected to a movement of such magnitude and such resourcefulness.

The same story is being told everywhere. The revolutionary working class is challenging the existence of capitalism more strongly than ever. Unemployment, depression, economic conditions, and war are all seen to be the products of the same system.

Such are the contradictions of capitalism that the ruling class is driven to war which can only intensify the crisis. The only genuine disarmament proposals, those of the Soviet Union, have been turned down almost without discussion. Disarmament conferences are still being used to mask war preparations. The descent of Germany from the League of Nations reflects the increasing antipathy between France and Germany. Central Europe has become a powder-keg, especially since the recent events in Austria. Britain, while pretending to vacillate on the question of German re-armament, is openly assisting Hitler's schemes.

Munitions and war supplies of all kinds are being poured into Germany. Britain wishes to use Germany against the Soviet Union and against France. But at the same time British imperialism is threatened by America, and must therefore remain as friendly as possible with France. Hence its policy of apparent vacillation.

There can be no doubt regarding the undisguised preparations for war which are being carried out in every capitalist country. Secret preparations are also very extensive. We dealt in a preceding section with the effect which these preparations have had on capitalist economy, and showed the increasing economic depression which results from the efforts to produce. With no place left to go, they must sell, and there is no place to make any profit. In the words of a leading capitalist, “The imperialist powers are afraid of war, a war which, according to the well-founded prediction of Baldwin, would lead to the collapse of capitalist civilization, but at the same time they are doing everything possible to prepare for this war.”

This is the true analysis of the situation. The solution of the crisis lies in the hands of the working class.

Australia.

The Australian bourgeoisie has also conducted a campaign of “prosperity” propaganda. That there has been a slight upward trend in the production covering a number of important industries cannot be denied. The building and engineering industries have improved during recent months. A part of this improvement can be attributed to the acceleration of war preparations. Several factories are being built or planned, all of which will be capable of producing not only increased quantities of military arms, but also new varieties such as tanks, naval shells, the latest pattern machine guns, etc., which were formerly imported. The remainder of the increase must be ascribed to the need for replacing machinery and buildings which fell into decay during the earlier years of the crisis.

But no real evidence has been brought forward, or can be brought forward, to prove that the crisis is over, and that Australian economy will gradually return to its old level. Although the price of wool has gone up since the beginning of the year, the wool profit has been shared by the wool-brokers and the wealthiest graziers. The price of wheat is still at its former low level, and it is freely admitted that the position of the poorer sections of the farmers is becoming more and more disastrous. The discrepancy between the prices of industrial and primary products is still gradually increasing, with the result that the farmers are being even more severely exploited by the machine and fertilizer companies, which have reduced a large percentage of working farmers to a condition which is literally servitude.

An investigation carried out during the past year by the Auditor-General's Department in South Australia revealed the following fantastic position of a number of farmers (taken at random from a group of 500). Column I contains the price of the farm which the farmers have sold, in order to clear himself of all debts (not to make a living), and Column II, the price actually obtained:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Settlers</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>II.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>15/2</td>
<td>2/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>24/9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>30/0</td>
<td>2/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>2/10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>2/2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>4/3</td>
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That these cases are not exceptional is shown by the Auditor-General's own words again throughout the country of 50% of the settlers in 1931, and of more than 50% in 1932.” (His report goes up to June, 1933.) He revealed, also, that in the season 1932-33 there were 54% total failures among the farmers; 49.8% partial failures; while another 34.1% could pay only advances and interest. In all, 89.1% of the 1500 farmers considered in the report were in desperate straits. And these conditions apply generally to the whole of Australia. Mortgages, foreclosures, and foreclosures in a multitude of ways whereby banksters and industrial monopolists are squeezing the life-blood out of the toiling farmers of Australia.
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The bourgeoisie in every State has been driven to make some sort of pretence of “relief.” As reported in the “Age” of October 20, Argyll outlined the general proposals of the Government—facilitation of “negotiations” between farmers and their creditors, “voluntary agreements” between them, etc.—all of which clearly foreshadow even worse oppression for the poorer classes. For it is obvious hypocrisy to talk about a friendly agreement between debtor and creditor when the creditor has all the power on his side. The main element of this agreement is, in the simplest terms, to set up a committee of creditors over the properties of debtor farmers, the chief creditor to be president of the committee, and the committee to “direct” the affairs of the farmer, without any reference to his demands. [This state of affairs has existed in W.A. since 1931.]

The falseness of the “prosperity” propaganda is clearly shown by reference to a few facts of current Australian history. The Melbourne “Herald” of January 17, 1934, had a special section devoted to the prospects of the Australian economy during 1934. On the basis of increased prices for the flour tax rice, sugar, butter, cotton, and wool, the prosperity of the workers was promised. In February, the Melbourne “Age” published a letter written by an industrialist to his friends, in which he wrote: “The industrial movement of the last few years has been a very great disappointment to me. I had expected that it would lead to a revolution, but it has not. The workers have been too well paid, and the employers have been too well satisfied.”

The attack on the working-class has been intensified. Just at the moment when the Federal and State governments had announced a remission of taxation on big businesses and industrial workers, the living standard of the working-class was reduced. The price of rice and tea has been raised. Food prices as a whole have remained at the same level despite wage-cutting. Further direct wage cuts have been inflicted, especially on the textile workers. The new Textile Award imposed wage cuts amounting to 50% in some cases. The meat workers have suffered a terrific drop in their wages, especially when it is remembered that many of them work for several months in the year only. A systematic policy of regrading—replacement by subsistence workers—is being carried out in the railways. Many of the advantages gained during the Relief Workers’ Strike have been gradually nibbled away. In short, following the example of the bourgeoisie in Germany, America, Britain, France, Japan, and all other capitalist countries, the Australian bourgeoisie is continuing and intensifying its attack on the working-class.

The workers have not taken these onslaughts calmly. On the contrary, they have responded by a number of strikes. A wave of strikes has spread over the whole country during the past two months. Meat workers, munition workers, and railwaymen have all been on strike recently. The discontent has risen sharply, and increased militancy has been shown. More and more the workers have shown a desire for rank and file methods, although in most cases the trade union officials have succeeded ultimately in ending the strikes disadvantageously for the workers. An indication of this growing spirit can be seen in the success of militant candidates in the elections among the miners and tramwaymen, and the persistent struggle of the miners at Wonthaggi. So far, these struggles have been limited to the local area (except at Wonthaggi); but there can be no doubt that the Australian workers are now putting forward counter-demands to the attacks of the employers and are not merely conducting a defensive fight.

So far it is not possible to say that any unity has been achieved between the industrial workers and the working farmers. There are great obstacles to overcome. These obstacles are fostered by the capitalists in order to maintain the split between the two sections of the population whom they exploit. They tell the farmers that the only way to get out of their financial troubles is by lowering the cost of production. This, in capitalist philosophy, means, above all, wage cuts for the industrial workers. They have no intention to forego their huge profits. Thus, according to them, low wages are necessary in order to make farms pay. The workers are led to believe that high wheat prices mean an increase in the cost of living. This is perfectly true. But, of course, the only correct point of view is that high wheat prices and high wages are both possible, provided that the expense of the wheat merchants, flour-millers, machinery and chemical firms, etc., who at present profit greatly by paying low wages on the one hand, by buying their raw materials cheap on the other, and by selling the finished food products, especially bread, at a relatively high price. This is exactly the case with the recent flour tax, which has benefited the farmers very little (often not at all), and the flour-millers a great deal. It is an urgent necessity at the present time to indicate to the workers and poor farmers that there is a direct connection between the high wheat prices and the low wages of the railwaymen. Otherwise both will be exploited. In view of the preparation going on in this country at the present time, it is necessary to bring this heavy and dangerous expenditure before the farmers as well as the workers, and agitate for a conversion of this money to relief of unemployment, farm debts, etc.

In view of the fact that 1934 is the centenary year of Melbourne, and is being hailed by the bourgeoisie as a year of “promise” and “prosperity,” it is necessary to explain and expose the real character of the centenary celebrations. They are really designed to give greater profits to the big interests and above all, to mask war preparations and spread war propaganda. The contrast between this propaganda and reality has been sufficiently exposed above. [This will be dealt with more fully elsewhere in this issue.]

Political developments of note have taken place in recent months. First, there is the above-mentioned increase in the militancy of the working-class, as shown by a wave of strikes, by the election of militants to high trade union positions, by the great success of the revolutionary candidate at the Finders by-election, etc. In opposition to this there has been a marked increase in the organization of fascist forces and the fostering of fascist ideology. Statements by Kent Hughes and debates at the conference of Young Nationalists have been featured by the capitalist Press. At the next Premiers’ Conference one of the events to be discussed is “Communism and Revolutionary Activity.” Revolution is brooding counter-revolution.

Of great importance are the developments within the Labour Party. Although it still influences the great masses of the workers, this Party has lost greatly in prestige. It has fostered disunity. It has assisted the Australian ruling class in a thousand different ways. Large masses of workers have become aware of this. At a meeting held by the Labour Party to protest against the flour tax, Scullin, the Federal leader, received a very bad reception from the workers. Nevertheless, the Labour Party continues to manoeuvre under the slogan of “Unity.” But this proposed “unity” is nothing but an agreement between the same old bureaucrats as to how the worker can be deceived. It is merely unity in words. The Labour Party still remains the same in its attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards the anti-war movement and revolutionary organizations. How to deceive the workers by using revolutionary phrases—that is the main problem confronting the Labour Party at present. Just as fascism is counter-revolution in its open form, so is this left manoeuvring of the Labour Party a result of the increased militancy of the Australian proletariat.

We have dealt very briefly with some of the main features of the world situation at the commencement of 1934. On the one hand we see violent war preparations, intense nationalism, economic collapse, and white terror cloaked under hypocritical talk of prosperity, disarmament, and peace; on the other the growing revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and the success of the Soviet Union. The danger of war, the danger of fascism—these are the main things confronting the working class at the present time. Above all, the contradictions between the two systems, Socialism and Capitalism, are intensifying.

1934 will not be a year of fair weather and prosperity. Violent class-struggles and savage wars are the order of the day. The barometer indicates storm.

---Ian C. Macdonald.

Do You Know the Causes of War?

Come to the Easter Anti-War Conference.
THE CAMP MEETING

The following is the short story for which our prize of one guinea has been awarded. It deals with actual events which occurred in a relief workers' camp in Victoria a few months ago. Naturally, the names have been changed.

A number of entries were forwarded to us. They dealt with a variety of subjects. Most of the authors appeared to us to make the mistake of delivering statements concerning socialism and the working-class movement in a more or less abstract fashion. The following contribution is the only one which gave a really unfurled picture of an incident in the working-class movement, showing how that movement does not move along rigid, stereotyped lines. This was the main reason for awarding the prize.

NIGHT was falling at the relief camp at Woop Woop. The hum of the telephone wires overhead, the chirp of the crickets, and the croak of an old-man frog in the dam, were the only sounds that broke the silence of the evening; while the hum of the refuse pit and the B... O... of the big bull in the pen behind the tents created an atmosphere, compared with which the perfume exuding from a tannery was sweet-smelling.

Bob, hitching his seat a shade closer to the fire, asked:

"Well, are we all here?"

"No, not yet, there's a few to come," churred the crowd round the open fire in front of the row of tents.

"Hey, come on, you fellows!" shouted Billy. "The sooner we start, the sooner you can get back to your cards."

"Righto, coming!" answered Frank, as he appeared from his tent followed by George, Tim and Roy.

"That's 24. One missing—who is it?" questioned Bob.

"Oh! it's Clarkie—the father of 12," answered Charlie. "He's in bed."

"Timney, he's always in bed!" chimed in several voices.

"Habit, boys, habit," philosophized Bob; "he must have spent a good part of his life in bed, to become the Daddy of a nation."

"Well, let's get to business," impatiently demanded Roy.

"Hallo! what's bugging you, Roy? Cards going against you to-night?" questioned Mac.

"Picked him in one," churred Frank.

"Order! Order!" demanded Billy, "I move Bob take the chair."

"Second that," churred the circle. "Set her going."

"Well," commented Bob, "I think we are all awake to the fact that Cassidy has sold us a pup."

"Hear, hear!"

"Too blasted right!"

"The least we were entitled to expect, when we were railroaded 250 miles away from home—up to this blasted hole—was that some effort would be made to fulfill their promises to us and make camp conditions livable. But what's the real position? Why, there's nothing here. What's going to happen to us if it rains, with no drying sheds in camp?"

"I'll be crippled up with rheumatism, growled old Tom."

"How are we going to get on with our work if we get a bit of wind, with no fireplaces in camp?"

"Yes, and smashing up wood with a pick, because they are too busy to supply us with an axe, doesn't appeal to me," chimed in Billy. And get an eyeful of this," wrathfully demanded Charlie, pouring a dark brown liquid out of a billy; "this is supposed to be drinking water."

"Now, now, one at a time is good fishing," admonished Bob. "Give me a go."

"Sure! Order, boys," commanded Billy.

"Well, it's evident we are all agreed that things are crook. Now, what's to be done about it? I suggest that we elect a committee right now to go and take up matters with the trump."

"Hear, hear!" heartily supported Billy. "I move that we elect a camp committee of five—a president and secretary and three others—to carry out any decisions arrived at by meetings of the gang while we are here."

"In the last camp I was in," he went on to explain, "we elected a committee. I was secretary, and we succeeded in getting things fixed up pretty good before we left. We used to think that camp was crook; but it was a paradise to this. We had drying sheds, a mess, and even lamps and enamelled plates and pumpkins were supplied. While here—well, the tents and huts are all right, and it would be a good place to sleep if it wasn't for the Ghost Train."

(The Ghost Train was the express, which ambled past the camp, doing 55 m.p.h., at 11 p.m. each morning, creating the combined effect of an earthquake and a violent thunder-storm.)

"Hear, hear and chuckles."

"And Billy's crook," chuckled Frank, amid laughter, Billy being credited with all the noise of the bull.

"We have to do more than sleep here, chaps—we have to live here," continued Billy. "Yes, live here for months, and if they don't see to it that things are made comfortable for us, we can't expect anyone else to. The heads must work at the cards, they hold all the cards; they certainly worked this deal from a cold deck, and we should let them know at once that it's no good to us, and we are going to take a hand over the camps, and give it the job of getting on to the tramps bug at the root."

"I'll second the motion," spoke up Mac. "We were given the dole work that the only way to maintain and improve conditions, prevent speed-up and slave-driving, and stop intimidation and victimization of workers the ganger got in the gun, was to have job committees. The need here is urgent, and those elected are going to have their hands full, so I hope the motion is carried and that we get a good live committee."

"Anyone against the motion?" questioned Bob. "Hands up!"

"Not on your life!"

All hands. Carried unanimously.

Bill left the circle and returned with an armful of green wood, which he proceeded to place on the fire, drenching the flame and causing a dense cloud of smoke.

"Leave the fire alone!"

"What the blazes are you doing?"

"Cut it out!"

"A chorus of protests from the men to windward. "What's the matter with you?" shouted Bill. "Don't you want a fire?"

"Why the hell don't you get dry wood?"

"There's none under the tent."

"Well, you're a fool. Sit down and stop mucking about."

"How did I know it was green?" excitedly shouted Bill. "That's the thanks I get for trying to do you a turn."

"Do us a real good turn, Bill," drawled back Paddy. "Go and bury yourself."

"Order! Chair! "Sit down!" drowned Bill's excited reply.

"Now, Bill," admonished Bob. "Try and behave yourself."

"Why pick me?" barked Bill, "Order! Chair! I—"

"Order! Chair! I take nominations."

"Righto, next business, nominations for president," announced Bob. "I take nominations."

"I move Bob, spoke several voices at once. "Any further nominations?"

"No race, Bob; you've got it all your own way."

"Next position. We want a secretary."

"Billy's the boy for that job," said Charlie. "Too right," quoth Mac, "I nominate Billy."

"I'll second that," announced Paddy; "if we give him plenty of work to do, it might stop him from making funny noises with that voice of his."

"I'll reply to this, "Funny noises, bunk! Do you know, Boys, my voice won me my wife," was greeted with gales of derision. "She had no ear for music," responded Paddy. "The poor girl must have been deaf," emphatically answered Bob.

"No, Bob, you're wrong," replied Billy. "I used to sing to her; I wish I had someone to love me; and she married me to shut me up."

"And I heard wonder, unanimously voted the candidate."

"Any further nominations?" demanded Bob.

"Billy does me," said Mac. "But, emphatically, he'll have to cut out snoring."

"Here's to the nob."

"Now three cheers for the committee."

Bill again left the circle and, reappearing with his bill, proceeded to place it over the fire to load.
"You're always thinking of your stomach," said Paddy.

"That's all right," replied Bill, "an army always travels on its stomach."

"So does a snake," said Bob. "But that is no reason why you should get snaky and muck up the meeting."

"Who's mucking up the meeting?" demanded Bill. "I'm not," he asserted indignantly, jerking himself erect, tipping contents of hilly into the fire and smothering everybody in ashes and steam.

When the uproar had somewhat subsided, Bob demanded an explanation from Bill. "Listen, Bill, if you are not trying to muck up the meeting, then what the blazes are you doing?"

"Garn," defended Bill, "I didn't do it on purpose. Any of you mugs could see it was an accident."

"Chair! Chair! I demand that he withdraw, indignantly from Paddy. "He called us mugs."

"Yes," agreed Bob, "most unparliamentary. I'm surprised at you, Bill. Plain, ordinary mugs wouldn't come to a job like this. We've a lot of silly bloody mugs."

"Hurrath!"

"I'll more," announced Billy, "that Bill get on to his belly and do what the army and the snakes do."

"Heart! Heart! Heart!"

"No, Gentlemen," ruled Bob, "just for this once we'll temper justice with mercy; let Bill off and get on with the business. Nominations for the committee."

"Mac." "Yes." "George." "Yes.

"We must have one of the card-sharps on. What about you, Frank?" "Sure, I'll be in it."

"Paddy." "No, you've got the best three there already. I'll move that Mac, George, and Frank go on to the committee."

"Hear, hear! I'll second that," from Charlie.

"All those in favour say, 'aye!'" "Aye!"

"Against," said a carried unanimously.

"Well, that's that," said Bob. "We will see the ganger in the morning and place the position before him. Let's see, we want an axe to start with—dryings sheds, fireplace, and decent water. That right?"

"Yes," agreed old Alf, "and there's another thing. We want latrines at the camp. That blasted water has given me dysentery, and it's bad luck having to wear out your bottom without having to do it."

"Let's see, they're walking 300 yards to and from the station."

"Yes," concurred Bob, "we want latrines, and also some disinfectant; that refusals is beginning to walk!"

"Anything else we should take up while we are on the job?" enquired Bob.

"Yes, let it be for a copper or some kersey's tons to bolt water in. We can't wash our clothes in our billets," suggested Charlie. "I'll take care Mr. Ka-Hent Hues doesn't catch me in another joke like this," growled old Alf.

"Huz, the Fascist without a shirt," snarled Paddy. "If I could have caught my clavens on him when our blankets didn't arrive, he'd have been the Fascist without."

"Too right," agreed Mac. "It's just as well they arrived in day. If they hadn't, there would have been something doing."

"Sentiments in which the whole gang, with memories of an extremely miserable night, heartily concurred."

"Every dog has its day," boys, commented Bob. "We'll have ours, and we'll deal with that gent then."

"Anything else? ... No?" "Well, get the hilly, Mac, and we'll have a cup of tea."

I declare the meeting closed. —J. Hannan.

**MARCH, 1934**

**IS EDUCATION THE SOLUTION?**

--- A DIALOGUE ---

**MONTMORENCY** and Williams had once been friends, drawn together by their desire to end the misery and chaos of the world. They had parted, however, very different means of doing this. Montmorency wished to change human nature; and he believed that this might be done by means of education. Williams, on the other hand, thought there was nothing for it but a social revolution, for he considered that it was the social system, and not human nature, that was at fault.

Because of this difference, a certain coldness sprang up between them; but neither of them was content to let the matter rest at that. Each wanted to explain himself more fully, and felt that the other could not hear his point of view without eventually agreeing. While still in this state of mind they met, and very soon got to grips on the subject.

Montmorency: So you think, Williams, that I am following a dead-end in going in for education.

Williams: No. You are too uncompromising in your views. And what's more, you are extremely shallow in your thinking. You would do anything to advance the material welfare of humanity, wouldn't you?

W.: That is what I want.

M.: And yet you despise education.

W.: I don't despise it, Montmorency. I regard it as an extremely powerful weapon.

M.: Very useful, the most powerful of all weapons in the hands of the lover of humanity. Let me tell you this, Williams: every man, at the bottom of his heart, needs and desires something more than material welfare. It isn't just being alive that matters; it's self-development; it's changing from a nonentity into someone worth while. And that is what education can do for us. It can change people, by developing all their faculties, by making them use the intelligence, the sensitiveness, the powers, which are latent in them. It can enlighten them; open up a new world to them, a world of beauty, of culture, of gold.

W.: That is what I admire so much in Soviet Russia. Education there is enlightening people; it is giving them all-round development; and in particular it is making them feel that they are worthy while, not mere somethings. Soviet children are learning to respect themselves, to feel responsible; and responsibility is one of the individual's self-development. Do you know that those children have their own theatres and clubs, which they run themselves? And that the Young Communist League—whose members are from 15 to 18 years of age—has an important place in the building of Socialism? During the campaign to liquidate illiteracy, each of its members undertook to teach at least one other citizen to read and write. That is the way to make children develop all their faculties.

M.: Why, that's just why I am so interested in education; that's what I want to do with it. There is a world-wide movement to reform education. It aims at giving more liberty to the child; at making him responsible and self-reliant; and at making him learn by doing, instead of being spoon-fed by his teachers. You admit yourself that those things are worth doing; you say that they are only done in Russia; very well, if they can be done there, why not here?

W.: Because education is a powerful weapon in the hands of society.

M.: Yes; it is a weapon, or rather a tool, by means of which society develops all the potentialities of the individual's self-development.

W.: No; it is a means by which society adapts the individual to itself.

M.: Prove that.

W.: I think history proves it. Take the education of a savage, for instance. The savage learns very little besides hunting, fighting and the tribal ceremonies. Why? Because that is all that his society requires of him.

M.: I don't consider that a fair example. If your education system apply to civilized races, it's not worth much.

W.: Then take the case of Athens and Sparta. There you had two very different forms of society existing at the not more than within a short distance of each other. Sparta was a purely military state, autocratically ruled, always fighting for its life, and living only for war. Spartan children were trained...
PROLETARIAT

as soldiers—endurance, obedience, courage and physical strength were the qualities which were developed in them, because those were their jobs. They were not engaged in labor, but in the service of the state. The Athenian had something like a liberal education; his mind was highly trained and critical. The Athenian was an intellectual; the Spartan was a soldier. Why? In each case because of the society in which they lived.

M.: Very well. To the sake of argument, I want you to take the form of society determines the form of education. Well, we want a system of education that will develop the highest powers of every individual. What is there in our society to prevent that?

W.: Class.

M.: What do you mean?

W.: As long as there is one class which has wealth and power and another which lacks them, the powerful class will try to keep the rest in subjection; and it will use education as a means to that end.

M.: Ah yes, I know you are going to say that. Am I right? I mean, I am told once more that modern society is divided into two classes—bourgeoisie and proletariat; and then you are going to point out that, as a general rule, the proletariat's education stops when he is 14, while the bourgeoisie goes on to a secondary school, and perhaps to a University. But you forget the scholarship system. By that system the cleverest children from the working class are given the chance to go to a secondary school, and even to the University. Do you call that keeping them in subjection?

W.: That is one of the most powerful ways of keeping them in subjection. The worker who had an education of that sort does not go back to his factory or his farm; he enters a profession, becomes bourgeoisie, and despises his old-time companions. By that means, the best brains are called to a secondary education, and drafted into the bourgeoisie. The scholarship system may raise the individual; but it certainly degrades the class.

M.: Come on, comrade. You are exaggerating. You can't really believe that the bourgeoisie deliberately tries to keep the worker under. If that was what he wanted, why should he give him any education at all?

W.: Because education is his strongest weapon. Didn't one of your great educators say: "Give me a child until he is seven years old, and I will make of him whatever I will"? Well, the bourgeoisie acts just in that spirit. He underestimates the working-class children, not till they are seven years old, but till they are fourteen; and it's during that time that the mischief is done.

M.: Really, William? It's an interesting point of view. Do you think the average teacher tries to degrade the working-class children whom he teaches?

W.: It is done unconsciously, probably with the best of intentions. But the result is the same. The child leaves school, not fit to rule himself and to become a responsible member of society, but fit to be ruled. He has not learnt to think for himself; he has learnt to be passive and imbibe knowledge. He has not learnt to grapple with the problems of life; his attention has been distracted from them. He has learnt nothing about his place in society or about the economic conditions with which he will have to struggle for the rest of his life.

M.: But I've told you... Teachers, no less.

W.: Why, that is just where Russia has made the most remarkable advances. The worst thing about our educational system is that it is not essentially progressive by giving him a theoretical, not a practical training; he is usually engaged in sitting still listening to the teacher, or else reading or writing, instead of putting what he has learnt into practice. The Soviets have done away with that; they have a system called polytechnization, which unites theory and practice.

M.: Oh, don't imagine that I under-rate the difficulties. We have an immense lack of ignorance, stupidity, and all over the world there have been experiments, attempts, and theories about education. Leading educators and the thinking public agree that we want to get rid of the stupid business of cramming children with untested facts—the slavery to the exam—goes on. There has been talk of reform for years, but nothing has been done. Well, that's the problem I'm going to tackle.

M.: But, Mr. Johnson, if you must make a point of education, what's your idea? Teachers, for one thing? Teachers, no less.

W.: Well, the idea is to teach the child about the general processes of industry and agriculture. Then the thing is to make things happen. Here's what I propose: an experimental school which has workshops and room in which children begin by playing, and that's how we come to education.
WAR IN THE PACIFIC

The acceleration of the forces driving towards a new imperialist world war increased from day to day. Over the last six months a tremendous increase in this velocity has been remarked. What last year was only hinted at have now become uncontrollable factors which have dropped or cast aside revealing war plans in all their naked brutality. Antagonisms the world over have intensified, have become so manifest that he who runs may read.

The Pacific presents itself as the threatening scene of a new world war. Here all possible antagonisms clash. Let us consider them.

The pound, the dollar, the yen—due to the Antagonism of these in a race towards the bottom of the lowest figure, has been an outstanding feature of capitalist economy during the past months. The British and Japanese interests (notably textile and chemical) which find themselves hard hit by Japan's lead in this race, protest loudly and bitterly. But from Britain come equal protests against U.S.A.'s "unfair" subsidized shipping competition; in fact, the antagonism between Britain and U.S.A. which manifested itself openly at the World Economic Conference, has intensified during the past year. It is responsible in large part for Britain's temporary support of Japan's policy in the Pacific. (In spite of the economic struggle between them), and is doubtless one factor in U.S.A.'s rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. Britain's heavy industries have a market in Japan, which may be protected against the encroachment of U.S.A.'s steel interests; they counterbalance for the moment Japanese attacks on British trade. Britain is also interested in Japan as a menace to the U.S.S.R. on the eastern front. But the alliance is essentially unstable and has in itself the germ of its own decay.

Unstable alliances of this kind entangle all the imperialist nations in the Pacific. Until recently the interests of Britain and Australia (read British and Australian capital) were assumed to be one. But Australian capital is of fairly recent growth, long enough to have embraced both an anti-Japanese propaganda campaign, which enabled it to carry on war preparations free of any over-throw of that to a policy exemplified by Latham's Good Will Mission. Australia has a favourable trade balance with Japan; the markets which Japan has opened to Australia are not for the most part those of Australian capital, but of European (including British). Hence the strengthening of the bonds between Japan and Australia is coincident with the weakening of those between Japan and Britain. The time will come when the interests of British and Australian capital do not coincide. As yet, however, they are sufficiently in agreement to work as a political and military alliance.

On one point alone can the interests of all the imperialist powers be reconciled—that of hostility toward the growing power of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Soviets. Japan's intentions of conducting an interventionist war at the same time have long been flaunted. Britain and U.S.A. give support from the background—the press of both countries represents the U.S.S.R. as similarly preparing in importance. And the few months treaty signed recently, would be by no means disappointed to see Japan's attacks made on the eastern front of the Soviet Union; two enemies would thereby be weakened, and an opportunity opened for invasions on Japanese markets. In China the Kuomintang government has signed a truce with Japan in order to direct all its efforts against the spreading Chinese Soviet Republics. In January we saw the accumulation of warships in Japan, which assembled at Fuchow, capital of Fujien, against the impending "rebels" attacks. Fuchow—the last strategic point on the Chinese coast not directly under the control of imperialist forces was the centre of fierce competition among the very imperialists who were seeking to "save" it from the Chinese Soviets. The competition gives us a foretaste of future clashes in the Pacific, on a much larger scale, between the same competitors.

Not only the revolutionary movement is attacked by these contending imperialisms. All China is marked out for division among them, and the growing national-revolutionary movement threatens to wrench from their grasp rich prizes of markets and raw materials. National movements in India, the Philippines, Indo-China, have become encompassed against imperialist exploitation, form a great and growing menace to the hegemony of Pacific imperialisms.

And the fundamental antagonism underlying all these, the very source from which they spring, is that between the imperialist-capitalists and their own proletariat.

These antagonisms are reflected in the war preparations of the various Pacific powers, now no secret.

Japan, following on her conquest of Manchuria, has transformed it into an armed camp; the concentration there of troops (and with the troops, tanks and airplanes to an unprecedented degree), and besides this the prospection of new railway lines of strategic importance, converging upon North China and Soviet Mongolia—these are now admitted war preparations. The Tanku truce, referred to above, set Japan free to attack Soviet Mongolia on withdrawing troops from China. (The situation was becoming rapidly worse: Britain and U.S.A. were urging Japan's advance to the north-west, but not the threatened limitation of their interests south of Manchuria.)

Undercutting all these preparations has been primarily to pursue her steadfast peace policy, making agreements so far as possible with one or other of the im.
MARCH, 1934

as M. H. Ellis’s “The Defence of Australia” (Sydney, 1933), which proves that a Japanese invasion of Australia is impossible, the war propagandists learnt caution. Some decided to be frank; Sir George Pearce stated: “Most people consider aggression means a direct attack on the country, but there is a far greater and far more probable threat against the Australian people, and that is an attack on their living conditions which war brings. It has therefore the support of wide masses of the Japanese people, and so strong is that support that even a few of the Renegade Tengu who had advised the Japanese militarists not to be too precipitate, the Japanese people wished for peace, and war might mean peace.” His advice amounted, in fact, to this: “Delay your attacks in Asia until you have stamped out the workers’ anti-war movement at home—that is the only guarantee against war.”

That the majority of the people of the world are opposed to war, we know. The very foundation of the League of Nations testified to their weariness and disgust with war. That it still has the support of many not yet aware of its role is due to the same opposition to war, as yet largely uninformed and unorganized. Only the clearest exposure of the causes of war and the propounding of concrete measures of opposition to it can establish a strong and effective organization against war. The development of such an organization becomes increasingly imperative with the present trend of events in the Pacific.

— J. Hunter.

“ABOLITION OF THE FAMILY”

“Abolition of the family! Even the most radical slice up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.” (Marx and Engels: “Communist Manifesto”)

MARX made a very wide and careful study of the forms of the family that exist in different societies, intending to write a book on the subject. His purpose was to show the origin of the monogamous family, and why it is that it has now reached a stage when it is ready to develop into something new. Before he could write this book, however, he died, and his work was carried on by Engels. The general outline of the history of the family given by Engels in his “Origin of the Family” is borne out by the discoveries of modern anthropology.

Primitive Forms of the Family.

At the beginning of man’s history, when he first began to live away from the animal world, he lived in forest country, spending part of his time in the trees and having very little more understanding of his environment than his own arms of Australia is impracticable, the war propagandists learnt caution. Some decided to be frank; Sir George Pearce stated: “Most people consider aggression means a direct attack on the country, but there is a far greater and far more probable threat against the Australian people, and that is an attack on their living conditions which war brings. It has therefore the support of wide masses of the Japanese people, and so strong is that support that even a few of the Renegade Tengu who had advised the Japanese militarists not to be too precipitate, the Japanese people wished for peace, and war might mean peace.” His advice amounted, in fact, to this: “Delay your attacks in Asia until you have stamped out the workers’ anti-war movement at home—that is the only guarantee against war.”

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PROLETARIAT

At this earliest stage of his development, he recognized family relationships. There was free sexual intercourse within the tribe, every woman belonging to every man, and vice versa. But gradually the increasing density of the problems men had to face as they developed his control over nature increased his mental powers, and made him more dependent on them. He observed that some members of the tribe were developing as rapidly as others. Being dependent on the tribe in his struggle to survive, he had to try to find the reason for this.

Slowly and painstakingly, he discovered that the less developed members were the children of incestuous sexual relationships, and so he proceeded to eliminate the possibilities of such relationships. The first barrier he erected was that between different generations, excluding the possibility of sexual relationships between ancestors and descendants. This marked the origin of the family, then being, say, four different groups representing four different generations, and sexual intercourse being permitted only within the group. All the members of the other groups were regarded as possible ancestors or descendants, and therefore as unsuitable mates.

With their increasing control over their environment, and their growing expertise in securing an adequate food-supply, the members of the tribe began to grow more numerous. Village communities were established, and large communal homes built. Often, however, the tribe was too large to live in one household, though hundreds sometimes lived under one roof.

At this stage of its development, the tribe was facing the problem of how to prevent sexual relations between brothers and sisters. This was difficult, for, while it was obviously known when a common mother, it was just as obviously not known when they had a common father. The fact that it was necessary for the tribe to split into two or more household groups, because of its increasing size, helped the savage to solve this problem.

What happened was this: Descent could be traced easily enough through the female line. Therefore, it was a simple matter to collect groups of women of common maternal descent, and establish the occupants of different communal households. Their brothers through maternal descent were also, of course, known, and the taboo between them and their sisters recognized. These brothers became incommunicado members of their sisters' households, living with them until they reached the age of marriage. Then they left their family home and went to live in another communal household, accepting all the women of that household as wife, and being accepted by them as husband. The children of these relationships were forbidden to marry, as they were descended from a common female line, and thus also the same female line.

These permanent groups of blood relations, or genes, were the classic form of the family in all primitive societies. In a more or less preserved form, they still exist among backward races, and traces of them can be found in the early literature of Greece and Rome. This literature shows that they once existed in Greece, Rome, Germany, and among the Celtic tribes.

Origin of Monogamy

When people were living in a state of primitive communism, the establishment of the gens and the constant increase in the number of relatives with whom marriage was taboo, brought about a certain amount of pairing; that is, it was not unusual for a man to have a principal wife or a woman a principal husband for a certain length of time. The bond between them, however, was very loose, either party being able to dissolve the relationship at will. The pairing family, therefore, was not the same as the modern nuclear family.

Indeed, the main difference between all primitive forms of the family and the monogamous family is that the primitive families had a natural origin, existing because of their numerical value; whereas the monogamous family came into existence solely because of a change in the economic basis of primitive society. Its economic basis is proved by the fact that it exists only in societies that have passed out of primitive communism.

Why did some societies pass completely out of primitive communism and others not? One reason is that some of the gens and established the limiting principle, the monogamous family. At this early stage we can already see that the emancipation of women and equality with men are impossible, and remain so, as long as women are excluded from social production and restricted to domestic labour." Engels: Origin of the Family, Labour, and the State.

MARCH, 1934

Abolition of the Family

The time has now come when the private ownership of the means of production is a destructive force in society. In one country, therefore, this property has already been taken out of private hands and given back to the community; and in most other countries there is a Communist Party voice, with this end in view.

With the abolition of the private ownership of property, there is naturally no longer any problem of inheritance, and the monogamous family is destroyed. Therefore, the legally enforced "faithfulness" of a wife to her husband comes to an end, and also the dependence of the child on the parents. The marriage ceremony becomes a matter of simple registration, and can be cancelled at will by either party. Legal compulsion has gone.

Moreover, the development of large-scale industry makes it a foolish waste of labour power to continue the old drudgery of housework. Most of this work can now be done outside the home, with infinitely less expenditure of energy, by modern industrial methods. Add to this the fact that children may receive expert attention and tuition at communal creches, and it becomes obvious that the old foolish shut-in family life of women has at last come to an end. A woman becomes once more a productive member of the community, and the equal of man.

This will have far-reaching effects. The monogamous marriage-to-day is supported by three kinds of compulsion, the law of the marriage ceremony, and of moral prejudice. When all these kinds of compulsion have gone, will monogamy go, too, or will it
WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CUBA

The front of capitalism will not necessarily be pierced unless the national revolution in Cuba is completed. The new state will be a dictatorship. The interests of the working class will be safeguarded by the national government, and Cuba will be transformed into a socialist state.

The United States have a total amount of 1760 million dollars invested in Cuba. A large part of this amount is invested in the sugar industry, and a lesser extent in the tobacco-growing trade. The sugar industry is the backbone of the Cuban economy, and its control is essential for the economic stability of the country.

The sugar industry is monopolized by American capital, and the workers have no voice in its management. The workers are paid a low wage, and the working conditions are unhealthy. The sugar industry is a source of great wealth for the American capitalists, but it is a burden for the Cuban workers.

The Cuban workers are organized into unions, but they are weak and divided. They need a strong, unified voice to fight for their rights. The Cubans need a leader who can unite them and lead them to victory.

The United States have many influences in Cuba, including military bases and economic interests. The Cubans need to be free from these influences and to control their own destiny.

The United States have been trying to overthrow the Cuban government and replace it with a puppet regime. The Cubans need to be strong and united to resist this pressure.

The Cuban workers need the support of the international workers to fight for their rights. The United States have been trying to isolate Cuba, but the Cubans need the support of the international community to defeat their enemies.

The Cuban workers need to be educated and organized. They need to understand their own history and the history of the world. They need to learn how to organize, how to fight, and how to win.

The Cuban workers need to be prepared for any struggle. They need to be ready to fight and to sacrifice. They need to be ready to die for their ideals and for the freedom of Cuba.

The Cuban workers need to be ready to fight against the American capitalists and their puppets. They need to be ready to fight for their country and for their rights.

The Cuban workers need to be ready to fight for the future of Cuba and for the future of the world. They need to be ready to fight for a better world, a world without exploitation, a world without oppression, a world without war.
PROLETARIAT

by using similar methods. To this organization they attracted large numbers of the petty-bourgeoisie (including many students), many small farmers, and sections of the politically backward workers. The A.B.C. exploited the discontent of the people, their propaganda against Machado’s position was undeniable, and that he must be replaced by someone more suitable to themselves.

In an attempt to prevent the revolution, Machado employed terrorist methods. In 1931 an extra guard was formed, and, together with the police, the army, and the rural guard, it attempted to suppress the revolutionaries. The methods adopted were characteristically fascist, and served only to increase the hatred of the people against their oppression.

In August, 1933, the situation was tense. The entire population felt that the overthrow of Machado could not be delayed much longer. Strikes broke out.

Open Revolution.

On August 7, 1933, Machado, at the instigation of the American ambassador, had it announced by wireless that he had resigned from office. At once, 10,000 people assembled in front of the Capitol in Havana, and began to march to the Presidential Palace to celebrate the event. When they reached this building, however, they were greeted by Machado’s police, who opened fire. Open revolution broke out, and Machado was forced to flee.

Machado gone, the American ambassador had another puppet elected—Cespedes. Strong in the knowledge that he was supported by the United States, the new President followed the same policy as Machado, while the Cuban people, finding their conditions were in no way improved, again became dangerously restless. The result was that on September 5, open revolt again broke out, and the Cespedes government was thrown from office.

The Bourgeois Junta.

Now, however, power was assumed by a Junta led by a professor, a lawyer, and the man who had led the military uprising—Sergeant Batista. The Junta is still in office, though it is scarcely likely to last much longer than the previous governments. It also attempts to aid the bourgeoisie at the expense of the workers. The plantation workers are now demanding that the great estates and plantations be divided; the workers are demanding bread, increased wages, and the right to form unions. Almost the entire population is demanding the end of the rule of American imperialism. This was demonstrated on September 7, when thousands of people massed in the streets of Havana to celebrate International YOUTH Day, hardly forced the Junta to grant permission after its initial refusal. On this day, the demonstrators carried red flags, and sang out “We pay no debts to Yankee bankers.” “Drive the Marines out of Guantánamo.” “Let’s have no government that will deal with Yankee exploiters.”

The United States was not slow to interfere. When Cuban Republic rushed thirty warships, together with planes and mines, to Cuban waters. The American forces of intervention were established in order to prevent the workers from seizing the plantations and mills.

New Stage of Revolution.

The significant thing about the present situation in Cuba is that the workers are not only making economic demands, but are also agitating for political power. Besides demanding an eight-hour day, social insurance, etc., they are struggling for workers’ control. There is a genuine upsurge of the proletariat, for it is obviously the workers who have created a condition favourable to the ultimate overthrow of Capitalism and Imperialism in Cuba.

The latest reliable reports that have reached Melbourne indicate a growing discontent with the Junta. The number of workers’ committees in the factories. These are called “soviets” by the workers themselves, and are in fact the germ of soviets. All the trade unions in existence are red trade unions, with the exception of the railway workers’ union. The peasants are disenchanted with the new government. Students are demonstrating against high fees, and on one occasion demanded the resignation of certain reactionary professors. A number of violent assaults that have occurred indicate that the revolution is proceeding to a higher stage.

And, above all, the organized revolutionary workers are rapidly gaining ground among the masses of the people. The Communist Party of Cuba, who aims at giving a scientific leadership to the struggle, is continually increasing its influence over the workers and peasants. To quote Gomez: “Its prestige has increased steadily with the revolutionary party, as the militant vanguard of the proletariat of Cuba.”

-March, 1934

LOOK HERE STALINGRAD!

LOOK here Stalingrad!

Come through on those tractors!

What’s the matter down there

Forgetting the job you took on

in the face of the whole world?

Comrades! Workers!

A pretty mess you are making of things—

Give an account of yourselves.

So wrote Red Putinov’s steel workers in

Leningrad

in an open letter to the tractor plant on the

Volga.

Flame words blazoned across the face of

“Pravda.”

Remember how you tried with Kharkov Ros-

tov Chelyabinsk

for the site of our first tractor plant

How your drawly one-horse town woke to life

when you won?

And now:

What are you doing?

You are bringing disgrace on us all

Making us the laughing stock

of the Exchanges in New York and Europe.

“Stalingrad, a white elephant, “they say,

“Russians can build but not run their giants.”

They are wrong. Prove it!

Can you not feel in their scorn

the swift training of machine guns

along the borders to the East and West?

On guard, comrades.

To work in a new way!

Five years in Four

So we have sworn.

Have you forgotten?

This year we open 518 new factories—

Kharkov’s tractor works, Moscow’s Moskva;

Clear the Urals, Siberia’s wastes, for

Magnitogorsk Kuznetskol.

And you, proletariat of Stalingrad?

You hear our black earth crying out for steel

horses

We of Red Putinov challenge you

It is our right

We’ve kept our steel pledge

Sealing our land’s new foundations

We call you

As we once called you

To the barricades

For our deathless October

Brothers, to the fight for technique!

On to the front of socialist construction!

To work—in a new way!

Constitution

Shame in Stalingrad

Along the Volga floats the banal banner

Shop meetings, heated discussion.

Fresh brigades forming.

Finally these words back to Red Putinov

“Dear Comrades you are right

We shall answer

Not with word

But . . . Tractors.”

Mac . . . Natasha . . . old Michael . . .

and the entire country

Watch for daily reports in “Pravda”

Yesterday forty tractors

To-day forty more

To-morrow Fifty

sixty

sixty-five

Stalingrad is coming through!

BREAD

SOCIALISM

Answering Putinov the whole earth

Not with words

But . . . Tractors.

—Myra Page.

(Selection from a forthcoming novel,

“So This Is Moscow!”)
THERE IS NO GOD

RELIGIOUS people say the Communists will never succeed because they lack the belief in God from their minds. According to them, this belief is a deep-seated instinct—an integral part of human nature, and those who lack it are fragmented, submissive sub-humanimals, who do not know what they are missing. Any attack on God springs from a deficiency—an inability to know him—and should be regarded with wisdom.

The Communists reply that they really do understand what “spiritual” insight is, but deplore its existence, regarding it as one of the greatest enemies of human progress. They quote Spinoza: “Religious prejudices and superstitions transform people from rational beings into beasts, since they altogether prevent the use of one’s reason to differentiate truth from falsehood.” They want people to see that though the belief in God certainly exists, it has become unworthy, being nothing more nor less than the inevitable conclusion of the materialists.

To them, religion is a trap which offers a way of escape from the task of grappling with harsh facts; in other words: “the peace of God which passeth all understanding.”

The roots of ancient religion lay in the savage’s fear of the forces of nature. To him they were unknown powers, over which he had no control. He would not tell what would happen, nor understand why they should threaten him with destruction. When they spared him, he was grateful, and offered them gifts. Soon, too, he learnt to offer up sacrifices in order to placate them, and persuaded them to continue sparing him. If the savage’s activities had rested at this, the human race would almost certainly have been destroyed at an early stage of its evolution. Through its inability to cope with its environment. Even if it had not been destroyed, it could certainly never have progressed beyond the state of savagery.

Fortunately, however, in the struggle to survive, primitive man slowly and laboriously gained some degree of understanding and control of his environment. This gradual emergence from an animal state resulted from the making and improving of tools with which he could control his environment; and not from any religious inspiration. The fact that religion is a conserving factor in human life is apparent even at this early stage. As men proceeded to strengthen themselves in the face of nature, its powers became less mysterious and terrifying to him, and the ancient gods lost their power.

But at that period of man’s history, when he passed beyond the stage of merely appreciating the products of nature, and learned how to increase these products through his own efforts—that is, when he began to assume real control over nature—at that stage, class society first came into existence. With the necessity for more work, a slave class made its appearance; with the necessity for central control, a master-class came to power. Therefore, as soon as men were freed from the terror of nature, a new fear was born in them—the fear of having the means of life taken from them without their consent. There was, therefore, still room for a god.

But now he was no longer a personification of the forces of nature; after all, the forces of nature were no longer very fearful. What was fearful was human nature, with its terrible new power, which it used for the exploitation of others. And not only did men fear each other; they also feared themselves, the harsh prompting in them that said: “Enslave other men, or you will be enslaved yourself.” They became sin-ridden; conscious of their imperfections, and unable to grapple with them. How natural, then, that they should build a new God, and how natural that this new God should be—the perfect man; the one who forbad killing and stealing and adultery; the one who said expressly: “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s ox, nor his ass, nor his manservant, nor his h男女.” How natural, too, that with the establishment of class society and the consequent product of government, a priest caste should arise and sanctify the existing system. Frequently, indeed, we find that the priests themselves were the recognized rulers, in Egypt, in the early history of Israel, and among the ancient Britons and the Brahmins in India, we find the priests in power. The kings or chief-tains of the tribes were their puppets. But whether those tools were used as sacred tools or merely tools in the hands of these rulers, their social function always has been, and still is, to uphold class society, and to keep the exploited class passive in their subjection.

And so we see God again acting, not as an uplifting force, but as a repressive force in their minds—the chief character in an imaginary world where they retired for “spiritual” consolation. Men could not make God’s commandments—therefore God’s commandments were not made by men. God’s creation consisted of situations of society, for that society was based on the direct antithesis of these commandments—ignorance, which is, on slavery, and robbery and all their consequences. Therefore, the belief in God and the pretence at wanting to do his will, there is always the sneaking suspicion that this is impossible. This is true, that, at the best, one can do no more than establish a sort of compromise, for the forces of society are pulling in a completely opposite direction. A typical expression of this antithesis between what society considers as a sin and what God wants it to be, is the manner in which exploitation and charity go hand in hand.

Throughout its history, class-society has turned some strange somersaults, and naturally enough God has done the same. In every period of slavery, the society has gone through a period when it has developed the forces of production and felt confident of its power over society, and its ability to exploit the slave class in itself and in the future has made it feel in a position to dispense with God; this has invariably happened in the periods when the ruling class had felt itself to be in the progressive force in society. The time comes, however, when the property relations accepted by the ruling class act as a fetter on the forces of production they have developed. The ruling class loses its grip; it becomes re-actionary; the progressive force now lies with the dispossessed class, which suffers through the destruction of society, and has nothing to lose by changing the existing property relations. When this period comes, naturally and inevitably, the ruling class becomes endangered, and just as inevitably the uprising class becomes atheistic. It holds the future in its hands—God is superfluous.

Previously, the overthrow of a class rule has always led to the establishment of another class rule. The reason for this is that the forces of production have never before been sufficiently developed for society to be able to do without the ruling class. That time, however, has now come.

With the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, therefore, and the establishment of a classless society, God enters upon a new phase of his existence. Society no longer lives a life independent of man’s control. “Fear of the blind force of nature”—blind because it can no longer be forestalled by the masses—a force which at every step in life threatens the worker and the small business man with ‘sudden, un-expected, accidental form of that which is impossible’—has given in the train beggary, pauperism, and deaths from starvation: this is THE top-rod of modern religion.”

Religion: The Capital is understood and destroyed, and social planning takes the place of economic anarchy—when society no longer controls man, but is controlled by him, then the basis for the belief in God has gone.

You may say, the God that is based on fear may vanish, but what of the God of the scientist?—the Power that must surely be behind the wonders and the harmonies of the physical universe?

He is a myth of the bourgeois philosophers, says the Communist. Of course, there is a great degree of harmony in nature, for everything that is harmonious is ruthlessly destroyed. If you like, the physicist has his wonders—but his wonders are produced by us who can control it, so we must be more wonderful. Why God?

And what of the Christian God—the God of love?

The Communist replies: “The working-class must turn the whole world into a single concern working for itself, make the brotherhood of man a reality, to be a fact and not a dream. God is dead. God is the product of class society, the being that the projection of a divine form of that which is impossible to attain in class society. Christians should remember that, for every good turn they do an individual, the colossal forces of Capitalist economy do him a thousand bad ones. Their Christian love, therefore, is no more than a mushy kindness—the inevitable complement of the brutality.

There is a wretched and fantastic compensation for their barren material life. It will be unnecessary in a Communist society. God will disappear; for man, for the first time, will have full control of his life.”

—R.
CAPITALISM, COMMUNISM —
AND THE TRANSITION

The evolution of man from the brute world is at the same time the evolution of human consciousness and organized knowledge. Step by step humanity has built up its experience of the world into a series of sciences of increasing accuracy concerning the processes of Nature. The barriers of ignorance and the no-man's-land of superstition which lie beyond them have been gradually pushed back, winning for science new fields of whose very existence primitive man was unaware.

At an early stage in the development of science the universal reign of law was established in relation to manmte Nature. Mechanics, physics, astronomy, and with them mathematics, were the first fields in which experience and experiment brought to man the knowledge of natural law. The extension of knowledge that only a few years later development had a much later development; to man himself, later still; to human society, it has begun, but has yet to fight its way to recognition. And the fight is all the harder because, in the actual growth of human society, the field which the onward march of science must bring under the sway of natural law is already encumbered with not only the superstitions of the past but the institutions of the present. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that from the inmost core of the study of society has been at once the expression and the inspiration of acute struggles within society itself.

Political economy, or economics as it is now generally called, is the science of the laws governing the production and exchange of the material necessities of life in human society. These laws can be studied in the actual working of a given period, or as they operate over a long succession of periods: that is, as laws governing production and exchange in a given social system, or as laws governing the change of a social system. The study of these two sets of laws can be carried on independently up to a certain point. But just as in biology the development of the foetus can only be fully understood in relation to the stages in the evolution of man, so in economics the significance of existing factors can only be fully grasped in relation to the historical development of society.

It is not merely a question of tracing the origin of the forms of a particular thing, such as money. Money as a medium of exchange cannot be traced back to the cowry and the cow; bank notes and credits can be traced back to the certificates of deposit, deposited with the merchant houses; but money in action, the functions and effects of the use of money, can only be understood in relation to the changing forms of production and exchange within society. It is the same with every other economic factor; just as in zoology there are no fixed, permanent forms, so in economics nothing is final and unchanging. And the forms of one economic system have only derived from the past but also lead on to the future, being into existence conditions through which the old system is destroyed and a new system arises.

It is the fact of constant and universal change in Nature and in human society which gives science in general, and economic science in particular, its practical aim. "Abstract" science is an illusion of the laboratory scientist who does not know and does not care who will eventually make practical use of his discoveries, in contrast to the "practical" science of the technical expert who is directly associated with production. In the last analysis, all science is practical: man is constantly striving to increase his knowledge and to enlarge his horizons by adopting new institutions, both for himself and for his surroundings. In economic science, the purpose is to increase knowledge and practical skill in order to use that knowledge for practical aims, in order to use natural laws to enable man to adapt his surroundings to his needs. In economic science, the purpose is to understand the science of society and the science of economy, and thereby to increase the efficiency of society itself.

And because Marxist economics is scientific, it is the science of the laws of production and exchange in human society—not human society in the abstract, but actual human society, which as it exists today is characterized by a system of production and exchange. The purpose of the science are therefore not the same for all members of society. The class which holds a privileged position in the existing system approaches economics with the fundamental assumption that the main features of the present system are eternal; that no system based on other principles than this can "work." From this it draws the logical conclusion that any economic science which puts forward an analysis showing the possibility and even certainty that some other system will arise is the product of ignorance or mere charlatanism. Because of this, the economics of the privileged class is incapable of a scientific analysis of the laws of production and distribution in capitalist society. It remains a superficial account, at best, of statistical trends, of the machinery of production and distribution, without any understanding of the system which will be, just like the pseudo-science of medicine in the Middle Ages it abounds in quack remedies and superstitions. But the presentation of these quack remedies and superstitions in pseudo-scientific form has a practical aim: to maintain the existing system; to gloss over the growing conflicts within society and to present a "theoretical" solution, within the system, of contradictions which are inherent in it.

The subject class—in existing society, primarily the industrial working class, the special product of the existence that their operaion has made known of a new economic system, which is being the subject of the old found expression in the writings of the utopian socialists, giving the first vague outlines of a new economic system. But the economic laws which are now being revealed into a science by Marx. Marxist economics is not only the scientific analysis of the existing system; just because it explains the facts and relations of capitalist production, it is also able, on the basis of this analysis, to show the laws of motion within society. The analysis reveals within the existing system factors which make for the destruction of capitalism and its replacement by a new system, precisely because of this, it is the economics of the subject class, the class whose practical aim is the abolition of the effects of capitalist production and therefore of the capitalist system itself.

And because Marxist economics is scientific, it shows that the laws of production within the existing system are imposed on the individual. The individual cannot change the system; in a word, because it understands the facts, it has no need to explain the facts of the world today; and therefore the individual is fully aware of the fact that the system is "Bolshevism," "economic blizzards," "lack of confidence," "America's short-sightened" and other psychic values which are the stock-in-trade of the economists of the privileged class. Marxist economics is totally unable to explain on the one hand the condition of the capitalist world to-day, and on the other the new organization of production and distribution in the sphere of economy. They cannot explain it because the explanation is completely outside the range of their economics. Capitalism has reached a stage in which the completely unscientific characteristic of Marxist economics has become manifest. Marxist economists flounder hopelessly among the new facts of a period of capitalist decline which obstinately refuse to fit into the conceptions and "laws" which were at best a superficial description of the system in its earlier stages.

The new facts which have emerged in the final stages of capitalism are not, however, outside the range of Marxist economic science. In fact they come as a confirmation of the whole theory of Marxism. The ultimate test of the natural laws as they are formulated by man from his experience is whether he can use them to shape his surroundings to his needs. The laws of the new society, just as the laws of the old society, are broken in the hands of those who tried to use them to shape society: the governments of the privileged class. But working class economics is solving in practice the contradictions which are more and more deeply undermining capitalist society. The economics which first arise in capitalist society and are discerned within it the factors which would destroy it, was also able to foretell the process of change and the basic features of the new society that would take place. And men were able to use this science, this knowledge of the natural laws of social development, in order to bring about the new society, just as they are able to use the laws of chemistry to create artificial fertilizers and explosives, and with equal certainty. So it is that the movement of society can be seen not merely as an interpretation of past history, not merely as a deduction from an analysis of existing society, but in concrete reality.

The purpose of this book is to outline "the historical movement going on under our very eyes." As the starting point of the process it is necessary to take the existing thing as a whole—"the system"—and it is the primary stage in the history of man. On the contrary, the nature of the capitalist society and its place in history cannot be fully understood unless...
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It is at least realized that it is only one link in a long chain of economic systems. So far as this development is known, it began with the system of primitive communism, survivals of which have existed up to recent times in the village communities of India, Russia, and other countries; and it continued with the successive emergence of the greater part of the world. The class struggle of coal, iron, and the slave-owning system, and the feudal system, which in turn have paved the way for the existing capitalist system.

In all these systems, after the stage of primitive communism, society has been divided into classes. This division into classes had its basis in the functional division of work at a time when there was as yet but little technical development in production. In Anti-Daprion Engels points out that:

"The division of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppresed class, was the necessary outcome of the low development of production hitherto. So long as the sum of social labour yielded a product which only slightly exceeded what was necessary for the maintenance of all; so long, therefore, as all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society was absorbed in labour, so long was society necessarily divided into classes. Alongside of this great majority exclusively absorbed in labour there developed a class, freed from direct productive labour, which managed the general business of society; the direction of labour, the affairs of State, justice, science, art, and so forth."

The division of society into classes, and the successive economic systems which have replaced primitive communism, have steadily helped forward the development of man's productive powers; and this growth has been enormously accelerated under capitalism. In 'The Communist Manifesto' of 1848, Marx and Engels wrote:

"The bourgeoisie, during its class rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more powerful productive forces than have all previous generations together."

The productive forces in the world to-day, however, are probably a hundred times greater than they were in 1848. But precisely because the division of society into classes arose from the low productive level of primitive society, and because the technical development of society has now reached a stage in which only a small portion of the time of society need be absorbed in labour, the historical justification for the division of society into classes has disappeared. This does not mean that class society no longer exists. On the contrary, we have witnessed in all these systems, still dominant in five-sixths of the world, class divisions reached their most extreme form and are continuously widening. It is this form which is the transformation of capitalism that a new, classless society can take. The study of capitalism as one phase in a succession of systems of production and exchange that have different social foundations involves a study of the factors within which it leads to its destruction. And, secondly, an examination of the process of transition—the parallel destruction of capitalism and building up of the new classless society—will give us some indication of the new social order.

When Marx first put forward his scientific analysis of the existing system, and showed its place in the series of changing systems of production and exchange, the factors reached were necessarily incapable of proof by the only finally conclusive method: application in practice. Now, however, not only are the factors making for change more obvious and in evidence; since the Soviet revolution of 1917, and the subsequent transformation of the system of production and distribution in the area covered by the Soviet Union, a mass of data has been accumulated with the aid of which economic science—necessarily, as already explained, the economic science which Marx can test the theoretical conclusions already reached and formulated by Marx, and at the same time develop them in more concrete and detailed form.

And because economic science has a practical aim, an examination of the data accumulated in the experience of the Soviet Union must be followed by the application of the conclusions reached to other countries, particularly to countries in which the capitalist system has reached its highest development, that is to say, Britain, Germany, and the United States. The concrete, detailed application of the laws of social change depends on the concrete, detailed circumstances in which they operate, and above all, the rate of change, the length of the transition from one system to another, depends on the special stage of development reached within each country, as well as the general stage reached in the process of change viewed as a whole.

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That the statement of economic laws is necessarily also a statement of political aims does not make it less "objective." In the last analysis, politics is the struggle of classes in society, and the basis of that struggle, however much it may be covered up in abstract phrases, is always the mode of production and distribution of the material necessities of life, which is also the subject matter of economics. Science which is not practical does not exist; practical economic science is political economic science. And, as Far Eastern political economics is itself the product of an abstraction, and a false abstraction at that—the abstraction of products from their production, and the attempt to formulate economic laws in relation to products without reference to their producers, the attempt to represent and explain as relations between things processes which are really relations between persons. It is because of this abstraction that the economics of the privileged class finds itself helpless to explain a situation in which the relations between persons stand openly revealed, when the development of the system itself tears asunder the veil of things and reveals the real nature of production and distribution operating inside and through a brutal struggle between classes.

"The forces operating in society work exactly like the forces operating in Nature: blindly, violently, destructively, so long as we do not understand them and fail to take them into account. But when once we have recognized them and understood how they work, their direction and their effects, the gradual subjection of them to our will and the use of them for the attainment of our aims depends entirely upon ourselves."

—Emile Burne.

From "Capitalism, Communism, and the Transition" (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.).

CENSORSHIP, IN AUSTRALIA

DURING the past three or four months the Customs Department of the Federal Government has been swiftly and silently at work, engaged in a widespread censorship of "seditionist" books. In other words, a "democratic" government has been occupied in stupefying the minds of its subjects by preventing them from coming in contact with ideas from abroad. The facts are as follows:

As early as July last year, consignments of books which had already been purchased by Melbourne booksellers were held up by the Customs officials, and, after examination, the selected volumes were sent to Canberra. There, after some months' delay, all these works were banned as "seditionist literature." The fact that the books were subjected to no further sitting at Canberra, all the changes in Customs officials, and no others, being censured by the Government, indicates that here (as elsewhere) the word of the permanent official is law. The Book Censorship Board, by the way, has just decided to lapse, as it has no work to do. These banned books have already been destroyed, and the supplies already in Melbourne are beginning to run out.

It is not difficult to get a complete list of these books; but the following works have already definitely been prevented from entering Victoria. The list differs slightly in different States:

Gathering Storm. Myra Page.
Storm Over the Ruhr. Marchevitsa.
Red China. Pavlov.
Bill Haywood’s Book.
Ten Days that Shook the World. John Reed.

A conspicuous feature of this censorship is the silence with which it is being carried out. Ban “Red Heap” or “Brave New World,” and the liberal press will protest loudly against this flagrant interference with the “liberty of the subject.” But this far more sweeping confiscation is greeted with silence; hundreds of students may never have heard of it. This makes it all the more important to bring to light the facts of the censorship, and make their significance plain.

What is their significance? To the worker it is that an attempt is being made to render the struggle against worsening conditions a blind one. Censorship cannot stop the struggle, for it is bred by economic oppression; but if knowledge of the causes and development of this oppression, and of the methods for scientific struggle against it, are prevented from reaching the workers, then their struggle is made ineffective.

So out go the Communist Manifesto and any other books from which the workers can find what is the struggle. Out go books like “What is to be Done?” which give them methods of organization against it; out go novels like “Gathering Storm,” which are a literary reflection of working class life and struggles. All these are condemned and destroyed by the government before they can reach the workers.

And what is the significance of the censorship? It is that an attempt is being made to limit them to a one-sided view of social theory. Certain sources of knowledge which they need for discovering the truth about the nature of the State, the class struggle, and so on, are forbidden by the Cussons officials. The necessity of these books for an all-round knowledge of social theory is revealed by the fact that a number of them appear on the University syllabus. Thus, the “Communist Manifesto,” “The State and Revolution,” and Stalin’s “Leninism” are recommended as text books in Modern Political Institutions, while the Manifesto is recommended for Economic History, and “The State and Revolution” for Political Philosophy. Also, despite the neglect of contemporary authors by the English school, those students who are interested in literature, not as an academic subject, but as a vital social force, must feel the loss of the censored working-class novels.

The bare text of “The Communist Manifesto,” “The State and Revolution,” and sections of “Leninism,” are being printed in Australia, and therefore they will continue to be available for a time; but commented and full editions of these works are becoming very rare. Moreover, though nothing has been done so far to prevent the distribution of these books provided they are printed within the country, it is hard to tell how complete the government intends its ban to become, and how quickly its intentions are carried out. So far, for instance, books published by Gallantz are still being admitted.

But it is clear that the government will attempt to continue and even to increase its censorship, for it cannot relieve the economic conditions of the workers, and it is these conditions which give rise to the class struggle, and the consequent need for revolutionary literature. This also explains why the ban on “selections” literature is being enforced at the present time, when some of the censored books have been freely admitted for years. As long as only a few of these books came into Australia, the government did not trouble to ban them. But the economic crisis was followed by a great increase in the demand for revolutionary literature, which, during the last five years, has been pouring into Australia. This literature is being read by all kinds of people, and the demand for it is still growing. The government has taken alarm at the censorship. This censorship, therefore, is only one more manifestation of the crisis in capitalism and the consequent intensification of the class struggle.

The crisis explains, moreover, why in Melbourne, and more especially in Sydney, books dealing with the real nature of war are so conspicuous on the censorship list. The power of capital in Australia is attempting to maintain itself, not only against its own workers, but against its economic rivals in other countries. The final step of economic rivalry is war. Hence the war fever which this class is attempting to stimulate in connection with the “defence” of Australia; and hence the ban on any kind of literature which might cool this fever by showing that the workers are being asked to kill one another in order to preserve the conditions of their own exploitation. This is why such books as “The Attitude of the Proletariat Towards War;” and Lenin’s analysis of the last imperialist war, are banned in Sydney.

This censorship, then, is a weapon in the hands of the forces that lead to fascism and war, and the fight against it is part of the fight against fascism and war. The University must be one of the centres of this fight, for the University, of all institutions, is surely the one that is particularly concerned with freedom of thought. We, students, therefore, must use every means in our power to drag this unjustifiable censorship into the open, and to organize protests against it.

—Q.B.G.

OUR SPRING

Bring us with our hands bound,
Our teeth knocked out,
Our heads broken,
Bring us shouting curses, or crying,
Or silent as to-morrow.

Bring us to the electric chair,
Or the shooting wall,
Or the guillotine.
But you can’t kill all of us.
You can’t silence all of us.
You can’t stop all of us—

Kill Vanzetti in Boston and Hung Ping rises
In China.
We’re like those rivers
That fill with the melted snow in spring
And flood the land in all directions.

Our spring has come.

The pent-up snows of all the brutal years
Are melting beneath the rising sun of revolution,
The rivers of the world will be flooded with strength
And you will be washed away—
You murderers of the people—
Killers and cops and soldiers,
Priests and kings and billionaires,
Diplomats and liars,
Makers of guns and gas and guillotines,
You will be washed away,
And the land will be fresh and clean again,
Denuded of the past—
For time has given us
Our spring
At last.

—Langston Hughes.

—From “International Literature.”
PROLETARIAT

STUDENT ACTIVITIES-

Melbourne.

The New Year's work will soon be commencing at the University. Several hundred students will be in contact with a new sphere of activities. Those students completing their courses are faced with the problem of "What they are going to do next." For the chief supporters of the proletarian activities there are no problems of increasing complexity to be considered—both in Australia and overseas. What is the position of the majority of the students in relation to international events, and to the rapidly changing Australian situation?

It must be admitted that the students as a body are lagging far behind the rate of development of the class struggle here, and have no accurate conception of the real nature of recent international moves. Above all, interest in and knowledge of particular student problems are practically non-existent. It is perfectly true that there are several fairly active societies in the University which hold regular meetings, debates, discussions, and even study classes. But these societies embrace a very small minority of the students, and, without exception, approach the problems which they deal with in an abstract manner without any correlation with the specific problems of the students as such. An example will suffice to prove this. The Labour Club has on a number of occasions dealt with the subject of how war is being prepared at the present time, in whose interest it is being prepared, and has pointed the way to struggle against the danger. Its propaganda has been substantially correct. It has insisted on the importance of the working class as the main force opposed to war. But this is insufficient to win the masses of the students. It is also necessary to point out the part students should play in opposing war, the relation of the war to cultural reaction and decay, the prostitution of literature and art to the service of the imperialist bourgeoisie, etc.

From another angle it should be possible to organize considerable opposition to war. The Melbourne University Rifles is a military body organized for the purpose of training officers. At the time of writing this body is encamped at Portsea, with a total of three hundred men—the highest number since the introduction of voluntary training. Many of these students have been deceived by bourgeois "defence" propaganda. Some are quite definitely antagonistic to war, but nevertheless take part in preparing for it. It should not be very difficult to convince these people that war is only a bogey used to conceal further preparations for an imperialist war. This work has not yet even been started by the Labour Club, although it would probably prove fertile soil.

Another question closely linked with that of war is the question of fascism within the University. There are indications that a fascist group will be formed during the coming year. Our information suggests that there is a controversy between the organizers as to whether the club should follow the "German" or the "Italian" brand of fascism. It is obvious that such a controversy can result only from a complete ignorance of the true nature of fascism, for German and Italian fascism are in essence the same. The difference between them depends upon the fact that Italian capitalism was stabilized temporarily under the rule of Mussolini precisely because world capitalism as a whole underwent a process of relative stabilization following the tremendous crisis of the immediate post-war years, while Hitler came into power during a terrible economic crisis which has deepened under his regime.

Of course, Italy is now being very hard hit by the crisis, and despite all the demagoguery of Mussolini (who now declares that fascism is different from capitalism*), the Italian ruling class is attempting to solve the crisis by the only methods known to the bourgeoisie—by attacking the living standards of the workers and pushing forward to war.

*Mussolini in his speech at the recent celebrations of the eleventh anniversary of the Fascist march on Rome stated: "We come to the last question: Can the corporate powers be organized in other ways? There has been a great deal of discussion about it. As there is a general crisis of capitalism, solution by the corporate state seems to be necessary in other countries." The "Manchester Guardian" ridiculed this Fascist treachery very aptly when it remarked: "Does Fascism want to save Europe by its example? With its low wages and vast unemployment it will take years to do this. Not, of course, that Fascism will ever solve these problems. But the "Manchester Guardian" is a bourgeois paper and the fascist bourgeoisie may some day have recourse to Fascism.

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Fascism is the most violent form of capitalist authoritarianism. It represents the height of anti-working class terror and chauvinistic nationalism—both products of capitalist decay. White terror and bloody war: that is the true formula of Fascism.

A campaign against the growth of fascism in the Melbourne University will therefore be necessary. Besides pointing out these aspects already mentioned it should be possible to conduct an exposure of the cultural reaction which follows from fascism—an exposure not only of the obviously reactionary character of the campaign against revolutionary intellectuals, but also the disguised reaction which is contained in much current literature. Discussions should be arranged on such topics as "Fascism and Italian Literature" (the apotheosis of Nietzsche, glorification of intense individualism and nationalism and the creation of "heroic" types), and "Humanism" in its various forms, which serve as a cloak for literary reaction. These discussions should pass over to consideration of such subjects as education and philosophy. Great use can be made of the Soviet Union as an example of the triumph of the working classes over all problems of life. In the School of Education and the Teachers' Training College nothing is taught regarding the principles lying at the root of socialist education. The profound significance of polytechnical education is not mentioned. Above all, the essential class character of education is totally ignored. All these problems should be raised by the Labour Club during the coming year. The task is certainly a big one, but is absolutely necessary before any organization can be built up on the vital issues of war and fascism.

The same remarks apply to "Proletariat." It is quite correct for us to deal with political and economic problems, and even some of the theoretical problems of the working movement, but these must be linked up with subjects of special interest to students and teachers. In this issue an attempt has been made to do this to some extent, but much is still to be done. The delay in publishing the present issue is partly due to financial difficulties, but mainly to improper organization and lack of support. Those who should be the chief supporters of the paper—the students—are those least interested. The reasons have been outlined above.

Sydney.

The Labour Club in Sydney has much the same problems as those facing us in Melbourne. It is characteristic that they are able to sell 300 copies of "The Soviet To-Day" in the University, while we are unable to interest more than a few students in current student affairs. However, towards the end of the year an excellent start was made with the publication of "Student," a regular organ which is distributed free in the University. The first issue contained a note regarding certain irregular proceedings in the election of student representatives. This sharp comment won considerable favour among the students.

New Zealand.

The fact that we have very little news to report indicates the weakness of the student movement in Australasia. There is practically no contact.

A Labour Club with twenty-five members has been formed in the Auckledland University. Further suppression of student papers and radical thinking is being carried on systematically in the Universities.

In America the National Student League has grown to large proportions. In the City College of New York big demonstrations in support of the Cuban revolution were held. The student movement in war and intervention in Cuba were very effectively contrasted with the general poverty of the students and raising of fees. A strong movement developed against the Officers' Training Corps. Numerous students were dismissed as a result.

English Students are active in the anti-war movement. Good support has been given to the unemployed hunger marchers. In one demonstration a very effective slogan was used: "Scholarships, not Battleships." Australian students should learn from the example of their colleagues overseas. It is time to take a hand in events instead of looking on.

Do You Know How to Prevent War?

Come to the Easter Anti-War Conference.
THE REICHSTAG FIRE

O n the 27th February, 1933, at about 9.15 p.m., the streets of Berlin were illuminated by the glaring flames of the burning Reichstag building, symbol of German constitutional government. Watching the flames, Hitler turned to Setton Delmer, a Berlin correspondent of the "Daily Express," and made the cryptic statement: "You are witnessing the beginning of a great new epoch in German history. This fire is the beginning."

Through a uniquely fateful coincidence, and by means of wireless announcements, speeches and posters, the Communists were immediately accused of having wilfully set fire to the building. It was announced, for example, by the Daily Express, that Van der Lubbe, who was found in the building and arrested, had in his possession a membership booklet of the Dutch Communist Party, and that he had made a full confession. On the following morning, Ernst Torgler, chairman of the Communist fraction in the Reichstag, was arrested. Later, other Communists were arrested. The Dietrich-Bonhoeffer church, and the Berlin police department were set on fire. The burning of the Reichstag was to have the character of an international Communist plot. In the days after the fire, the Fascist propaganda was propagated with a great wave of atrocities against Communists, Socialists, and Pacifists.

What was the background of this? And what was the hidden meaning of this statement? Hitler, Delmer, and Germany were suffering more than any other country from the economic collapse. This led, on the one hand, to a steadily increasing oppression of the workers by a series of government rulings, including the "emergency decree" and other repressive laws against workers and unions. On the other hand, the Nazis began to prepare a provocative act which would bring the Communist Party into disrepute and disrupt, and enable their election activities to be ruthlessly suppressed. This fact, even without further evidence, made it clear that the Nazis themselves were the criminals.

But further evidence was to hand, and it convinced the World Committee for the Victims of Fascism that Dr. Goebbels concocted the plot. Capt. Goering directed the Police and Weidmann, a ringleader and prominent Nazi functionary, led the incendiary group.

There are a few outstanding facts, selected from the full account of the Nazi conspiracy that is given in "The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror."}

MARCH, 1934

Dr. Oberfaher, chairman of the Nationalist group in the Reichstag, and a well-informed confidant of Hugenberg's, wrote a memorandum in which he set down what he knew of the preparation and plans made by the Nazis for the burning of the Reichstag. When this became known in Germany, through a reference to it in the "Manchester Guardian," Goering publicly denounced the author of the memorandum into action, with the result that Dr. Oberfaher was soon found dead in his flat. He had "committed suicide"—so the Government repeats. But other persons who knew the secret of the Reichstag fire—Erich Hansen and Dr. Bell—were also murdered.

It was stated that Van der Lubbe was a Communist, though the Leyden Young Communist League reported that he had been conducting counter-revolutionary activity for some time, and that he resigned from the Party in April, 1931, in order to forestall his expulsion. There is no evidence of this. Dr. Goebbels also stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party, and some Communist leafrs were found. It was an incredible story. The authorities would carry such confessions of professional political crime, that this piece of evidence was allowed to lapse.

The fire was lighted simultaneously at many places, and it has been estimated by experts that at least ten persons must have been concerned. All made successful escape except one half-wit. Further, a considerable number of buildings, such as the Colosseum, were destroyed. The chief fire brigade director (Gumpp) stated that, on entering the Reichstag after the fire, he had seen large quantities of incendiaries lying around, used. How was this smuggled in? Here Goering and Goebbels found themselves in difficulties, and the court took the defensive. First, judges called illegal cutting courts and defended councils made a desperate attempt to prove that Van der Lubbe had committed the crime alone. Again, efforts were made for some days to prove that incendiary material must have been used, but some material was not used, and some material was not used, and could have been smuggled through the closely-guarded doors. But, as these attempts failed, it became only to show that there remained only one man of the many who had seen and heard and knew what went on. This was impossible. Heisig, a Nazi detective, who was sent to Holland to investigate the affairs of Van...
PROLETARIAT

The national proletariat was raised in such protest that it caused Fascist justice to hesitate, to cower, and to pronounce Dimitrov, Torgler, Tsaneff and Popoff not guilty.

But Fascist justice still went on. For months the four Communists were kept in jail, and in danger of their lives. Their accusers, however, stood convicted by the workers of the world, who continued to raise protests against them. The result of this was that, suddenly and secretly, the acquitted Bulgarians were taken to Moscow. Torgler, however, as a German subject, is still in close confinement, waiting further justice at the hands of the Nazi government of Germany. It rests with the workers of Germany to see that he gets it.

El Vanshel

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank all friends who contributed entries to our short story competition. We hope to conduct similar competitions in the future when our finances permit.

Our appeal for funds did not bear much fruit. Only one donation (4/-) was received. We thank this comrade very heartily for it.

We would like to draw the attention of our readers and subscribers to the state of our finances. We are urgently in need of support if we are to expand, or even to maintain publication. We can record a growth in our circulation from 2200 to 2600 approximately for our last issue. To maintain this means a heavy burden on our slender resources. So we again appeal for assistance. Donations of all sizes will be welcomed.

Publications Received:

As evidence of our firm position at the present time we publish the following list of magazines and papers which we receive regularly:

“The Student Vanguard”—Published by the English revolutionary students.

“The Student Review,” which is the mouth-piece of the National Student League in the United States.

We receive a number of journals from the Soviet Union, of which the most important is—:

“The U.S.S.R. in Construction,” which in pictorial form depicts the mode and rate of development of Socialism in that country.

“The Soviet Culture Review,” which is a monthly magazine devoted to the practical and theoretical problems, together with the achievements, of Socialist culture.

“School in the U.S.S.R.”—A new magazine which again deals with all aspects of Socialist education. Here, for the first time, it is possible to obtain a complete view of the Marxist approach to education.

We also receive such newspapers as the “Daily Worker,” organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain; several French and German anti-fascist papers, the organ of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and occasional copies of the “Daily Worker,” which is the organ of the Communist Party of U.S.A.

This list indicates the widespread interest which “Proletariat” has aroused. We wish to extend our contact, and hope to exchange with other magazines in the near future.

Published by Q. R. Gibson, Hon. Assistant Secretary, Melbourne University Labour Club, University, Carlton, N.S.W.

Bright Printing Service, 182 Million Parade, Glen Iris, S.E.4.
THE FATE OF "PROLETARIAT" IS IN YOUR HANDS!

WE have received many requests for a new issue of "Proletariat." The fact speaks for itself. "Proletariat" continues to appear irregularly. This is due not to lack of material or enthusiasm, but to lack of hand cash.

We cannot write separately to all our friends who have sent us letters of congratulation and helpful criticism. We acknowledge all these here.

There are many deficiencies in "Proletariat." Many of these are due to lack of space. Because of this we have to leave out important items. Illustrations are too costly for us.

Apart from printing, all the work of "Proletariat" is the voluntary effort of students. The cost of production is so high that its continued existence depends on rapidly increasing its circulation to at least 3500 from the present 2700.

If you think "Proletariat" worth while, if you do not want an important counterblast to the mass of bourgeoïs propaganda to be satisfied, you must help us in this work. SEND 1/- TO "PROLETARIAT" TO YOUR FRIENDS, BECOME A DIRECT SUBSCRIBER. SEND US NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF OTHERS. We have no elaborate advertising organisation at our disposal.

We appeal to our agents to supply prompt payment.

Can anyone supply us with names and addresses of students in Adelaide, Brisbane, Perth, or Hobart?

We thank all who have helped us in the past by donations, house parties, and sending us names of possible buyers. "Proletariat" relies for its continuance on increased sales, increased subscriptions, and direct donations or guarantees. If we can establish a working fund, we will be able to publish regularly and more often.

All money should be sent by money order or registered letter to—
A. Finger, Business Manager of "Proletariat," University, Melbourne, N.S.

Back numbers of "Proletariat" are available at 7d. each posted.

WE acknowledge the following exchanges:—"Labour Monthly," "New Zealand Soviet News," "U.S.S.R. in Construction," "International Literature," "Soviet Culture Review," "English Student Vanguard," "South African-Indela Yenkululeko" (Road to Freedom), "American Student Review," "This Unrest" (Oxford), "Student" (Sydney University), "War—What For?" as well as many other publications, including illegal German newspapers and English "Daily Worker." We have also a copy of the illegal "Rote Fahne." Most of these publications are available to students in the Labour Club library, which is housed in the S.C.M. room, Club House.

PROLETARIAT
ORGAN OF THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB
A Minority Group Within the University
Editors—Ian C. Macdonald, A. Palmer.

Volume III. No. 2.
August, 1934.

EDITORIAL

It has been rare for most students here to come into contact with the actual events of history. They have been condemned to play, for the most part, the role of bystanders. Their approach to reality is conditioned by academic romanticism and carefully nurtured class prejudices.

In the present state of the world, such a position is no longer tenable. At our University, for example, many students were able to hear a presentation of facts regarding the Wonthaggi strike by an actual participant in it. What the opinions and thoughts of his listeners were does not concern us here. What we are concerned with is pointing out that inevitably students must come more and more into contact with the actual facts of the class struggle. The march of events will compel them to take sides, whether they wish it or not. For who would be so foolish as to deny the sharpening of this struggle in the capitalist world to-day? It is only necessary to point to Germany, San Francisco, and Wonthaggi.

It is obvious that it is of vital importance to grasp the significance of international events as well as of those occurring in our own immediate surroundings. It cannot be denied that fascism and imperialist wars are the gravest dangers in the world to-day. Nor can it be denied that the main force opposed to fascism and war is the organised power of the workers.

In every capitalist country in the world we see the rapid concentration of these two diametrically opposed forces, the workers being driven to the extreme fringes of fascist terror in order to maintain its existence; on the other hand, the consistently growing organised forces of the workers being driven to resistance by sheer economic need. We see sharper and sharper and more and more violent clashes that cannot but be fought to the end.

Only when the workers take state power into their own hands can this struggle be ended. Only then will the development of socialism be possible; only then will the problem of unemployment and poverty be solved.

This problem, which is driving the workers to resistance, is also becoming increasingly urgent to the majority of students.

The question of future work, of employment, is an essential one for most students. At the most, it is a matter of a few years for all of them, before they are compelled to seek a means of livelihood. The present system, now passing through the acutest crisis in its history, means the abolition of the bright opportunities for University graduates. Jobs as salesmen, canvassers, and, in many cases, "the open road" are the lot to which numbers of them are condemned. It is apparent that some drastic change from the capitalist system is necessary before the pent-up and distorted forces of humanity can be released and unfolded to their fullest extent. The historic task of the proletariat, "the class that holds the future in its hands," is to free itself and the whole of mankind from the present hell of capitalism. The Soviet Union is a living example of this truth.

In our University the Labour Club has much of importance to say to students, both in its meetings and discussions, and in the pages of "Proletariat." We appeal to all students who are concerned with the development of culture and the full utilisation of scientific knowledge, to support the Labour Club, which is the standard-bearer of these ideas in the University.

—THE EDITORS.
The Decline of German Fascism.

It is well known that the decline of German fascism is due to the fact that the Berlin bourgeoisie was not satisfied with the results of the 1920s. The Berlin bourgeoisie was not satisfied with the results of the 1920s because of the following:

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serve the domination of finance-capital, forced down the living standards of the toiling masses.

What is the other side of the picture? What response are the workers making to the attacks of the capitalist class? We quote a short extract from a report made recently upon the mass activity of unemployed and employed workers against the hunger policy of Italian fascism—

"The mass movements in Italy have increased considerably in the past year. In Torino 3000 unemployed demonstrated and took to the streets of fascist and fascist trade union, singing "Bread and work." In Andria, 8000 agricultural workers demonstrated in front of the Fascist party headquarters. In Genoa, 6000 workers demonstrated in the streets of the city. In Canosa, 4000 unemployed demonstrated before the office of the mayor, and came into conflict with the police. In Cappo, a political demonstration of 2500 workers was held in connection with the burial of a revolutionary worker. In Spezia, the masses of the workers participated in the meeting of the fascist trade union in order to demand the maintenance of the piece-work scale. The strike slogan was issued. In Milan the chauffeurs demonstrated before the Mayor's headquarters. In Genoa a second demonstration was held in the streets. In Sassano and Monte St. Giacomo the population stormed the Mayor's office. Eight of the demonstrators were killed and two gendarmes were wounded."

And so on, almost inevitably, the kind of large-scale anti-fascist actions and demonstrations goes on. The discontent is not expressed only by these more striking methods. Within the fascist mass organisations, especially in the trade unions, but also, for example, in the youth organisation, "Dopolavoro," a tremendous dynamic has set in in recent years, and is becoming more pronounced. Many examples are recorded of former supports of the fascist regime turning away from fascism completely disillusioned. In numerous cases active action against the fascist authorities inside these organisations have been made, concessions and advantages often being won.

Italy is in a state of seething discontent, the existence of which cannot be hidden even by mass street and rapid police censorship.

The example of Bulgaria is further proof of the instability of fascist governments in Europe. Three months ago the Bulgarian bourgeoisie was compelled by the deepening crisis and the upsurge of the revolutionary movement among the workers and peasants, to substitute for the existing fascist coalition government an open military dictatorship. This means that in Bulgaria the social basis of fascism has shrunk so much that the army is practically the sole "reliable" force at the command of the ruling class. And perhaps the army is practically the sole "reliable" force at the command of the ruling class. This weakening of fascism, which is so pronounced in the present period, has resulted in increased international tension. France and Germany have become more violently antagonistic. Italy and Germany are irremovable over the question of Austria. Mussolini is looking toward Gaul and Asia Minor more insistently as a convenient market and source of materials. The desperate negotiations of France and Britain attempting to maintain the regula-

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AUGUST, 1934.

Bourgeois Disintegration and Soviet Progress.

In those countries in which the open fascist dictatorship has not yet been established, the same process of disintegration, combined with capitalistic forces are all taking place. The background of more warships, more aeroplanes, more tanks and machine guns, more poison gas.

Recovery?

The Australian bourgeois asserts that there is a marked improvement to be observed in Australian economy in the past six months. They point to the price of wool, to a slight increase in building (an increase which has ceased in the past three years), to the favourable trade balance, etc., in order to prove that the crisis has not yet struck. However, the crisis has not been off the stage. There is no doubt that the stage of depression has not yet been passed. It does not mean that the crisis can be overcome on this basis, nor exclude the possibility of another sharp depression to be witnessed. There is no evidence that the replacement of the basic conditions by new ones (building, etc.), which is characteristic of the overcoming of a crisis, has been completed or will be accomplished in addition. It is significant that wool prices have commenced to fall steadily again. The decisive battle against capitalist depression, which would have made a great decision when the price of wheat rose pennies in bushel, owing to the failure of the American crop, it is from this angle that the bourgeois talk of "returning prosperity" must be evaluated.

In the past few years the complete defeat of the sixth campaign of intervention against the Chinese Soviets is a great blow to world capitalist imperialism. Only on an international scale it is possible to estimate the significance of the recent violent events in Germany. The decline of German fascism, its violent death agony, is but a part of the general capitalist forces throughout the world. This disintegration is occurring in different countries, but is inevitable in face of the continuation of the general capitalist crisis (although certain countermeasures can be taken by adjusting their position for a time), and above all, in face of the enormous might of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Soviet Union remains the greatest single force in the world, fighting for the maintenance of peace. The gigantic strides of its economic development go unchallenged. The cultural standard of the whole people has risen tremendously. The foreign relations of the Soviet Union, despite even the pressing danger of the Japanese imperialist war plans, have improved considerably, especially in the sphere of the guarantees of peace.

The imperialist bourgeoisie, which so much desires war upon the Soviet Union, has been compelled to acknowledge in actual practice that the Soviet Union is the most important peace factor! The great wave of this at the same time stimulates the revolutionary energy of the proletariat in all those countries between the so-called "capitalist democracies" and the Soviet Union. The magnificent achievements of the socialist countries, and the deep fundamental changes in the conditions of life and cultural life of the working people, give a clear insight into the significance of the slogan: "Soviet Power!"

Australia

A number of positive facts prove that there is no real sign of the much-hailed "recovery." The situation of the primary producers has grown steadily worse. It is admitted officially that of 70,000 wheat farmers in Australia, 50,000 are in grave and immediate danger of being forced off the land. In the last official statistics that are available, there are 90,000 farmers in Australia, of whom 80,000 are in grave and immediate danger of being forced off the land. In other words, 100,000 Australian farmers are bankrupt! This evidence alone should be sufficient to explode the hollow boasts of the bourgeoisie.

Unemployment is said to be decreasing. It is difficult to make out the actual numbers from official statistics, because they are always less than the actual figures. In addition, the statistics are subject to the usual governmental income regulations, together with the expansion of the whole industrial apparatus, a fact that tends to reduce the actual "unemployment" lower than before. In any case, it is certain that the figures have not even started in the decrease of the number of unemployed.
The position of employed workers has not altered appreciably, even in the present nationalisation. Factory work has increased. The Arbitration Court recently confirmed the 10 per cent cut in the salaries of Federal public servants. This has given rise to considerable dissatisfaction, and was overcome by a general mass meeting as a result. Side by side with this wage-cut by the government, the "surplus" has decided to spend more upon armaments than in previous years. The official expenditure on armaments has increased during the coming year, an increase of £1,800,000 on 1932-33.

The political parties are to be found in military mechanisation, while further munition workshops and factories are being renewed or constructed. The whole of the imperial armament is practically a government issue; therefore, as a new cruiser is in present being constructed. Thus the Australian ruling class show how it is adopting the well-rounded methods of capital to solve the crisis, if possible, by force, by the armed seizure of further colonies and markets.

The Political Parties in Decay.

That the capitalists cannot see very much hope in the immediate future can be comprehended from their attitude towards the forthcoming Federal election.first, there is a wide breach between the Country Party and the United Australian Party on a whole the force of working man. This breach is due to the clash of interests between the two groups. A part of the union mass has been united only by ignoring the question of tariffs, which is (for capitalism) one of the most important questions for this "union" must necessarily be very doubtful. The greatest part of the workers, however, is the elected "relief" programme which will do little towards halting this breach. It may, on the contrary, aggravate it, because the finding of such a loan must inevitably lead to an increase in the struggle-which the Finance capital has at present over the primary producers.

This disagreement and uncertainty as to what to do face the unions, and the clear programme on the part of the bourgeois parties. On the whole, the United Australian Party intends to have another session of Labor government in order to stifle the rising tide of discontent which is manifest at present. Under cover of the Labour Party, the bourgeois could, in accordance, carry on its present policy more effectively. Naturally, the chances of exposure of the Labour Party during this process are greatly increased.

The Labour Party itself is undergoing a steady process of disintegration. As it is ready to a party supporting the bourgeois, it reacts, in a special way, upon the working class upon the working class as its support, to all the forces of reaction against capitalism. Thus, the Labour Party presents, at the same time, the typical form of conflicting ideas. "Left" groups are splitting away from the old; those who remain in "socialism" unite appear side by side with "socialist" and the most reactionary elements. It is characteristic that the Labour Party should break with two "inactive" groups while talking of unity. It must be understood that under no circumstances are the Lang and Scullin factions irreconcilable. Both play a part in the bourgeois class, with whom talk about ending capitalism and introducing socialism, while at the same time they are carrying on the struggles against the workers against capitalism. There are certain disagreements between them as to how the betrayal of the workers should be carried out (a disagreement which is of vital importance to a tactical point), but objectively their function is the same, namely, to side-track the growing militancy of the workers into harmless channels, and above all, to split their ranks as effectively as possible. During the recent riots, when McKenzies, the A.L.P. member for Wonthaggi, uttered the most atrocious slanders against the Wonthaggi miners and their leaders, not even the "revolutionary" of the A.L.P. leadership repudiated his statements. On the contrary, Tannehill has actually sent a note to McKenzies thanking him, on behalf of the A.L.P. for his services in the strike. That does not mean, of course, that the rank and file kept their thoughts to themselves. This is just one example of how the official Labour Party leaders stand together when threatened by a force which they know in turn will break their revolutionary, deadening influence on the Australian workers.

The Revolutionary Vanguard.

What evidence have we that there exists in Australia an honest, real revolutionary leadership, whose methods of struggle, if adopted, would result in success? Can one specifically the evidence of the Wonthaggi strike, which is a recent example of a struggle against the Australian Government. Despite the slanders of the capitalist press, the whole weight of the bourgeoisie was brought to bear against the pit owners and the strikers. The tactics of the Trades Hall, the Wonthaggi miners were able to mobilise thousands of workers behind them. The"Battle of Wonthaggi" is an example of revolutionary working class activity unexampled in Australian history for its high degree of organisation and consciousness of its aim. The workers of Australia have seen a new example of union organisation conducted under rank-and-file leadership. By developing this method and adapting it to the conditions, the labour movement of Australia may develop into a formidable force. The revolutionary proletariat will forge a weapon which will lead to greater victory.

JAN C. MACDONALD.

SHORT STORY COMPETITION.

We have not received sufficient entries to justify selecting a story for publication. The competition is still open.

AUGUST, 1934.

The University and War

It is a mistake to regard the war machine as consisting of arms and munitions, soldiers and weapons, sources of supply. Whatever might once have been the case, the army is an instrument of War, and the conduct of war, must involve the collective action of every institution under the state. The Labour movement, beginning with the university—the cooperation of all is necessary to the conduct of war.

Consequently, the fight against war is a fight on many fronts. If the Anti-War Movement were to place its trust in the "peaceful" discussion of "crimes" it would soon be outflanked and crushed. It must carry on the struggle against war preparations in every sphere of social and economic life it is to succeed.

Certainly there are key points where the attack must be sharper, Transport and munitions, for instance, must receive special attention. But the fight against war is the people's fight, and every man must strike his blow at the war preparations nearest to his hand. The farmer must struggle against military use of his produce; the worker in his factory must prepare to refuse industry from feeding the war machine. If the imperialists must oppose those tendencies in University life and teaching which work for war-mindedness, and must endeavour to prevent a recurrence of what occurred in the last war, when the University was used as a base of both local and general auxiliary to the armed forces.

The three tendencies? The enquiry naturally divides itself into two parts. First there is the indirect way in which University teaching fosters war-mindedness, and drags criticism of the policies which lead to war. Second, are the more direct methods of supporting the war effort actively contributes to the conduct of war.

In a previous number of "Proletariat" I have already given a general survey of the means whereby the University supports of bourgeois activities and drives criticism of them. This enquiry must be more specific.

Throughout University, teaching, an air of gentleness, apart-from-doctorial tolerance is affected and is far as possible this attitude is cultivated in student life and thought. Somewhere in the world, an attitude of tolerance to take place there is to be strikes and war; but there are no longer in the world. This is the discovery that Julius Caesar was an eugenist. In general, the squalor this will discuss any political question, but it is not that of the same importance. The Debating Society exists for the mere enjoyment of debating. When, however, the students as Fascism and War, do arise, they are treated as subjects of statue academicians who can discuss knowledge among you, he has read the most books, he has read the most books. The student is superior to the greatest scholar (but at the same time he is in duty bound to attend the annual Academic Day ceremony).

This superficial detachment has been accompanied by an intelligent will to war. The whole trend of the movement is towards an antinationalist, anticonstitutional intelligentsia intelligent will to war. The whole trend of the movement is towards an antinationalist, anticonstitutional intelligentsia, intelligence will to war. The whole trend of the movement is towards an antinationalist, anticonstitutional intelligentsia, intelligence will to war. The whole trend of the movement is towards an antinationalist, anticonstitutional intelligentsia, intelligence will to war.
PROLETARIAT

AUGUST, 1934.

Is Fascism Un-British?

The development of Fascism, both open and concealed, is alarming. The attempt to thrust the working class back into the centuries in which millions of people who had put their trust in capitalism were treated as the guardian of their hard-won liberties.

Fascism, with its barbarism ravages and rules Germany today-day by day. But less than two years ago the Weimar Constitution, which gave the impresario of culture, achievement, in the hands of those who carry out the dictates of the capital. The Press of all capitalist "democratic" countries is horrified at the atrocities committed by Fascism. "It is incomprehensible that in a civilized country such crimes could be committed.

The Englishman gains heart—such things could not happen in a truly democratic country like his. But with the Frenchman, so with the millions whose trust is invested in the "democracy" Capitalism has given them. Recent events, however, are of such a character as to shake its foundations. The prevalent belief that Fascism is a phenomenon peculiarly suited to the German or Italian temperament.

Conditions for Fascism's Growth.

Fascism is inextricably bound up with the growing consciousness of capitalism. The post-war boom period, 1928-30, brought with it increased mechanization of industry and further industrialization in India, etc., to assure more efficient exploitation. This has been accompanied by a sense of capitalists' privileges. As the prices of the commodities they control. In order to assure more efficient exploitation, they have been able to dictate terms. Capitalism plunged into crisis. The rise of the bourgeois economists (including Professor Coand, Dr. G. Wood, and Dr. Weyl) is a cri de coeur from other crises. It was to be short-lived and followed by a wave of new enthusiasm and capital. But the collapse of capitalism does not mean a return to its former state. The mask of "democracy" has already been thrown aside, in others it is wearing it. But in neither case can the mask be worn for long. In the latter case it will be rejected; in the former case, it may be gradually worn, being realistic and adopting the position of those with "constitutional" regimes.

We are now in a position to question the truth of the Englishman's (or for that matter, the American's or the Frenchman's) contention that Fascism is a phenomenon peculiarly suited to the German or Italian temperament.

Fascism may not be a vital mistake to assume that Fascism can develop only in the form of organised parties with a mass appeal at some particular time, when the time is ripe. The mask of "democracy" may vanish in other ways. A review of the activities of bourgeois governments the world over reveals a growing trend towards fascism. The Englishman's worst fears are being realised in all capitalist countries. Fascism is a danger to all the European Fascist parties.

England.

In England Fascism is developing along two paths: Sir Oswald Mosley and his Blackshirts...
supported by Rothermere and his allies, are open Fascists. The more immediate cause of the legislation is the "exploitation of existing laws, the enactment of such measures as the Seditious Bills, are symptoms of the fascist reaction of England."

The lesson of Germany and Italy is being learnt by the workers the world over. In the end, it seems, Mussolini's Protektorat and "proletarian" legislation should be exempted from the scope of the Seditious Bill.

In the case of a student," replied the Solicitor-General, "or of an ordinary man with an interest in political matters who happened to have a copy of Tolstoy's "advocating non-resistance". He was suggested that that was not in his possession without unlawful purpose.

"Free speech," said the Solicitor-General, "is fundamental. Tolstoy is permitted!" What will happen if the government continues its ruthless attacks on free speech, and in the possession of an "ordinary man"? The British Government has already issued a Statute of Edward III, the so-called "Lend-Lease" Act, giving greater power to deport undesirables. And the future future is by a breach of the peace" may be arrested and imprisoned. And Tom Mann was recently arrested in this way.

In Northern Ireland, where the police and army are on constant alert, the Government has secured the passing of a law under which it can forbid a "suspect" to possess a motor vehicle, and can imprison him for any period on suspicion alone. These legal enactments are paralleled by the strengthening of the police forces, the special department of the secret police, and the use of military forces to aid the police. Over a year there have been unemployed camps organized on semi-militaristic lines. To those who are inclined to doubt the possibility of their disruption, come away, these facts must come as a shock. They show clearly the tendency developing in the framework of the Commonwealth, a rigid regimentation of social and individual activities. The powers of the State have been transferred from the localities to the centre, and from London to the Empire.

Any person who has in his possession, or under his control, any document of such a nature that the dissemination of copies thereof among the people of His Majesty's Forces would be an "adjuration" may be sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

The increasing unrest of the military and naval forces in Britain and the mutiny at Haverford in 1931 has its origin in the economic conditions. Capitalism as a system is not immune to the attacks of those who are capable of giving voice to this discontent and so far as Germany and Belgium are concerned, the question is not a nonsensical one. The Western Journal, quoting some recent reports, speaks of the existence of an active anti-militarist propaganda among the armed forces, and its actual effect goes far beyond this seemingly limited scope.

Australia. In "democratic" Australia, also, the heavy hand of repression has acquired considerable experience in taking away liberties. The fascistic state apparatus has made great strides.

This is clearly seen in the vindictive campaign of the police and courts against freedom of speech. Since the last war, for example, a number of books which were dealing with the question of the Commonwealth, have been dealt with in the same "proletarian" of last year. Five years since the following have occurred elsewhere in Australia, notably in Melbourne, in which cases, there has been persistent attempts to suppress the truth and to stifle literature. It is taking place in the Sydney Domain.

The Bill also gives the police power on the part of the Postmaster-General, the right to search any person's home, and to seize anything found in them. This is in the possession of "seditious" literature, may be provided for the arrest and imprisonment of any one who, according to the Solicitor-General, is an anti-militarist propaganda amongst the armed forces, and in the battle for the protection of the people's interests. The Solicitor-General has made it impossible for the Government to carry on (and impress all members of) every militant working class organi-
Towards the Emancipation of the Aborigines.

"No people oppressing other peoples can be free."—Marx and Engels.

It is an exaggeration to state that there has been a great awakening of interest in the fate of the Aborigines in the last two or three years. Some weeks ago the Minister for the Interior informed the House that he had received a report from a Federal official that the Aborigines were dying at a rate of 50 to 60 per cent per annum. That is a very serious problem.

Aborigines were now dying by the hundreds in the Northern Territory, where the Government had been forced to evacuate the native population. We can also recall the widespread opposition to the proposed plans for the establishment of a permanent settlement in the area.

In conclusion, it is important to note that the efforts of the Aboriginal people to assert their rights and gain recognition have been met with resistance from the Australian government and society. The struggle for justice and recognition continues to this day.
determine that the aborigines, under a Soviet Australia, would in time develop rural and urban industries, raise their cultural level, and become completely independent of the White people.

5. What Steps Are Necessary to Achieve Aboriginal Emancipation?

The bourgeoisie is not concerned with the emancipation of native races. "We did not come into the world to benefit the Indian Nation," said Sir Jegovnak Hicks in 1925. "I know in missionary work this is a subject, but I think it is more important for the Indian to raise the level of the Indians. That is impossible. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of the world."

Hicks was a Tory politician. A similar viewpoint is held by the Lyons Government, which has conducted an offensive against the native and answers with its tongue in its cheek that the natives are not ill treated. Chauvinism is the essential reason of the Lyons Government's dealings with the natives. It utilized a "Peace Mission," organized by missionaries, to the Caledon Bay native, where they were arrested and brutally handled in the cells. At the time of writing, the Government is planning a police drive to capture more witnesses for the trial, despite assurances that such action would be avoided.

The Scullin Labour Government effected no changes for improving conditions in the aboriginal districts during its term in office. The colonial policy of the Labour administration was exposed by a number of political prisoners of Dutch imperialists who had escaped to Northern Australia. After many months of trial, these workers back to the fever-infested Javanese jails, the Federal Government was forced to admit that the natives were merely "continuing the policy of former Governments" in such matters.

2. The refusal of election of the South Australian Labour Chief Secretary (Whitford) reported that the natives were not willing to pay taxes, and that the people were willing to elect their own representatives. The natives had complained that he and his sister were threatened at a mission station because they refused to give any assistance for the welfare of the natives. The Labour politician said, with cynical humour, "This man must return to his own country."

We can accept the statements of Professor Wood-Jones, that missionary activities among the aborigines have been a failure. The first trip of the mission work was seen in the case of the "Peace Mission" to Caledon Bay. Here the natives were "assimilated" (translated by the Bishop of the Mission) by a missionary. The alleged "murderers" were thus sent to prison, where they were hanged over to the police. The "police" officers went to the natives, adopting the Indians as the only upholders of imperialism. With few exceptions, the missionaries saw the natives up to the imperialists. The Government sent the authors of "Red Medicine" to Sydney, to the English Public Health authority, and to the editor of the "Mercury" (Mondale's, former editor of the Mercury).

3. The new investigator and medical-biological arrangements in eighteen European countries, hoping to evolve a medical system which would comprise the best in each. Their investigation was thorough, and resulted in the formulation of a code of conduct of a good medical system. It is the first time, together with a summing-up of capitalist medical services, appeared in their 1932 work, "Medical Cures and Treatments."

It occurred to the lawyer and doctor, having completed this task, to carry out a similar investigation of the Russian system of medicine. They decided to find anything opposing the standards of the countries previously examined. They expected to find a wealth of discoveries, however, resulted from this afterthought, that they have compiled to publish in a separate volume, "Red Medicine" (Heinemann, 1941),-which, because of their thoroughness, is a valuable source of information.

4. How does the Russian system of medical service compare with that in other countries? It is proposed to consider separately and briefly the "Red Medicine" as our authority on conditions in the following countries. (See various papers on the U.S.R.)

AUGUST, 1943.

Red Medicine

When a Russian becomes ill, the Government does something about it. In fact, the Government takes care of the sick. The Red Cross does not exist. The Red Cross is the concern of society as a whole. Indeed, the State is the one force which has undertaken to set up and operate hospitals, to provide preventive and curative medical care for every man, woman, and child within its borders.

But we must also realize that the sending of an anthropologist to work among the aborigines, as urged by Professor Wood-Jones, barely touches upon the problem. This plan might assist in gathering scientific data. However, we already possess sufficient information to enable us to formulate a policy to save the aborigines. What is wanted is not only more information, but political action to prevent further oppression.

A common theme of the problem of the emancipation of the aborigines lies in the setting up of an autonomous aboriginal republic, under the political and social leadership of the Australian working class. This, in turn, is contingent on the formation of a Soviet Australia.

For the latter to become a reality, that the aborigines must demand on the rallying of the working class to support a campaign having as its objectives—

1. The complete and unconditional abolition of all conditions of slavery, as well as serfdom, and every form of human slavery, including the native, the servant, and the convict.

2. The granting of full political and legal rights to the natives, including the right of trial by jury.

3. The ending of the slave trade, and the sale of all native workers.

4. The preservation intact of the native reservations.

5. The provision of free medical, educational, and cultural facilities to all natives.

-G.S.

STUDENTS AND THE BALLOT BOX.

In a few weeks, many of us will be taking part in the Federal elections. What do these elections mean to us? They mean that we are being called upon to play our part in the great fraud of "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

In the present situation, the situation of capitalism to rule when it has been able to persuade the people that they do the ruling.

What, then, of the student who has seen through the parliamentary fraud? Can the elections be tossed aside contemptuously? No. The advanced worker or student, while recognizing Parliament as the honest capitalist deception, nevertheless recognizes that its tribune can be used by real working class representatives to organize mass meetings of workers, to dominate the working class parties, and to bring forward the real questions affecting the masses of the people. He must support the reformist position in Parliament, in order to ensure that action be done by the Bolsheviks in the reactionary Czarist period. The present Bolsheviks in Germany, Liebknecht and Clara Zetkin in the Reichstag. Parliament is a false charade, but its own machinery can be most effectively used to expose its real character.

in each factory is safeguarded by a committee elected from among themselves. In spite of the intensiveness of work in general in the U.S.S.R., due to the fact that relatively few workers are required in the factories, the strain is quite rare, unlike what is seen in capitalist countries. Several factors are responsible for this. In the first place, workers’ factory committees are able to do much more. Secondly, the short working day and week are important. Seven hours for ordinary workers and six for workers in dangerous or unhealthy trades are normal. Finally, the workers’ factory committees are able to dictate the working day and week, and every fifth day is a complete holiday. Workers in industrial areas receive 24 days leave annually, ordinary workers 12 days; during those vacations many of them find their way to rest houses in beautiful surroundings. The “shock brigades,” the best workers, are sent to Livadia, the Czar’s Crimean residence.

In the third place, the earliest signs of overwork or neurasthenia in a worker are noted by the factory doctors, and the worker is sent to a sanatorium, where he receives special attention from the time of cessation of work in the evening to its resumption next morning.

The recreation arrangements also call for some comment. Sports and physical culture are very popular in Russia—an entirely post-revolution phenomenon—and since one-fifth of the workers are on holiday every day, the 100 sports grounds in Moscow, for instance, are always in use. Swimming and boat sports in the many lakes most favoured of all are the “Paris of Culture and Rest,” where most city workers spend their evening leisure hours, and many their holidays also. Here there are dancing, community singing, outdoor movies, educational displays, and gymnastics.

The last factor, probably the most important of all, is the consciousness of the masses. In Australia and other capitalist countries mental unrest, and the desire for a change in circumstances, are the major factors in the rise of the proletariat, and the gloom and uncertainties of business; among the proletariat, because of the intense hatred of class injustice, of capitalist conditions, and therefore of work itself, bred in them by the capitalist and learned spirit, and of the desire to fill the pockets of the bosses, who regard them in no higher light than as quantities of labor, the powerlessness of the proletariat at the present possible market value. Conversely among the Russians is the infrequency of mental ill-health; this must be due to the removal on the one hand of the mania, by the other of the stress and strain of making a living in capitalist countries.
PROLETARIAT

AUGUST, 1934.

Social Conditions.

Great contrast is presented by the U.S.S.R. and capitalist countries in their attitude to abortion.

In Melbourne we speak of "criminal abortion," and the result of this is that most abortions become "medications" at some time. A woman who desires to terminate a pregnancy is in law not allowed to leave her home until she has obtained the consent of her husband.

In the U.S.S.R., however, the workers do not need to seek a doctor to end their pregnancy, as the law of 1930 which forbids abortion is not enforced. The reason is that all women have the right to obtain an abortion without her consent, and the right to refuse to give her consent.

In Russia, the other hand, the commonwealth of women who are particularly in the relations of young people, is hardly compatible with "abortionism," or the legal regulation of the rights of the young woman. The result is that a woman cannot use the law of 1930 to protect herself, and the law is practically useless.

Many surgeons have specialized in abortions, almost all of which take place in special divisions of hospitals. The charges are never more than 200 rubles, and are covered by insurance. The operation is now a five-minute procedure, with a mortality of 0.2 per cent. It must be borne in mind that intensive education is being carried out in the schools of surgery, and the practice of abortion is being reduced.

With regard to venereal disease, there is an increase in the number of cases, but the increase is mainly due to the increase in the number of cases. The venereal diseases are not more common in the U.S.S.R. than they are in other countries.

In the Soviet Union, the attitude to venereal disease is not the same as in capitalist countries which are considered as completely as possible.

Statistics show a rapid decrease in the prevalence of venereal disease in post-revolutionary Russia. This results from the working of several factors: the establishment of the first place in the public health, the better control, and the anti-venereal provisions. The second factor is the general liquidation of the prostitution system which is in the process of being abolished.

Thirdly, the loosening of the dye laws has led to a diminution of extra-marital conjugal secret and secret relationships.

Insurance.

The scheme of social insurance which has been brought into force in the U.S.S.R. differs in that in some of the capitalist countries it differs in that in some of the capitalist countries. It has been estimated that the equivalent of about 15 per cent of the total wages of workers is paid out in insurance. The total amount of money paid out in insurance in the U.S.S.R. is about 180 million rubles (about $100 million) in 1927, and about 40 million rubles (about $25 million) in 1930. The amount paid out in 1927 is estimated to be about 15 per cent of the total wages in the U.S.S.R. The workers do not need to feel the pressure of the premium on the price of the policy.

In the U.S.S.R., the workers do not need to seek a doctor to end their pregnancy, as the law of 1930 which forbids abortion is not enforced. The reason is that all women have the right to obtain an abortion without her consent, and the right to refuse to give her consent.

Two women are paid while a person in sick, quarantined, or nursing a sick person. Medical services, and free medical treatment, including drugs, are provided for members of the family, their dependents, and the unemployed. The state provides for the following:

1. Sick benefit. Payments vary with the degree of incapacity. The capacity is estimated by the doctor and the medical board.

2. Permanent incapacity. Payments vary with the degree of incapacity, and are larger if the incapacity is due to industrial accident or disease. They vary from one-third to one-half of the regular wage of the recipient.

3. Maternity. Maternity grants are paid to working women who have a child. Special benefits are paid to mothers with children under three.

4. Unemployment. A special benefit is paid to women who are unemployed.

5. Old Age. A pension of 100 rubles a month is paid to women who have reached the age of 60. The pension is also paid to women who have been insured for at least 20 years.

Institutional Treatment.

Every woman is entitled to a free medical treatment. The treatment is provided by the state, and is free of charge to the patient. The medical treatment is provided by the state, and is free of charge to the patient. The medical treatment is provided by the state, and is free of charge to the patient. The medical treatment is provided by the state, and is free of charge to the patient. The medical treatment is provided by the state, and is free of charge to the patient.
PROLETARIAT

Playing with "Possibilities"

A critique of Mr. T. Burton's Social Democratic Apologia, "Reform or Revolution," published in the first number of "The Australian Rhodes Review"—

WE are about to enter a tomb—

Let us go and make our visit—

to a tomb of Reform or Revolution

in black letters on a marble wall face

where under the quilt epithet Herbert Burton,

laid thereon to rest his mortal remains (he was 
himself in the March month of 1934),

whereon the mourners by this time are

the most ruthless and barbaric attacks

on the tombstone, and he emigrates by

the most frenzied, degenerate racers,

in a completely disintegrating system.

The social democratic movement has

revelled itself as the most gigantic fraud

that ever disgraced mankind.

Mr. Burton simply blinks at these developments

rather vaguely, and, like all social reformers,

and petit bourgeois democrats, he happens

to have noticed large numbers of people into a sort of

bully march to Fascism. By blinding the masses

to the evil realities of a struggle against a class

whose power is founded on force, the social

democrats everywhere serve as capitalisms most

reliable henchmen. Where they have held power,

they have murdered the workers as they decayed.

unpremeditatedly into the fascist ambuscades of their

capitalist masters. The coalitionses, racking

Germany, Spain, France, Austria, Asia, India,

and Hungary, the rest of the capitalist

world, have bought Mr. Burton nothing,

except perhaps that foreigners are very violent,

but temporarily and irrational.

We do not accuse Mr. Burton,

but his scholarly handling of the

aristocratic selection:

Prove No. 1.

"The identification of the term 'revolution' with

the idea of 'forcible overthrow' in the minds of the

general public has been monstrously developed.

Here is an element in the complex of social

factors. Not is it necessary, or is it "bad"? Mr. Burton is very cautious and

is in "unfortunate.""

Prove No. 2.

Mr. Burton rather needlessly defines a revolution

as "a fundamental change," dismissing the

unfortunate idea of "violent overthrow. " Revo-

lutionaries would agree that "violent overthrow"

is not the main means of change.

"But what is a "fundamental change"? In what does a "fundamental change"

in the human society consist? We suggest that it means a complete

change in the relations between classes, whereby the power of the

dominant class is transferred to another class.

The essence of revolution consists in a ruling

class being definitively extinguished, and another

class assuming dominance.

Can the state be utilised by a suppressed class

to overthrow its master? This question involves

the essence of the nature of the state, a

proceeding which Mr. Burton is substantially

denied unnecessary. The Marxist conceives the state as

an instrument to attack the contradictions of society,

as it is being evolved by the

dominant class to insure that society shall not be

consumed in a sterile struggle, but by forcibly keeping

the conflicting classes within the bounds of "law and order."

The Marxian considers the state as the

most ruthless and barbaric attacks

on the ruling class. The Marxian

regard it as a political weapon, not

as an instrument of government.

The Marxian believes that the state is

necessary only when the contradictions of society

are so acute that a civil war is inevitable.

The Marxian is convinced that the state

will wither away as the contradictions of society

are gradually resolved and harmonised.

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STUDENT NOTES

THE Melbourne University has not been unaffected by the world economic crisis. As in all the institutions working for radical change are gathering strength while those still clinging to the status quo are being marshalled or are marshalling, so in the University the preliminaries are being fought.

One section armed with an understanding of events, social forces, and economic facts is aware that this struggle is not only real but a matter of life and death. On the other hand, those who fear this understanding, and thus add to the effect of the collective consciousness of all the students, many of them fascists in all but name.

Between these two groups there is the great mass of students as yet neither consciously of a world apart from their own immediate interest, nor else bewildered by the complexities of life—seeking a way out of the chaotic. Many of these are deluded by the mystic of academic impartiality which prevents any clear understanding of events, inhibits all decisive action, and is impossible in the eventual world of which we are a living part.

Academic "impartiality," never attainable, is a liberal conception which aids, more than any other factor, the present growth of fascism in the University.

"Farrago"

In the Fresher's Number of the "Farrago" there appeared an editorial which called on new students to think for themselves on the basis of their own experiences, and not slavishly dictated by convention or teachers. It is true the editorial was written by progressives, and not the normal right-wing gush in the "Argus" against the students, the editor, and the university. The Labour Club (of which both editors were members) never make the same as to declare that the "Commons" Manifesto and Lenin's "Socialism" should be prescribed as university reading books and taken at the University bookstore.

Behind this attack were, notably, Mr. Nicholas of "Aspro—not aspirin" fame, the proprietor of the "Argus," and a small group of fascist-minded medical students. They were ably assisted by some members of the Student's Representative Council.

Mr. Nicholas and other big business men may possibly give money for a new club house and powerful public relations for the University. This latter, attempting to strengthen its appeal by fascist touches, is at the same time challenging to the council against War, Fascism, and the German Consul. We wish to challenge you to the question of the weakness of his case, and, at the same time, the question of the Nationalist's reaction in the University—reaction based on fear.

Labour Club and Fascism

There is more support for the Labour Club among the students than ever before, but this support is still not characterized. It should become clear to the students that they are not to prevent the overwhelming growth of reaction in the University, if they do not engage in fascist preparations and fascism, to work towards a fascist-minded movement, and its core of fascists, to help lead the fascist-minded movement.

Our main activities have been directed against fascism. We have planned a series of lectures on fascism, but these were abandoned when we realized the inactivity of the students, and particularly the Labour Club, dear to the organs of the S.R.C., and the new editor was appointed under the strict censorship of the S.R.C. executive. Their first edit

AUGUST, 1934.

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The Radical Club.

Two past members of the Labour Club, both social democrats, crept away from it and, practically, with no secret, called a meeting by private invitations. At the meeting, they set up to "promote in the University the study and discussion of the history, economic, and political aspects of the rise of National Socialism in its social, political, and economic application."

We say what the "Radical Principle" is, but we are assured by the same sources that an attempt is being made to change the party's name, the "Radicals" to "Socialists," and the party's principles to the "Socialist" principles. We are not opposed to any existing student club or society, but we warn students that the word "radical" is a misnomer and is not meaning anything more than the word "fascist."
Wonthaggi

DURING the early weeks of the Wonthaggi strike, the young miners set up a Sports and Social Club at the Local Light House. They approached the Labour Club, which collected about 30 c. in cash, some footballs and a set of boxing gloves.

The Labour Club also sent a letter expressing sympathy with the miners, accompanying it with the usual 200 black numbers of the diary for distribution. We then arranged for Mr. W. Stirron, who had been invited to address a meeting on "Why Wonthaggi is on Strike!" as well as a similar meeting on "Who is Right about Wonthaggi?". He had written his acceptance of the invitation. The meeting was held at the Labour Club on September 18.

On September 19, a meeting of the Club was held to discuss the situation. Mr. Stirron said that the main issue was the question of safety, not the strike. He pointed out that the coal companies were not prepared to give adequate protection to the miners. He also mentioned the need for better wages and conditions.

On September 20, a meeting was held at the Labour Club to discuss the situation. Mr. Stirron again addressed the meeting, and the main issue was discussed. The miners said that they were not prepared to return to work until their demands were met.

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AUGUST, 1944.

For almost 12 months the Coal Council had been negotiating with the miners. This was not the usual type of negotiation, as it was held under the new Coal Industry Act, which had been introduced in 1944.

The Coal Council was formed in 1944, and its main function was to negotiate with the miners on wages and conditions. The Council was made up of representatives of the coal companies and the miners, and it was supervised by the government.

The miners had been demanding a pay rise, as well as better conditions, for a long time. The Coal Council had been meeting with the miners on a regular basis, but no agreement had been reached.

The miners had been on strike for almost a year, and they were becoming increasingly desperate. They had been threatened with the loss of their jobs, and they were beginning to lose hope.

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What We Propose

The Labour Club points out these facts to students so that something may be done quickly to save all students from the loss of their liberties in order to preserve their democratic system.

We point out that—
(a) The SRC is a student representative body only for SRC members—yet only SRC students. Therefore, all students should take part in the SRC elections.
(b) All meetings of the SRC are open to all students. We urge students to attend them and to discuss the issues under consideration.
(c) The SRC should hold meetings in public. We demand that no secret meetings be held.
(d) All student societies can now report their own meetings. We demand that if these reports are not acceptable that they be discussed by the editor with the student submitting them; if unsatisfactory or altered, an explanation must be reported in the next issue.
(e) All meetings of the SRC should be well attended in "Farrago," and on all notice boards, and be subsequently reported in "Farrago."
(f) The present regulations regarding通车 for SRC elections should be abolished. They are never honoured, and provide the pretext for excluding candidates nominated by the SRC executive.

The provost system has been replaced by the SRC in December. We demand that such functions cease. The democratic rights of students should be ensured by protection from such undemocratic tactics.

The Labour Club also points out to students that they are forced to pay for services, which exorbitant charges go hand in hand with very low wages. Therefore, we demand the University to cut these charges and to provide the necessary funds for the SRC.

We demand from the University that they cut the cost of university life and provide the necessary funds for the SRC.

We, therefore, demand that the SRC be a democratic body that represents all students and that it be well attended.

The World's Students

We can do no more than briefly indicate the very great development of student activities throughout the world in recent times.

In Germany, thousands of students have been deprived of the right and opportunity to study. In other countries, students have been arrested and imprisoned. In the USA, they have been beaten and jailed.

In Australia, students have been arrested and imprisoned for their political activities. The University authorities have been charged with operating a secret police force to suppress student activities.

In the USA, the University of California has been accused of operating a secret police force to suppress student activities. The University authorities have been charged with operating a secret police force to suppress student activities.

European countries, students are in the front line of the struggle against the war in their countries. In Jugoslavia, students are working with the workers to destroy the old order.

In England, at the end of last year, the London University authorities sent a circular to every university, demanding that they demolish the Labour Club's "Socialist club." In response, the university authorities sent a circular calling students to the meeting to hear the issues. As a result, several students were arrested, one was sent down, and the Labour Club was closed.

The University authorities have been accused of operating a secret police force to suppress student activities. The University authorities have been charged with operating a secret police force to suppress student activities.

As a matter of fact, almost every worker in the Soviet Union is also a student. I know no man or woman who was not an attending class of some sort. Every large factory and plant organizes courses for the study of technical subjects; there is religious, dramatic, and musical instruction; this year sport has been added to the list of activities a young person is expected to take seriously. The Supreme Council for Physical Culture has opened training schools in connection with many of the chief industries, and supplies instructors for boxing, swimming, basketball, and tennis, and all manner of strenuous exercises.

During summer, groups of students spent their days working on the farms, reaping and threshing, as well as on the roads cutting and putting up the harvest. Men and women from the Agricultural College, the University, and the surrounding countryside went out every morning with an accordion, singing and dancing with the peasants. Sometimes dramatic performances were arranged; or discussions on agricultural subjects. In the evenings, there was a discussion on any subject under the sun.
Education Free.

Education is free to the children of the workers in the Russian Social Democratic Trade Unions. For the first time in history, over half a million students are enrolled, three-quarters of them receiving scholarships, which include residential quarters and living expenses.

These scholarships are endowed by the People’s Commissariat for Education, the government of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. From the primary schools, where the children receive a ten-year course covering Russian, mathematics, geography, history, drawing, music, writing, literature, drawing, playacting, and agriculture, to the technical schools, which train the students for the technical sciences, and the universities, which train the leaders for the party, the scholarships are bestowed upon those who show the greatest promise of providing for the welfare of the working class.

University students live in modern dormitories, or small residential colleges. These community arrangements, including the attendance of the students in the schools, are to one extent the same as the residential colleges of our universities, except that the students are all workers, their living expenses provided for by scholarship allowances.

Two or three students usually share a room, each with his own table, chair, and wardrobe. Students are responsible for maintaining their own beds and keeping their belongings in order. A Housing Committee undertakes all the rest of the domestic arrangements, including cooking for the dormitory.

Every community has its library, recreation room, and study room for the students. Married students are assigned more spacious rooms, a washbasin, and a room for the use of a bedroom, study, and kitchen. The families of students and their roommates share the kitchen and bathroom.

Scholarship allowances range from 75 rubles a month to 150 rubles a month. In addition, free board and clothing are provided, as students above 21 years of age, and married students. The study of the students is regulated by the Commissariat for Education, which issues regulations and guidelines.

Sure of a Position.

I had the good fortune to be present in the assembly held last week at Stalingrad University at Stalinskii, Western Siberia, when it was awarded the title of a university for the education of thirteen students.

This university, which is housed in three buildings, overlooks what is the second largest lake in Europe. Behind it range the Altai mountains, their forested peaks white with perpetual snow. In 1928, an open tranquil valley, the Altai, is filled with 160,000 inhabitants, the mass of students, living in a suburb.

Students from all of the Soviet Socialist Federated Republics attend the university, and the best equipped of them is in the Soviet Union, the Seven hundred were enrolled there last year.

For the graduation ceremony, each student of the university had to present a “graduation product,” that is, its practical work on the steel plant, in addition to the courses in production. A “graduation product” was expected before a student became a worker from various departments of the university.

Proletariat

AUGUST, 1934.

(Until a few years ago, studying at Tomsk, Charykov, a professor of English at the University, said to his former students, “We should work. Our work is the most important thing for us.” Before last year, our workers students were not entirely at home with this statement. There have been long hours and long nights in the factory. The great demand for workers students in Stalin’s day has at times thrown off the old sacrifices for the sciences. On the contrary, the factory worker, to the student, they proved of great interest, and in fact, the factory student was their release.

“Tito and N Valentino are already ready to work as shift engineers at the open hearth, and Salamatov is already near the blast furnaces. They have been specially allocated to the factory, and they have shown a high degree of skill and understanding. Salamatov has a small book on ferrous metallurgy published, Pavel Markov dined much to the benefit of the factory control, and three of these graduates have jobs waiting for them at Magnitogorsk, the new steel center.

“Your students will no longer have to fight for jobs,” Tito said to his students. “You can now go out and fight for other members of the factory.”

Political education is given at all times, in all places, anywhere, for the study of political work, in all places, anywhere, in all workers’ clubs, in all factories, and in all schools.

The only conclusion to arrive at is that not only is the genius of Russian education appreciated in the Socialist Soviet, but the atmosphere is also created in which it can thrive and flourish. This being about the factory, to the masses, the coming of knowledge and art, and the coming of the masses, and the masses. The masses are ready to fight any unclean, illiterate, superstition, and poverty-stricken, and Soviet construction has been made a month of schools, a month of political education, a month of Soviet education, and a month of educational work for the masses of the workers.”

KATHARINE SUESNABIRKH.

[Part of a series of articles, similar to this, by the same writer, appeared in the Melbourne "The Australian" on the same date, and were suddenly ceased before the conclusion of the series, which had been contracted for. The Federal Government, by its action on the press, is declaring that the government has already banned in Australia.

This statement is true, for the words of Katherine Chichid, in her own words, areinteresting to hear the truth about the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government are afraid for them to know it.” This statement is true, for the words of Katherine Chichid, in her own words, are interesting to hear the truth about the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government are afraid for them to know it.”

The columns of the press are always open for attacks on the Soviet Union. The Government does not interfere. The press, the government, and the class which controls both, fear the information, and the information, as to what is happening in the Soviet Union.]

Who Will Fight?

We have received a letter from Victor Polakov, Polkov No. 1, Malaya Dmirkowska St. N,16, Moscow. He is a member of the Soviet student movement and has been in the Soviet Union for five years. He says that he is a member of the Soviet students’ union and that students could be reached through Comrade Polakov.
Fascism and Culture

WHAT is the position of the artist in the modern world? As the collapse of capitalism produces a bourgeoisie artists grow acutely conscious of the decay and disorder characteristic of the society they know. They witness the end of a feudal society, the decay of an aristocracy of art and culture, the growth of a new world out of the ruin of this old one. Their merciless satire is directed against the modern world, and their minds turn to an ideal past.

While original work has great difficulty in getting published firms, and whatever reception a work of genius receives is isolated by the habit of reviewers according to the latest taste. In time, of course, this continual warming destroys its own ends, and the public term of the latest "masterpiece" with indifference. "They place all books on the same level, as if it were a matter of soap or pharmaceutic products," Henri Musil complains in his "Ten Years After." He is amazed that the war has created nothing, only a few of sensational literature, foisted on the public by the elaborate advertisements of publishing firms. Under capitalism in the state of decay, the critic refuses to publish and the worth of his work is not even recognized.

The development of a mystical conception of the state is peculiar to the ideologists of Mussolini's Italy or Hitler's Germany. The French writer Clovis Ronda, in his book "The Theatre of the Intellectual," describes the role of the socialist in contemporary society: "It was not a matter of violence, of force, of the state of the bourgeoisie, but rather a matter of thought, of those who claim to be such, who hold fast to their class, who claim to be able to control its social order."

For them, the state is a means of control, and the one who has already exercised the greatest influence there. Thus, the theory of "theatre of the intellectual" explains the absence of violence in the modern state. The French playwright Clovis Ronda, in his book "The Theatre of the Intellectual," points out that the state is a means of control, and the one who has already exercised the greatest influence there. Thus, the theory of "theatre of the intellectual" explains the absence of violence in the modern state.

The state must be able to support the state's actions, and the one who has already exercised the greatest influence there. Thus, the theory of "the theatre of the intellectual" explains the absence of violence in the modern state. The French playwright Clovis Ronda, in his book "The Theatre of the Intellectual," points out that the state is a means of control, and the one who has already exercised the greatest influence there. Thus, the theory of "theatre of the intellectual" explains the absence of violence in the modern state.

Here is the phrase-mongers of fascism play their part. Fascism seems to offer a change, a return to health and order. The growing discontent among intellectuals with the present order seems to be one of the main reasons for the support of fascist ideas. The non-humanist literature of the 1930s is characterized by a return to health and order. This return to health and order is the main reason for the support of fascist ideas. The non-humanist literature of the 1930s is characterized by a return to health and order. This return to health and order is the main reason for the support of fascist ideas.

AUGUST, 1934.
Marxists were burned. If the Nazis are to use Marxism as a weapon, it is indispensable that the people should have a chance of studying the text. The bocks were burned or suppressed in Germany, and included in the whole of the literature of the period. Heinrich Heine, and many other writers, such as Flaubert, Flaubert, and Freud. Scarcely a modern German novel or any standing whose works were not destroyed—written by the brothers of the Drei, M. Remarque, of Jacob Wassermann, and, of course, those of the anti-Franz Kafka, who has drawn memorable picture of Hitler in his novel, "Success." The works of several historians such as Mohr and Emil Ludwig have been burnt.

And what can Fascism put in place of that which it has destroyed? The Fascists, in their inexorable logic, necessarily rise above the puerile effusions of Dr. Goebbels. In Italy, where Fascism had more favourable conditions for establishing its rule, the dramatist Pirandello, whose work is not immediately dangerous, and the philosopher Gentile, have been able to exist. But these are isolated geniuses, and do not form a part of any cultural Renaissance that distinguishes Italy from any other of the "bitter" countries, despite the manifestoes of the "political" Marzetti. The best work of D'Annunzio, the Italian poet of recent decades, has been handled. An other, the best work of Italian version of Kipling, belongs almost entirely to the pre-Fascist period. Fascism cannot provide for the spread of culture and education, the diminishing of economic power. However, it is clear from the experience of the Soviet Union that the abolition of this system by the revolutionary working class can produce the desired results. The abolition of all classes and the creation of a society where culture may be raised, and in which the economic forces of society under capitalism will have opportunity for expression.

SEX AND CENSORSHIP

We have received from G. W. R. Southern, of Sydney, a copy of his book, "Making Morality Modern." We think this book is an accurate and concise book on the subject of sex and censorship.

A full criticism of the book is impossible here. Marxists, however, are not bound to point to which dis- cernible sex is a sin, a question, a matter, and to recommend it to a broader public.

The most important point we have to raise here is the relationship between sex and censorship. The book deals with a number of points which dis- cernible that its censorship has forced Southern to these conclusions. This book is a genuine work of literature. It has been permitted to express its views. "Proletariat" is a matter of fact, and this book expresses it. This book on sex is a serious attempt at solving a great problem. It may be that the author's method is not correct. It is not his method. His book is a matter of fact, and this book expresses it. This book is a genuine work of literature.

Mr. Southern will gladly post a copy of his book to any subscriber on ordinary letter rates. Address: Miran Street, Melbourne, New South Wales.

AUGUST, 1934.

THE BLUE VULTURES OF NIRA

In November, 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt was swept into office. The election was won by the usual slogan of optimistic prudence, that the solution of the problem of unemployment by aid and assistance and loans. "International Literature" is the bi-monthly publication of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, the foremost organization in which such work is done, and a journal of the New Proletarian Language.

Assuredly the people wanted a new deal, but not with the cards stacked against them. After a year and a half, the President is having to face a sea much more perilous and tumultuous than the raging waves of industrial and agrarian discontent which have been defanged, but not destroyed. General Johnson, chief administrator, has already changed the plan.

THE NEED FOR A PLAN.

The attempt to impose a plan upon the traditional "rugged individualism" of the U.S. is surely an important stage in the history of capitalism. In 1929 the crisis broke; the legend of permanent prosperity and expansion was rudely shattered. The analysis of the resulting economic convulsions has been divided into three sections.

1. Industrial.
   In spite of constant reductions in the prices of consumption goods, the situation is one of rising stocks accumulating. The fundamental cause of this situation is the basic forces of capitalism—increasing productivity is accompanied by a decreasing quantity of operative labour necessary for production. For 1932 and 1929 the output per industrial worker rose by 51 per cent, while the number actually employed fell by 5 per cent. Certainist of sales necessitated a stoppage in the production of capital goods, resulting in a closing of the outlets for investment capital. Rationalisation at home could not aid the absorption of commodities either in the weaker home market or in foreign markets where American goods met the severe competition of Britain and Japan, or in the foreign markets for capital goods.

2. Agrarian.
   "The income of the farmers alone had fallen from 11.4 billion dollars in 1929 to 5000 million dollars in 1931 and 6000 million dollars in 1932; their total debts to the banks were estimated at 12,205 million dollars, on which an annual interest charge of over 650 million dollars had to be paid." (Roosevelt II.) The lack of money to buy the "excess" is more than 650 million dollars, but also speaks for itself.

3. Financial.
   The credit system on which much of the economic life of the country depended had been paralysed. Thousands of banks, small and large banks, have gone into mortgage holders for exchange for the mortgages, the far-
nners now becoming the debtors of the Government, who bore the responsibility for default.


Upon the uncovering wave of crisis, an enormous number of small banks passed out of existence. Bankers, who had been enabled to survive the first impact were strengthened by state credit. The gold standard was bol- wered and relaxed. In order to prevent the flight of gold abroad, its exportation was restricted. In this way, the working and middle classes, by carefully collaborating in the subjection and degradation, those whom we called the underdogs, were forced to submit. The working class had been completely disarmed. The privilege of forming free trade agreements was intrusted to their own management. The impossibility of attempting to plan under existing conditions was anticipated. In spite of Government supervision there was no effective and adequate competition among the banks and businessmen in terms of foreign countries. As it is indeed with all nations in the advanced and now semisocial stage of capital development, the foreign mar- ket is an essential condition for American prosperity on account of the grand scale of her manufac- tures and the huge surplus of primary products with which she is burdened.

Since the setting up of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation by Hoover in 1932, the Gover- nment had been granting enormous subsidies to the larger banks and had been engaged in huge schemes of public works in order to stave off imminent disaster. Now, with the advent of "re-covery" measures, the question of budget deficits became the central concern of the country. Roosevelt brilliantly fulfilled his promise of better times ahead. He is expected to reduce Federal expenditure by 600 million dollars a year. The repeal of prohibition also further contributes to the economic recovery.

THE FAILURE OF THE N.I.R.A.

In this section an attempt is made to state briefly the results of the N.I.R.A., and to analyse the cause of its now obvious failure.

1. Industrial.

The existence of accumulated stocks and the ineffective of the existing machines were sufficient to satisfy temporary improvements which were brought about by the wave of optimism accom- panying the pronouncement of the "recovery" measures.

But the great majority of the unemployed depended for their livelihood on the capital goods—iron and steel, ships, railway equipment, bridges, etc. Apart from the activity of heavy industry, however, could hardly be restored since the price of labor was already heavily over-capitalized, and the produc- tivity was not increased. The recovery of the machinery had been and is still in progress.

Even if the conditions of employment had been for any length of time to be provided owing to the marriage of the army fighting under- dressed in the slaughter of the dead bodies the President was not able to afford his present condition. It is inevitable that the President sought to restore confidence and set the machinery of the recovery back in action. The process of recovery has been considerably handicapped by the depression.

2. Agricultural.

The restriction of produce scheme clearly demonstrated the futility of attempting to plan under existing conditions. In spite of Government supervision there was no effective and adequate competition among the banks and businessmen in terms of foreign countries. As it is indeed with all nations in the advanced and now semisocial stage of capital development, the foreign market is an essential condition for American prosperity on account of the grand scale of her manufactures and the huge surplus of primary products with which she is burdened.

Moreover, child labour, pitiful product of competition, has hardly been rectified by the codes. Miss Frances Perkins, U.S. Secretary of Labour, can confidently say that child labour has been abolished.

The Blue Eagle has become not the badge of recovery but the badge of shame!

3. Financial.

The distinguishing feature of the great majority of theories of the trade cycle is their external approach to the problem. Concluding in the study of the credit crisis, the President sought to restore confidence and set the machinery of the recovery back in action. The process of recovery has been considerably handicapped by the depression.

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August 31, 1934.

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—Taken from Roosevelt Illusion, p. 40.

Still harnessed to gold, and "bundled" with enormous stocks of commodity, the adverse trade balance called for immediate attention. Such facts clearly reveal the nature of Roosevelt's cur- rency depreciation programme—it is merely a manoeuvre, under cover of the N.I.R.A., to regain a profitable share in the world's market, and leading to further intensification of imperialist rivalry.

The construction of public works has given an opportunity for the introduction of forced labour, which is not only a lucrative form of bor- rowed wages. Moreover, the millions of dollars of stimulus in exchange for Government securities and the enormous amounts of foreign loans influence prices only if such inflation money can actually be utilized in production—and success in this direction is negligible, almost impossible!

The continuation of the crisis offers a very threatening challenge to the solvency of the state, and the very structure of capitalism itself.

CONCLUSION.

One must view the N.I.R.A. in the perspective of history, in the light of the historic develop- ment of capitalism. The "planning" period of the crisis has already come to an end, and the re- sumption of the destruction of the world market, atten- tion to foreign trade, and the increasing amount of capital export. The solution of the world's economic problems remains unattainable, and the possibility of a new world war has been increased. The decision of the crisis offers a very threatening challenge to the solvency of the state, and the very structure of capitalism itself.
tire for the dynamic economic forces which determine
them.

But the amazing thing about these reactionary schemes is the support given them by the Old Labour Leaders Who have Sacrificed the Cause of the People for the cause of the English Trade Union Congress, Green of the American Federation and most of the other organizations. Even the Long, who proudly declared that the props of Roosevelt's policy were pure and simple: Here is the man who must feel at the success of their far-seeing policy!

The N.I.C.A. was still unable to solve the problem. For the 1923 season it was necessary to use much of the fine tobacco which had been at one time considered as being too much for the market. The 1923 season was characterized by a surplus of tobacco, and the financial situation was not improved by the weather. The tobacco prices fell, and the tobacco industry was in a state of depression.

The solution of the problem was found in the introduction of new methods of cultivation and the use of better grades of tobacco. The N.I.C.A. decided to encourage the use of new methods, and it was hoped that this would lead to a revival of the tobacco industry.

The result was an increase in the demand for tobacco and a corresponding rise in prices. The tobacco industry was once again in a position to meet the demands of the American market.

The N.I.C.A. was able to secure a higher price for its tobacco, and the financial situation was greatly improved. The organization was able to continue its work and to carry out its plans for the future.

The success of the N.I.C.A. was due to the determination of its leaders and the cooperation of its members. It was a good example of how an organization can overcome difficulties and achieve its objectives through persistent effort and sound planning.

The N.I.C.A. was able to demonstrate that with the right kind of leadership and the proper methods, the tobacco industry can be brought back to health and prosperity.
PROLETARIAT

AUGUST, 1934.

The hogs, which for the moment fatten on the flesh of cattle.

Observe, then, this tragic round of the capitalist world. The herdsman drives up the sea to sow wheat. Then some of the wheat is destroyed and some is used for cattle feed. The farmers, then, drive on a hogs, which in turn will make food for hogs. Surely some enterprising man is already developing the 'fattening method' which the Danish farmers will begin to destroy tomorrow.

The farmers seek something to replace the cattle. The price of raw materials, to make use of it, is no one, or very few, the most important. But, by this, the depression in the meat business is in no way appreciable. The meat is then sold for the present, the trees require all the time. There is a plague of insects. Once a year, the farmers may kill the time is near when the hogs will be attacked by the disease that destroyed them. The disease turns the meat into a useless food.

Nowhere is the blind, destructive force of the capitalist world so striking as in the small, well-ordered country of Denmark. Every foot of ground is contended for a flower bed. The inhabitants are accustomed to work early and late. The pigs resemble clinics and the farmers in close touch with the latest developments of science. In this country there is no longer any distinction between the great professions. Here, as in discussing life, less difficult than in Germany. Denmark is a country where the people are more advanced in thought.

For any man the spectacle of a large, well-managed, well-fed country is a sight for the eyes of a man who, in the crisis, is rooted for; it is necessary to work closely and nourish the soul.

One of the tricks of so many industries is that English wives and children in the local market. The English are a thrifty race—they will eat only the best of white pigs. The bacon and lard from these plants are known and highly appreciated. If this fancy, table sty, is in no way morally beneficial to the English animal, the lard from the English plant is in no way beneficial to the English animal. The lard has been more bitter; work in advance condemned to frustration.

For an animal the spectacle of a large, well-managed, well-fed country is a sight for the eyes of a man who, in the crisis, is rooted for; it is necessary to work closely and nourish the soul.

The Music of New Russia

The following extracts are quoted from an account of Russian music given by the conductor of the New Russian Symphony, the Moscow and Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestras, and conductor of the Bolshoi Opera in Moscow. The article appears in "The Etude Music Magazine," June, 1934.

"People, intelligent people too, come to me with questions like this: 'How can art be separated from politics? Can a government of working people cultivate music? Haven't all the intellectuals been killed off? Does the Russian proletariat take any interest in cultural matters? And I can only throw my hands in amazement at the honest misconception on which these good people labour.'

"Russia is the only country in the world today where music is still very young and not over fifty years old. The Proletarian Society is only ninety years old, and there is no such society in the world. The society that exists in Russia is building new theatres and engaging new talent.

We have a vast nation that is characterized by its youth, its ardor, its burning wish for progress—all sorts of progress.

A vast amount of this magnificent energy is centered in music. The Bolshoi Theatre is subsidized by the State and under State control. The War Minister, the Foreign Minister, even Stalin himself, have to sign the checks and order the payment of the salaries. They are eager to project this lovely force into the lives of the people. The Bolshoi is a great theatre, and they are eager to make it even greater. The Bolshoi's success in Russia is art and not money. We are given instructions to further great art, and to support the Bolshoi Theatre. Today you can see what a fine head-start music enjoys under such a system!"

"At the present moment, and to my great joy, I am forming and building a Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow. It is a big undertaking, but oh! how eagerly it is awaited, and people are true to their plans. It is most important. It shows the working people their rights.

"The field of music is in no wise restricted by political policies. Regardless of the government's official stand on religion, for example, the Bolshoi is free. There is no restriction, no censorship, no political influence on music."
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PROLETARIAT

ORGAN OF THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB

A Minority Group Within the University

Volume IV, No. 1.

APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

CURRENT NOTES

During the last six months of 1934—a period of intense international strain—at least two situations arose clearly resembling that which served as an excuse for war in 1914. The murder of Dollfuß and the assassination of Alexander and Barthou, both found countries urgently needing war—yet no war came. What was the reason?

The Dollfuß Affair.

No informed person today doubts that German fascism was directly responsible for the death of Dollfuß. The old Italian-German antagonism of Austria was made more acute by the state of German internal economy. In June 1934, the production figures for the German steel trade—despite increased activity in armament building—fell from 45,000 to 38,000 tons. A similar state of affairs existed in all industries. Furthermore, as the June elections of fascist leaders clearly indicated, the irreconcilable divisions of the various sections of German capitalism had reached a new stage of savagery. Hitler Germany was desperate. Threatened with imminent economic collapse, threatened by the continually increasing antagonisms in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, threatened too by the rising wave of proletarian revolution, Hitler, the paid agent of the dominant Thyssen finance-capital group, deliberately provoked war with Italy, in order to try to win from her dominance of Austria. Thus, having lured thousands of Austrian Nazis into a hopeless position, he realized the mistake and entered into negotiations for a peaceful settlement. Why?

Germany had everything to gain from a successful war. Defeated in 1918, the German capitalists were by 1934 in even more desperate straits than the capitalists of France and Britain, who held in their hands the fruits of victory. Desperate restrictions of imports and increasing financial unobtrusiveness led to Germany's increasing isolation. In the words of the "Observer," "German isolation had assumed a form amounting to quarantine." French imperialism was well aware of Germany's desperation, and mortally afraid of possibilities being directed against her for France, the only desirable outlet for Germany was war against the Soviet Union, the one common enemy of the capitalist depression in both countries. France was in agreement on this point. British capitalism is behind Germany; but for British ends. If British arms, intended for war on the U.S.S.R., were to be used by Germany against Italy—i.e., if inter-imperialist war, from which Britain had nothing to gain and everything to fear, were to occur instead of anti-Soviet war—Britain was determined that Germany would man the guns alone. In Italy the economic situation was little better than in Germany. Mussolini, setting in the interests of Italian capital, also needed war—not against Germany, however, for, despite the death of Dollfuß, the failure of the Nazi patch left Italy still dominant in Austria. Italy, therefore, failed to respond to the provocation.

Two powerful forces played the decisive role in preventing Germany from carrying the provocation a stage further: British capitalism, without the aid of which Germany dared not bring matters to a head, and the international revolutionary movement, particularly its sections in Germany and Italy. Neither Hitler nor Mussolini dared risk a war. Thaelmann and Gramsci were in prison, but the spirit of Thaelmann and Gramsci was abroad.

No allies forthcoming, both countries desperate internally, rising tide of workers' revolution—war averted. This is our first picture.

Alexander and Barthou.

The situation that led to the assassination of Alexander and Barthou shows how tangled the web of capitalist contradictions has become. Three pieces of evidence indicate who was responsible:

(1) Alexander, king of Jugoslavia, and Barthou, foreign minister for France, had met in Marseilles in order to discuss the possibility of re-forming the Franco-Jugoslav alliance. Jugoslavia, a state formed in 1918 round the nucleus of Serbia, was until the deepening of the economic crisis a puppet of French imperialism. From the time of its formation, a major antagonism had existed between it and Italy, due mainly to rivalry for control of the Adriatic, necessary for trade routes.

Now the madly aggressive policy of Hitler, and his desperate efforts to get control of Austria, led, as we have seen, to an Razo-German antagonism that had already almost resulted in war. Germany and Jugoslavia were therefore both opposed to Italy, though for different ends, and Jugoslavia began to move away from France towards Germany.

(2) Barthou, on behalf of French capital, was engaged in trying to recapture Jugoslav sup-
PROLETARIAT

APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

are the outward signs of the class of British financial-industrial interests. Just as fascism in Germany and Russia has been fostered by the social democrats on the left hailing the workers into the Fascist camp, so also has the Communist Party acted against the possibility of Fascism, with the collaboration of the bourgeois governments in the centre constantly increasing its dictatorial powers, through a policy of political oppression. Fascist thugs and demagogs on the right — Fascism is advancing in England.

But Molody has not been ignored. The fate of his monster’s station at Olympia and Hyde Park recurred. Yet the opposition to him, the hundred thousand workers that were sure to surround him at Hyde Park, for instance — was led solely by the Communist Party in England. As elsewhere, events are proving that the Communist Party alone is the party of struggle against Fascism for Revolutionary Socialism.

In one word — economic disintegration, the advance of fascism on all fronts, the resented collapse of efforts to rebuild the anti-Soviet bloc (e.g. Hitler’s recent diplomatic boldness), desperate and momentary manoeuvres to keep inter-imperialist peace in Europe; on the other hand — increasing militancy of the working-class, leading to greater support for the genuine anti-fascist fight of the Communist Party — this is the position in England today.

In Italy.

In Italy, at the time of the Dolfus assassination, the unified Communist and Socialist parties pointed out that Fascism, in its policy towards the Soviet Union and the Austro-Slovakian border as an act of defense of the independence of Austria. They called upon the Soviet government to help the Austrian workers to aid them in their struggle against Fascism and the fascists with their soldiers of all nationalities, and to be true to one flag only — the Red Flag of Socialist revolution.

At the same time the elements of crisis and disintegration in Italy were already maturing. Just as disintegration in Germany led to the murder of Russia, so also in Italy, where equal effectiveness of the broad groupings of personal and political manufacturers. Of the leaders of Italian Fascism: a man, who, in his capacity as the chief of the Ministry of Home Affairs, had been personally responsible for much of the terror and oppression of the last decade. But quickly and without explanation he was banned.

Black-shirted Fascism, like brown-shirted Fascism, was a fearful spectre. At the same time the united grouping of the petty bourgeoisie followed the lead of the workers. Thus, the government of Austria, which with National Socialism was not direct. The importance of the religious conflicts in Hitler Ger-

Subsequent events have fully confirmed his opinion. The death of Hindenburg, and the immediate appointment of Hitler, in defiance of the Nazi leaders, was confirmed, not only by the failure of the police to arrest him, but also by the return of the elections. Official Nazi sources admitted 7,000,000 votes against Hitler. Certainly there were more. Over 7,000,000 anti-Fascist fighters, despite conditions of the utmost terror, registered their opposition to Hitler. Indeed, the new elections were the first really open political arena in Germany.

And the other part of Herr’s prophecy was likewise confirmed. The government of Austria, which with National Socialism was not direct. The importance of the religious conflicts in Hitler Ger-

Some of this was written, but the other parts of the document have been cut off or are illegible. The text that can be read indicates a discussion of political events and movements in Europe, particularly in Italy and Germany, with a focus on the rise of fascism and the role of the Communist Party in resisting it. The text mentions the Dolfus assassination, the Italian fascists’ actions against workers, and the increased militancy of the working-class. It also notes the unity of the Communist Party in opposing Fascism for Revolutionary Socialism.
PROLETARIAT

APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

Early in September a conference of Government officials and big landowners in Madrid received its answer in an anti-Fascist general strike there and in the Asturias. On Sept. 12 the Communist and Socialist parties of Spain achieved unity. On the 22nd, the Government declared a state of alarm to exist. On October 4th, Leroux (a Radical) announced that members of the Catholic (Fascist) party had been arrested. Immediately a general strike broke throughout Spain, and Arthuric, not a mean that the workers took to the streets, armed, seized weapons, and hoisted the Red Flag over the Town Hall in Barcelona, was forced to give in, not with everywhere with such success. But these few stand out clearly. In Catalonia, a proletarian area, the earliest and most crushing defeats were suffered. In Catalonia, Anarchist-Syndicalists led the struggle. In Madrid, action was not taken quickly enough. At the crucial moment, at the beginning of the revolution, no attempt was made to seize the centre of government. In Madrid, the Socialists—now united with the Communists, but without a Communist understanding of the art of revolution, such as day to day struggles on right lines alone can teach—lost the advantage and the centre of the counter-revolution was retained. Both sides were set up in Catalonia, and the first of the year was continued. In Asturias the Communist party led the revolution.

Although the United Front was achieved, the influence of Communism was not everywhere strong enough to consolidate advantages, or to contain the struggle on right lines. But the revolution in Spain has not been defeated. The Spanish working-class are learning from their mistakes; in Asturias that victories can be won by genuinely revolutionary action.

War preparations, war situations, no war. Mass discontent, a revolutionary crisis—revolution in Spain and Spain.

WARS AND REVOLUTIONS.

In 1914, at the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, a position was reached where capitalists could see one way out—war—and workers one way out—revolution. In 1914, the first world war preceded the outbreak of revolution, revolutions which freed the people of Russia, but elsewhere failed—for the time. 1914 saw the beginning of the first round of wars and revolutions.

In 1935, the general crisis has matured. After passing through a period of temporary illusion, stability, the capitalists once more see but one solution—war (for which the workers must now be cowed by Fascism). The workers, too, see but one solution—complete and effective war. This time revolution and war are continuing. In 1935, we have entered upon the second round of REVOLUTIONS AND WARS.

AUSTRALIA

"Weathering the Crisis!"

The past year is notable as being the hundredth anniversary of the first white settlement. That settlement was established in this part of Australia. It marked the close of a century of development. In the course of time the country has increased from an area of 100 hundred square miles to an area of 9 million square miles. In that time the population has increased from a few hundred to a population of over 10 million. It is a country of contrasts: contrasts of climate, of scenery, of industry, of agriculture, of commerce, of transportation, of settlement.

The year marked the beginning of Australian Conditions, produced by the National Bank, began an article in the issue of January 11, 1936, on the subject of the condition of trade in Victoria. The writer writes in an attempt to explain the economic effect of the Centenary celebrations. He explains that the increase in the level of prices of the goods manufactured and the goods imported was largely due to the Centenary celebrations. The success of the celebrations, he states, was due to the fact that the goods manufactured and the goods imported were not consumed in the country, but were exported to other countries. The exports of goods manufactured and the goods imported were largely due to the Centenary celebrations.

3. Disturbed international trade position with marked restriction “The export trade of Australia’s export trade to various countries.

8. Heavy expenditure locally on transport and armament, all in the past few months. A consequent lessening of the amount many people consume. It is an interesting commentary on this last factor that the proprietors of the Joynt’s Armadale Avenue “$2,000,000 of fun for $5.”—are bankrupt.

3. Australia.
The Melbourne Tramway Strike.

The struggle against fascism, and the struggle for the liberation of Kisch has been extensive in Australia. The Melbourne Tramway Strike was a clear example of this. The workers on the Melbourne Tramway Strike were forced to go on strike in order to protect their wages and working conditions. The strike was led by the Victorian Tramwaymen's Union, and was supported by the broader community. The strike lasted for several weeks, and was eventually won by the workers. The strike was seen as a clear indication of the need for workers to stand up for their rights and challenge the power of the bosses.

The Congress Against War.

The Congress Against War was held in Melbourne in 1935. It was a significant event in the history of the Australian labor movement, and was attended by a large number of delegates from across the country. The congress discussed a range of issues, including the need for peace and the end of war. The congress was seen as a clear indication of the growing anti-war sentiment in Australia, and played a key role in the development of the anti-war movement in the country.

The Workers' Reply.

The congress also received a strong response from the workers, who answered the call to action with a series of strikes and protests. The Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Melbourne, was a clear indication of the workers' determination to stand up for their rights and challenge the power of the bosses. The congress was seen as a clear indication of the need for workers to stand up for their rights and challenge the power of the bosses.

The Book Censorship Abolition League.

One of the most important developments in the Australian labor movement was the Book Censorship Abolition League. The league was founded in 1933, and was dedicated to the cause of freedom of speech and expression. The league was seen as a clear indication of the growing anti-censorship sentiment in Australia, and played a key role in the development of the anti-censorship movement in the country.

Australia and the New Stage of Crisis.

The congress was held in Melbourne in 1935. It was a significant event in the history of the Australian labor movement, and was attended by a large number of delegates from across the country. The congress discussed a range of issues, including the need for peace and the end of war. The congress was seen as a clear indication of the growing anti-war sentiment in Australia, and played a key role in the development of the anti-war movement in the country.

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THE newspapers of January 11 published the official announcement of the Ministry of Education concerning the conscription into the army of 183 students of the Kiev University as a punishment for the release of the Provisional Law of July 29, 1866—the measure intended to outline in greater detail the actual conditions of the parties put into execution less than eighteen months after their promulgation. And it seems as if the government hopes to terrify the students into silence by applying this measure of unsampling severity by publishing an indictment in which the misdemeanors of the students are painted in the blackest possible colours.

These methods are worse than usual. A general students' congress was convened in the summer in Odessa to discuss a plan to organize all Russian students for the purpose of protesting against the state of affairs in academic, public, and political life. As a punishment for these criminal political designs all the student delegates were arrested and deprived of all political rights. But the unrest does not subside—it grows and persists in breaking out in many higher educational institutes. The students desire to discuss and conduct their common affairs freely and independently. Their authorities—with the same formalism with which Russian officials have always associated the term students—send professors to the students to the highest pitch, and automatically stimulate them to make more demands. The students who have not yet become submerged in the morass of bourgeois formalism are in the process of creating the whole system of police and official tyranny.

The government has handled the dissipation of a professor who took the place vacated by his colleague to convene the students' congresses— and given way. The students call a meeting to discuss the decision of the government on the organization—of wealthy families—who, by means of their influence, can influence the public opinion, in the person of the alert and glib-tongued professor. The government has charged the professor to influence the students to its will and submit. They are expelled. A crowd of students demanded the release of the expelled students to the railway station. A new meeting is called. The students enter the railway station. The government demands, and the students refuse to disperse until the return of the railway station. The government demands the expulsion of the students, and the students refuse to disperse until the railway station. The government demands the expulsion of the students, and the students refuse to disperse until the railway station.
AND A REPLY

Melbourne University, Carlton, N.S.W.
10/4/35.

Dear Comrade,—Your letter expresses so exactly the point of view of a great many of the students at our University come from petty bourgeois families, and, when they become sympathetic towards the revolutionary movement, tend to fall into errors similar to those which we hope to persuade you that you have committed.

Thank you, first of all, for your congratulations; but we can hardly accept your strong condemnations of the colonialist literature.

The sickly reform production of this country, your country which produces the "Labour Monthly" and the "Daily Worker," to name only two, deserves no such condemnation; and if your references to the "Neue Presse," the "Student Vangard," and the "Volkswahl" are meant to stand as a refutation of it, then the "Manchester Guardian," its history should not surprise you.

In Australia to-day, the united front proposals of the Communist Party are being received enthusiastically by rank and file Labour Party workers, and the structure of the financial system, in France, Spain, Denmark, and Russia, education is used to develop the full ability of the individual.

To return once more to your pessimism—the fact that unity in the revolutionary movement has not yet been achieved in England or Australia does not mean that it cannot be achieved. Here in Australia to-day, the united front proposals of the Communist Party are being received enthusiastically by rank and file Labour Party workers, and in the structure of the financial system, in France, Spain, Denmark, and Russia, education is used to develop the full ability of the individual.

The truth of the matter is, Comrade, that you have exaggerated the extent to which the condition of the class struggle, both in England and Australia, and the degree of your influence for example, your reference to Molony. You speak as though his movement were an isolated event, as though there were no Australian counterparts in the "Labour Monthly" or "Volkswahl" your "New Presse.

We, too, have our Government, our form of Parliament, our more or less democratic Fascist organisations. We, too, have Governments which pass bills against the working-class, legislation against the working-class. The condition, actually, during the last six months, we have witnessed tremendous attacks upon "democratic democracy." That is the word, the word in London more like that in Russia than that in England. What would be the condition in England if something like the colonial superprofits were stopped by revolutionary action? But there are many circumstances that are not in the least similar to the conditions in Russia. There are many circumstances that are not in the least similar to the conditions in Russia. There are many circumstances that are not in the least similar to the conditions in Russia.

To predict Fascism in the British Empire for a generation at least, and claim the case to be entirely different for, say, China or Spain, but not the case in India, is far more like that in India than in England.

What would be the condition in England if something like the colonial superprofits were stopped by revolutionary action? But there are many circumstances that are not in the least similar to the conditions in Russia. There are many circumstances that are not in the least similar to the conditions in Russia. There are many circumstances that are not in the least similar to the conditions in Russia.

The Film is the Supreme Art.

The most obvious characteristic of the film is that it appeals directly to the eye and ear, the senses through which our knowledge of the universe is chiefly received. The film, more than any other medium, is capable of giving an exact reproduction of the external world as it appears to us, and no more true, for it can reproduce accurately, and store in memory, the most subtle shade of every color, the most delicate shade of every color, the most delicate shade of every color.

The film is essentially dynamic, a fact which is emphasised by the very nature of the medium, which, in a state of constant change, and continual flow, is constantly coming into being and passing away.

Cinema is the art of the future. Only a very few years ago, cinema was considered a pernicious evil. "Everything is and is not, for everything is and is not, for everything is and is not." The pure cinema is the cinema of the future. Cinema is the art of the future. Only a very few years ago, cinema was considered a pernicious evil. "Everything is and is not, for everything is and is not, for everything is and is not." The pure cinema is the cinema of the future.

The cinema is not only an art, but a vast entertainment industry, an important field for capitalist exploitation.

Cinema is the supreme art, and the film as an art form still on trial; at its worst as a vulgar hostility.

The Film will Largely Supplant the Older Arists.

Since the film expresses itself with the very signs of ideas, it is destined largely to supplant the older arts, at the same time absorbing the values of the older arts, a process that is not to be underestimated. The film will Largely Supplant the Older Arists.

Greetings,

THE EDITORS.

APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

Cinema and Capitalism

Introduction.

The cinema is a development of the arts, but the arts are taken over as they are. The cinema is at least as wide as that of the printed word; it constitutes not the bulk of commercial production, but also the abstracts of a whole range of a wide variety of art, the educational film, the newsreel, the animated cartoon, and their various permutations and combinations.

"The cinema is not only an art, but a vast entertainment industry, an important field for capitalist exploitation. Treatment of so manifold a subject within the space of a short article must be of a most general nature; statements made are necessarily compressed and dogmatic; in addition, my enthusiasm for film-art leads me to enter on controversial matters, to make statements with which many will not wish to agree.

For these things, make allowances.

The Film is the Supreme Art.

The most obvious characteristic of the film is that it appeals directly to the eye and ear, the senses through which our knowledge of the universe is chiefly received. The film, more than any other medium, is capable of giving an exact reproduction of the external world as it appears to us, and no more true, for it can reproduce accurately, and store in memory, the most subtle shade of every color, the most delicate shade of every color.

The film is essentially dynamic, a fact which is emphasised by the very nature of the medium, which, in a state of constant change, and continual flow, is constantly coming into being and passing away.

The film for the first time gives adequate representation to that fundamental aspect of physical movement that is expressed only in rudimentary form in the dance, pantomime, and drama.

By the process of editing or montage, the dynamic images of the film are juxtaposed and made to reinforce and to conflict with each other. In this way tremendous intensification and compression are achieved.

Not only does the film represent the things and processes of the external world exactly as they appear to us, but it also has the power of presenting them in a variety of ways and of presenting exactly the ideas, ever-changing, of the ideas that are. The film at last emancipates us from symbolism. No longer can the cinema not express itself. The cinema is the supreme art, and the film as an art form still on trial; at its worst as a vulgar hostility.

The Film Will Largely Supplant the Older Arts.

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Greetings,

THE EDITORS.
The film is, as yet, clumsy in comparison with literature, which seeks to make its points by a precise statement, or to deal with generalised conceptions. But it is fair to say that the range of his art must continually seek to normalise the ideas implied by such words as "proletariat," "class," and so on, and thus to express generalised ideas in film terms.

But if it is true that many ideas are at present better expressed verbally than cinematically, it is also true that the film has, hitherto, expressed previous incoherence and incoherence and incoherence precisely inappropriate to literature and its arts. It is true that in regions of thought where 'literature' has already made its experiment, the film is tremendously more powerful, and that it is continually being modified and transmitted to literature. And the only limits to these boundaries are the limitations of human thought.

Surely, one of the most fascinating aspects of the film is the almost daily advance in expressiveness, continuing the evolution that has been compressed into its brief history of a quarter of a century.

But, in contemplating the future of the film, we need not be apologetic for its present achievements. If we agree that the purpose of art is the communication of ideas and emotions as clearly as possible, we can, of course, admit that the film of the present day are, at least, on the same plane as the classics of the earlier era. We can also admit that the film has all the properties which are necessary to the film: to express and transform them into a higher synthesis.

The Fundamental Properties of the Film.

In America, the film had its birth, and from America, the film is going of almost all the expressiveness of the technique of the film. It is partly because of this film, such as it is, that the film of America has a more general appeal than the film of any other country.

Griffith, who was the first to realise the potential of the film's power of expression, was responsible for many film devices, such as the close-up and the dissolve, which he used to tell his story. And Griffith's influence can be seen today, and indeed throughout the world.

From Germany, the film has come a long, long way. It has passed through several phases, and is at present more popular than ever. In the early days, the film was largely used as a vehicle for the expression of emotions, such as love, hate, and passion. As the film became more developed, it began to take on a new life, and the film-makers began to experiment with new techniques.

From France, the film has brought in a new element of interest. The French are known for their love of cinema, and they have made a great deal of贡献 to the development of the film. The French have been particularly interested in the use of the camera and the lens, and they have produced a number of films that are highly regarded around the world.

But, chiefly because America, as the world's most powerful country, does not have a monopoly on the control of a profitable economy, America, with its vast audience, is the world's largest film market. The films that are produced in America are seen by millions of people around the world, and they have a significant influence on the world's film industry.

APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

PETER DAVISON

What has Capitalism made of this medium, whose possibilities as an art and as a medium of mass communication are so great? In considering this, we must remember, firstly, that the power of cinema production places the film-artist peculiarly under the control of the capitalist; secondly, the tremendous market for films makes their production, distribution, and exhibition a huge industry (fourth industry in U.S.A.), but surely a very strange industry—one full of the queerest illogicalities and exaggerations.

Opium for the People.

In speaking of the capitalist film, I refer chiefly to Hollywood, because here is a form of the medium which is most typical. Also, the Hollywood product contains almost all the films seen in American and British films being fought against similar imitations of Hollywood.

Some of Hollywood's employees think continuously, and with partial success, against its production methods; a few are able to break away into independent production now and then; a great many have adjusted themselves to the system with great strain, but must have few scruples about being part of the lucrative, unscrupulous, and often nauseating business world. The Hollywood film, with its vast market, has ransacked the world for its "laborers," and in the film industry there are, with some notable exceptions, writers, scenarios, composers, and actors. And all these wage-laborers are regimented into the ranks of the Hollywood army, with the result that the film is used as an instrument of control, both internationally and nationally.

And so these nancys are supplied in quantities, in the shape of standard adventure and costume stories, slick comedies with tip-top dance shows, and sentimental melodramas. But whatever the type of film, it must always be modified to reach as wide a market as possible. The melodrama must have comic relief, and the action must not be too serious, or it will be how irrelevant. A "happy ending" is often used on its greater attraction may, the film must also supply the erotic release rendered necessary by bourgeois social conventions.

In the course of the film, these bourgeois social conventions must always be phantoms, because the world mechanism must be reversed and vice destroyed; the "abandoned woman" must reform or receive her deserts; the
PROLETARIAT

One is forced to admire the technical proficiency of Hollywood films; the efficient settings, good lighting, fine camera work, competent acting, and clever direction. The film-makers are keenly aware of the factors which often give interest to the pallidest theme. Their very sensitivity to life, its gamut of the emotions, is an equal of the Soviet film. Such films as ‘The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari’, ‘Dracula’, ‘Vampyr’, ‘Juno’, ‘The Last Laugh’, ‘Metropolis’, ‘The Haunted House’, ‘The Devil’s Groom’, ‘The Merry Widow’, amongst others, are no mere, and Germany’s best film-artists have been exiled, including the greatest of them, Fritz Lang.

Conclusion.

Consider this art form, enchained by profit-making, bourgeois ideology and Fascist repression, and then turn to the films of Soviet Russia, where the film artist has something vital to express, and is able to express it with all the power at his command, by reason of his aesthetic training, and his freedom to investigate the properties of his art. To factors which his Soviet film pre-eminent recognition not only by Communists but by every bourgeois admission, the facts that film expression is diabolical expression, that the film is the most powerful medium of mass ideas, is the most powerful part in Soviet Socialism—these facts demand that the film be taken seriously by all parties that have been given to it by Communists outside the U.S.S.R., or by members of the M.U. Labor Club.

—K. COLDICUTT.

Censorship.

Hampered as the film is by capitalist production methods, we must seek the major obstacle in the industry’s more direct attack—censorship. The industry is seen to be a ceremonial procession to the formal objection of our view. As a result, the industry and documentary films must remain unexplored, while the films themselves chart out the most obvious kind of narrative film.

But when the capitalist masters have decided that it will pay them, in addition to the technical resources of the film, in the form of such as the necessity for the industry to comply with their demands. The public must have its pictures—of not only the 70 or 150 per cent.

TALKIES! But that is not enough—they must have ALL A-LIVE, SINGING, and DANCING pictures! And each must take and sell its own more violently than the last. The painfully discovered principles of the silent film must be immediately jettisoned, the film must go back to its original stage of development, and substitute itself to the orestorations of stage-drama and musical comedy. Thus there is a process of recovery while the director, in between producers, must formulate methods of treatment of sound.

And we may be certain that much of the same maximum. When the power of Hollywood decide on the wholesale introduction of colour photography of colour photography, the question of whether the colour photography is or is not to exercise his aesthetic training. He is usually to his employer’s ideas of box-office demands.

But having suggested how film-art is hampered by the social depression of the condition, that Hollywood cannot be dismissed as easily.

APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

Crisis in Science

The twenty-third meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science was held in Melbourne during the University Long Vacation. At the Congress, 1,000 persons were represented, both in scientific and (in some cases) allegedly scientific occupations. The meetings were highlighted by the discussions, many statements on the general relations of science and society being made. An examination of typical statements made at the Congress will show very clearly what is the present state of the advancement of science.

"Inventions threaten industrial stability, with increasing elimination of waste and rationalisation of industry." —Sir George Julius.

"The maladjustment of the Australian economic structure is a grave. We have no plan for rectifying it." —Professor Giblin.

"We have no plan; 'inventions threaten industrial stability'; this is the foundation upon which science is standing today. On all sides are heard suggestions to show the development of science to allow society to readjust itself. A growing lack of confidence in scientific achievement is shown, which is due, not to any disbelief in the power of science to understand and control the physical world, but to fear of the results of scientific achievement on industrial stability.

The growing feeling of antagonism to science was expressed in the "Age," an early editorial during the Congress, after stating this sentiment, reached the oppressive generation around the age of 1930.

“Science is a process for the discovery of laws that govern the properties of molecules. Because of the relationship between science and industrial needs, the owners of the machinery
production determines the development of science; and under the present economic system the purpose of the industrial system is not to increase the general well-being of humanity, but to increase the profits of the owners of the system. 

For this reason the results of science are applied only to that end. When cheap labour and shrinking markets make it unprofitable for scientific discoveries to be introduced, they are abandoned. For example, the discovery that iron can be made rubbery is not new, but it has not been applied because it is not profitable to use the natural product of iron in place of other materials. The profits from this black market are insufficient for the amount of work involved, and thus scientific research is curtailed.

The tendency to abstract technical progress from basic scientific research is becoming more pronounced as capital becomes concentrated and monopolies flourish. The reasons for this are two-fold: Firstly, monopolies are more willing to buy up technical discoveries in order to control them; and, secondly, the concentration of capital brings about monopoly. This second reason has two effects. It makes labour cheaper, because the capital owners are able to force the working class to demand higher wages to a greater extent. Labor is then increasingly exploited, leading to a decrease in productivity. Again, in the face of the shrinking market, the owners of industry frequently go so far as to use technical discoveries to improve the efficiency of production even further.

Since the beginning of the century, the capitalists have been investing more and more in technical discoveries and the development of new products, in order to keep the capital market in a state of equilibrium. But this is impossible, because the profit motive is always present. Hence, the capitalists try to control the market by means of technical discoveries and new products, to gain the upper hand over their competitors. In this way, the capitalist system tries to prevent the development of a new social order, to maintain the old system and to prevent the spread of scientific knowledge.

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STUDENT NOTES: THE FIGHT AGAINST REACTION

The first number of "M.U.M." under its editorship has yet to appear; we can already warn him, however, that a number of our students are already very much "suffocated" and that we have "Forragio"—in his own words, against a misappropriation of students' funds.

"Student Affairs."

Faced with increasing difficulty in having its views expressed in the general University papers, the Labour Club is forced to develop its own organization in conjunction with the students. It intends, therefore, to produce "Proletariat" regularly every three months, and has at the same time started a regular fortnightly news-sheet, "Student Affairs." The purpose of this new sheet is to deal with the cultural and economic problems of the students, and to give expression to the reaction in our University of the increasing international and class tension which is the most significant characteristic of the world of which we and our University are a part.

Council Against War Disaffiliated.

It was not the student-body, but the executive of the S.R.C. (with the assistance of the Registrar) and at the instigation of outside businessmen, that worked for the disaffiliation of the C.A.W. One instance of their method of activity will be clear.

A few days after the August 1st procession, the University Registrar received an official from the committee of the C.A.W., in which it was pointed out to him that he was the most suitable person to deal with the charge made by the editor of the "Argus" that the committee of the C.A.W. was guilty of libel. In the face of this, he was also pointed out to him that the charge made by the "Argus" editor reflected discredit not only on the C.A.W. but on the entire University, and that therefore an offer was made by the committee of the C.A.W. to the editor of the "Argus" to go before a University committee and to set the matter at rest.

The editor of the "Argus" was pointed out to him that he was not a suitable person to deal with the charge, and in the face of this, he was also pointed out to him that the charge made by the "Argus" editor reflected discredit not only on the C.A.W. but on the entire University, and that therefore an offer was made by the committee of the C.A.W. to the editor of the "Argus" to go before a University committee and to set the matter at rest.

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PROLETARIAT

A Reply to Professor Anderson

The Allergy during the last war, and who, as a student of the University, had the privilege of attending the University's graduation ceremonies, had no idea that he would ever be a degree conferred upon him by the University. The degree was conferred upon him by the President of the University, on the occasion of the annual graduation ceremony. The student had received a degree in law from the University, but he had never attended any of the University's graduation ceremonies. He had been absent from all of the University's graduation ceremonies because he had been busy with other commitments. The student was glad to be able to attend the graduation ceremony, as he had always wanted to see the University's graduation ceremonies. He had been a student of the University for many years, and he was proud to be able to attend the graduation ceremony. He was looking forward to the future, as he knew that he would have many opportunities to attend the University's graduation ceremonies in the years to come.

Characteristics of the University

The University is a large and prestigious institution, and it offers a wide range of courses and programs. It has a strong reputation for academic excellence, and it is renowned for its contributions to the sciences, arts, humanities, and social sciences. The University is also known for its research capabilities, and it has a number of research centers and institutes that are dedicated to advancing knowledge in various fields.

Politics of the University

The University has a strong tradition of academic freedom, and it is committed to upholding the values of democracy and free speech. It is a place where students can express their ideas and engage in open and honest debate. The University is also committed to promoting diversity and inclusion, and it encourages students from all backgrounds to participate in its programs and activities.

The University's Contribution to Society

The University's research and teaching activities have had a significant impact on society. Its faculty and students have made important contributions to fields such as medicine, law, economics, and the sciences. The University is also actively involved in community service, and it engages with local and national organizations to address important social issues.

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The Revolution

The Revolution has been a major event in the history of the University. It has been a time of great change, and it has had a profound impact on the University and its students. The Revolution has been marked by a number of significant events, including the founding of the University, the establishment of the University's first faculties, and the expansion of the University's curriculum. The Revolution has also been marked by a number of important figures, including the University's first president and the University's first faculty members.

The University's Future

The University's future is uncertain, but it is clear that it will continue to be a major force in the world of higher education. The University will continue to be a place where students can learn and grow, and it will continue to be a place where research and scholarship are encouraged. The University will continue to be a place where diversity and inclusion are valued, and it will continue to be a place where students are encouraged to express their ideas and engage in open and honest debate.

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it could be considered in academic circles which have been preoccupied with the practical world of life. It is a world of the imagination, and if it could be considered at all, it would be considered as a separate discipline, a different way of thinking. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality.

Eternal and Relative Truths.

Professor Anderson's Thesis.

"Knowledge is therefore entirely relative, since it is determined by the class and the epoch to which it belongs. Man's knowledge is determined by the degree of his knowledge, dependent on the epoch and the class to which he belongs. Thus, the concept of the Communist theory of relative truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality.

Communist Refutation of Protagor's Theory.

It has already been shown that when a man says knowledge is relative to a given person and a given epoch, he does not mean that all knowledge is relative to a given person and a given epoch. He means that the degree of man's knowledge is dependent on the class and the epoch to which he belongs. Now it will be said of the Communist theory of relative truths that is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality.

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Protagoras' position is that knowledge is relative to a given person and a given epoch, and that the degree of knowledge is dependent on the class and the epoch to which he belongs. Now it will be said of the Communist theory of relative truths that is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality.

When Protagoras says each man lives in his own private world, and that there is no way of testing whether one man is any truer than another, he means that the degree of man's knowledge is dependent on the class and the epoch to which he belongs. Now it will be said of the Communist theory of relative truths that is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality. The Communist Theory of Relative Truths is in a world of its own, and it is not to be found within the realm of practicality.
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APRIL-JUNE, 1935.

“Back to Civilisation”

We’re back to civilisation—a house, a church, and a pub.—(Woodcraft Song)

THE calm, silver waters of the Baltic once again. At last there will be time to put one’s thoughts in order, to put harmony and meaning into the flood of impressions and emotions which, in a few days’ travel in the Soviet Union, have swept us completely off our feet. It is not many days since we stepped aboard the Soviet ship in London, sure of ourselves and our own impartiality, aware of the Soviet Union. Now it is our task to see what we achieve. We came to judge U.S.S.R.—but somehow it seems that the tables have been turned. We are beginning to realize that the U.S.S.R. has judged us.

Calm at last, and time for quiet thought. But it was not to be. Down came the galley, up on the deck—back in the crew’s Red Corner—everywhere a storm of argument, ready torrential arguments. We have left the world behind. Gone is the already turbulent flood, rendering still more complex the task of the socialist.” And yet, at this time, it is possible to judge the importance of the Soviet Union, the necessity for discarding more limited concepts of objective reality for less limited concepts. What of the society in which the founders of Communist philosophy lived and worked, the society of the human race in the 18th and 19th centuries? They were faced with a science that made it possible for men to choose a new course for their life. This new course was the path of revolution. They created new machines, new ideas. They worked with enthusiasm and full conviction. And in this way, they created the material basis for all that was to come. This is the task of the Communist. What of the present? What of the future?

Communist philosophy springs from a society that holds great mechanical powers in the hands of all, a society that demands a more perfect society. What is the future? What is the purpose of life? What is the meaning of existence? These are the questions that must be answered. And they can only be answered through the Communist philosophy of science. This philosophy is based on a materialist conception of the world, which is the foundation of all Communist thought.

According to this theory, knowledge is the product of the interaction between man and nature. It is not the product of pure intellectual activity, but it is the result of the实践活动 of the human mind. In other words, knowledge is the result of the practice of the human mind, and it is this practice that is the basis of all Communist philosophy.

JOYCE MANTON.

What is interesting is the sociologist’s attempts to come to terms with the reality of the Soviet Union—so far is the most complete. The problem is, to some extent, one of communication. The society in which the founders of Communist philosophy lived and worked was a society that demanded a new course for their life. They created new machines, new ideas. They worked with enthusiasm and full conviction. And in this way, they created the material basis for all that was to come. This is the task of the Communist. What of the present? What of the future?

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PROLETARIAT

April-June, 1935.

SOME CENSORED AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE

"M.U.M." and "UPURGE."*

Every day it becomes increasingly clear that bourgeois literature, as exemplified by the novels of the "M.U.M." and the "UPURGE," is a profound penetration of contemporary life. Apart from those who write, those who are, in a sense, the direct targets of this penetration, the proletariat and the working-class persons of today, such as Mervyn Proust in France, F. E. Ellis in England, William Faulkner in America—show, in so doing, that they are not destroyed by the section of reality that constitutes their experience, to those who have eyes to see, the inanity of the destruction of bourgeois society, since they present in their writings an unparalleled picture of social decay.

It becomes increasingly necessary for the bourgeoisie, therefore, to repress writing which fully reproduces any section of contemporary life. In Germany, where there was a great literary flowering in the post-war years, and where the class-struggle is very advanced, the bourgeoisie has found it necessary to suppress not only with a petit-bourgeois viewpoint, but among those citizens who depict the present bourgeois world with power and sincerity, F. E. Ellis in England, William Faulkner in America—show, in so doing, that they are not destroyed by the section of reality that constitutes their experience, to those who have eyes to see, the inanity of the destruction of bourgeois society, since they present in their writings an unparalleled picture of social decay.

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How to Fight the Book Ban

Selction Bill, the amendment to the Crimes Acts, militarisation.

In the face of these facts the case put forward by the affirmative in the debate appears utterly futile. The speakers considered that censorship should "depend on the judgment of a court of law" (Mr. Hall) since the English common law gives adequate protection against blasphemy, obscenity, and sedition (Mr. Streton), and "we have the Police Offences Act and the Crimes Act" (Mr. Hall) which are both of adequate to deal with any emergency that might happen to itself (Mr. Grantham).

The Prime Minister recently said that the present censorship is part of the policy of the present government. This is a clear indication that the book ban is not a necessary evil to protect the illiterate office employee of the Customs Department, as suggested by one or two speakers. If, then, the books are banned at the wish of the government, the problem of the censorship is involved into the hands of a court of law which would make no difference, since, if necessary, new Acts could be introduced to ban all political literature.

The lack of realism present in the debate is exemplified by the statement of Mr. Streton, that if a man were persecuted in his own country he would be patted on the back for being put down in Hyde Park, and told, "Little man you're going to have a busy day." To anyone with the slightest knowledge of working class matters in present day England this utterance is appalling.

We can see that the debate served no useful purpose other than clouding the actual issues. Students must realise that the censorship of books is only one part of a more comprehensive working class, it cannot be considered as an isolated event — and if it is to be effective, it must not obscure the class issues involved; it must see that the fight against censorship is held against the fight against the whole state of society and that, though the co-operation of those people who will join the fight, the solution of the problems that there must certainly be sought, yet it must not be won by excluding decisive anti-fascist forces from the working class.

— W.C.N.
THE LEAGUE
OF NATIONS

WHY THE LEAGUE WAS FORMED.

The history of the League of Nations has been short and eventful. The theoric purposes of the League, as set forth in the Covenant of the League of Nations, were to promote international cooperation and to achieve world peace. The League was set up at the end of the war primarily to preserve the interests of the victor powers, France and Britain. A careful examination of the constitution and organization of the League, which was based on acceptance of Versailles, showed that it had been dominated by France and Britain from the outset. To give legal justification to their rights to the spoils of war, these two powers framed a clause in the League Covenant which bound the signatories to respect each other's territorial integrity. The League was formed as an instrument for perpetuating the dominance of these powers.

The war-weary people of the world, it was represented as an instrument of peace. The world was rising from the debris, and resolutions. They had had enough of war and expressed it in 1925 in the· League of War. This dangerous anti-war activity had to be stopped; it was therefore side-tracked into the League of War, the League became the prison-house of the anti-war sentiments of the world's workers. To avoid the political stunts, revealed to the full its hypocractic nature. Despite the obvious necessity of world cooperation and the obvious effectiveness of the League, if it were to be successful in preventing war, Germany, till 1926, and the rest of the Central Powers, would not sign the Covenant, and the League was not in force. Moreover, during the very days of its formation, the League was sending invading armies into the League territory. At this period, fourteen nations invaded League territory, most of them belonging to members of the League. These powers supported Kolchak and Denikin in their shocking massacre of men, women, and children. Certainly not as a sign of cooperation, but as a sign of the League's desire to assert its power, and to assure its existence in the face of opposition.

In November, 1921, Dr. Nansen, the Norwegian representative, in their behalf, submitted the extravagant expenditure in armaments in the face of increased poverty and starvation. It is obvious that the only solution is peace, and that we want peace, 30,000 men strong. This fact, when the League did not lift a finger, Whereupon Dr. Nansen resigned, and the League was playing at internationalism, but was really under the leadership of powers striving for the annexation of the Soviet Government.

MANDATES.

Supporters of the League are apt to admit its shortcomings, but point with pride to its achievements. What are they?

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According to a publication of the League of Nations Union, the League is a mandatary system, which rules some of the backward parts of the world, in the interests of the great capitalist countries, through some of the great colonial experts in the world. Very many examples could be given to show what a necessary evil it is. What about the typical instances?

The League, beginning with the mandate of Mesopotamia in 1920, in order to prop up the Turkish nation, which had not been established, sent a military mission to Iraq. The mandate of Iraq, having been granted to the British, was at the League, why did it not refuse it? The League simply accepted and followed it. As for the mandate of the French, it was simply to follow the mandate of Mesopotamia, in order to fight against the British. The League has been continually fighting against British and French powers, and Britain is compelled to retain in the district of a army of many thousands, with a powerful air force, to maintain order. Of course, in the interests of the Arab! It is also significant that, though it was announced at the outset that the mandates were put in the care of the Great Powers in order that the inhabitants would be educated and cared for, the inhabitants were left to live in famine conditions, and, so that the administration had the responsibility, then economic advantage, no mandatory power was forthcoming.

INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

What of the international disputes settled by the League of Nations? There have been none. As early as 1923, when Finland and Sweden were at jockeying systems, on which Europe is based, one of the scopescogspaghaptse of Germany's desperate economic position, the League Germany, and France, and at that time England was in order that it might continue, unhappier, to carry out her mission of pushing the League of Nations. According to Dr. Nansen, the League, therefore, does not indicate that the League is inherently an organization for settling disputes between the Great British powers. On the contrary, it indicates the League's usefulness to the British.

GERMANY WITHDRAWS.

Germany, which entered the League in 1926 after capitalist rehabilitation, occupied a position under the threat of the dominant powers, left it in 1933. Hitler made the League a scapegoat for the League powers, which had fallen, one by one, the League's official recognition of her right to arm, and France, and at that time England, was in order that it might continue, unhappier, to carry out her mission of pushing the League of Nations. According to Dr. Nansen, the League, therefore, does not indicate that the League is inherently an organization for settling disputes between the Great British powers. On the contrary, it indicates the League's usefulness to the British.

THE SovieT UNION.

At present, however, because inter-imperialist war does not serve the interests of the League, Germany does not occupy a position under the threat of the dominant powers, and the League has to some extent become the League of the League powers, or, to use a phrase, "the League without Germany." For that reason the Soviet Union, in September, accepted the League's invitation to become a member State. The acceptance was the result of the Germans' demand for an end of the war, and the League's adherence to that idea was, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria clearly demonstrated.

What of the League of Nations now? Germany and Japan, the world's two most bellicose countries, have left it, the Soviet Union has joined it. Has this made the League an instrument of peace? We can answer this question only by analysing the circumstances surrounding the withdrawal of Germany and Japan and the entry of the Soviet Union.

JAPAN WITHDRAWS.

In 1931, Japan, a prominent peace-loving country, took Manchuria and parts of China, killing thousands, devastating villages, and ruthlessly seizing the100,000 dollars a year from the League. Why did it not refuse it? The League simply accepted and followed it. The League simply accepted and followed it. The League simply accepted and followed it. The League simply accepted and followed it. The League simply accepted and followed it. The League simply accepted and followed it. The League simply accepted and followed it. The League simply accepted and followed it. The League simply accepted and followed it.
What is the truth? There is nothing inconsistent in the Soviet Union's action. For many years, Western intellectuals have been critical of the Soviet Union for violating the principles of the League of Nations. In 1924, for example, the League was dissolved, and the Soviet Union rejoined it. During the 1930s, the League was dissolved again, but the Soviet Union rejoined it once more. This is a mark of its strength and permanency.

But why, if the League is the organ of selfish capitalist ends, did it admit the Soviet Union?

Last April, France sent to England a note protesting, stating that Germany was continued every form of armistice, "within limits of which it claims to be the sole judge, in contempt of the provisions of the Treaty." France also declared that Germany had "made negotiation impossible," and called for a return to the basis of the League. As Britain remained unmoved, France, alarmed at the prospect of German aggression, began to negotiate with the Soviet Union, and for its entry into the League. In order to maintain friendly relations with France, France, England was in the end forced to invite the Soviet Union to join the League.

The Soviet Union is now in a strategic position to expose the League (as it did during the Disarmament Conference) and to use any measure to curb it. If it is attacked by any member nations, it is obvious that the League will not come into existence, because the League was formed to prevent exactly this sort of event from occurring.

But Soviet diplomacy alone cannot prevent war. The League must be put to work successfully to prevent it. Its aim, therefore, is to expose the League of Nations to the world which will show that the League is powerless to prevent war.

In the short space of time we have before war becomes a reality, it is the duty of all Liberals, in all branches of the League, to work for peace, to do what is possible to prevent the League from becoming a mere paper organization without a real chance of preventing war.

As capitalist diplomats will not (cannot) give the world peace, then the people who want peace, the people who have much to lose under the war, are in organized manner, taking the organization against war into their own hands. Our plan is with them.

H.T.

I don't think anyone can imagine the meaning of "Soviet." As an outline of this is given in "Pravda," June 1923, and on this issue of "Pravda," the last issue of which the League will be issued.

The "Soviet" force in Russia has been followed by the formation of an Australian section of the Writers' International (the Writers' League), which is the only anti-war government in the world.

AUSTRALIAN SECTION OF WRITERS' INTERNATIONAL

The co-operation of writers in the campaign against war has long been followed by the formation of an Australian section of the Writers' International (the Writers' League), which is the only anti-war government in the world.

The statement of principles which the Writers' League adopted declares that membership of the League is open to writers who

(a) Who see in the development of Fascism the threat of a dictatorship of dying capitalism and a movement of the best achievements of human culture, and consider that the best in thought and literature can only be preserved and further developed by joining in the struggles of the working class for a new socialist society, and who are opposed to all attempts to hinder unity in the struggle or any variation from the revolutionary lines of the workers' movement.

(b) Who see in the work of the working class, desire to express in their work, more effectively than before, the struggle of their class.

(c) Who will use their pens and their influence against imperialist war, and in defense of the Soviet Union, the State where the foundations of Socialism have already been laid, and will express the hidden forms of war being carried on against colonial and other oppressed peoples and against colonial and other oppressed peoples, and against imperialism and exploitation, is directed by the Australian Government.

The Writers' League intends to hold a national conference in two months' time. In the meantime, Mr. Maxton has been asked to prepare a report on revolutionary literature, which is to be published shortly.

In order to join the new writers, the League is holding a short story competition. The conditions for entry are:

(a) The competition is open to all writers, the League is holding a short story competition. The conditions for entry are:

(b) The prize of £25 is being offered for a short story of not more than 5,000 words, which story will be published in the next issue of "Pravda," published by Sydney University.

(c) Stories entered for this competition should reach The Secretary, Writers' League, 169 Exhibition St., not later than Friday, April 26th.

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"WHAT MARX REALLY MEANT"

BANNED FROM M.U.M.

LAST year the "Melbourne University Magazine" prepared an issue centered around Marxist articles. Two of those was a letter to the editor by Mr. D. H. Cole's "From Marx to Russia," and another reviewing Mr. D. H. Cole's book, "Marxism and Russian Socialism." The proceeding of the editor described the latter article as "in bad taste and wrong anyhow," while the former was simply "in bad taste as it criticized the hospitals which were connected with the University."

Now, Mr. Cole's book is recommended at the University as a reference book on Marxism. The teachings of Marx himself are not popular among our lecturers. Indeed, the lecturers on economics have been known to phrase their lectures on Marxism by the remark, "I am not going to explain to you the fallacies of the economic theory of Marxism." On the other hand, books such as Cole's "What Marx Really Meant," which would have been better named, "What Marx Would Have Really Meant," are very acceptable to them. This is to be expected from economists of the sort of sordid state of letters for writing themes such as "How Australia Weathered the Crisis," while the crisis referred to is still deepening.

The review of "What Marx Really Meant" was therefore banned. According to the professor responsible, it was "in bad taste" because Mr. D. H. Cole, far from being the disbeliever of Marxism, which is implied by the reviewer, was "the most feared Communist in Great Britain." Now, Mr. Cole is not merely harmless, but simply a plain professor, in fact, quite as useful as they. The contents of the review show that Mr. Cole's "What Marx Really Meant" is a clever piece of ideological spouting, but the review was banned because it "was not because it was in bad taste," but because an effort was being made to undermine the readers' critical and studiously critical.

The following is substantially the banned review:

When a writer sets out to write a book which he knows will be a direct attack on another, and who has not had more than a few articles, sketches, or short stories published and paid for. Stories should be signed by the pen name; the author's real name and address is not given to the editor; a story is written in a sealed envelope. Stories entered for this competition should reach the editor, Writers' League, not later than Friday, April 26th.

But Mr. D. H. Cole, author of "The Great Socialist Mystery" and other thrillers, in his latest work, "What Marx Really Meant," declares that there is nothing in his book. Instead, he has written a book no less imaginative than his previous works, and as devoted as they are to the exposition of Marxism.
book reviews

FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, by R. Palme Dutt, 1934.

This banning of this monumental work is a tribute paid by the Press to the author's authoritative position which R. Palme Dutt has established in the sphere of political economy. It is a great step forward in this sphere, and future historical work will refer to it, for it is a complete manual for all who wish to study the development of Fascism and its relationship to capitalism and bourgeois liberalism. It is a work of the highest importance, and it is a book which will be read for years to come. Its authors are to be congratulated on the labour and pains which they have taken to produce this book.

The work is divided into two parts: the first part is a detailed analysis of the economic and social conditions which lead to the rise of Fascism, and the second part is a study of the political organisation of Fascism and its methods of operation. The work is written in a clear and concise style, and it is a work of great importance to all who wish to study the development of Fascism.

The work is highly recommended to all who wish to study the development of Fascism and its relationship to capitalism and bourgeois liberalism. It is a work of the highest importance, and it is a book which will be read for years to come. Its authors are to be congratulated on the labour and pains which they have taken to produce this book.
PROLETARIAT

through repressive economic and political legislation. After the October Revolution, supported by the Bolsheviks, the Social Democratic leadership of the Russian Soviet Republic collapsed, and the Communist Party took control. This resulted in the establishment of a socialist state in Russia, which was later to become the Soviet Union.


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enough to make even the most thoughtless pay attention.

According to this psychiatric report, the results of this survey show that a large number of Soviet citizens suffer from neurosis. The report points out that the causes of this neurosis are manifold and that it is not only confined to a few individuals, but affects a large part of the population.

In the Soviet Union, the report states, there is a great deal of stress and strain due to the rapid changes in society and the economy. These changes have led to a high incidence of neurosis, especially among the working class.

Dr. Williams' research indicates that the most common form of neurosis is anxiety, which is characterized by feelings of tension, unease, and dread. Other common forms of neurosis include depression, insomnia, and obsessive-compulsive disorder.

The report concludes that measures must be taken to prevent and treat neurosis. This includes providing better mental health services, improving working conditions, and reducing social inequalities.
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