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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW,

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AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIFTH OF THE MONTH.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF LENIN

TWENTY-TWO years have passed since Lenin's death, on 24th January, 1924. During those twenty-two years, events have proved the correctness of his theories. The intensifying crisis of capitalism leading to a new world war, the growth of Communist Parties throughout the world, the establishment of democratic governments of a new type were all foreshadowed in Lenin's writings.

For us this article of Lenin's, "The Labor Government in Australia," written in 1913, is of particular interest at this time.

The Parliamentary elections took place in Australia recently. The Labor Party, which had a majority in the Lower House, having 44 out of 75 seats, suffered defeat. Now it only has 36 seats out of 75. The majority has passed to the Liberals, but this majority is very unstable, because in the Upper House, 30 out of 36 seats are occupied by Labor.

What a peculiar capitalist country is this, in which Labor predominates in the Upper House and recently predominated in the Lower House and yet the capitalist system does not suffer any danger! An English correspondent of a German newspaper recently explained this circumstance, which is very often misrepresented by bourgeois writers.

The Australian Labor Party does not even claim to be a Socialist Party. As a matter of fact, it is a liberal bourgeois party, and the so-called Liberals in Australia are really Conservatives.

This strange and incorrect use of terms in naming parties is not unique. In America, for example, the slave-owners of yesterday are called Democrats and in France the petty-bourgeois anti-Socialists are called "Radical-Socialists." In order to understand the real significance of parties one must examine, not their labels, but their class character and the historical conditions of each separate country.

Australia is a young British colony.

Capitalism in Australia is still quite young. The country is only just beginning to take shape as an independent State. The workers, for the most part, are emigrants from England. They left England at a time when Liberal Labor politics held almost unchallenged sway there and when the masses of the English workers were Liberals. This is the result of the exceptionally favorable, monopolist position England occupied in the second half of the last century. Only now are the masses of the workers in England beginning (slowly) to turn towards Socialism. And while in England the so-called "Labor Party" represents an alliance between the non-Socialist trade unions and the extreme opportunist I.L.P., in Australia the Labor Party represents purely the non-Socialist trade union workers. The leaders of the A.L.P. are trade union officials, an element which everywhere represents a most moderate and "capital serving" element, and in Australia it is altogether peaceful and purely liberal.

The ties between the separate States of Australia in united Australia are still very weak. The Labor Party has to concern itself with developing and strengthening the country and with creating a Central Government. In Australia the Labor Party has done what in other countries was done by the Liberals, namely, introduced a uniform Customs Tariff for the whole country, a uniform Federation Act, a uniform Land Tax and a uniform Factory Acts.

Naturally, when Australia is finally developed and consolidated as an independent capitalist State the conditions of the workers will change, as also will the Liberal Labor Party, which will make way for a Socialist Labor Party. Australia serves to illustrate the conditions under which exceptions to the rule are possible. The rule is: A Socialist Labor Party in a capitalist country. The exception is: a Liberal Labor Party which arises only for a short time as a result of conditions that are abnormal for capitalism.

Those Liberals in Europe and Russia who try to "preach" to the people that class war is unnecessary by pointing to the example of Australia only deceive themselves and others. It is ridiculous to think of applying Australian conditions (an undeveloped young country, populated by Liberal English workers) to countries in which a state and developed capitalism have long been established. **(June, 1913, "In Australia," Collected Works, Vol. XVI.)**

THE STRIKE OF THE IRONWORKERS, MINERS AND SEAMEN

L. L. SHARKEY

THE origins of the decisive conflict between leading unions and the B.H.P. are not to be found in "Communist plots," that hackneyed explanation of the capitalist press and the Labor Party right wing, but are rooted deeply in the economic and political changes created by the war and the events of the depression years preceding the war.

The Broken Hill Proprietary controlling iron, steel and a large proportion of coal production and linked with other important industries, banks and the press millionaires, is easily Australia's most powerful monopoly-capitalist group. Like its fellow monopolists of other capitalist lands it bitterly hates the labor movement and resists to the end the workers' efforts to organise themselves in their unions and their demands for shorter hours and improved living standards. For many years, unionism was kept weak, by means of a system of industrial terrorism and with the aid of the A.W.U. strike-breaking bureaucracy, in several B.H.P. plants.

Immediately prior to and particularly during the war period, unionism grew numerically and strengthened organisationally in the various B.H.P. undertakings; particularly was this so in the case of the Ironworkers' Union. In addition was the general growth of the labor movement including the election victories of the Labor Party.

It is well known that in the past several years the B.H.P. and its affiliates, the millionaire press, have striven as never before to discredit the Labor Governments and the Communist Party and to weaken and divide the Trade Unions. Even when the fascist peril was at its height the bourgeois press never ceased its floods of lies and calumnies and its unending provocations against the labor movement. It hampered the Labor Government's efforts to organise the war effort and the trade unions in order to increase war production.

The bourgeoisie fears the new strength of the Australian working-class and in particular, as far as the B.H.P. section of it is concerned, the strong and militant Metal Trade Unions. It is no surprise, therefore, that in this period it should wage war on one of these unions which had often proved a thorn in the side of the B.H.P. and its profits, the Ironworkers' Union. The destruction of the Ironworkers' Union would pave the way for similar attacks on the organisations of the skilled craftsmen, the Engineers, Moulders, etc. By these attacks the whole labor movement would be weakened and the workers' demands for 40 hours and wage increases defeated.

The Arbitration Court is an employers' weapon. In preparation for the B.H.P. offensive, it gave many decisions against the Ironworkers' Union. A Labor Party speaker recently asserted that the Court had given 123 decisions against the Metal Trades Unions and only one in their favor, and that lone one the B.H.P. refused to accept!

Not only has the Arbitration Court displayed its bias against the great fighting unions by rejecting their economic demands, but it has also undoubtedly displayed an equal class bias in relation to what can be termed political matters concerning the unions. The most glaring case of this is revealed by contrasting its treatment of the A.W.U. bureaucracy and of the Ironworkers' Union. Recently the Arbitration Court declared certain rules of the Ironworkers' Union to be "tyrannical" and "oppressive," thereby furthering the disruptive activities of an anti-union Trotskyite-Langite-Catholic Action grouping. The rules denounced are similar to those in the rule books of all, or nearly all, Federal Unions, giving the national executives powers over the State and local branches. Incidentally, the rules had been registered under the laws governing union rules.

In the case of the A.W.U., despite appeals to the Arbitration Court and despite criticism of the corruption of ballots and also of the rules by the Court, the infamous A.W.U. bureaucracy was allowed to proceed on its way and to expel the N.S.W. branch executive, elected by an overwhelming vote of the membership; the former General-Secretary of the Union, Beecher Hay, was expelled during the taking of the ballot. Yet this form of political banditry is not regarded, it seems, as "tyrannical" by the Solomons of the Arbitration Court. The Balmain disruptors were accorded the somewhat unusual privilege of a hearing before the Court while promoting a strike (heavily financed by Catholic Action) against the Ironworkers' Union. The Arbitration Court de-registered the Ironworkers' Union over an issue that as a rule only brings censure.

With the attack of the Arbitration Court and the Langite-Trotskyite disruption proceeding, the B.H.P. launched its own offensive by means of a victimisation at Port Kembla and an attack on seniority rights at Newcastle.

The B.H.P. is hated by the working-class as the worst exploiter of the labor of the toilers and the avowed enemy of the labor movement. The solidarity of the labor movement should have been assured, and in that case a comparatively easy victory over the B.H.P. could have been secured by the Unions. But here a new factor presented itself in the shape of widespread betrayal on the part of the dominant clique on the N.S.W. Labor Council and among the reformist officials of a number of important unions.

The right wing clique controlling the N.S.W. Labor Council is composed of rabid redbaiting

representatives of the A.W.U. bureaucracy and political "Catholic Action." These gentry thought they saw an opportunity to smash the Ironworkers' Union and hoped thereby to deal a blow at the Communists. They had recently sabotaged the Bunnerong struggle at a moment when it could have been turned to the advantage of the workers in the campaign for the 40-hour week. They prevented a 24-hour stoppage for the 40-hour week and would not agree to a demand for £1 increase in the basic wage.

Hand in hand with the B.H.P. and the vicious "S.M. Herald," this gang set about the isolation of the Ironworkers' Union in order to secure its defeat. They demanded that the Union return to the Arbitration Court, without any guarantee that any of the points for which the workers struck would be conceded.

This strikebreaking gang then decided the dispute was not to be extended without their permission. As the A.W.U. bureaucracy never gives permission to its own members to strike, it was quite unlikely it would do so in the case of other unions. By this means unions were to be prevented from acting in solidarity with the ironworkers in the fight against the B.H.P. Not content with that and to make their Judas actions complete, this clique told the Federal Government not to intervene, treacherous advice which the Federal Government unwisely accepted.

This Sydney Labor Council clique accompanied their treacherous actions with a barrage of lies and falsifications in the "S.M. Herald" and other millionaire press organs. They shouted that "the Communists wanted another general strike," that the Communists wanted to "overthrow" their beloved Arbitration Court and to "smash the Labor Governments." The real and only issue, of course, as far as the Union was concerned, was the defeat of the B.H.P. drive against it and the securing of better working conditions from the employers, particularly the B.H.P. In return, the "Herald" openly advised the right wing on their tactics, and praised them as "strong men" who were "smashing the Communist Party."

The A.L.P. officialdom in N.S.W., in the majority, supported the strikebreakers, parroted their lying tales about "a new 1917" and "smashing Labor Governments" and opposed the strike. The Labor Governments are blocking wage-increases and evading the 40-hour week issue at the present time. Their opposition was based on these factors, knowing full well that a victory for the strikers would strengthen the campaign for hours and wages. Hence, they tailed behind the open strike-breakers. The Federal Executive of the A.L.P., too, tuned in to the strike-breakers' chorus. A.L.P. officialdom bared its reformist, class-collaborationist soul for all the world to see.

The strike was able to continue because of the splendid solidarity of the striking ironworkers themselves and their bitter determination to fight their enemy, the B.H.P., irrespective of how many cowards or traitors shrieked at them from the pages of the millionaire press. The ironworkers were backed by the magnificent solidarity of the miners and seamen, who decided to join them in the struggle against the class enemy of all workers, the B.H.P., which exploits ironworkers, miners and seamen alike. Another union to join the strike was the Federated Engine-drivers and Firemen's Association employed in the coal-mines and B.H.P. works. Members of many other unions automatically ceased work when the B.H.P. works was declared "black."

Every lie was told in order to get the miners and seamen to refuse to vote for common cause with the ironworkers. Mr. Percy Clarey, M.L.C., President of the A.C.T.U., hastened across from Melbourne to "take charge" of the dispute and carry through the right wing policy. His anti-strike utterances on arrival in Sydney were so unbridled that Miners' President Wells publicly accused him of "strike-breaking."

Following the Miners' and Seamen's decisions, a conference was arranged with the Prime Minister and the B.H.P. was asked for its proposals for a settlement. These proposals were submitted to the A.C.T.U. full executive. The group of Clarey, Kenny and Stout wanted to accept. But men with years of struggle against the employing class behind them like C. Crofts (Vic.), J. Cranwell (A.E.U.), M. O'Brien, J. Hanson (Qld.), J. O'Neill (Tas.) and T. Garland (S.A.) of the A.C.T.U. Executive refused to entertain the B.H.P. terms and proposed A.C.T.U. counter-terms based on working-class principles. These new terms, in line with those endorsed by the strikers, finally were unanimously adopted by the A.C.T.U. Executive. Needless to say, McPhillips (Ironworkers), Wells (Miners) and Elliott (Seamen) refused to accept the B.H.P.'s terms.

The Australasian Council of Trade Unions said the issues of seniority and victimisation were fundamental issues as far as every trade unionist was concerned. These principles were attacked and that was the origin of the dispute. I have yet to learn that the Communist Party is in any position to victimise workers in BHP plants or to attack seniority there.

The Communists did not plan this struggle as an attack on arbitration. Port Kembla workers, as workers usually do in such circumstances, walked off the job after the victimisation of one of their mates. There has been, without any doubt, a betrayal of the position of the working class by the right wing of the labor movement in this country. Decisions made by the Sydney Trades and Labor Council, decisions of the gang of clerical reactionists and A.W.U. bureaucrats who are in control, and who are among the bitterest enemies of the militant workers, prove their treachery, as well as the fact that they filled the capitalist press with their lying yarns against the Ironworkers' Union.

They lied about the finances of the unions involved in the struggle, they tried to discourage the

workers from contributing to the support of the strike. Every kind of treachery their diseased minds could devise they perpetrated on the Ironworkers' Union. In their statements in the capitalist press and in a dozen Sydney Morning Herald leaders it is clear that the object of all reactionaries was to smash the Ironworkers' Union and deal a blow to the Communist Party.

Arbitration was the false issue posed by the right wing to conceal their treacherous behaviour. The ironworkers were at all times prepared to go back to the Arbitration Court provided they received fairer treatment than had been the case in the past. The ironworkers campaigned for the removal of Judge Cantor and also that the Labor Governments, which had been discussing altering the Arbitration Court, should speed up this legislation, and that the unions be consulted on the proposed changes. In this situation the workers viewed with suspicion the sudden decision of the Arbitration Court to de-register the Ironworkers' Union. De-registration links up with the numerous attacks made on the Ironworkers' Union in recent times; the filthy little leaflets and stickers issued throughout the B.H.P. plants, and the attempts of the Trotskyite-Langster-C.A. disruptors in Balmain to smash the union.

Communists supported the decision of other Unions to participate in the struggle. No other course was open at that particular time than to throw into the struggle stronger forces, and so the decision was made by the miners and seamen to come to the aid of the Ironworkers' Union and to bring about a situation where reaction would be compelled to desist from its purpose of destroying the Ironworkers' Union.

Had Prime Minister Chifley supported the A.C.T.U. decisions, instead of evading them and hiding behind the false issue of the Arbitration Court, the greatest of victories for the Australian labor movement would have been won. Far from undermining the position of the Labor Governments, it would have enormously strengthened their position. If anything has undermined the [illegible] it is not a "Communist plot," but their own action in opposing the strike, their provocative action in regard to rationing.

The reaction was defeated in its main aim, the destruction of the Ironworkers' Union and the Communist Party and the weakening of the whole trade union movement. This would have left the workers at the mercy of the employing class and opened the way for a general onslaught on the workers' living standards. The gallant intervention on the part of the Miners, Seamen and F.E.D.F.A. smashed the plans of the whole camp of reaction, ranging from the B.H.P., the Press barons and Catholic Action to the A.W.U. bureaucracy. The splendid solidarity of the miners with the striking ironworkers was shown in the slender majority of 53 votes for a resumption of work. The reinstatement of D. Parker by the Industrial Commission is regarded, particularly by the South Coast ironworkers and miners, as complete victory on the issue on which they struck and vindication of their struggle.

The general position could be summed up:

- The Miners have reached agreement with the Governments on their "Five Year Plan."
- The Seamen's claims are receiving attention.
- The issues on which the Ironworkers fought the B.H.P. — victimisation and seniority — are to be the subject of a conference with the B.H.P. and the unions have the full support of the A.C.T.U. on these fundamental issues around which the strike was waged.

The smashing of the Ironworkers' Union would have paved the way for a general offensive against the workers. This conspiracy was defeated by the magnificent fighting spirit of the striking ironworkers and the generous aid rendered by the miners, seamen and F.E.D.F.A. members. The Ironworkers' Union will emerge stronger than before and inter-union solidarity has been greatly strengthened among the workers by the actions of the miners, seamen and other unionists. These are outstanding and permanent gains which have been won for the working class.

COURSE OF THE INDUSTRIAL CYCLE AFTER THE WAR

(From "World Economy and World Politics," Moscow, May, 1945)

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THE end of the war in Europe makes the question of the course of economic life in the capitalist world a very actual one. What is the prospect for the immediate future, or to speak more exactly, what will be the movement of the first industrial cycle after the war?

It would be too risky to attempt to forecast already now the course of this cycle, all the more because the lack of statistical material prevents any accurate judgment even on the present economic situation. Nevertheless, the Marxist method and understanding of the economic situation which existed after the end of the first world war, and also such statistics as are available about the economy of the U.S.A.—that decisive factor in world capitalist economy—make possible a scientific analysis of the problem and an indication of the general lines of the industrial cycle following on the war. Obviously it would be wrong to believe that after this war what happened following on the last war will be quite simply repeated. There are quite important differences between the situation in that period and now. We shall deal with these differences in detail below.

By way of a starting point, we can use the fact that every world war breaks the course of the industrial cycle, suspends the cyclical features of the productive process during the period of the war and brings about a phase of "boom of a special kind." This results from the distortion of the economy under the influence of the war. In peacetime the most difficult problem for capital is the question of the realisation of the value of commodities, how to pass over from the commodity form to the money form of capital. The problems of realisation, or to put it in another way, the problems of the market, do not exist in war time. The military needs far exceed the productive possibilities which have remained unused in peacetime as the result of the lack of markets. In the present war, the Government appears on the market as a buyer with unlimited purchasing power. Under war conditions, the capitalist has to worry, not about the sale of his products, but about how to transform the capital which he has in money form into productive capital. He has to strive to replace the elements of productive capital: labour power, raw materials, means of production and transport. It is not the consumers' demand that sets limits to capitalist production, as is the case in time of peace, but on the contrary, the insufficient production sets limits both to the productive and to the unproductive demand of the civilian population.

The longer the war continues, the greater the extent to which the consumers' demands of society exceed its productive capacity. The values used up, that is, the productive capital which is not renewed in this form, sits idle in the bank in the form of money capital, since the productive capital is unable to renew its form as a result of the shortage of raw materials, machinery, buildings and labour power. The same takes place with that portion of the profit which is destined for accumulation. The income of workers, employees, officials and officers cannot be fully spent owing to the shortage of consumers' goods and the balance, therefore, for the most part sits idle in various savings funds.

All these immense sums of accumulated consumers' demands await the end of the war, and after the removal of Government restrictions will rush with full force into the commodity markets.

Thus all the prerequisites are present, after the ending of the war and a short period of difficulties in passing over from war to peace, for the beginning of the ascending phase in a new industrial cycle. This was the case after the first world war, but the period of rising production was extremely short. Indices of industrial production show that the highest point was reached in the U.S.A. in March, 1920, in Britain in the first quarter of 1920 and in France in November, 1920. Thus in the two most decisive capitalist countries, the U.S.A. and Britain, the rise of production after the end of the war lasted only about fifteen months.

As for the countries of Continental Europe, with the exception of the neutral countries, all of them were so impoverished (in real terms) as a result of the war, that the effect of accumulated consumers' demands in the form of banking deposits and savings and partly also in cash, did not lead to a rise in production, but to inflation. There was an effective demand for goods, but production could increase only very slowly because in these countries the material elements of production were lacking—the raw materials, machinery and transport. At that time we characterised the economic situation of those countries as a crisis of under-production, having in view the fact that the low level of production was not the result of over-production and insufficient demand for goods, as is the case with the "normal" crises of over-production. It was due to a shortage of means of production, that is, to the impoverishment of those countries.

Statistics also show that in the course of the brief rise of the productive cycle after the war, nowhere in Europe, as distinct from the U.S.A., did production reach the pre-war level. This level was only reached some years after the 1920 crisis—in France in 1923, in Germany 1927, England only in 1929, that is, immediately before the new world crisis of 1929-33. This means that after the end of the last war, the chief European countries needed six, nine and eleven years before their industrial production reached the pre-war level.

The index of wholesale prices after the last war shows that the highest level was reached in the U.S.A. in January, 1920, and in Britain in March, 1920. But what is of even greater significance is the fact that during the 1920-21 crisis, although prices fell sharply they did not drop to the 1913 level; and this in spite of the fact that there can be no doubt that the rising productivity of labour lowered the value of products of the same quality (that is, the social labour time embodied in them). The level of prices should have fallen below the level of 1913, but the strength of monopoly and the fact that the war resulted in a piling up of overheads on production (taxes, rents, transport costs, and so on) maintained market prices at a far higher level than before the war. And it was only in the crisis of 1929-33 that prices fell in accordance with the fall in value, that is, to such an extent that they fell even below the level of 1913. The artificial maintenance of a high level of prices through the 1920-21 crisis undoubtedly contributed towards the depth and sharpness of the crisis of 1929-33.

If we compare the economic consequences of the second world war so far as the capitalist world is concerned with the consequences of the first world war, we can say with full assurance that at the end of the present war the distortion of economy in the capitalist world will be much greater than in 1918.

Although the 1914-18 war was also a world war, it was in great measure a European war so far is its direct effects were concerned. In the case of this war, the impoverishment of the capitalist world as a whole will be much greater than it was then.

Moreover, the difference in the economic situation of those countries which did not become a theatre of war operations, as compared with those which did, will be much greater. The economic situation in those countries not directly involved—in the first place the U.S.A. and the British Dominions, and to some extent also Britain, South American countries and the European neutrals—will be in sharp contrast with the economic situation of the capitalist countries over-run by Germany in Europe, which will be absolutely impoverished, short of everything and involved in a complete collapse of their economy. On the other hand, the U.S.A., also Canada, South Africa, etc., will come out of the war with their productive apparatus much increased and improved, while in the countries of continental Europe ravaged by the war the means of production will, for the most part, have been worn out or destroyed and their towns and transport systems greatly damaged. For this reason, shortly after the end of the war the countries of the first group will be "countries of over-production" while in the ravaged countries, as after the first world war, there will be "a crisis of under-production." But the territory covered by this second group will be much greater than it was after the first world war. In the countries of Eastern Europe allied with the Soviet Union, this crisis of under-production will not be so sharp thanks to their closer economic relations with the Soviet Union.

Britain will occupy a kind of intermediate position. Although it was not a theatre of war operations, there was considerable material loss as a result of air attacks. During the war it spent or lost a considerable part of its over-seas investments and will come out of the war with a far higher indebtedness to its Dominions and Colonies. According to the practically unanimous estimates of British economists, it will be necessary for Britain after the war to increase its exports by 50 per cent. as compared with pre-war, in order to import the food and raw materials it needs to restore the pre-war standard of living. In order to guarantee this, Britain will have to carry out a very flexible economic policy.

The existence in the U.S.A. of a greater and more efficient productive apparatus and of a "deferred" demand of some fifty milliard dollars, will undoubtedly produce in the U.S.A. a short-lived prosperity, just as after the first world war. This demand will in the first place be directed towards consumers' goods of secondary necessity, such as automobiles, refrigerators, television sets, furniture, houses, etc., the production of which during the war was either prohibited or very much restricted. The demand for goods of prime necessity such as food, clothing and shoes will be only slightly in excess of normal, as production of these during the war was very little affected. On the other hand, the demand for means of production will in all probability be lower than before the war owing to the great extension of the productive apparatus during the war. . . .

For a correct judgment about the future course of the industrial cycle, we must also take into account the rise in the productivity of labour as a result of the technical improvements carried out during the war. The fact that industries no longer had to worry about markets and were being pressed to satisfy the needs of the war, led to a great number of technical innovations, some of which were already known, but had not been used because of market difficulties. The increase in labour productivity in the United States during the war is estimated at about 4 per cent per annum as compared with 2 per cent. in peace time. This is one of the most powerful factors which will influence the course of the trade cycle after the war.

Thus we see that the conclusion of the war and the change over of enterprises from war production to peace products, will threaten many departments of American economy with over-production, in spite of the fact that there will be a considerable deferred demand for consumers' goods and housing. The effect on the market of this deferred demand will be counteracted by considerable unemployment, shorter working hours and the return of workers from the Forces. This mass unemployment will result in a reduction of the current income of the working-class and, therefore, of its purchasing power.

Certain factors, therefore, will act in the direction of curtailing the length of the ascending phase of the industrial cycle in the U.S.A., which we have assumed will follow the close of the European war. But on the other hand, a number of important factors will act in the direction of lengthening the ascending phase. We refer to the most important of these below.

(Varga here refers to the probability of the Japanese War continuing for some time and thus easing the transition both in the U.S.A. and in Britain. This paragraph is omitted.)

As for the question of prices, the increase during the war in the belligerent countries has been much smaller than in the first world war. There are two reasons for this:—

First, in the larger capitalist countries there was considerable unused productive capacity before the war.

Second, Government regulation of prices became effective earlier in this war and was more systematic.

The index of wholesale prices shows that up to 1943, the rise compared with 1929 had been only 35 per cent. in the U.S.A. and 67 per cent. in Britain. In the neutral countries, the rise was much greater—Sweden 79 per cent., Switzerland 106 per cent., Turkey 478 per cent.

The fact that prices have risen less sharply in the United States and Britain might lead to the assumption, by analogy with the first world war, that at the conclusion of the war there will be a very great increase in prices. We do not, however, believe that this will take place. The gradual transition of economy to peace production, the maintenance of state control on prices and their regulation during the transition period, and particularly in the U.S.A. the surplus productive capacity in agriculture and in the raw materials industries, partly also in the manufacturing industries, will work against the rise in prices in countries with stable money and will in any case weaken the tendency to rise.

It must here be emphasised that although even in the United States there is not a great rise in prices as compared with 1939, all the same prices, just as in the first world war, are on the average above value. In so far as the increased productivity of labour has resulted in a reduction of the social labour time embodied in each unit, as compared with pre-war, prices expressed in gold or in dollars should have been lower than pre-war. For this reason, in the U.S.A. in the post-war period, we should not anticipate any significant rise in prices, while further in the crisis phase which will follow this rise, a very important fall of prices is to be expected. It will be much the same in those countries whose exchange maintains a firm relation to the dollar, as, for example, Britain and the British Dominions.

The course of the post-war industrial cycle will be quite different in the countries of continental Europe. In their case, we cannot speak of any ascending phase of production in the post-war period, such as would bring their production to the pre-war level. It is true that the effective demand for goods will exist, but there will be no possibility of producing the goods to satisfy this demand. In these countries a crisis of under-production will be inevitable, just as after the first world war. The shortage of all kinds of means of production and transport will considerably restrict the possibility of productive enterprise. The danger of inflation will be extremely great. In order to avoid sharp inflation or at least to modify it, it is possible for the countries of continental Europe to maintain for many years after the war Government regulation of production of consumers' goods, of prices, and so on.

The degree that this inflationary crisis of under-production will reach in Europe, the period it will last, and the extent to which it will result in open inflation, will depend in considerable measure on how soon and to what extent the countries with an undamaged or stronger economy—U.S.A., Canada, and perhaps Britain—are prepared to help in the process of restoration in Europe by advancing credits for the means of production. France has already received credits from the U.S.A. for the purchase of locomotives and rolling-stock, raw materials and food. The countries of Eastern Europe will receive aid in the first place from the Soviet Union.

The projected organisation of an International Exchange Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction should help these aims. . . .

The immense resources of the U.S.A. not only allow it to export considerable amounts of capital to Europe, but because of the danger of over-production and the threat of mass unemployment, such export becomes in the highest degree desirable.

Certainly the export of capital in considerable sums raises the question of transfers, that is the question of how the profit or interest on the capital exported by the United States can be paid in some natural form. This question aroused a good deal of discussion after the first world war. It is characteristic that the National State Bank in its monthly bulletins in 1920-21 repeatedly expressed strong views against the European Governments being asked to pay the United States their war debts.

The possibility of payment in raw materials has been reduced as a result of the war. After the war, imports of many important types of raw material will fall to a greater or less extent. So far as America is concerned, this refers particularly to rubber, vegetable oils and silk. These together amount to about one-sixth of American imports, and in the post-war period they will fall to insignificant amounts as the result of the development of synthetic rubber, soya bean production and improvements in the quality of artificial silk (nylon). Hence after the war it will be necessary for the U.S.A. to import new types of commodities. It is clear that the old tariff policy of the U.S.A. does not correspond to the new position of the U.S.A. in the world market. This was a point which Roosevelt had already called attention to during the war.

Summing up, we may say that after the conclusion of the war, countries whose productive apparatus has not been damaged, or has been improved, will pass through the ascending phase of a productive cycle in the course of two to four years. This phase will end with a crisis of over-

production which in all probability will be more prolonged than the crisis of 1920-21. This crisis of over-production will in turn worsen the situation of the countries of continental Europe, which by that period will have raised their production as compared with the extremely low level at the end of the war, but all the same will still be struggling to overcome the crisis of under-production and the danger of inflation.

After this post-war crisis has been overcome, and the stabilisation of at least some European currencies has been achieved, a new full industrial cycle will begin. But this cycle will not be like the cycle of 1921-29 with its relatively strong ascending phase (especially in the U.S.A. and in Germany), but will resemble rather the cycle of 1929-37 with its "depression of a special kind" and will not reach the full phase of prosperity. The factors which then prevented the full ascending phase from developing—the sharp contradiction between the unlimited drive of capital for its extension and the restricted limits of the purchasing power of society, and the consequent chronic under-employment of the productive apparatus, together with chronic unemployment—will act with even greater force in the first "normal" post-war cycle.

Certainly it is necessary to emphasise that the Soviet Union whose economy excludes the possibility of a crisis of over-production, will be a stabilising factor for the economy of the countries of Eastern Europe. The cyclical crisis of over-production in the U.S.A. and Britain will find its reflection in the economy of all other countries in the capitalist world, while the absence of crisis in the U.S.S.R. will be a beneficient influence on countries which are linked economically with the U.S.S.R.

POSTSCRIPT.

The following are points from a discussion which took place at the Institute of World Economy and World Politics of the Academy of Sciences at the beginning of January, 1945; a summary of which was published in the second and third issues of the Institute's journal.

It begins with a resume of Varga's paper, which follows similar lines to the full article printed above.

The first speaker in the discussion, which the Report speaks of as "animated," was Academician L. Trachtenberg. "To me it appears," said Trachtenberg, "that Varga in his analysis of post-war perspectives limited himself to a one-sided posing of the question. In his analysis Varga started from the assumption that the capitalist world will emerge from the war approximately the same as it was before the war, that the war has not introduced any outstanding changes in world economy." After referring to "those changes introduced into world economy by the present war" and that "after the war Germany will fall out of world economy as a strong economic power," he dealt with international collaboration ("Whatever the form and scale of this collaboration, it cannot fail to express itself in post-war economic development") and the "immense" significance of the U.S.S.R. in world economy and world politics.

"In such fashion," concluded Trachtenberg, "I do not deny in principle the formulation of the question which Varga has presented to us. But I consider that it should have been supplemented by others. This would have led to a more correct understanding of possible post-war economic perspectives."

Later speakers in the discussion seem to have taken up this question of what difference war-time changes would introduce; and most speakers concentrated on the degree of State capitalist elements that there would be and their effects, especially in U.S.A. and Britain.

One speaker, Caplan, pointed out that, while a retreat from "State intervention in the economy" was noticeable at present, this retreat "will take place only up to the first crisis." "Once an economic crisis has broken out, any Government in U.S.A. cannot fail to undertake extraordinary measures for reducing unemployment and thereby damping down the crisis. The scale of State expenditure in the struggle with the crisis will many times exceed corresponding expenditure in the past." . . . Another speaker (Gorfinkel) stressed an important difference between the effect of State intervention in war and in peace: in the latter "the State cannot become a buyer without limit of all absolutely surplus goods, since . . . . commodity stocks in the hands of the State do not cease to influence the market, i.e., the level in prices. Still more dangerous from the standpoint of private capitalist entrepreneurs is a State economic policy directed towards an extension of State entrepreneurship."

Varga, in his reply, did not refer specifically to "State capitalism" or State intervention internally in each country. But he concluded by saying that "in the ravaged countries of continental Europe, the danger of inflation in my opinion is so serious as to cause doubt whether sufficient effective measures can be taken by the United Nations for protecting the stability of monetary rates of exchange and stimulating export of capital, although there is no doubt that these measures will in very significant degree assist the growth of international commodity exchange and the restoration of European economy."

THE FEDERAL LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE

R. DIXON.

THE Triennial Conference of the Federal Labor Party, which opened in Melbourne on November 26th, met as the big industrial crisis, arising from the provocation of B.H.P. against the Ironworkers' Union, developed. The Conference, in ignoring the real issues in the dispute and attacking the unions on the ground that the strike was an anti-Labor Government strike, showed no desire to face up to the situation confronting the nation. And what is the main feature of the situation? The determination of the Australian workers to have their grievances rectified and their demands for a higher standard of living conceded.

The prevailing discontent is deep-seated. It developed through the war when the workers, in the interests of the people's war against Fascism, held back from the struggle to raise standards and improve working conditions. It has as its background the terrible experience of the economic crisis, of the mass unemployment, wage slashing and the low standards of the 1930's. During the war the organisations of the workers, the Trade Unions, were greatly strengthened and the political consciousness of the labor movement was raised and these are gains that won't be swept away.

With the war's end the workers looked for the relief they had been promised. Instead they witnessed the Arbitration Court beginning to whittle away even the limited wartime gains such as the war loading, the employers moving to speed up production and worsen conditions and the Labor Government rejecting the demands for any immediate improvement in the wage level, refusing to withdraw the wage pegging regulations and postponing consideration of the 40 hour week to some date in the distant future.

In these circumstances the big struggle with the employers which developed was inevitable. What is more it will flare up again and again, will be renewed with ever increasing vigor, unless far-reaching measures are taken to improve the way of life of the Australian people.

Those are the facts about the present situation. The Federal Labor Conference, however, seemed entirely oblivious of them. Instead of a realistic appraisal of the new situation confronting the nation, we heard Labor politicians and Reformist Trade Union officials saying that "Industrial anarchy was rampant and could be attributed to the machinations of the Communist Party," phrases put into their mouths by the capitalist newspapers.

If Labor leaders continue to blink their eyes to the facts in that way they are riding for a fall. The old cry, "don't embarrass Labor Governments," which is always raised when workers insist on Labor Governments recognising their just demands, won't wash any longer. The Labor Party, which controls five State Governments as well as the Federal Government, is in a position radically to improve living standards and working conditions, and must do so. The workers are not in the mood to be trifled with. They expect results and have the organisation and power to enforce their demands.

The Federal Labor Conference decisions supporting the 40 hour week and an increased basic wage were a step in the right direction. The vague wording of the resolutions—the 40 hour week to be given effect to "as soon as possible" which can mean anything from one to five or ten years time, and "urging" the Federal Government "to support a claim for an increased basic wage"—is most unsatisfactory. These are immediate and urgent demands of the workers and must be dealt with quickly.

Mr. Chifley made a strong appeal to the Conference for "solidarity in the Trade Union Movement." This is a sentiment we fully agree with. The Communist Party ceaselessly strives for solidarity in the Trade Union movement. But solidarity can only be built on the basis of the interests of the working class. There can be no solidarity between strikers and strike breakers and the divisions in the movement today are so sharp because of the efforts of a reactionary clique of reformist strike-breakers on the Sydney Trades and Labor Council to sell out the strike of the Port Kembla and Newcastle Steelworkers.

That is something that cannot be tolerated.

It is in crises like the present intense industrial conflict that the ruling classes most clearly identify the State machine, in word and deed, with their class interests, as a weapon to enforce the submission of the workers to their policy.

"The Government must uphold the Law," they shout (B.H.P. Law of course). "The Unions must be fought! Mr. Chifley and the Labor Party must stand firm" (against the workers)! And in view of the strike-breaking efforts of the reactionary clique on the Sydney Trades and Labor Council, they gleefully declare that the struggle is one between "moderate Labor and the Communist Party" and identify themselves, the B.H.P. and other reactionary interests with "moderate Labor" to the pleasure and satisfaction of the latter.

When the Federal Labor Conference, at the instigation of J. Ferguson of the A.R.U., joined in the attack upon the workers engaged in fighting B.H.P., thereby identifying the conference with the worst enemies of unionism, it contributed not to the solidarity but to the disunity of the Trade Union Movement.

In deciding in favour of a referendum to increase Federal powers the Labor Conference will have the support of the vast majority of the labor movement. It is significant that the very people who fought against a "YES" vote in the 1944

referendum—the B.H.P., capitalist press, Liberal and Country Party politicians down to the A.W.U. bureaucracy, the Langites and their soul mates among the workers, the Catholic Actionists—are all lined up against the steel strikers in the present industrial struggle.

From the newspaper reports of the Conference it appears that a number of questions were suggested as possible referendum items, including health and social services, price control, marketing of primary products, industrial powers, investment control and aviation. These are all important. A notable absentee, however, is reference to powers to deal with trusts and combines which is essential to the effective strengthening of Federal powers. The huge monopolies in the steel, sugar, shipping and coal industries are not confined to any particular State, they are national concerns, and the National Parliament should have the necessary powers to treat with them. One of the difficulties in relation to coal production is precisely the lack of constitutional power on the part of the Federal Government to deal with coal. It is essential in the National interest that the Federal Parliament should have the necessary powers to control monopoly.

The Labor Conference did carry a resolution suggesting that the Federal Government in co-operation with State Governments should consider the "nationalisation of basic industries." State Labor Governments, especially the McKell Government in New South Wales, had a golden opportunity of taking over and working munitions factories as State enterprises producing civilian goods, but so far have resisted all efforts on the part of the Unions to prevail upon them to do so. Unless the labor movement exerts far more pressure than up to the present the do-nothing policy of the State Governments will be persisted in. In any case Federal and State agreements covering basic industries are only piecemeal arrangements. All talk of "nationalisation of basic industries," and they are the industries in which monopoly is most developed, loses force unless they are considered as national problems involving an increase in the power of the Federal Government.

Another matter of some importance decided upon at the Labor Party Conference was the rejection of compulsory military training in favour of the voluntary system. The most fantastic arguments were raised for and against compulsory training, none of which touched on the basic question, namely—What policies are the armed forces to be organised to support? Are they to be used to bolster up the present reactionary foreign policy of the British Empire which is directed against the striving of oppressed peoples for their independence, against the new democracies of Europe and the Soviet Union?

Australian forces whether voluntary or compulsory must not be used in a reactionary war or to support a reactionary foreign policy. This is the crucial point which should determine the attitude of the working class to the armed forces.

The small gang of reactionaries who have the Victorian branch of the Labor Party by the throat urged the Federal Conference not to permit officers of Unions affiliated to the Labor Party to oppose, or assist in opposing, endorsed Labor candidates for Federal or State Parliaments or Municipal Councils. The move was directed at Communist Trade Union officials who support candidates at elections. About two years ago the Catholic Action group in the Victorian Labor Party, under the leadership of Cremean and Lovegrove, forced a similar resolution through the Victorian Labor Party Conference and followed it up by excluding the A.R.U. and other Unions from the Labor Party. The Federal Conference rejected the Victorian proposal, which represented an unwarranted encroachment on the democratic rights of union officials, and could only have deepened the split in the labor movement. Their decision on this issue will be welcomed throughout the labor movement and especially in Victoria where it is considered a severe rebuff to the local Labor Right Wing.

On the other hand the President of the Conference, Mr. F. Walsh, at the concluding session reiterated the decision of earlier conferences that no member of the Labor Party could represent the Party from any platform at which the Communist Party was officially represented. It is alright for a member of the Labor Party to speak from a platform with a member of the Liberal or Country Party, or some other enemy of the working class, but not with a working class representative from the Communist Party. Only several days before Walsh's announcement Mr. Beasley, Member for West Sydney, was the favored guest of the Textile Employers, some of the worst exploiters of the Australian workers.

In summarising the decisions of the Labor Party Conference we can say:—

(1) That on the all important questions of the Steelworks dispute and unity in the labor movement the decisions were contrary to the interests of labor.

(2) That on such issues as the 40 hour week and an increase in the basic wage the decisions were useful and provide for a basis for united effort on the part of the labor movement to press forward its claims for the early realisation of these aims.

(3) That on the question of another referendum and nationalisation of basic industries the decisions, although not sufficiently concrete, are in accord with the desires of the labor movement.

(4) That although with the present foreign policy of the British Empire compulsory military training should be opposed, the decision of the Labor Party Conference was arrived at on the basis of narrow prejudices and not from a real appraisal of the problems of national defence and foreign policy.

WHY INDIAN COMMUNISTS LEFT CONGRESS

P. C. JOSHI.

WE Indian Communists had great hopes from the leadership of our foremost patriotic organisation, the Congress, to take the initiative to think out and rally the entire country behind a democratic plan for immediate realisation of Indian freedom in alliance with the victorious progressive popular forces of the world.

In fact, the central plank of all our agitation during the last three years has been to demand their release and to expose Imperialist reaction that forcibly kept up the deadlock.

Never before have the sufferings of our people been greater, and such eager looking to the political leaders for immediate relief and a way out. Never before has the economy of our country been in greater danger, nor has there ever been a greater urgency nor such practical possibilities to rebuild it on new foundations. Never before has there been such a widespread sense of political despair and frustration, on the one hand, and greater political interest, on the other. Never before in our national movement was there greater need squarely to face up to the various complicated issues that constitute the Indian problem — the achievement of Indian freedom and the building up of Indian democracy.

The Congress leadership after its release has not been doing serious thinking but demonstrating sectarian arrogance.

After three years of imperialist deadlock, they got the chance to offer a constructive lead to the country in the last AICC meeting. Instead of offering a concrete plan for Indian freedom, they have committed the Congress organisation to a course of action that will only further divide and disrupt the freedom-forces themselves.

The Congress has undoubtedly become stronger during the last three years, but so has the League. To glorify the strength of one but to deny that of the other, is to be blind.

The Congress stands for the freedom of India, the League demands freedom for the Muslim homelands. To demand the right of self-determination from the British but to deny it to a section of our own countrymen is plain injustice.

The Congress is a non-communal organisation, but the majority of the Muslims consider the League as their organisation. The Congress damns the League as a communal organisation, but more and more Congress Muslims are themselves going over to the League. Not to read the signs of the times is not wisdom.

In the name of Indian freedom, the Congress leadership is denying freedom to the Muslim homelands. In the name of the unity of India, it is keeping divided India's two main political organisations. Present disunity cannot lead to future unity.

When the Congress leadership refuses to deal with the League, it is refusing to build a United Front for Indian freedom. When Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru declare that they will fight the League, they are only getting the Hindus and Muslims organised into hostile camps. When the Congress leadership seeks the intervention of the British Government against the League, it plays into the hands of British reaction, postponing the day of India's freedom.

We do not consider it good patriotism to seek the intervention of the British in our internal affairs. This will lead not to Indian freedom, but to a British-imposed and British-planned constitution.

We do not consider it good sense to fight our brother Muslims in the name of Indian unity. This is unleashing the forces of civil war and certainly not forging the future of one Indian union.

The Congress leadership, besides turning its back on the League, is raising its arm against our young Party which, during the last three years, consistently defended it against Imperialist slanders both within our country and abroad, and fearlessly exposed the forces of deadlock which sought to resist the will of our people to be free. From within the jail walls they repudiated responsibility for the August "struggle" in their correspondence with the British Viceroy. Immediately on coming out almost the very first thing they did, even without hearing us, was to denounce our Party for not participating in the same August "struggle." Who may blame us if we consider their attitude as unprincipled opportunism?

They refuse to make a serious objective analysis of the last three years and then come to truthful conclusions about the role of different parties and groups. They forget the threat of Fascist aggression, they ignore organised sabotage activities, they paint the post-August days primarily as a spontaneous upsurge of a freedom-loving people against their hated foreign rulers and condemn us for being "on the other side." They do not ask themselves that if these three years were really what they imagine them to be, we would not be a force worth shouting about.

They sometimes glorify and at other times refuse to judge individuals and groups who openly preached pro-Japanism and organised the sabotage campaign, on the basis of their patriotic motive. But they do not concede that our motives were or could also be patriotic. Against us they repeat the arguments of the world's worst reactionaries, that our anti-fascism was a cover to serve Russian interests and our opposition to the sabotage of our country's defence really an effort to aid the war-efforts of Britain. They refuse to see that their self-contradictory August '42 policy led not to

National Government, but national humiliation. They make our Party their scapegoat.

Such a self-righteous but really blind and prejudiced attitude towards our Party, has already led to three dire consequences.

First, dismay among friends of Indian freedom abroad, for world communism is the most powerful single influence behind the forces of world freedom and democracy today.

Secondly, openly fascist, reactionary and authoritarian trends have begun to raise their heads inside the Congress and anti-Communism has only become a cover to hide the acute factional struggle inside the Congress for the control of its machine.

Thirdly, utter confusion among the lower ranks of the Congress.

Instead of examining their own policy, formulating a new policy for the new times and appealing to all groups in the Congress to consider it dispassionately, they seek to gag our Party when they provisionally propose that members of our Party can remain ordinary members of the Congress, but cannot be elected to the deliberative bodies of the Congress nor to its Executive posts.

The Congress leaders have not stopped here. They are giving direct or indirect support to the champions of rival organisations on the Student, Kisan and Trade Union fronts. These elements are either the open agents of profiteers and hoarders, or thoroughly discredited individual 'Labour' and 'Kisan' leaders who have lost their old mass following to us and seek to stage a comeback with the Congress banner in hand.

◆ Our Party cannot passively watch Congress-League conflict growing, aid the one against the other and fan the flames of civil war instead of struggling its hardest to build their joint front for freedom's battle.

◆ Our Party cannot patiently hear slanders against itself repeated ad nauseam.

◆ Our Party cannot permit itself to be chained and gagged by a leadership that is leading our freedom movement to the rocks.

◆ Our Party will not let professional careerists disrupt the Kisan Sabhas and Trade Unions. We have spent all our young lives to build them up, they are joint Hindu-Muslim mass organisations and the living bases of the Indian democracy of the future.

We, Indian Communists, consider the existing anti-League and anti-Communist policy of the Congress High Command as direct encouragement to the forces of civil war and class war, which will lead to the ruin of our country and not to its freedom.

Instead of carrying out such a policy, we consider it our foremost duty to demarcate ourselves most sharply from it.

We are, therefore, directing our Party members to resign from the Congress. Our AICC members will, however, not resign. They will answer the 'charges' and face the verdict of the Working Committee against our Party and get it to opine on the issues that concerned the past as they will concern the future of our common national movement. After about two weeks, all documents will be available to the people to judge for themselves.

We are confident that all honest Congressmen will see that this, in the prevalent circumstances, is the best course both for the Congress and our Party. It will enable us to put our policy before Congressmen and the people without let or hindrance. It will enable the Congress to find its feet more naturally after three years of illegality. After all, how long will the ranks not ask the leadership: How is brother fighting brother the path to the freedom of the country?

By the conscious adoption of an anti-League and anti-Communist policy, the Congress leadership has, with its own hand, shattered not only our dream, but that of all genuine progressives, of seeing the Congress develop as the base and builder of the United National Front of our people.

As long as our country remains enslaved, the only path to our national independence lies through a National United Front of all popular forces.

In the extremely critical and difficult period that is coming ahead, we will ceaselessly work for Congress-League unity as also for Congress-Communist unity and create the basis of Congress-League-Communist unity inside one joint front for Indian freedom. With full faith in the patriotism of our Congress and League brothers we will work as unity-crusaders, patiently explaining the just viewpoint of the one to the other, and by ourselves going out to resist the unjust claims of the one against the other.

◆ Against the disruptors, we shall appeal to the commonsense of the common man.

◆ Against the slanderers, we shall supply true facts.

◆ Against the prejudiced, we shall pit our ardent patriotism.

The greatest argument for our policy will be the growing realisation among both Congressmen and Leaguers that the harder they fight each other or us, the firmer will be the grip of British reaction over the fate of us all.

Today we may be alone in working against the tide, but the tide will turn.

—How long can passion drown reason?

—How long can partisanship prevail over patriotism?

—How long can we remain apart and all under foreign rule?

What we say today all will see tomorrow through their own experience. We work and shall continue to work for a common front against common slavery and for common freedom. We shall win and not lose, for ours is the cause of all.

LASKI AND BRITISH LABOR

DR. G. P. O'DAY

PROFESSOR Harold J. Laski, President of the Executive of the British Labor Party, expounded its policy in an article printed on November 3rd in the "Argus." The Professor cheerfully and openly abandons any pretext of a scientific foundation for British Labor policy. Faith is his chosen basis. He asserts that "the British Labor Party is built upon faith in democratic socialism. It believes in freedom of speech and freedom of association. It believes in the right to constitutional opposition. It seeks therefore by constitutional means to transform Great Britain into a Socialist Commonwealth. Socialism is the public ownership of the means of production." And it also believes that "intensified struggle between the classes makes the task of democratic government far more difficult and encourages counter-revolution."

The British Labor Party clearly means to establish State Capitalism in Great Britain to a much greater extent than Hitler did in Germany. This State Capitalism is labelled Socialism by Laski and Co. Public ownership of the means of production can obviously be either State Capitalism or Socialism. It depends on the nature of the State whether capitalist or proletarian and Laski disclaims any intention of changing the State. Laski therefore confirms the Moscow estimate (made within 24 hours of Labor's electoral victory) that the British Labor Party's program does not transcend the bounds of the economic and political system established in Great Britain, and that Britain's foreign policy would not change, i.e., would remain imperialist.

According to Laski, the British Labor Party is opposed to confiscation and is going to buy out at market value the capitalist enterprises. Persons faithless in the Laski sense but shrewd might regard the British Labor Party as a kind of benevolent organisation using the State's resources to rescue British capitalist concerns in their present sad situation, to ensure the incomes of the rentiers and the financial oligarchs.

Laski hopes to avoid an intensified class struggle. It would be so unpleasant to his bondholders. It is certain, however, that this policy of the British Labor Party will lead to a most intense class struggle in Great Britain. The workers and lower middle classes will be ground down in the effort to pay the dividends to the capitalists and crises will become deeper not slighter—and this clearly holds good for the colonies as well.

The Communists will certainly support the move to State Capitalism, but will struggle to have this capitalism run in the interests of the workers. The Labor Party is sure to be split on this issue and its fifth column will move to the capitalists. It is hardly necesary to say where Laski will be found.

No amount of faith can alter facts. The wretched things have no respect for anything. Laski indeed has not sufficient respect for facts. He insinuates that the Soviet Union is not democratic—that Communists are immoral. In addition he distorts Lenin's account of the prerequisites for revolution—omitting, for example, the strongly organised, skilfully led Communist Party which Lenin always included.

It is clear that the fifth column in the British Labor movement hopes to play the part that Ebert and Co. played in Germany in 1918 and the succeeding years and save the bourgeoisie. Their hopes will be disappointed. Britain, unlike Germany in 1918, has a strong Communist Party—the whole revolutionary movement is a thousand times stronger in the world today—and the general crisis of capitalism is beyond comparison deeper. No stabilisation, even of a temporary nature as from 1923-28, will be achieved. Illusions therefore will find no support from a deceptive environment. Laski, Attlee and Co. with their friends Halifax, Keynes and Anderson have small chance of occupying the stage for long.

True as the foregoing is, we must not omit careful study of Laski and his manoeuvres. In this connection the history of the European Social Democratic Parties in the immediate period after the first World War and in the Great Crisis will give invaluable aid. In the defeated countries after 1918 the bourgeoisie handed over the government to the Social Democratic leaders, and made far-reaching concessions to the masses. The Social Democratic leaders fostered the illusions that the State is above classes, and that parliamentary democracy is the only road to the conquest of power which must proceed step by step without any use of force. They announced that there was no general crisis of capitalism; that it still had a long period of advancement before it and that the transition to socialism had already begun. In the great crisis they tried to create a new program, that would satisfy the workers and keep them with the Social Democrats and keep the bourgeoisie from driving out the reformists and resorting to fascism. The Belgian de Man plan was the most successful effort in this direction. The workers were told that banks, railroads and mining would be nationalised, that this was a step towards socialism, and the bourgeoisie were assured that there would be no confiscation, that the plan would depend on peacefully winning a majority in Parliament. Socialism for the workers —State aid for the monopoly capitalists.

Laski is evidently not original.

There is still another aspect of Laski. On November 15 he denounced the policy in Indonesia and in India. That is, while Bevin continues the policy of British imperialism, Laski scolds. In Lenin's words, "the cook scolds, the cat keeps on eating the chicken." Here is exemplified another function of the left Reformist, viz., to utter left noises while the bourgeois policy is carried on by the opportunists.

Laski is worth some study, you will agree. There are Laskis in Australia also.

BASIC LAWS OF DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY

K. OSTROVITIANOV.

(Continued)

IV.

THE socialist mode of production brings into being new, hitherto unseen factors and stimuli to the development of productive forces. In the place of the capitalist pursuit of profits, the decisive factor for the development of economic forces under socialist conditions is the socialist principle of distribution according to labor. The historic mission of socialism is to create a higher level of labor productiveness than under capitalism and to ensure such a growth of productive forces that it will lead to a surplus of products and make possible the distribution according to needs on the higher phase of communism. But in the stage of socialism a higher productiveness of labor can be attained only by means of a stimulus such as material interest, and this is therefore embodied in the socialist principle of distribution according to labor. The fullest satisfaction of the needs of the toilers, on the given level of productive forces, is one of the basic tasks in the development of socialist production.

The Soviet system of economy implies, in Stalin's words, that "the development of production is subject, not to the principle of competition and the insuring of capitalist profit, but to the principle of planned leadership and systematic elevation of the material and cultural level of the toilers." The socialist principle of distribution according to labor has for the first time in history created all the conditions necessary for the honest concordance of personal interests with social interests. "Socialism," Stalin remarked in his conversation with Wells, "does not deny, but rather merges individual interests with the interests of the collectives. Socialism cannot abstract from individual interests. On the contrary, only a socialist society can give the fullest satisfaction to these individual interests. Socialist society, in fact, offers the only solid guarantee that the interests of the individual will be protected."

The socialist principle of distribution according to labor was crystallized in struggle against levelling tendencies which revealed the survivals of capitalist thinking in economics and in popular consciousness. The forms in which the socialist principle is realised are diverse; piece-payment for workers, higher rates of pay for engineering and technical personnel, payment by work-days and supplementary payments for collective farmers. All these concrete forms serve as stimuli for the development of industry and agriculture at the stage of socialism.

The most important factor in the development of productive forces at the stage of socialism is socialist competition, and its highest form is the Stakhanovite movement. The idea of socialist competition, which Lenin had already put forth, was further developed in the works of Stalin, showing the profound difference of principle between socialist competition and capitalist competition. The basis of the latter is the savage law of the struggle of one against the other; of the enrichment of some through the ruin of others; of the swallowing by the powerful capitalists of the smaller capitalists. The basis of socialist rivalry is the principle of comradely co-operation and socialist mutual aid on the part of the toilers.

At the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, Stalin gave a noteworthy analysis of the Stakhanov movement as the highest stage of socialist competition and the most important new factor in the upswing of socialist production: "The basis for the Stakhanov movement was first and foremost the radical improvement in the material welfare of the workers . . . Our revolution is the only one which not only smashed the fetters of capitalism and brought the people freedom, but also succeeded in creating the material conditions for a prosperous life for the people. Therein lies the strength and invincibility of our revolution."

Thus, material interest, expressed in the socialist principle of payment according to work, is one of the basic incentives to socialist competition, reaching its highest stage in the Stakhanov movement.

One of the most important preconditions to that movement is the change in the character of social work which occurs with the transition to socialism. In Stalin's words: "Here people work not for exploiters, not for the enrichment of parasites, but for themselves, for their class, for their Soviet society." He called the Stakhanov movement "the most living and unconquerable movement of today." It is clear that the new progressive tendencies, arising as our economy develops, are grasped theoretically by our Party and its chief, Comrade Stalin, and are put to use in socialist construction.

At the outset of the Stakhanov movement Stalin divined the strikingly progressive nature of the phenomenon. He saw it as the most important factor in the development of productive forces, containing the inception of the future culture and technical rise of the working class. He saw it opening the way for the attainment of the high indices of labor productiveness necessary for the transition from socialism to communism and for the annihilation of the contradiction between mental and physical labor. The Party and the Soviet state, equipped with Stalin's ideas, headed the Stakhanov movement, organised it and thereby gave it an enormous transforming force.

During the Great Patriotic War, socialist competition and the Stakhanov movement acquired an unprecedented scope. In factories and mills and collective farms, popular initiative and creativeness expanded to their full power. Workers, collective farmers and intellectuals overfulfilled productive plans; in incredibly short periods of time they erected new factories, mines, and electro-stations, added new lines to railroads, and cut through canals. Thousands, tens of thousands of efficiency suggestions were introduced, and led to increases in the productiveness of labor and to economies in raw materials. All this is a most important factor in the development of socialist production, and one of tremendous military significance.

V.

The basic laws of the socialist expansion of production were formulated by Stalin. In "On Dialectical and Historical Materialism" he showed that in contradistinction to capitalism, which develops on the basis of a profound antagonistic contradiction between the social character of production and private property in the means of production, socialism requires a full congruence of the socialist productive relations with the productive forces. Soviet economy has no crises of overproduction, no unemployment; and it ensures an uninterrupted growth of productive forces as opposed to the cyclical development of capitalism. The continuous growth of production is an economic law of the development of the socialist mode of production.

The reports made by Stalin at the Party congresses contain the basis of another very important law of socialist expansion of production—the law of the continuous growth of the material and cultural level of the working masses of the U.S.S.R. In his Report to the Sixteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party in 1930, he gave a profound demonstration of this law, linking the growth of the material and cultural level of the workers with the socialist character of Soviet economy, and with the growth of socialist productive forces and the development of socialist productive relations. "It turns out," he said, "that the progressive growth of the socialised sector, both in the sphere of industry and in the sphere of agriculture, is a fact beyond all possibility of doubt. What can this mean from the standpoint of the material position of the toilers? It means that thereby the foundations have been laid for the radical improvement of the material and cultural position of workers and peasants."

Stalin's report on the results of the first five-year plan points out how the development of a socialist industry and a collective agriculture in the U.S.S.R. have led to the liquidation of urban unemployment and a checking of the differentiation among farmers. Village pauperism was wiped out. With the elimination of the basic causes of the impoverishment of the toilers under capitalism, the prerequisites were given for the continuous rise in the material and cultural level of the workers of the Soviet Union. Stalin also pointed out that the uninterrupted growth of productive forces, stimulated by the socialist principle of distribution according to labor and by socialist competition, together with the development of socialist forms of economy, not only furnishes the prerequisites for the rise of the material and cultural level of the workers, but makes that rise an economic necessity. This is one of the most important factors of the crisis-free development of socialist economy. "The systematic improvement in the material situation of the workers and the uninterrupted growth of their effective demands, which is a constantly growing source for the expansion of production, guarantees the working class from crises of overproduction."

Socialist-expanded reproduction makes it possible to combine continuous rises in the material and cultural level of the workers with continuous growth in socialist accumulation. Socialist accumulation has as its source the surplus product created in socialist production. The labor of the worker must not only ensure the reproduction of labor power, but must also give rise to a surplus product, which goes toward the further expansion of production and the strengthening of the country's power of defence and independence.

Up to recently, the view was widely held among certain economists that surplus product is an exploitative category, and that under socialism there is no surplus product. Stalin showed that this view is radically incorrect: surplus product exists in our economy, and without it you cannot build the new society. Labor under socialism must not only cover the worker's pay in accordance with the socialist principle of payment according to labor, but must also create a surplus product, which is needed for the further expansion of production, for the national defence, and for improving the condition of the workers. Surplus product is the fund from which the Soviet state derives the means for continuous socialist expansion of production and for ensuring the national power of defence.

The norm of socialist accumulation is set by the Soviet government in dependence on the con-

crete tasks which arise in the process of socialist construction. But the following basic principles, lying at the basis of the socialist expansion of production, can be formulated. The growth of labor productiveness must outstrip the growth of wages. This is the necessary prerequisite of socialist accumulation, of socialist-expanded reproduction. The distribution of the newly created product into a fund of individual consumption and a fund of expanded reproduction must ensure: (1) the growth of the material and cultural level of the workers; (2) the growth of socialist accumulation; (3) an acceleration of development of the productive forces of Soviet economy in relation to that of the most advanced capitalist countries.

VI.

A great contribution to the theory of the political economy of a socialist society was made in Stalin's treatment of the question of the role of the law of value, and of commodity-money relations in socialist economy. He uncovered the dialectic of the transformation of trade and money under socialism from an instrument of bourgeois economy into a tool of socialist construction. In addition, he posed anew the question of commodity-money relations in the stage of socialism. Generalising from the practice of socialist construction, he came to the conclusion that commodity-money relations cannot be done away with at the stage of socialism, that "money will be with us for a long time, up to the completion of the first stage of communism—the socialist stage of development."

Under his leadership the Party routed the leftist "theories" of the withering away of trade and money in a socialist society. Up to very recently the view prevailed among Soviet economists that, despite the existence of trade and money, the law of value had been done away with in Soviet economy. Such a statement of the question suffered from a deep internal contradiction. It is impossible to recognise the presence of trade and money and at the same time to deny the existence of value. To do so is equivalent to granting the form and denying the content, inasmuch as the content of the money form is value. The price of the commodity is nothing but the value expressed in money.

Consistently developing his doctrine of trade and money, Stalin showed that the law of value has not disappeared under socialism, that it is active in Soviet economy in transformed shape. His theory with respect to the law of value and commodity-money relations under socialism is one of the most vital contributions to the economic theory of socialism, and has enormous practical, as well as theoretical significance. The question arises: "Why do commodity-money relations and the law of value keep their significance and remain in force under socialism?"

In our state and co-operative kolkhoz enterprises, social labor prevails in direct form. But at the same time, as the practice of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. has shown, it is impossible at the stage of socialism to do without commodity-money relations and proceed to account for labor directly by working time. The necessity for maintaining and utilising commodity-money relations in Soviet economy is related to the characteristics of socialist labor. As we have seen, labor under socialism has altered its nature; the Soviet man does not work for a capitalist, but for himself, for society. But under socialism a level of production has not yet been reached where distribution according to needs is assured. The personal material interest of the worker in his work is one of the weightiest factors in developing productive forces at the stage of socialism, and this factor is utilised to increase production, in accordance with the socialist principle of pay: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his labor."

The socialist principle of distribution according to work requires a control exercised by society upon the amount of work done and upon the amount of consumption; and this in turn requires an accounting of work, which at the stage of socialism is carried out in money form. The same socialist principle is at the basis of the economic book-keeping method of directing socialist enterprises. Lenin summoned us to build socialism, "not on the basis of immediate enthusiasm, but with the aid of the enthusiasm born of the great revolution, on personal interest, on personal interestedness, on economic book-keeping."

In conformity with economic book-keeping, the workers of socialist enterprises are bound to compare and match expenditures with receipts, to carry operations on economically, to fulfil and overfulfil plans, to raise the productiveness of labor, to lower costs, to increase the profitability of the enterprise. Without comparing the expenditure of labor with its results, it is impossible to develop socialist economy. But this comparison, at the stage of socialism, can be only in money form.

At the stage of socialism there occur differences in the social-economic nature of labor which arise from two forms of property. The worker labors in a government enterprise, the kolkhoznik in a co-operative farming enterprise. State socialist industry furnishes the kolkhozes with its products, and receives raw materials and food from them in return. This link between industry and agriculture is realised in money form. The social-economic heterogeneity of the work of the worker and that of the kolkhoznik makes it impossible to calculate labor directly in labor time, and makes money reckoning necessary. In the process of exchange between industry and agriculture a comparison of the worker's labor with that of the kolkhoznik takes place in money form; takes place on the basis of the law of value.

Moreover, at the stage of socialism, there are differences between skilled and unskilled labor, between mental and physical labor. These differences have great economic importance. Skilled and mental workers create a greater value per unit of time than unskilled and physical workers, and should therefore receive higher pay, in accordance with the socialist principle of payment according to work. Increasing the pay of skilled and mental labor at the stage of socialism is a very important factor in socialist progress. It gives the worker a material incentive to improve. This results in a rise in socialist production and leads to the elimination of the distinction between mental and physical labor in the higher phase of communism.

In addition to the socio-economic differences, significant differences remain in the technical equipment of the various branches of industry and various enterprises, variations in the degree of mechanization, automatization, chemicalization, electrification of the labor processes. The hour's work of one worker does not equal the hour's work of another worker. That is why it is impossible to reckon labor directly by working time; a money accounting on the basis of the law of value must be retained.

The necessity for retaining the law of value under socialism follows too from the nature of co-operative-kolkhoz property. Between the kolkhozes, on the one hand, and government enterprises on the other, as well as between kolkhozes themselves, there exists a social division of labor. In order to satisfy its productive needs and the individual needs of its members, the kolkhoz must exchange a part of its production for the products of other kolkhozes and of government industrial plants. The same applies to individual kolkhozniks, who receive products in kind according to work days and produce goods in their individual auxiliary economy. They consume a part of this production, but sell a part on the market, in order to purchase, with the money earned, the things they need for the manifold satisfaction of their individual requirements.

The presence of kolkhoz-co-operative property makes kolkhoz trade necessary. The kolkhoz, and even more the kolkhozniks, must realise a certain part of their production on the kolkhoz market. For the workers and employees, the kolkhoz market is an additional source for realising their pay. On the market, prices are set on the basis of supply and demand. From this there follows the existence of random elements in Soviet trade. The kolkhoz market to a certain extent retains the haphazard form of manifestation of the law of value, and there occurs a fortuitous equating of one commodity to another by means of exchange, although the Soviet state also carries on the economic regulation of market trading, making use of the law of value.

Such are the causes which condition the existence of the law of value and commodity-money relations in the stage of socialism.

Stalin has shown that the law of value acts in Soviet economy in an altered form. What is the essence of this transformation? The law of value is transformed among us from the fundamental economic law which it is under capitalism into a subordinate economic law. Its action is conditioned and limited by the fundamental laws of the socialist mode of production, and first of all by the law of planned leadership. Under capitalism, the law of value is the means by which the labor and the means of production are distributed among the various branches, and this distribution is regulated by the deviation of prices from value. Capital tends to those branches where prices are higher and hence profits greater, and leaves the less profitable branches where prices are lower.

In socialist economy, the distribution of labor and the means of production among the various branches of the national economy takes place not on the basis of a fortuitous movement of prices and the pursuit of profits, but on the basis of planned leadership making use of the law of value. We plan production and distribution of the social product not only in natural, but also in money form. In this case the law of value plays the role of an auxiliary tool of planned distribution of labor and means of production among the branches of Soviet economy.

Accounting for social labor in socialist economy is carried out in money form with the aid of the law of value. But, in contrast to capitalism, the law of value acts in socialist society not as an anarchic force ruling over men, but as an understood necessity. The Soviet state masters it and consciously puts it to use in the practice of socialist construction, as a tool of planned leadership of national economy.

The productive plan envisages a definite growth in the productiveness of labor and a decrease in the cost of production, that is, of the decisive factors in production, which determine the value of the commodity. The Soviet state makes use of the law of value to carry out a definite price policy. In planning prices it begins with the social expenses of production, that is, the total outlay of labor, whether contemporary, past, or in the form of money. We plan prices within the framework of the law of value. This signifies that the sum of the prices of goods in socialist economy must coincide with the sum of the values. But within these limits the Soviet state, guided by the interests of socialist construction, can set prices on some goods below their value, and on other goods above their value.

Thus, the law of value acts in socialist economy in altered form, as a weapon of planned leadership, a weapon of socialist construction. The Soviet state applies the law of value in accounting for labor in money form, in planning prices, in realising the socialist principle of payment according to labor; it utilises this law as a tool of economic book-keeping and as one of the levers affecting the kolkhoz market.

All these questions assumed an especial importance during the Great Patriotic War, which demanded the strictest economy in the expenditure

of the resources of our economy. The Party and the Soviet state, simultaneously setting in motion economic, political and ideological factors in realising the magnificent tasks of socialist construction, ensure tempi of economic development unattainable under any other mode of production. This war, the greatest the world has ever seen, has subjected the Soviet economy to an extremely severe test. Soviet economy has stood the test with honor. During the war, the advantages of the Soviet economic system and the vitality of the principles on which socialist construction in our country is based have emerged with especial clarity. The demands which the war made on our economy not only did not contradict the principles and methods of socialist management, but, on the contrary, imperiously dictated their universal application and further development.

On the basis of the advanced technique developed in the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, and on the basis of a powerful socialist industry and kolkhoz system, we were able to cope with the most complex problems of war-time. In the first phase of the war, the enemy temporarily occupied an enormous territory possessing the greatest industrial and agricultural importance. But even under those conditions the Soviet economic system was able to provide the front with the weapons, equipment, and rations it needed. "It is extremely probable," Stalin said at that time, "that any other state, after such losses of territory . . . . would not have stood the test and would have gone under. If the Soviet system stood the test so easily, and even increased the strength of its rear, that signifies that the Soviet system is today the strongest of systems."

Soviet industry unstintingly supplied, and continues to supply, the Red Army with the best in war material. Socialist agriculture, with equal success, is coping with its tasks, and assuring the Red Army with provisions, and industry with the necessary raw materials. In the most difficult of war-time conditions, our Soviet economy, on an increasing scale, is realising the socialist-expanded reproduction. During the years of the war, there has been extensive new construction of blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces, and rolling mills. New electro-stations and factories have been built, new mines opened. The renaissance of the liberated regions is going forward at an unprecedented tempo.

All this expresses the monolithic, indivisible unity of front and rear, the unity of the entire Soviet people, mustered around the Party of Lenin and Stalin. In his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Party, Comrade Stalin said that "in case of war, the rear and the front of our army, because of their homogeneity and inherent unity, will be stronger than those of any other country, a fact which people beyond our borders who love military conflicts would do well to remember." Those were prophetic words. The delirious bands of Hitlerite imperialists did not take into account this warning, and so they encountered the full force of the crushing blows of the Red Army, made possible by the solidity of the Soviet rear.

ART FOR ART'S SAKE?

A. JACKSON-THOMAS
(A New Zealand Reader)

THE "Communist Review" for October published an article by "An English Reader" on "Music and Politics." The writer pleads for a broader approach to music than is sometimes accorded by party members. At first glance the article gives satisfaction as saying something which should be said. But after a while a more cautious note impresses itself. It becomes necessary to analyse just what was said and what was left unsaid before too many babies are thrown out with this dish of bath-water.

First it is said, in rather more words, that the economic element is not the only determining factor in artistic development. It is stated that the great artist rises above the limitations of his time. Then it is said that "political analysis will help us to understand the setting in which a particular piece of music appears, but it will tell us little about whether the music is good or bad."

Quite right, but here the issue is neatly sidestepped by the use of the word "political." If the word "Marxist" had been used a new complexion would have been placed on the matter. Has Marxism nothing to add to music? Do we nail the banner of "Art for Art's Sake" firmly to the mast? Do we issue a slogan calling for liberal eclecticism—in music at any rate? I think not. But there is a danger that this may be read into the article.

As far as music is concerned, Marxism is concerned with criticism. Our writer complains of political dogmatism about music. The difficulty is that some, because they have some knowledge of Marxist method, attempt to apply "general principles" when they have no technical or practical knowledge of the particular field. Their opinions do not arise out of a study of a subject, but from some "absolute" which they apply by rule of thumb to the particular case. This has queer outcomes and sends them whoring after strange gods sometimes.

Lenin said at the third convention of the R.Y.C.L., "Without understanding clearly that only by an exact knowledge of the culture created by the entire development of mankind: only by working it over can a proletarian culture be built up." And it might be added by corollary that only on a basis of exact knowledge and "working over" can we presume to dismiss (or acclaim) any artistic work with high-sounding Marxist phrases. The Marxist music critic must be both a Marxist and a musician. This should be obvious enough.

But our writer, because of the abstract nature of music, tends implicitly to set it "above the battle." Do we even renounce music as a propaganda weapon, as the writer asks? We don't demand set patterns. If a "Marxist" dogmatises, he, by that action, proclaims that he is no Marxist. But Marxism has something to add to music as it has to physics or any other branch of knowledge or art. Music has ivory towers like any other art.

Glinka once said, "It is the people who create; we the composers, but arrange . . ." Soviet composers believe this. Lenin demanded realism in art and more than once stood out against the petty-bourgeois idealistic aesthetic tendencies among which formalism occupied the leading role. Indeed the story of the development of the arts in the USSR is the story of the struggle against formalism, the addiction to "forms," "modernism," "novelty." In the drama, for example, formalism usually expressed itself in clever-clever productions in which neither the play nor the actors could be seen, only the producer and his tricks. Formalism is having a vogue on the Auckland amateur stage at the moment.

The battle was joined with the formalists in the early thirties (on the stage the "great Meyerhold" fell by the wayside). The formalists fought against a Marxist understanding of art and developed dangerous anti-Leninist tendencies. Bukharin, with his mechanical philosophical conceptions and his opportunist political program, was their theoretician. Culture was to Bukharin ("English Reader" take note) a purely spiritual process, perfecting itself independent of the socio-economic conditions. Later formalism became transformed into an openly reactionary idealistic theory waging an active war against Marxism. But it was a war which Marxism won.

So if it is said, what concern is it of the movement if artists embrace formalism, serve naturalism, arty-craftyness or whatever the spirits moves them to, or why shouldn't the artist be given the right to go wherever his unfettered soul leads him, regardless of "political dogmatism," we should remember that the followers of a particular artistic trend in the USSR drifted to a Rightist position and found themselves in the camp of those who were proved to have planned the military defeat of the Soviet Union with the Nazis, the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. These things do not happen by accident.

Perhaps the boldest example of what Marxism can do for music (or would "English Reader" cry "axe to grind?") was the case of Shostakovich. His opera, "Lady Macbeth of Mzensk," in 1932, and the ballet, "Clear Water Springs," went off to a good start. But Soviet music scholars strongly criticised his formalism—his music was subjected to the severest enquiry and was pronounced false to Soviet artistic ideals. (A "specious political theory," "English Reader?")

Shostakovich was a big man. He took the criticism. He entered into a long period of struggle with the problem and finally found new artistic methods for the creation of his music, completely different forms from those he had used before, forms which were in accord with Marxist philosophy. The result we know—to-day he is acclaimed as a master all over the world.

In 1937 he had overcome his weaknesses and wrote the Fifth Symphony. Our writer seems to imply that music is a "special" case, that because of its abstract nature it should be immune from criticism which is earthy. There is no special case. Music has no mystical quality. It was in the abstract Fifth Symphony that Soviet critics found the new Shostakovich.

"English Reader" quotes the example of the agelessness of the Greek arts and says: " . . . the greater the artist, the more he is able to rise above the limitations of his time and social circumstances and to find a beauty which outlasts even the most decisive changes in those circumstances." But if one had to prophesy which of the living composers would be embraced by future generations, surely the "acceptances" would include this same Shostakovich and the Prokofiev who abandoned an adulating West to return to the USSR because he lacked subject matter. "It is essential to feel in music the day that is to be," he said.

In an article, "Party Organisation and Party Literature," Lenin said (speaking of literature—and that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it has a relevancy), "there is no denying the fact that in this field there must be the widest freedom for individual initiative, individual bents, free swing for thoughts and imagination, form and content. There is no gainsaying all this, but it merely proves that the literary side of the proletarian party business cannot be tritely identified with other phases of the proletarian party business. Far be it from us to propose any uniform system or the solution of the problem by a few resolutions—no, there can be no question of schematisation in this field. The thing is for our entire Party, for the entire conscious socialist proletariat to realise this new problem, to state it clearly . . . we want to create . . . in the sense of freedom from the domination of capital, freedom from career making: more freedom also from bourgeois anarchist individualism."

This age makes special demands on the artist. it is the age of urgency. In the period of the rise and fall of imperialism, it is the artist who feels this urgency and who has the ability who will do the most solid work. There are no absolutes in

art any more than in anything else and the artist who steps aside from the struggles which are the most significant thing in the world to-day will get tangled up with formalism. This does not mean that his work may not have a vogue—or even not be interesting, but the hand of decadance will be on it and time will deal harshly with it.

It is not that crude "propaganda" is demanded of the artist, or even that what he has to say must be apparent to all who examine his work, but the Marxist does rightly criticise him for his reaction to the society in which he belongs.

"English Reader" says, "The history of human culture has witnessed the progressive disassociation of beauty from function, and the tearing apart of the limits imposed on the human mind and imagination by the material conditions of life." Yes. Compared with the Stone Age the "progressive disassociation" is great. But how far does the "disassociation" apply to the average worker in 1945? The arts are, by and large, the monopoly of those sections of the community which don't have to worry so much about the "material conditions of life," the ruling class.

The American, A. Stork, once wrote, "The proletariat does not play the role of the poor relative that has received an 'inheritance' in order to live off the interest of it. The proletariat . . . accepts the inheritance belonging to it, of the best mankind has achieved, and creatively absorbing and mastering it, builds the foundation of its own class culture."

"English Reader" does not want us to use music "as a means of political propaganda." Undoubtedly we should not judge music by its value as a propaganda or even ask that a narrow "political content" be considered of much value in music, but this does not mean the complete renunciation of music as propaganda. Does the fact that Hitler prostituted Wagner and Beethoven to "the mystical Aryan destiny of Germany" have any great significance? He prostituted May Day also, but that does not affect our attitude to the day.

Are we as revolutionists wrong in making certain demands on music in this day? In an achieved socialist society with security and leisure for the masses, music can become as "disassociated" as you like, but to-day there is the "urgency" mentioned above and we must use whatever weapons come to our hands, even music, if need be. "English Reader" objects because "such methods are rightly suspect amongst sincere artists, and make them feel that Communist interest in culture is only skin deep." That is so if the interest is only skin deep (as it often may be), but if the Communist has something to offer, if his love of the art is sincere and if his approach is sound, not sectarian, these people will respect him.

All this may seem rather academic as far as New Zealand is concerned, where the Party's concern with music has been slight, but the discussion is of importance to other arts as well (and who knows when we may want to "break out" musically?)

Here we have not even made the most of our working class songs, mainly I suppose because of a lack of musical talent in the Party. While not suggesting for a moment that our musical diet should be restricted to these items, these songs, if we familiarised ourselves with them and used them, would have the effect of heightening the emotional feeling that we are part of a great historical movement—and would tend to make others feel that they wanted to "be in." It would, of course, be possible to overdo this sort of thing, but in New Zealand at any rate we have a long way to go before we need be worried about that.

The Internationale is a case in point. Technically it is not a good composition, but the associations it has gathered about it make that a trivial consideration. Its history has made it great music. Like Edgar Wallace, it is impossible not to be thrilled by the Internationale! And by saying these things it does not mean that we wipe off Sibelius!

We would agree with "English Reader" in denouncing economic determination in music, but then why should it be considered that we would indulge in it in music when we deny the concept in every other field?

If the opportunity occurs to use the music which is part of our inheritance as a weapon in the struggle, we do so. We should avoid sectarianism in our approach to music or any other art. It would be foolish to get all worked up trying to work out an "attitude" to a Schubert song or a Bach Fugue, but that does not mean that Marxism by-passes music. Nor does it mean that we accept everything the musician offers us, judging only by individualist, bourgeois standards. But if there is any judging to be done, let the judge be both Marxist and musician.

HISTORIC LESSONS OF THE STRUGGLE IN GREECE

Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.)

ON April 5-10, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.), holding its 11th plenary session, discussed the following subjects:—

1. **The activities of the Party in the past year since the meeting of the Tenth Plenum and the new tasks of the K.K.E.**
2. **The organisational development and the adaptation of its organisational policy to the present needs of the work of the K.K.E.**
3. **The convocation of the Seventh Convention of the K.K.E.**
4. **The election of the Political Bureau.**

It was decided to hold the Seventh Convention of the K.K.E. in 1945. All decisions were unanimous.

The Plenum unanimously approved the decision of the Political Bureau to reinstate all comrades and members of the "Old Central Committee" of the last period of the fascist dictatorship of the 4th of August.*

The Presidium.

The Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the K.K.E. meets at this historic moment when the war is terminating and the peoples of Europe, relying on the anti-fascist aims of the war, are free to enter the road of securing the victory. The victorious armies of the Allies, of the Red Army from the East and the Anglo-American and French armies from the West, are approaching Berlin. The Yalta agreement, an extension of the Atlantic and Teheran agreements, demands the uprooting of fascism, guarantees the free democratic development of all countries, and ensures the great progressive changes that are being achieved in the liberated countries of Europe. Even in the satellite Axis countries, fascism is being uprooted, collaborators are being punished and the democratic regeneration is being achieved steadily. This course is being taken in a severe struggle against facism because, despite military defeat, it does not lay down its arms, but, as an ideology, as an organisation and as a remnant of the State machinery, it bends its desperate efforts to retain its footing and hold its forces together in order to thwart the work of peace and democratic regeneration.

Like a tragic note of discord in what is taking place all over Europe and, even more manifestly, in the neighboring Balkan countries, our country has fallen again into the hands of black reaction, which resorted to armed intervention by means of a coup d'etat in December, in order to check the course of peaceful democratic development.

The year which has passed since the Tenth Plenum has been characterised by the greatest development of the national liberation war in the cities and in the mountains intensified by the efforts of the K.K.E. to bring about the unity of all national forces in the liberation struggle against the conqueror, for the liberation of Greece.

The creation of the Political Committee of National Liberation (P.E.E.A.) and the convocation of the National Council* constitute historic landmarks in the development of the national resistance movement and in the realisation of national unity against the conquerors, as well as for the democratic regeneration of our country. The declaration on the sanctity of freedom and labor, the adoption of the equality of women, the official adoption of the living language of the people, the granting of the right of the new generation to participate in all manifestations of political and social life, the application of a series of measures for the benefit of the people (the granting of forests to communities, Community Welfare, etc.), and in particular, the adoption of the institutions of self-administration and people's justice, constitute the greatest democratic conquest in the history of our nation and the foundations for the genuine democratic regeneration of Greece.

The K.K.E., consistent in its policy of national unity, participated in the Lebanon Conference and in the National Unity Government in order to concentrate all national forces in the struggle against the conquerors and ensure a normal development.

The E.L.A.S. developed to the highest degree its offensive action against the conquerors in the mountains and the cities. It crippled the enemy communications, exterminated many thousands of invaders and carried out in full the plans of the Allied High Command of the Middle East.

With their blood, with the aid of the Allies, and especially with the descent of the Red Army in the Balkans, the Greek people succeeded in liberating their country and ensuring exemplary order and security throughout the country.

The extreme reactionary Right tries to check the recreative work of peace and the normal, post-war evolution. The men of the 4th of August, the collaborators with the conquerors, the lackeys of foreigners, the merchants of patriotism, the black marketeers, the black market merchants of the pople's hunger and misery with Glucksburg (King George II.) as the main instigator behind the scenes —all the vicious plutocratic world trembling before the democratic emancipation of the people, placed their personal, party and class interests above the national interest and reacted from the very beginning against the National Liberation Front. They

*The 4th of August, 1936, is the date when the Metaxas dictatorship was established.

* The National Council called after the elections in free Greece in 1944 elected a National Assembly.

slandered the struggle of the resistance forces, bent every effort to halt and paralyse the struggle of the national and, for this purpose, did not even hesitate to come out in an open, armed collaboration with the conqueror.

Abroad, even before the formation of a national government, reaction launched the civil war, dissolved the heroic army of the Middle East, interned tens of thousands of the heroes of El Alamein in concentration camps, and deprived Greece of the honor of being present in the Allied war fronts with an important army in fighting shape. In the interior, in collaboration with the quislings, reaction armed the Security Battalions and the "National" fascist organisations with Greek and Allied arms. It sowed discord and spread civil war together with the conquerors and against the struggling nation.

Even after the formation of a National Unity Government, Greek reaction did not abandon its aim to crush the people's democratic movement which constituted a guarantee for democracy, in order to restore fascism. For this anti-national purpose, Papandreou, a Premier of the National Unity Government, invited sizeable British forces to Greece even before the liberation of the country, to rely on them in his move to organise a monarcho-fascist conspiracy. Therefore, instead of dissolving the armed fascist gangsters, he armed them; instead of punishing the collaborators and purging the State machinery, he retained them and reinstated them in the State services; instead of sending the armed forces to liberate the enslaved areas of our country and to the Allied war fronts, he forced the immediate dissolution of the E.L.A.S.; instead of creating a National Army, he organised a Praetorian Army against the people.

It is evident that the reactionary extreme Right was travelling steadily along a pre-outlined plan of extermination of the people's democratic movement, in order to prevent normal development and to establish a regime of fascist violence indispensable to the compulsion of the popular masses and make them pay again with their life for all the destruction of war and foreign occupation.

The reactionary Right relied on the Churchill Government, and put into effect anti-national and anti-popular plans when it organised the conspiracy, the blood shedding of the unarmed Athenian people on December 3, 4, and 5. The Greek people were faced with the dilemma either of bowing their heads or accepting the provocation and defending, even with their arms, their threatened liberties and the future of their country.

The December struggle was an all-people's armed resistance against the coup d'etat of reaction which sought to check violently the normal and peaceful democratic development of the country. That conflict was the peak in the struggle of our nation for the democratic resurgence and independence of Greece. It was a manifestation by deeds of the struggle carried on by all freedom-loving peoples against the dark forces of international reaction. The struggle of December created a great and precious moral asset in the interior and abroad, an asset which will very soon achieve fruition, because it is a struggle absolutely in accordance with the declared purposes and the moral principles of the war waged by progressive mankind. The struggle of December places the Greek people in the front ranks of the liberation struggle of the peoples for the crushing of the dark forces of violence, for the realisation of the anti-fascist principles of the war, of democracy and national independence.

Our Party proudly salutes the whole people of Greece, the heroic fighters of the E.L.A.S. and of El Alamein, the people of Athens and Piraeus who astonished all of mankind with their heroism and self-sacrifice and raised themselves to the magnificent heights of the principles for which all freedom-loving humanity is struggling. Our Party stands reverently before the fighters of the E.L.A.S. and all those who offered their blood as a libation for the realisation of those aims in our own country.

Our Party offers a brotherly, anti-fascist, democratic salute to the parties and the organisations of the glorious E.A.M. which embraces the most vital, democratic section of our nation and constitutes a guarantee for the freedom, independence and democratic regeneration of Greece.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the K.K.E. testifies to the correctness of the political line and the tactics of the Party. The policy of the union of all national forces in the struggle against the conquerors for the liberation and the ensuring of a normal, democratic development is justified by the course of events. Owing to this policy our Party mobilised and aroused the whole nation around the national resistance war. It created the gigantic people's organisations of the resistance—E.A.M., E.P.O.N.,* E.L.A.S. It roused a broad people's struggle in the cities and in the country-side, which saved the Greek people from hunger, from becoming hostages and from Hitlerite mobilisation. Owing to this policy the E.L.A.S. army was created, with its heroic achievements, as well as the magnificent work of the Political Committee of National Liberation and the National Council. This policy brought about the great, mass Communist Party, with hundreds of thousands of members, which constitutes the greatest guarantee in the struggle for the democratic regeneration of Greece.

The Plenum of the Central Committee also testifies that in the practical application of the political line of the Party there were some marked serious shortcomings, weaknesses, mistakes, vacillations to the Right and to the Left which brought more difficulties to the course of our struggle for the uprooting of fascism and democratic regeneration. The most serious mistakes of a Right character were:

(a) The agreement of Lebanon, which did not correspond to the concrete correlation of forces and, consequently, did not advance and ensure to the proper degree the realisation of national unity and normal democratic development against the plottings of reaction. The Caserta Agreement, as a continuation of the Lebanon Agreement, was also a mistake of a Rightist character.

* Union of Political Organisations of Youth.

(b) The endorsing by Communist members of the Cabinet of the Government's economic measures and the failure of timely and decisive intervention by the leadership of the Party in order to make clear the responsibilities of the K.K.E. in the economic policy of the Government of National Unity.

In particular, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the K.K.E. underlines the mistakes committed during the December conflict, mistakes of a military and Leftist political character caused by the incorrect estimation of the disposition and the role of the English Government of Churchill; the under-estimation of the forces of reaction, in the interior and abroad; the over-estimation of our own potentialities; and, in the main, the lack of the necessary political flexibility. These things prevented the Party leadership from having a clear perspective of the course of the conflict and brought them to miss opportunities for an agreement with the English military authorities under more favorable terms than those of the Varkiza Agreement made after a military defeat in Athens.

(c) The arrest of non-combatant persons, although a defence measure against the savage persecution and hostage-taking of Papandreou-Scobie, was a serious political mistake which gave the reaction the opportunity to raise a campaign of slanders for the purpose of covering up its own crimes.

The armed intervention of Mr. Churchill's British forces in December has prevented for the time being the normal democratic process and progress; has thrown Greece back to the times of the coups d'etat and dictatorships, to the barbarous fascist forces and to anarchy in which the monarcho-fascist bands of collaborators are revelling. This intervention has sharpened considerably the already acute Greek problem and has rendered its solution more painful.

The Resistance Movement which has brought glory to Greece, this most vital, anti-fascist power of the country which is the greatest title of national honor, is now undergoing severe persecution. Its fighters are being hunted, imprisoned, murdered. Participation in the liberation struggle is considered a crime and is being persecuted. The fighting men and officers of the E.L.A.S. are not accepted in the new army which acquires a class character, an anti-people's fascist form. The collaborators who co-operated with the invaders are rewarded for their acts of betrayal. In all the State machinery, the people of the 4th of August and the collaborators of the occupationists predominate. The treacherous Security Battalions have been fused within the National Guard. The fascist organisations are being armed and, in the country, special armed fascist bands are being formed from collaborationists with the invader, who are the actual and real State.

While, on the one hand, the reactionary extreme Right tears our national dignity to shreds and sells out the independence of Greece, on the other hand, it lets loose the most adventurous, grandiose, chauvinistic propaganda which day by day assumes a more dangerous character for our country.

The main objectives of this adventurous, chauvinistic campaign are to distract the attention of the Greek people from internal issues, spread anti-Soviet propaganda and justify the one-sided foreign policy of the rulers. This fact leads to the creation of frictions, endangers the peace in the Balkans, and threatens to isolate Greece from its democratic neighbors as well as from its great allies.

The Voulgaris Government is even closer to the predominance of the most reactionary fascist circles and strengthens the danger of the return of the monarchy.

The Plastiras Government is largely responsible for the present situation, because it did not enforce the Varkiza Agreement, but, instead, persecuted the Resistance movement and helped and encouraged monarcho-fascism to gain positions and to rear its head.

The leading elements of the old democratic parties are splitting the democratic forces and objectively reinforcing the prevalence of monarcho-fascism by siding against the Resistance movement, refusing the concentration of the democratic forces into the struggle for democracy, and standing aloof from the provocations and terror of the monarcho-fascist elements.

The return of the monarchy will be the greatest danger for the perpetuation and the sharpening of internal disunity at the expense of peace, of the reconstruction of the land, of progress, civilisation and the welfare of the Greek people; at the expense also of the friendly relations of Greece with the democratic countries.

Under the circumstances in which reaction puts forth stubborn and furious efforts for the return of the country to the dark period of fascist retrogression and barbarism, the basic political aim of the Communist Party of Greece is the struggle to uproot fascism, secure the democratic process, and the democratic regeneration—a people's democracy.

The Varkiza and Yalta agreements are a worthwhile political basis for the struggle against fascism and for the normal, democratic process in the country. The creation of a representative government and the arrival of the inter-allied commission at the proper moment are necessary measures for the return of the country to political normalcy and the securing of a free and unadulterated manifestation of the sentiments of the people through a political referendum and the election of a constitutional assembly.

The imperative demand of the Greek people, issuing from the national need, should be to purge the State machine of fascists and collaborators of

the occupationists, punish the collaborationist traitors, dissolve the fascist organisations, purge the officers' corps of all fascist and dictatorial elements, and create a real national army.

Today, the main political obligations of the Party are the struggle against monarchy and for the victory of democracy. In order to achieve this aim, the Communist Party of Greece offers all its forces and calls upon all the democratic forces to democracy's forefront.

The political parties, the organisations and the followers of the E.A.M. who led the nation in the struggle for liberation, must now throw in all their forces into the struggle to uproot fascism and win the victory of democracy. The E.A.M. must re-adjust its political aims and its organisational form in accordance with the new conditions created after the liberation of the country and the transformation of the present internal political situation.

The workers and the employees, together with the farmers and the popular strata of the cities—the professionals, artisans, scientists, intellectuals, are the most democratic, anti-fascist power. The task of the Party must be to turn its attention squarely in full support and unification of the forces of the people and transform them into an invincible power for the crushing of fascism and for democratic regeneration.

The independence and the integrity of Greece must be made secure. Border safety through the peaceful adjustment of all the differences with our neighboring countries, through the fraternal co-operation of all the Balkan peoples, must be realised. The fulfilment of our national restoration, based on the principle of the self-determination of the people, is the basis of the national policy of the K.K.E.

The application of a full political parity for all national minorities living in our country will assure the peaceful co-existence of the different elements and will facilitate the work of the economic reconstruction of the country.

The foreign policy of Greece must be based on a sincere, stable, close relationship with all the great allies, without exception: Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, France, and all the neighboring Balkan countries. Each one-sided orientation of the foreign policy is a disaster to the real national interests.

Communist men and women, heroes and heroines of the national liberation struggle!

You, the Greek people!

Awake! Black reaction, fascism and the fifth column are trying to maintain themselves, to solidify their position in the State power in order to forestall, to annihilate the work of re-creation which began with the mass movement of national Resistance. It is seeking to crush the democratic forces of the land in order to perpetuate the regime of slavery and fascist tyranny. It is endeavoring to consolidate forcibly the old privileges and the class interests of big capital oligarchy at the expense of the life of the people.

All its fire is directed against the advance guard of the people's democratic movement, against the K.K.E., against the parties, organisations, cadres, and followers of the E.A.M., against every democratic-minded citizen and every democratic manifestation. It is attempting to split their unity and break their contact, because in their struggle these democratic elements with their blood and their lives form a barricade against fascism.

The unity in purpose of the Communist Party of Greece and the unity of action of all the democratic progressive forces of the country is the invincible power which will overthrow all the plans of reaction, will uproot fascism, will bring about the victory of democracy and will pave the way for the democratic regeneration of Greece.

THE SOVIETS REBUILD

HEWLETT JOHNSON, Dean of Canterbury.
(From "New Masses")

AN American actress described Russia as polite, romantic, terrific. I have no quarrel with that; especially the "terrific." Terrific in solution of problems. Terrific in energy of reconstruction. And the problems themselves are terrific. Flying tree-top height on the eight-hour journey from Moscow to Prague, I saw, rolled out for hundreds of miles, a panorama of destruction which knows no parallel in Europe. Far away to the north, Leningrad had suffered appalling havoc. Rostov and Kharkov were towns of gutted factories. Stalingrad was a brickyard.

Reconstruction, however, proceeds at astonishing tempo. I compared Leningrad's new face with London's still-scarred streets. It was hard without films and photographs to credit Leningrad's tale of destruction. For today Leningrad resumes its normal splendour and dignity. Women, in the main, have been the workers who did it. Women lay bricks, splash on plaster and paint and do a thousand jobs normally reserved for men. Short of stature, strong of limb, Russian women work with skill, energy and intelligence. Many are mothers whose children attend the creche during hours of work. Families reassemble for the evening meal.

There is no stint of German labor employed on clearance and reconstruction. A German mechanic tends a car in Leningrad. A gang of Germans excavates a new road in Erivan. At Stalingrad, a thousand miles or so from each, fifty thousand German prisoners labour in street or factory. Germans even join in skilled jobs on the tractor-belt. A German worker may, if he is a skilled mechanic and industrious, be promoted to skilled tasks in machine shops and receive higher pay.

I saw no fraternising. Neither did I see harsh treatment. Russians are not by nature vindictive. And on Sunday all rest.

By the way, Russia has already resumed the seven-day week. Russian youth returns from the war. Trains roll in from the front. I saw Muscovites returning, Georgians returning, Armenians returning. In Erivan householders carried carpets from their homes to spread them on the mile-long road from station to civic hall to give the lads a splendid welcome.

A job awaits each lad. Factories and fields cry out for workers. Soviet Russia knows no unemployment problem. There is work to be done and a plan to organise it. In 1942, a factory in Leningrad made chocolate in April and arms in June. Now it reverts to chocolates. And, again by the way, Russians love sweetmeats. They have, for instance, developed an abnormal post-war appetite for ice cream.

Town planning is the passion of Russian architects, and their plans do not end on paper. The grandeur of the plan is only equalled by the speed of its execution. I examined Russian plans with Russian civic architects. The civic architect of Leningrad, for instance, described his designs and models of a vast new city running miles alongside the gulf of Neva. The architect of Erivan took me all around his own fine city in his car, showing me project and achievement.

I spent a whole morning on a launch with Stalingrad's architect examining his superb designs for the heroic Volga city. I bathed with him in the Volga afterwards. A bath on a day so hot that eggs would cook on the sands. Curiously enough, Stalingrad was the hottest town of all I visited; hotter than central Asia or Armenia. Stalingrad is a long and narrow city. It sprawls along the western bank of the Volga for thirty miles or more. With maps stretched out on the deck we pursued a design which will make Stalingrad world famous for riverside architecture. Around a park-like square in the centre which descends westward down a flight of vast ceremonial steps to the landing stage, will be grouped the public buildings of the city, civic hall, opera house and the like.

Northwards and southwards boulevards will stretch along by the riverside, the high banks above them treated as parklands with tree-lined paths. Trees will flourish everywhere, the country invading the town. Above the banks will rise the houses; lower houses in front, taller houses behind. Every effort will be made to take advantage of the glorious Volga, a noble river upward of half a mile wide at Stalingrad. Heavy industry will be located in the "iron town" up the river to the north, with full amenities for the iron workers. Prefabricated timber houses are running up in Stalingrad. Good houses, too. Some Russian, some Finnish.

In Armenia, farther removed from the seat of war, but not from the threat of war, building and reconstruction have been proceeding even throughout the war years. It was indeed essential. The influx of refugees brooked no delay. Twenty years ago Erivan, the capital, was an unsanitary congeries of mud-roofed houses and dirty, cobbled streets. The population was 27,000. Infants in Czarist Erivan died like flies.

Today, Erivan's specious plan, made ten years ago by a famous Academician, is already out of date and replaced by a still more spacious plan for nearly half a million inhabitants. Erivan has grown into the splendid city of a civically proud people. Naturally artistic, the Armenians have experienced a burst of creative activity under the Soviet regime.

It is the same in Uzbekistan, one of the Central Asian republics. Tree-shaded Tashkent, its capital, is to my mind one of the finest cities in all the Soviet Union. Being by tradition a Moslem and not a Christian city, it lacks pictorial art but excels in colour and decoration. Tashkent has now a passion for the theatre. A city which a dozen years ago had neither theatre nor opera house produces opera which would raise a storm in London.

Two other things stand out in Tashkent: cotton mills which have nothing to learn from Lancashire or the U.S., and scientific cotton culture which has much to teach the world. I spent a whole morning at the scientific station with the agronomists who have grown crops of coloured cotton; brown, green and grey, and with a texture, where desired, approaching that of wool. It was pleasant to handle a blanket, like a sage-green carriage rug, made entirely of undyed cotton.

The progress of the young republics which have developed a new life within the Soviet Union is perhaps the most striking of all the sights I saw in Russia. The further story of that development I plan to tell in a book to be called **Soviet Russia Comes of age.**

Parallel to the story of the republics is the story of the youth I met and knew intimately. Youth whose years ran step by step with the Soviet regime itself. A youth which now, like the Republics, has come of age. My quest from first to last has been to discover what Soviet Russia has done for life; individual life, and the group life of the various outstanding nationalities. That is the supreme and final test of every system. Does it develop the people's lives—creative, inventive, progressive, living and loveable? None could visit Armenia, Georgia and Uzbekistan without an affirmative answer. Many things remain to be done. Shadows mingle with the lights, but the upshot spells success.

NEW UKRAINE EAST OF URALS

Moscow News Correspondent

IMAGINE the Ukraine's vast wheat fields duplicated in the heart of Siberia. Imagine thousands of tractors and combines and other farm machines working an area equal to, if not greater than, that of the Soviet Union's famous granary, and a golden stream of grain equal in tonnage to Canada's annual wheat crop flowing to the elevators.

It may still be difficult to visualize the full breadth of this prospect even when you have the facts laid before you and its realization has become a matter of not too distant years. How much harder it must have been six years ago when the idea of the conquest of this new realm of wheat and truck gardens and orchards from rigorous Siberian nature first arose and Nikolai Magnitsky and a small band of 25 trail blazers set out to carry it into effect.

This is a vast country. Its frontiers begin beyond the Urals range, whence it sweeps eastward in a broad belt 300 to 400 km. wide as far as Novosibirsk and then swings south to the foothills of the Altais. This area of about 525,000 sq. km. has been barely touched by man. Only 15% of it is under cultivation. Yet all of it is splendid black earth rich in nitrogen and phosphorus, soil that is waiting to be ploughed up and eager to produce. There were serious obstacles to be overcome, however, before the vision of another Ukraine beyond the Urals could become a practical proposition.

It was to overcome the obstacles to the conversion of this semi-desert tract into thriving farm country that a research station was set up five years ago, near the village of Karabalyk, 200 km. from the Kazakh town of Kustanai. Sponsored by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the USSR, the station launched the great offensive against the inhospitable, endless plain. Tractors and other farm machines introduced power farming. Alongside field crop cultivation and livestock raising scientific laboratories began work. By today about 8,000 hectares (a hectare equals 2.47 acres) have been put under experimental fields. These are the stepping stone to opening up a zone of 30 million hectares, which the station has chosen for its immediate objective.

The biggest of the obstacles was the climate. Located in the heart of a vast continent, the area's temperature fluctuations are extreme. Particularly serious is this in the spring and summer, just in the growing season. In April, for instance, although the weather is generally warm, cold snaps are frequent, with the temperature sometimes falling to 15 deg. below freezing Centigrade. May and August are also notorious for their fickle temperatures.

Another enemy is the wind. Powerful blasts sweep through the open prairie with the force of a hurricane and often carry away the entire dry surface soil. The scientists have calculated that one of these winds can carry away up to 200 tons of soil per hectare per hour. No crop will survive a blower like this.

Enemy No. 3 is drought which affects part of the steppeland.

To trump the climate, selectionists and plant breeders are working on new varieties of crops. So far thousands of new varieties and plants have been tried out, some with greater, others with less, success. Those that have passed the test include corn, hard and soft wheats, sorgo, sugar beet, kok-sagyz and soy bean. By crossing with local wild grasses, a superior variety of yellow alfalfa has been developed. Highly productive blue alfalfa and annual grasses are other plant breeders' products. If the climate cannot be altered, plants can be adapted.

It would be incorrect to say, however, that the climate has been left untouched. A campaign of afforestation was started some years ago which promises to eliminate the wind menace. The aim is to plant shelter belts over 10% of the total area. What has been done to date is only the very beginning, but it nevertheless has already proved its value. Besides curbing the winds, the wooded belts affect the climate by retaining moisture in the soil and increasing the humidity of the air. Successful experiments have latterly been made in planting four- and five-year-old trees.

Another method of combating the winds is to reinforce the soil by planting perennial grasses with ramified root systems. This builds up a compact sod. A few years of this treatment changes the texture of the soil sufficiently to be sown under grains.

As for drought, the research station is solving the problem by digging reservoirs to retain spring flood and rain water for the dry spells.

Professor Magnitsky and his co-workers are fired with certainty that their most ambitious dreams will come true. "The black earth steppes of Western Siberia are one of the most fertile spots in the world," he says. "The cultivation of the 30,000,000-hectare zone our experimental station is working in will alone produce more than 16,000,000 tons of grain a year."

To back up his optimism, the researcher has a good deal of statistical data to show. Last year his station raised two to two and two-tenths tons of wheat to the hectare, up to two and one-half tons of oats and barley, and 30 to 34 tons of sugar beet.

Although the feasibility of highly productive agriculture in this new farm area has been proved, the research and experimental station is carrying on its work to insure every farmer, both those there now and the many more that no doubt will move there in the future, every chance to get the most out of the splendid soil. To achieve this, it is working to act simultaneously on the climate, the soil and the plants themselves, seeking to adapt each to the other and thereby correct nature's errors.

ROOTS OF AMERICA'S REVOLUTION

Ralph Bowman

(From New Masses)

THE American Revolution took place in the early stages of that stormy period of world history when the thousand-year-old decaying feudal civilisation was being shattered by a twofold process. Within the feudal society the infant capitalist mode of production was gradually undermining the ancient feudal foundations and their equally ancient superstructure, thus creating the conditions for fundamental social and ideological changes. The accumulated grievances of oppressed peoples burst forth under new capitalist leadership in a series of great revolutions that truly transformed the western world. The American Revolution was an organic part of this momentous transition from medieval feudalism to the new capitalist mode of production, republicanism and democracy.

The wellsprings of the American Revolution and American democracy are to be found in the unique environment of the American continent. Our colonial civilisation was imported from abroad and contained the precious substance of the most advanced social relations developed in Europe. European civilisation in the 17th and 18th centuries was neither stable nor homogeneous. While feudalism on the surface appeared formidable and was still dominant on the Continent, in Britain capitalism was far advanced even before the founding of the American colonies. Unlike the French colony of Quebec (founded about the same time), which was a miniature reproduction of French agrarian economy with its feudal monopoly of land, the English colonies to the south were started as capitalist enterprises, although they were not without substantial feudal stigmata inherited from the mother country.

The seeds of the American Revolution were planted in the colonies when Britain broke its ancient laws and hallowed traditions to permit the colonial farmers to buy land, and set up freehold farms. After over two hundred years of unrestricted sale of land in our country the revolutionary significance of freehold farms may be overlooked as the primary factor in the unique development of American civilisation. And yet the historically unprecedented fact that ordinary people were able to acquire land with relatively little effort and on easy terms spelled the fundamental difference between the stagnant colony of Quebec and the dynamic free enterprise system of the English colonies. The contrast with Quebec, which to this day remains one of the most backward and reactionary places on the North American continent, illustrates the vital role that widely held private property in land plays in the early development of a thriving capitalist economy.

In Britain, as throughout Europe of that time, land was a tight, inviolable monopoly of the Crown, the landed nobility and the Church. The central economic task of a democratic revolution against feudalism consists in the shattering of this land monopoly and in distributing the land to the propertyless peasantry, thus creating the foundation for a home market for the products of young capitalist industry. The great French Revolution was a classic example of this process. Since the English colonists on American soil were not confronted with this revolutionary task, most historians fail to see the connection between our Revolution and the struggle against feudalism in Europe. Those historians who describe our revolution as a civil war of the English (colonial) people against the monarchist government of the mother country touch the core of the problem, but fail to explore its full meaning.

In the sense that it was anti-monarchical, the American Revolution may be considered a continuation of the Cromwell Revolution which took place more than a hundred years earlier in England, even though in other respects the two revolutions differed greatly. It must not be forgotten that Britain, like all European nations, possessed an economy and social superstructure that was feudal for many centuries. The Cromwell Revolution resulted in the overthrow of the feudal monarchy, execution of the King, abolition of the House of Lords and the establishment of the Commonwealth, which both in substance and form represented the first bourgeois republic. This revolution was the result of the first great clash between the capitalist mode of production and the feudal system.

This potentially great social revolution failed primarily because its bourgeois leadership did not attack the heart of the problem, did not rally the downtrodden and dispossessed common people of England for a revolutionary attack on the feudal monopoly of land which formed the economic foundation of landlord power and the monarchy. In other words, no agrarian revolution took place. These failures of the Cromwell Revolution not only determined the future distorted and narrow monopolistic development of British capitalism, but made possible the retention of the ancient, repressive feudal laws against the propertyless people of Britain. As the wealth-producing capacity of British capitalism multiplied, the living standards of the people declined and malnutrition, physical degradation and cruel oppression became the curse of the English laboring classes.

The subsequent Compromise of 1688, which British historians affectionately call the Glorious Revolution, achieved a measure of political gain for the upper capitalist classes. It established the constitutional monarchy through which the economic interests of the capitalists and the landed nobility

were fully protected and eventually merged. This compromise was not a makeshift armistice between irreconcilable economic systems. The British feudal nobility, unlike that of France, gradually adapted itself to the profit economy of capitalism instead of fighting it to the bitter end. The nobility transformed the great food-growing estates into sheep farms to raise wool for the rapidly expanding textile industry and thus shared the lucrative fruits of capitalism. In this transformation of old feudal agricultural economy into big-scale capitalist farming the nobility committed monstrous crimes against the English people, driving the tenant farmers off the land they had tilled for centuries.

British capitalism grew in this unwholesome climate of extreme poverty and fabulous wealth. The exploitation of men, women and children in the factories was the most brutal in all the history of capitalism. Many of the institutions, laws, traditions and ways of thinking developed in the twilight of feudalism were preserved to keep the common people in subjection. The monopoly of land and starvation wage standards virtually excluded the laboring masses as customers for the large volume of manufactured goods they produced. British capitalism based its development on the world and colonial markets. And one of the consequences of this course was the rapid growth of the economy in the American colonies. The expanding British factory production needed food and raw materials, as well as markets for the products of its factories. The colonies supplied a considerable measure of both.

Although attempts were made to establish feudal land relations in the American colonies in the form of vast grants of land to individuals and companies, the lateness of the historic hour, the acute shortage of labor, the desire for quick profits and the overabundance of land eventually resulted in widespread sale and almost universal landownership. Both the substance and the spirit of capitalist property relations were introduced in all spheres of economic endeavour, but particularly in agriculture, which formed the cornerstone of the entire economic structure. Thus capitalist development in the colonies began in an environment which possessed the material equivalent of an agrarian revolution and it was in the freehold farms that the independent spirit of the American people had its roots.

The unencumbered ownership of land created individual economic security. However, these freehold farms were not self-contained isolated, static little worlds concerned only with the satisfaction of primitive needs. This was a dynamic market economy producing surpluses which helped pay for the farms and finance the purchase of new land, as well as exchange agricultural produce for manufactured goods. And it was relatively an economy of abundance, where none knew hunger or the hopeless poverty which was the lot of the European peoples. In the cities prosperous merchants were accumulating capital and entering the varied fields of trade and manufacturing. A virile class of native capitalists arose to challenge the British monopolies in government posts and overseas commerce and the restrictions on manufacturing. It was from these wealthy classes that there came the majority of the leadership of the Revolution.

Out of this economy there developed that national consciousness and democratic aspiration which refused to tolerate any longer the alien, semi-feudal, monarchist regime which was limiting economic development. Simultaneously the Revolution turned against certain feudal practices and institutions that had been planted in this country even though the economy was predominantly capitalist. The church was separated from the state, and ancient laws of primogeniture and entail, designed to perpetuate big landed estates, were overthrown. An ideological struggle also had to be waged against the British bourgeois-feudal philosophy which had been embraced by those sections of the upper classes who supported England in the war.

Thus, on the American continent, in contrast to England and the European continent, the capitalist mode of production developed in a form which can justly be described as free enterprise economy—free from feudal and monopoly restraints. This unique economic development became the motive force of the Revolution and determined its democratic content, as well as the character of the bourgeois government it established.

The American Revolution was the first great social upheaval to proclaim the new humanist philosophy of equality and of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The architects of this revolutionary philosophy were Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and Tom Paine. Its roots, however, lay deep in the freehold farms and small shop, in the equality of opportunity for all men (excluding slaves and Indians) to earn security and wealth in the fabulously rich and free environment of early America.

Our free enterprise system retained its character of equality of opportunity only within the sphere of small commodity production and only during the cycles of expansion and prosperity. Actually even in this early stage the average man could not establish his own shipyard or iron smelter, or engage in overseas commerce without substantial capital. Moreover there was no economic equality between small producers and the large landowners and slaveholders. While this early accumulation of land and capital in the hands of the wealthy limited the free enterprise quality of the economy it also made possible the development of industry. This in turn led, after the Civil War, to the concentration and centralisation of capital and production manifested in the formation of trusts and monopolies that negated the early free enterprise character of our economy. Today free enterprise is only a tradition and a name that has lost its historic content.

SIDELIGHTS ON ABORIGINAL SOCIETY

CAPT. A. H. JOLLY.

Part IV

The Four Lineage Matrilineal Society.

THIS type of society has resulted from a fusion of two two lineage societies and follows the same pattern as the two lineage society. This type of fusion is actually occuring to this day between the Worora and Ngarinyin people of Port George and Walcoll Inlet in the North-West of Australia, and this is how it happens. To follow our analogy, let one society be the Greens and Browns and the other the Blacks and Whites. Greens can only marry Browns and Blacks can only marry Whites, whilst the children take their lineage from their mothers. As the societies grow and mingle intermarriage takes place. Now if a Green woman happened to marry a Black man she would regard him as a Brown whilst he would regard her as a White. She would call the children Green and he would call them White, thus the children would be both Green and White. As soon as the fusion becomes more complete all people have two maternal ancestors, Greens and Whites on the one hand and Browns and Blacks on the other.

In the process of fusion the totem is used. In the early stages each society speaks a different language and neither can understand each other very well, but on the question of marriage and relations it is all-important to know which lineage the members of the other tribe belong to and so they introduce a common term for some animal or plant. Thus the Greens would be Hawks and the Browns Kingfishers, likewise the Whites would be Hawks and the Blacks Kingfishers, and as the terms are common to both tribes this would greatly simplify the classification of relations; if they wish to find out what relationship one is to the other the first question is "What are you, Kingfisher or Hawk?" This would mean that the Hawk line would be Greens and Whites and the Kingfisher line Browns and Blacks.

Sooner or later all individuals speak each other's language and fusion is more or less complete, and here new possibilities arise for the elimination of taboo. It was made law that a Green man or woman could only marry a Black man or woman and a White man or woman could only marry a Brown man or woman; and as each individual had two maternal ancestors, a Green woman gave rise to a White offspring not a Green, and vice versa, whilst a Brown woman gave rise to a Black offspring not a Brown, and vice versa. Examination of the results singly mean this: a Green woman can only marry a Black man whose mother is Brown and whose father is White—**she could not marry a White man or father, hence father-daughter taboo is eliminated.** In the same way a Green man could only marry a Black woman whose mother is Brown and **as a Green man cannot marry a Brown woman mother-in-law son-in-law taboo is eliminated.** The only useful taboo left in such a society is the near cousin taboo which remains until the formation of an Eight Lineage Matrilineal Society, the other taboos remain as relics but gradually become less and less observed as time goes on. As this society has only eliminated taboos and formed no new ones there are no new relationship terms.

RACE, RELIGION AND CRIME

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

THE Nazi racial theory states that other races are inferior to the Germanic, and in particular that the Jews are men and women of criminal propensities, out to wreck civilisation. Though they abuse the Jewish religion, the Nazis think that people of Jewish origin whose ancestors have been Christians for several generations are as evil as Jews who keep every item of the Mosaic Law.

They are only a little less critical of other races. The Negroes are only fit to be slaves. The Russians are Asiatic. The well-known perfidy of the English is due to the intermarriage of the Angles and Saxons with the Welsh, thus contaminating their Nordic blood.

A fair number of people in Britain and the U.S. hold similar views, which are used to justify imperialism and the unfair treatment of coloured people.

The Dutch criminologist Bonger, who was Professor of Sociology and Criminology at Amsterdam, completed a book in 1940, which was translated into English and published in 1943*, under the title **Race and Crime.** The author committed suicide when the Germans occupied Amsterdam.

The book is rather stodgy, but its statistical tables tell very clear stories. Unfortunately there are no data from Britain. We know what proportion of criminals say that they belong to various religions, but we do not know the proportions in the whole population. So, except in a few cases, of which one is considered later, no comparison can be made.

The data about Jews in Germany, Austria, Poland and Hungary are quite clear. Jews were less likely than others to commit murder, manslaughter, assault, theft, receiving stolen goods, embezzlement or sexual crimes, such as rape. They were more prone to fraud, forgery, swindling and

fraudulent bankruptcy. In Germany they were a little more often guilty of insulting behaviour. But on the whole they committed fewer crimes than the rest of the population.

The differences are enormous in some cases. Theft and murder in Germany were about three times as common among non-Jews as Jews. But fraudulent bankruptcy in Hungary was 40 times as common among Jews as among others, and 12 times as common in Austria.

In the Netherlands there are figures not only for Jews, but for Protestants, Catholics, and members of no church. In round numbers, 54 per cent of Dutch were Protestants, 35 per cent Catholics, two per cent Jews, and seven per cent irreligious. The numbers convicted annually per 100,000 members of each religious group between 1901 and 1909 were 416 Catholics, 309 Protestants, 213 Jews, and 84 of no religion.

This is, of course, a complete refutation of the view, which we can hear on the B.B.C. on most Sundays, that religion is needed for morality. It is probably due to the fact that most of the members of no church were Socialists who took their obligations to the community seriously. This is borne out by the fact that the one crime which was almost as frequent among them as many others was "rebellion against authority."

The Jews, though law-abiding as a whole, had bad records for receiving stolen goods, embezzlement, and swindling, and ranked between Catholics and Protestants as regards murder.

The Catholics were slightly worse than Protestants in almost all respects, but there was no outstanding feature.

From 1931 to 1933 the differences between the religious groups were far fewer, and the Jews were intermediate between Catholics, who still had the worst record, and Protestants. The most striking change was that the Jews now headed the list for rebellion against authority, though they were below even the churchless as regards the frequency of murders. It looks as if they had become more conscious of social injustices and were not very tactful in their protests.

I have little doubt that English statistics would tell a fairly similar story. We should find the Jews less likely to commit crimes of violence, and more likely to commit various kinds of fraud.

This is natural enough. An agricultural labourer or a miner has very poor opportunities of committing forgery or fraudulent bankruptcy. A shopkeeper has many opportunities. A Jew is more often a shopkeeper than an agricultural labourer or a miner. Unless we know what fraction of shopkeepers were Jews, how many shopkeepers were guilty of fraudulent bankruptcy, and how many of these were Jews, we cannot say whether a Jewish shopkeeper is more likely to commit this crime than his Christian or atheist neighbour.

Certainly economic position is quite as important as race or religion in determining crime. Thus in Germany from 1874 to 1896 arson was 18 times as frequent among agricultural workers as among the professional class, while rape and such-like crimes were equally common in the two groups. Ricks and barns are very easy to burn if one loses one's temper.

National tradition is equally important. About 1930 one in every 4,500 Bulgarians was convicted of homicide each year, which is about 100 times the rate for Norway, or for England and Wales, the least murderous European countries. Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia were also very murderous, while Greece, Poland, Portugal, Finland, Hungary, Rumania and Italy were pretty bad.

Is this a matter of race? In Massachusetts from 1914 to 1922, persons born in Italy were eight times as likely to be convicted of murder, manslaughter and assault, as persons born in America. This looks bad for the "Mediterranean race"—until we discover that persons born in America, but one or both of whose parents were born in Italy, had just the same conviction rate as American-born children of American parents.

American Negroes certainly have a higher frequency of most crimes than whites of the same sex, but white men are much more criminal than Negro women, let alone white women. So if Negroes should be stigmatised as a criminal race, males should be branded as the criminal sex.

No one knows whether, if they were brought up in precisely the same environment, people of Jewish origin would be more or less prone to any particular sort of crime than others. We do know something about the effect of special teaching.

Sir Percival Sharp found that in Liverpool 4.55 per cent of the children in Catholic schools were brought before the juvenile courts, 3.56 per cent of those in Anglican schools, and 2.16 per cent of those in council schools.

Similar results were obtained elsewhere. Of course, it can be argued that the church schools were mainly in slum areas. If so one can only say that good housing makes better children than religious teaching. Probably any teaching—whether in sectarian schools or "public" schools—which makes a set of children think they are better than their neighbours, tends to make them bad citizens.

Some day we may know whether racial differences are of any importance at all in determining crime. But we know already that they are far less important than differences in education and tradition.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . L. L. Sharkey

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TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

L. L. SHARKEY

(Abridged from a report delivered to the Central Committee, 18th January, 1946.)

FIRST of all, about the developments in the international situation. You are aware that at the London Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the three big powers, when all of the various points of difference — antagonisms, one might say — that revealed themselves after the defeat of the fascist powers seemed to come to a head, a drive was made against the Soviet Union by the British and Americans, who openly announced prior to the assembly of the Conference that they were going to get tough with Russia and take a firm attitude. They raised a whole number of questions about the democracy that they said did not exist in a number of European countries liberated from Hitler, their real purpose of course being their concern at the developments taking place in those countries, namely, nationalisation of a number of industries that were largely owned by international capitalist shareholders including the British and Americans, the taking over of big estates of the aristocrat landlord class and the wholesale punishment of collaborators and traitors proceeding in a number of those countries at the time.

They want to put an end to this, to end the progressive developments taking place throughout Europe. They saw in Soviet Russia the main centre, whose example in the way of struggle against capitalism, and for progress and democracy, was inspiring to the peoples of those other countries and they tried to force the Soviet Union to intervene to put an end to these progressive developments in the way they themselves intervened in Java, China, Indo-China, Greece and elsewhere to suppress the very democratic forces which are the best guarantee of peace and security in the future.

And they were emboldened in this reactionary policy by the fact of their possession of the atomic bomb. There can be no doubt at all that they, the representatives of America and Britain, went to the Conference under the influence of this bomb; they thought it was the golden key to open the door to the Soviet Union, that they would be able to dictate, under threat of atomic bomb attack, their terms to the Soviet Union and the democratic movements in Europe and throughout the world.

However, it is quite obvious that the policy being pursued by the Soviet Union, so far as international diplomacy is concerned, was the one which in the main triumphed at the Moscow Conference. The extreme reactionaries of the United States described in their press the agreements that were made in relation to the European countries and the Control Committee for Japan as a new Munich. they said that America and Britain had given way to the Soviet Union. That is exaggeration on their part, but nevertheless there can be no doubt that the Soviet Union in the main achieved its objectives on a number of questions. And for the time being the international tension was quite visibly lessened. It seems to be on the verge of boiling up again. According to the capitalist press they are very disturbed about the Persian issue, they are going to raise before the United Nations the question regarding Azerbaijan. Well, we are not school children and I think it is clear enough that Persia would not be raising these questions if they had not already secured the backing of the British Government.

In Persia there is not a modern capitalist democratic State even, the economy is in the main feudal, and consequently the governmental apparatus has been of a reactionary and dictatorial character. The Shah has been a despotic monarch. Some changes were made during the war after the occupation by the British and Russians. Nevertheless, there can be no question of the semi-feudal character of Persian institutions, the backwardness of the country and extreme poverty and oppression of the Persian people. Also it is a multi-national State. There is a multiplicity of races. And the tidal wave of liberation and progressive feeling sweeping the world made its influence felt also in Persia. And in the area where the Red Army was in occupation in Northern Persia, naturally enough, this democratic movement showed its greatest strength. The Soviet authorities have pointed out that they pursue the same policy in Persia as in other territories occupied at present by Red Army forces, that is to say, one of neutrality.

The Persians say that when they sent Government troops to Azerbaijan the Soviet authorities blocked them. In other words they did not proceed like the British in Greece, Java and elsewhere to suppress by armed force the democratic people's movement. Consequently they are terrible people for not doing this, for not bayoneting and bombing people in the good old imperialist tradition as has been done in Java and elsewhere.

But when we analyse the reasons for the revolt we have by no means exhausted the issues in reference to Persia. I don't suppose there is anyone who has not heard of Anglo-Persian Oil, one of the largest oil trusts in the world, and that this is in the hands of British capitalists, that they have made enormous profits out of the exploitation of this natural resource of Persia. Persia got a measure of tribute, but the real wealth of the country has been of little worth to the workers and peasants of Persia in general, as this went into the

pockets of the international capitalists and, in particular, British monopoly capitalists. So we have there the fear of the oil barons in Britain that a successful democratic revolution, not a socialist revolution, in Persia would put an end to the profits made by the Anglo-Persian oil barons over the past thirty or more years. They fear also that a successful democratic revolution in Persia would influence the revolt in the Arab States against British and French imperialism, against French in Syria and the Levant, against British in Irak and other Arab countries, including Egypt. So they want to keep democracy and Soviet influence as far away from these peoples as they possibly can. That is the real issue in regard to Persia. And because it is the real issue, because it reaches so vitally the pockets of the English ruling class and their interests in the Middle East, the "Sydney Morning Herald" says Soviet Russia is "playing with fire." In addition, the British Labor Cabinet, these democrats, these "representatives of the working man," are coming forward as staunch defenders of the oil barons' interests in Persia, as opponents of democracy in Persia and the Arab countries. It is certain Churchill could not defend more vigorously the interests of the ruling class than Bevin and Morrison. Not only do they aim to restore monarchy in Greece, but they are particularly anxious about the rights of the oil barons in Persia. The issue of a democratic Iran may even upset the organisation of the United Nations Conference. . . .

Comrades, our Party has in the recent period won a great deal of prestige, particularly amongst the colonial peoples of Asia and elsewhere, because of the support we have been able to give the Indonesian movement. There are many stories brought back by soldiers of the great standing the Australian labor movement and our Party have won because of the activity carried out in support of the national movements. I regard the Indonesian battle as only the beginning; perhaps before very long we will be faced with an even greater and more difficult struggle for us in regard to the liberation movement in India. Our international tasks consist, not only of working for the defeat of the present anti-Soviet campaign, for the defence of the new democratic movements which are attacked by the servants of British and American imperialism, but also to continue our support for these national movements.

The task of bringing about world organisation to restrain capitalism from plunging the world into a third world war is not an easy one. It is one to which we must devote a great deal of thought and attention. We must build up a very big campaign indeed to alarm the masses, to make them clear as to the aims of the anti-Soviet campaign, that it leads directly to a new world conflagration, and press forward proposals for struggle for peace and security. . .

I want to comment on Prof. Varga's analysis of the economic perspective of capitalism. The essence is that capitalism eventually is headed directly for economic crisis, which won't surprise any student of Marx, not only economic crisis, but probably a bigger one than that of 1929-32; and further than that, he declares there will not be any real boom period for capitalism. Certainly, he estimates that there will be relative prosperity for a few years in a number of capitalist countries — those that did not suffer devastation of their productive apparatus during the war, countries like America, Britain to some extent, South America, Australia and others. The general crisis of capitalism which Lenin revealed even before the last war has been deepened and widened by the Second World War. It will be our task to lead the masses in the struggle against mass unemployment, depressions, and the evils that we witnessed in the period prior to the outbreak of the war. America today shows mass unemployment, which is regarded as only temporary, as a result of the faulty method capitalism utilised in order to demobilise those in the armed forces and displaced munition workers. There is not only mass unemployment, but mass strikes in the basic industries of the United States. Both of these symptoms are further proof of the instability and the underlying general crisis of capitalism. In the most highly developed and most powerful capitalist economy in the world they are not able to overcome the underlying crisis! On the contrary, there the economic situation remains critical.

That, of course, is a refutation of theories that have appeared from time to time in the American Communist Party, that American capitalism is so vast that the laws of capitalism revealed to us by Marx become abrogated in America. The very development of American capitalism to this vast magnitude makes the laws operative more sharply than in other countries. The crisis of 1932 was more sharp than in Great Britain which, after all, had its colonies to exploit. We saw the contradictions of capitalism in the last 25 years manifesting themselves precisely in the country most highly developed so far as monopoly capital is concerned — in Germany. America in the period between the two wars, and as a result of this war, has developed still further from an isolationist republic of farmers and small traders, as it was, until she is now the leading imperialist power, and is seeking overseas markets, and treading the path of imperialism. The development of a mass strike movement shows also that there is no doubt that the working class of America is going to play a much more important role than in the past. I think we can see a coming change in America where the labor movement will develop rapidly, that it will be able to bring forward a real challenge to American capitalism as the crisis develops within the country.

Tremendous events can be expected there, particularly at the time of economic crisis — mass struggle, rapid growth of the labor movement, as well as the development of imperialism and growth of reaction on the part of the ruling class of the United States of America. . . .

To our old yardsticks and old methods of thinking of the Communist Party, one million members seem as unattainable as the moon. Well, here we have a whole number of Communist Parties that have reached one million. Even in the palmiest days, on the eve of Hitler's seizure of power, when the Party had more than six million voters in the elections, the German Party had only 350,000 members. Now it is three times as strong as when it had 100 members in the Reichstag. I think that shows, in combination with the economic future of capitalism itself, that these two things together are the sign posts pointing to the approach of the socialist world revolution. Today in a number of European countries we have a sort of petty bourgeois democracy. In Austria and Hungary we have small traders' parties and various middle class parties, together with Socialists, constituting the majority. So that this period in a way looks like a Kerensky period when these parties will be tested by the masses, when they are faced with enormous difficulties, when they will not merely have to utter pretty phrases but get down to the job of providing bread and work for the masses. As in 1917 it will show to the masses just which Party can bring home the goods. We have no doubt about which Party that is.

Some comrades might think that, if the perspective is economic crisis, the various documents we have been issuing are Browderite myths that should be scrapped, and I am afraid that in daily practice not a few have acted on this kind of idea. But I put it to you that we do not at all intend sitting down idly and saying "yes, in a year's time there will be half a million unemployed," or "in two years' time there will be one million unemployed," or so on. We point out the perspective, but indicate that protection of the people against the worst consequences lies in putting into operation the programme of the Communist Party, in campaigning to compel the Labor Government to get the proposals it has made, fairly good in themselves, out of the blueprint stage and transferred to the sphere of reality. We have heard much of their plans, of this and that, that they are going to build dams, unify railway gauges, build new ports and one million and one other things. But if you take their failures, such as in regard to housing, into account, if they are not soon able to show genuine results, you will say that their tenure of office is likely to terminate rather abruptly and we don't want to witness that. It is necessary that, despite the threat of ultimate economic crisis, we must agitate even more vigorously for our own plans for jobs and homes, and demand of the Labor Government that it get on with the business along the lines they have so often enunciated.

Comrades, in the period since our last meeting our Party has led its greatest industrial struggle. It is the first time that our Party has appeared before the Australian people as the leader of a strike of the very first magnitude, one of the biggest strikes that the working class of Australia has yet engaged in. I think all will agree with me that this one, so far as its political significance as well as the numbers of workers directly or indirectly affected by the strike is concerned, by far exceeded anything we have been called upon to lead in the past.

I feel that the struggle has radically altered the position of our Party, that something has definitely changed, the Party has a different status as it were to that enjoyed prior to the strike. Before great masses of people has been presented the decisive role that our Party today plays in the life of the nation. Maybe there are backwashes, for the time being, difficulties, but I do think that the strike has brought about a situation from which the workers and the Party will benefit. It was a clear indication to the workers as to who was prepared to lead in the struggles. On the other hand in the capitalist press the reformist leaders were displaying their treachery or cowardice. The capitalist press, the "Sydney Morning Herald" in particular, talked about the "shattering defeat" the militants were supposed to have received, and were rebuked by reactionaries, including Abbott, M.P., who said that the unions are still on their feet and Wells, Elliott and McPhillips are still in their positions. I have read various other commentators who also considered it was far from being a defeat. The strike was not of our making. Today, in perspective, it is clear that it is part of the world-wide sharpening of the struggle, of the offensive of reaction against the progressive forces. The strike developed because of the various attacks of the B.H.P. in regard to the Ironworkers' Union. It was B.H.P., aided by the Arbitration Court and the right wing of the Labor Party, that brought about the situation, not us. They proclaimed a thousand times that their aim was to deal a shattering blow to the Ironworkers' Union and discredit the Communist Party. . . The B.H.P., it is clear, wanted to smash militant unionism and prevent the development of the struggle for a 40-hour week and increased wages.

I have already mentioned how, in the eyes of many workers, the class collaboration of the Labor Government and reformist union officials was exposed. They took the side of the B.H.P.; not only the rats on the Sydney Trades and Labor Council, but leaders of the Labor Government ranted about this issue of Arbitration, "the strike was a Communist plot to smash the Arbitration Court". . .

If you look at the situation as a whole you will see that in the previous Bunnerong dispute there was a moment when it might have been used to further the 40-hour week. Messrs. Beasley and Chifley came to Sydney to get the Bunnerong dispute ended before the issue became one for 40 hours and increased pay. Today, the concensus of opinion is that the Cabinet will refer the 40 hours to the Arbitration Court; they will say the Government has not the power and the Unions should apply to the Court. It should be an easy matter then for the lawyers to "prove" that industry "cannot stand" shortened hours.

It is likely that this is what will happen unless the struggle for 40 hours and increased wages is raised above the present level. The Labor Party leaders know enough about working class fundamentals to know that a victory over B.H.P. would have greatly enhanced the prospect of the trade union movement achieving the objective of the 40 hours and increased wages. The A.L.P. is evading these questions, and its leaders made common cause with the B.H.P. in order to weaken the struggle for 40 hours, a bigger pay envelope and nationalisation of the B.H.P. and mines, which Mr. Chifley recently repudiated. . . .

With regard to the reformists, one of their main catchcries and scares was to shout "Another 1917. The Communists are preparing another 1917 for the workers." They were referring to the awful mess of the great struggle by the reformists in 1917, when they had no line and pulled unions out indiscriminately. Unions were smashed literally by dozens. No single worker has been victimised as a result of this struggle, and no union smashed. That is the difference between Communist and Reformist leadership.

(In the discussion following Comrade Sharkey's report, C.C. members were unanimous that the strike was a substantial victory for the workers.)

Our immediate problem, I think, can be summed up in the slogan of "to the masses," that is to say, in the position where a tremendous campaign has been waged against us, a campaign of lies, when we are still engaged in a very bitter struggle with the right wing, the slogan "to the masses" takes on new significance and becomes more important than ever before. We have to get out amongst the masses in the factories, the localities, wherever the masses are to be found, preparing them for the future developments and the future struggle. And I might say here that when I speak about future struggle, I think we should be clear that we have not in mind to develop a whole series of general strikes or anything of that character at the present time, that such struggles should be avoided as far as possible. We can conduct a very big campaign for the 40-hour week and workers' claims without general strikes, at present at any rate. . .

We have to remember that this year we will be faced with a Referendum, and we will be faced with Federal Elections. We have decided that candidates in all constituencies should commence their work now, not leave it to the last few weeks. We have to popularise the policy of the Party, the programme of the Party which I have referred to, popularise it widely, become the recognised leaders of the masses and work on the basis of a United Front. We have to get after the Labor Party on the programme, on their repudiation of nationalisation. We must sharpen and deepen our campaign. Chifley said he would not nationalise the coal mines if he had the power. We must criticise them on that. We have seen them line up with the B.H.P. There again the danger of sectarianism indubitably will creep in. We have not repudiated the United Front. There has been no change whatsoever with regard to these basic points of our present tactical programme — support of United Front and the Labor Government. In the elections we will be raising the slogan "return the Labor Government," with the main emphasis on the return of Communist Party candidates.

If we proceed along the line "united front with the masses," the struggle for the economic demands, jobs and homes for the masses, if we carry on the struggle for the mobilising of the masses for the defence of international peace and security, we will win new supporters and make a still greater contribution to the solution of pressing post-war problems.

THE PROBLEMS OF BUILDING UP GERMANY

WILHELM PIECK, President, Communist Party of Germany.

(The Communist Party of Germany, which at the time of Hitler's coming to power had 35,000 members, is now over a million strong. This speech was made by its President, Wilhelm Pieck, at Berlin on 19th September, 1945. Translated from the German by Ruth Peel.)

IN the last weeks, there has taken place in a large part of the German countryside, namely in the Soviet zone of occupation, a complete revolution in land ownership relations, which is of the greatest historical significance not only for country people but for the German people as a whole and Germany's further development.

What the German peasantry in hundreds of years of struggle did not succeed in achieving, and what the Weimar Republic did not bring, has now been realised. The land will be taken away from the feudal-junker big landlords and given back to the peasants from whom they robbed it of old. A centuries-old injustice to the peasant population will be removed and the reactionary power of the junkers and the feudal lords in the villages will be broken. The peasant will be the free master of his land and the strongest support of democracy in the village.

But this revolution is also of the greatest importance for the whole future of our people. The power of the feudal-junker big landlords, which they exercised in the State and with which they prevented all progress and democratic development, will, with their expropriation, be taken away. It was precisely these circles who belonged to the permanent war-mongers, and it was they, together with the big industrialists and finance-capitalists, who helped bring Hitler to power; and they carry the main guilt of the war and the war crimes. These are the circles who used the war to enormously enrich themselves, and they are responsible for the immense misery of our people. They were not concerned about providing food for the people, but only in securing the greatest possible profits and the accumulation of great riches.

The demand for the speeding up of the democratic land reform is to be traced back to the initiative of the poor and landless peasantry and the agricultural laborers, who were brought into the greatest need through Hitler's war. The small peasant holdings were nearly ruined by the Government control of the Hitler regime and the effects of Hitler's war, and the misery of the agricultural laborers is immeasurably great. In countless meetings of peasants and agricultural laborers, the demand for the expropriation of the big estates and the allotment of this land to the small farmers and agricultural laborers has been raised.

On the ground of these demands of the peasants and agricultural laborers, the Provincial Governments in Saxony, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Thuringia decided to pass the necessary laws. All the feudal-junker big estates over 100 hectares, and all the land of war criminals and those responsible for the war, Nazi leaders and active defenders of the Nazi Party, will be expropriated and put into a land fund. From this land fund as many small holdings as possible of an economic size capable of providing an existence (from 5 to 10 hectares depending on the quality of the soil), will be created, and distributed to the poor and landless peasants, agricultural laborers, small tenants and settlers.

What is being put into effect is a just and democratic land reform, as the peasants and agricultural laborers are demanding, and which is the most important condition for the economic revival and the democratic transformation of our country. The carrying through of the land reforms will also be done in an absolutely democratic manner through the Land Commission elected by the peasants and agricultural laborers at their meetings. The plan for dividing the land will also be decided at a meeting of peasants and agricultural laborers.

There is also another very important task connected with the democratic land reform: the peasants and those expelled from the Eastern territories who lost their land through Hitler's war, will be allotted land to provide a basis of livelihood for a considerable section of them. There are of course still various difficulties in the distribution of these people over the different parts of Germany. But the lot of these expelled peasant and worker families is a really desolate one and demands the greatest support from the self-governing administrations in the provinces, localities and districts, and also the support of the whole population. As difficult as the situation of our people is, everything must be done to help these unfortunate masses of people to settle down, and the land reform opens up a most favorable opportunity in this respect.

Still another problem is bound up with the land reform. Through the overcrowding of the towns, the lack of dwellings or through unemployment, a considerable part of the urban population will be searching for an existence on the land, and here the allotment of the land will play an important role.

The land reform is, then, one of the most important tasks confronting our people, if not the most important task. It embraces ensuring the feeding of the people, the democratic reorganisation of Germany, and the making safe of the peace.

It is therefore absolutely necessary for the laboring masses in the towns to exert all their strength for the carrying through of the land reform and to support the peasants to the utmost. The closer the connnections between town and land are developed and the alliance between the workers and peasants strengthened, the better will the great tasks which confront our whole people be fulfilled, which are: uprooting Nazism, militarism and imperialism and developing a true democracy to serve the interests of our people and to further the construction of our economy.

The democratic land reform is being resisted considerably by the feudal and junker and Nazi big landlords, especially as their expropriation will be without compensation. They spread therefore the story that the division of the large estates will endanger the food supplies of the people, because, they pretend, the peasant holdings are not profitable and give no guarantee for the feeding of the people.

But this objection does not at all hold water. The feeding of the people would not be safeguarded at all through the Nazi big landlords. We know from experience that these people oppose with all hostility a democratic Germany and that they therefore would sabotage the feeding of our people in every way. On the other hand, the peasants have the greatest interest in cultivating the ground in the best way, and in getting as much as possible

out of it, and so assuring the feeding of our people.

The more thoroughly the peasants themselves in the villages take up the carrying through of the land reform, the more completely will the reactionary influence of the junkers and feudal lords on the land be broken and their domination finished once and for all.

Hand in hand with carrying through the democratic land reform and making sure of our food situation, the no less important task stands before our people of putting industry in motion and increasing production for the requirements of our people, especially to provide the requirements for our agriculture and for the payment of the reparations which have been imposed on us, or rather, as amends for the damage which Hitler caused other countries through his criminal war. The fulfilment of this task, the getting under way of industry and the increasing of production, demands the greatest co-operation of the workers, salaried employees and working intelligentsia. Thereby every resistance of the employers, whether it be out of want of judgment or Fascist conviction, must be ruthlessly liquidated.

All possibilities for the speedy getting in motion of the factories and the increase of production of the most important commodities must be used in the widest possible way. This winter confronting us brings with it grave dangers for the urban population, not only in relation to the feeding of the people, but also for accommodation, for transport, and for the getting in motion of workshops generally. These dangers can only be combatted if all available means for the increase of production are used, and a strong self-help movement is organised.

The duty of reparation and compensation for the damage done to other countries confronts our people as a very serious task. We get an idea of the extent of this damage, which was especially inflicted on the Soviet people by the Hitler army, out of the report recently published by the Extraordinary State Commission for the establishing and enquiry into the misdeeds of the fascist German gangsters, on material damage which the fascist German gangsters inflicted on citizens, State-owned factories, collective farms, public organisations and institutions of the Soviet Union. I will give only a few statistics out of this report.

The Hitler army destroyed or burned down 1,710 towns, 70,000 villages, and more than six million buildings, and made more than 25 million people homeless; 31,850 industrial undertakings, with about 4 million workers, were destroyed; 4,100 railway stations and 65,000 kilometres of railway track were destroyed; 40,000 hospitals and medical institutions, 84,000 schools, 43,000 public libraries were annihilated or demolished; 98,000 collective farms, 1,876 Soviet State farms, and 2,890 machine and tractor stations were ruined and pillaged. Seven million horses, 17 million cattle, 20,000 pigs, 27 million sheep and goats, 110 million head of poultry were slaughtered or dragged to Germany; 1,135 mines in which 337,000 workers were employed and where yearly more than 100 million tons of coal were hewn, were destroyed by the Hitler army; 3,000 boreholes in the oil districts, in which yearly more than 5 million tons of oil were won, were also destroyed. Burnt down or exploded were 61 great power stations with a production potential of altogether about 5 million kilowatts; 400 million museums were pillaged or destroyed.

In this account the damage which was caused to the civilian population through robbery of their belongings, valuables, clothing, household goods, and through penalties, taxes and contributions is not included. Altogether the damage which the Hitler army caused the economy of the Soviet Union and individual inhabitants in the towns and villages is estimated at about 679,000,000,000,000 roubles reckoned at official prices of 1941.

I have quoted these figures to give an idea of the responsibility with which the Hitler gang has burdened the German people in the way of a debt to other peoples. Our people is certainly unable to repair even a very small part of this damage, and the duties of reparation imposed on us are in no proportion to it. All the more earnestly must our people make it their duty to make good as much as they can, and not to lament over the effects arising out of these obligations. These obligations are in contrast to the great help which our people is receiving from the Soviet occupation forces in regard to the setting in motion of its economy, the creation of its organs of self-administration, and the building up of its anti-fascist democratic parties and trade unions.

The Communist Party, in its call of June 11th, has put in the forefront, as one of the most direct and urgent tasks of its programme of action, the fight against hunger, unemployment and the housing shortage, and all-round active support for the organs of self-administration and quick securing of a normal life to bring production in motion again. It is just in this respect that there are especially important tasks for the trade unions and shop committees. It is urgently necessary that the workers in the workshops secure the influence due to them in the organising of production, so that they may use all possibilities for its increase, and determine the shaping of wages and conditions of labor. That is why the strength of the trade unions must be greatly increased by the inclusion of all workers and salaried employees and through strengthening of working class unity.

Everything depends here on the development of a spirit of struggle among the members of the trade unions, to prevent the recurrence of the old policy of "wait and see" and avoidance of struggle, which proved itself so disastrous to the workers in the time before Hitler. A true fighting democracy in the trade unions has to be developed and a leadership created which can stand up to the problems in regard to setting the economy in motion again, increasing production, the democratic reorganisation of Germany and the extirpation of Nazism and militarism. In this task lies also the great significance of the conference of trade union delegates planned by the preparatory trade union executive for early next Sunday.

The task of helping our people in its difficult position demands of everybody not only goodwill but also full exertion of strength. That counts naturally still more for the parties and trade unions which have already been formed in the Soviet occupation zone, and which demand in their programmes the extirpation of Nazism and militarism, the democratic reorganisation of Germany and the rebuilding of its economy on a democratic foundation.

The two working-class parties, the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties, carry an especially great responsibility for the solution of the problems confronting our people. But the other two anti-fascist democratic parties, the Liberal Democrats and the Christian Democrats, which embrace the followers of the old bourgeois parties, have also great obligations in the rebuilding of the new Germany. After the collapse of the Hitler power, and after Marshal Zhukov's order permitting the formation of anti-fascist parties and trade unions, the Communist Party of Germany immediately appealed to the public, in its call of June 11th, with the proposal for the creation of a strong unity of democracy and a bloc of the anti-fascist democratic parties.

This unity is become a reality. A joint working committee has been formed together with the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, and an agreement has also been reached between the four parties about the creation of a united front and the formation of a joint committee. There are very serious questions which in the course of co-operation of the four parties, would need discussing and working out. It can be said with satisfaction that this co-operation has already borne fruit in the big questions which confront our people. Naturally there will have to be compromises which arise out of the different political and practical problems. But the most important thing in this respect is that the great joint tasks are put in the forefront, and the good intentions to reach an understanding on the basic questions concerning our people are there. And here the responsibility falls on the two working-class parties to do everything to strengthen the co-operation of the parties, and always to put the important questions concerning the life of our people in the forefront.

The Communist Party has always stressed its serious intentions to create the closest co-operation and to fulfil with complete uprightness and friendship the common tasks. We approach this co-operation with great optimism and call upon all healthy democratic forces of our people to carry the programme of action of the Communists through and to fight for the demands put forward in the joint declarations of the four parties.

In particular our youth must be given extensive and emphatic help to free them of the evil effects of fascist education and to enrol them in the fighting united front of democracy and for progress in all spheres of the political, spiritual and cultural life of our people. The forces must be united in the Youth Committees formed by the organs of self-administration, youth and adults who devote themselves to this task out of love for the youth and who want to give them in hostels a place of real comradeship, cheerfulness and respect for the great tasks of our people. In regard to economy, our youth must be educated through the trade unions and shop committees to esteem productive labor, but must also be protected from exploitation which would injure the health of the youth.

Not less important is the enrolment of the women of our working people in the anti-fascist democratic united front. Our women feel still more than our men the effect of the criminal Hitler war. Not only have millions of their husbands and sons been lost in the Hitler war, and families been brutally parted and destroyed, but the direct effect of the war, the destruction of towns and villages, has robbed the majority of German women of nearly everything which made their lives worth living. And yet to protect these tormented women from despair they must be given hope and courage in the fight for a new, free Germany. The women's committees and women's homes to be created by the communal organs of self-administration will be the centres for the common interests of the women, for their training and participation in the fight for a better future.

Big, very big tasks confront our people. There is the liquidation of Nazism and militarism to destroy the power of the imperialist forces, of the feudal-junker big landlords and the big trusts and financial undertakings, the purging of the whole State apparatus, the communal organs of self-administration, the training and educational institutions, and the shop committees of fascist elements, the punishing of those responsible for the war, war criminals and Nazi leaders. Against that there is the task of starting our economy and building it up again to make sure of the feeding of our people through the land reform; the democratic reorganisation of Germany and complete change of our people towards democracy, through stepping along a new way of peaceful understanding and friendship with other nations; and so free the name of Germany from Hitler's shame.

All these tasks must be fulfilled by our people in these difficult times when Germany lies in ruins and has lost nearly everything through Hitler. But hard as our people must work to come out of this chaos, yet, in the well-known resolutions of the Berlin Conference, the victor Powers have given

Germany every possibility to work itself up again and to attain full freedom for the shaping of its life. The more energetically our people, in the greatest unity, tackles the tasks set out, and so itself creates a guarantee that it will not again be used by reactionary forces to attack other countries, the quicker will our people gain once again the regard and friendship of other nations and its full freedom.

But our people, especially the working class, must be very vigilant and suspicious of all attempts to divert it from its way and lead it on to speculations which, in any case, would make the position of our people much more difficult. The Allied Powers which passed the Berlin Resolution have expressly marked Germany as an economic whole, although it is divided into various zones of Allied occupation. Out of this division arise, of course, all sorts of difficulties, especially for the uniform action over all the occupation zones of the anti-fascist democratic parties and trade unions. But it would be disastrous if speculation should arise out of this, and the policies maybe of the individual parties be determined through this. The preliminary distinction of the different zones of occupation will in time disappear, and it is in the interest of the democratic development of our people and the strengthening and unity of co-operation of the parties and trade unions to hasten this equalisation through joint action.

The organs of self-administration in the Soviet occupation zone, in localities, districts and provinces, are schools of a fighting democracy in which all questions of the life and future of our people must be answered and determined. Through the co-operation of the four anti-fascist democratic parties forces will be developed in these organisations which will be of great importance for the future of our people.

The unfolding of these organs of self-administration and the development of the co-operation of the four parties for the benefit of our people is very desirable in the other occupation zones too. This co-operation is an important condition for the bringing about of free democratic elections.

Now that instructions have been given from General Eisenhower's headquarters in the American occupation zone for new election plans to be worked out by the 15th October, which shall be valid for the municipal elections in January, it is to be hoped that the four anti-fascist democratic parties will have the right to undertake a political preparation for such elections through a campaign of enlightenment among the voters corresponding to the needs. Without such a campaign of enlightenment, the character of the elections would be very doubtful. A democratic regime demands the fullest freedom of organisation and the holding of meetings by the anti-fascist democratic parties and trade unions. Without this freedom it is not possible to carry through an earnest cleansing of fascist influence from political life.

For the carrying out of the great tasks confronting our people it is necessary first, seriously to set about creating the conditions which should be the result of the bitter experiences of our people during the time of Hitler.

What is first and foremost necessary is the overcoming of the disastrous split in the working class and disunity of our people. We must put in their place unity of the working class for struggle, the organisational form of which must be the coming together of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers on all questions of the daily struggle, with the aim of the amalgamation of the two working class parties as quickly as possible. The will for this has its roots deep in the working class, and it is a sacred obligation of every active fighter of the working class to change this will for unity into action.

The Communist Party has set itself the task of clearing out of the way all difficulties and obstacles, which in the past hindered this unity. It wants this unity, because such unity is necessary to lead the German people out of the difficult position to which it was brought by Hitler. It fights strongly against any attempt to play sections of the working class against one another, or to incite them against the beginnings of this unity. The Party wants this unity to be brought about as the result of an honest will to serve the common cause and that all forces work together on an equal basis for the solving of the big tasks ahead.

The Communist Party wants the greatest co-operation between the Social-Democratic and the Communist workers, and to create true relations of trust between them. We know that this is not yet so, that there are still all sorts of difficulties to be overcome, especially because co-operation is still hampered by the memory of the fatal mistrust which formerly hindered earnest co-operation and helped those who incited the workers one against the other. Even though this mistrust was, to a large extent, removed among the Communist and Social-Democratic workers through the common danger of death in the concentration camp and through the illegal struggle against Fascism, the common work performed after the collapse of Hitler is not yet sufficiently developed to have already completely overcome the old memories of our Communist and Social-Democratic workers, and to have brought about mutual confidence. But the close co-operation of the executives, and especially the responsible comrades in the lower organisations, will remove all the difficulties of working together and create the fullest mutual confidence.

I appeal to all comrades to be always conscious of the importance which this co-operation and mutual confidence has for the future of our people. In joint activity, wherever it may be, in the lower or higher organs of self-administration, in workshops or trade unions, or in the district organisations, there must be no quarrel between Social-Democrats and Communists. They must consider themselves the joint representatives of the united strength of the working class and work together in unity and comradeship with the representatives of other parties. The question is the carrying through of a democratic policy on a sound foundation and the best possible fulfilment of the tasks confronting us. We say to our comrades: it does not depend on the numerical representation in these organisations, but on the solidity of our politics and getting the best possible results from our joint action. In this way the question of parity cannot develop into a dispute between the Social-Democrats and the Communists or the other parties.

I would like to enter into still another important question over which no clarity yet exists. To fulfil the great tasks confronting us, it is of the greatest importance to understand and learn the lessons our people has to draw from the bitter experiences of its history and particularly of the time of Hitler and the Hitler war. It is in this respect that the clearing up of the question of guilt plays an important role.

It does not help the cause of the working class if one puts the question so simply as to state that only the bourgeoisie was responsible for the war, and that the working class was completely free of guilt. It is true that it is not a question of preparing a case against the working class, and comparing it with those responsible for the war and the war criminals who brought such misery upon our people, but if the working class, the majority of our people as a whole, carried no guilt, how would it have been possible to set up such a regime of terror over the working class against its will as was Hitler's power, and how could Hitler have driven our people into this fateful war and forced it to support this war for six years, if there had not been certain reasons which favoured it? It is in discovering these reasons and drawing the lessons, that we will answer the question of the sharing of guilt by the working class.

There are heavy burdens which the German working class has to shoulder as the result of Hitler's war, amongst them the burdens of reparation and those which are linked up with the military occupation of the country. He who puts the question like this, that the innocent have to suffer these burdens for the guilty, does not help the working class to clear away these burdens but makes them only so much heavier. We want the working class to recognise clearly how it came about that Hitler could build up his barbaric power to wage war, and to wage the war nearly to the destruction of our people. This understanding is necessary, otherwise the requisite lessons will not be drawn. Certainly the strength of the working class was fettered under Hitler's power, and the heroic struggle which its anti-fascist vanguard waged against the Hitler regime was paid for with immeasurable numbers of victims. But it does not serve the working class to put this vanguard on a par with the whole working class.

To make the question, the answer to which we are today concerned with, clear, I want to remind you of the happenings of July, 1932, when finance and trust capital undertook the first great offensive towards the destruction of the working-class movement through the coup d'etat of von Papen in Prussia. The Communist Party at once approached the Social-Democratic Party, with the offer of putting the joint strength of the two working-class parties and the trade unions into motion and answering this plot with a general strike of the working class, thus taking away the appetite of the trust and finance capitalists to continue further along this path.

The strength of the working class was at that time not fettered as it was under Hitler. Nevertheless this Communist offer was rejected by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, with the excuse that an appeal should be made to the State Court against von Papen's coup d'etat. I still remember very well that at that time there prevailed among Social-Democratic workers and trade union members as great an indignation as among Communist Party members over this passive sufferance of the coup d'etat. Had the united strength of the German people been set in motion at that time, it would have been saved from Hitler's power and the Hitler war. For this failing, the working class had to pay dearly.

The same thing happened also in January, 1933. At that time, too, joint action by the German working class could have put a quick end to the coming power of Hitler's dictatorship. Instead of this, the leaders of Social-Democracy in the trade unions refused this joint action, and tried to console their followers with the explanation that they should wait and see whether Hitler would respect the Weimar constitution, and for the results of the elections put on by him.

It is in these questions and facts that the decisive point lies from which the lessons of the future must be drawn, and only in this light can the question of the German working class sharing the guilt be decided. We Communists do not want these mistakes to be repeated, on the contrary we have to make sure that the working class will not again be led along this path of passivity and "wait and see," but that it understands that a new way must be taken with new leaders of the working class who will not repeat their old politics and old roles in the working class movement. We know that we must make various attempts in this direction. But is it conceivable that the Social-Democratic workers will put up with such figures as Noske, Severing, Stampfer, or that similar men will again be leaders of the Social-Democratic Party to those

who before Hitler sabotaged the bringing about of unity and joint action of the Social-Democrats and Communists to ward off the blows of reaction, and instead fought the main fight against the Communists and agitated against the Soviet Union and, when Hitler came to power, capitulated, handed over the trade unions and voted for his foreign policy in the Reichstag? We have confidence in the Social-Democratic workers, that they will not, out of reverence for these old leaders, let them again take over the leadership of the Party, but that they will see that new, reliable forces take their place, as the Social-Democratic workers did in Greater Berlin.

We Communists have drawn very serious lessons from the past and spoken openly of the mistakes which we made before the time of Hitler. We have corrected these mistakes, which were not that we led the working class to passivity and a "wait and see" position and through that to weaknesses against reaction, but that we hurried on in advance of the development of the working-class movement and put tasks before it of which the workers could not see the necessity, or that we let ourselves be misled by the reactionary policy of the Social-Democratic leaders against the Communists to reproach the Social-Democratic workers in general and so make unity more difficult.

We have learnt from these experiences, and approach the Social-Democratic workers with all sincerity and friendship, not only in honest cooperation with them, but also by becoming completely one with them, to create the condition for the victory of our just cause. We can therefore not permit that the Communist Party is made responsible for the oppressing effects caused by the Hitler war, as various sources try to do to discredit the Party in the eyes of the people. The responsibility for the measures arising out of these effects must be carried by all the anti-fascist democratic parties, and they must all work together to enable our people to find its way out of this difficult position. There must be no juggling with the German people on this serious question, to capture them for one or other of the parties and lead them along a road which would make their position still more intolerable and would not open up the way to community with other nations.

The Communist Party, in its first call of June 11th and in its call about the democratic land reform on September 8th, has plainly and clearly put forward its views on these questions vital to our people, and declared the tasks and demands for the fulfilment of which it is willing to fight with all its strength. It wants to create complete unity with the Social-Democratic workers, and sees as its aim their amalgamation with the Communist workers in one working-class party, to lead the entire anti-fascist democratic movement and the building of a new democratic Germany.

In the working together with the other two anti-fascist democratic parties, in the united front concluded with them, all the progressive forces in Germany shall be incorporated, and enrolled in the fight for a new Germany. With the creation of trade union unity and the great alliance of the workers, peasants and the working intelligentsia, the condition for the victory of our just cause shall be created.

We call upon all progressive forces of the working class, the salaried employees and public servants, the peasants and agricultural laborers and working intelligentsia in the arts and sciences, to familiarise themselves with the programmatic explanations and programme for action of the Communist Party, with the literature brought out by us, and to read the "Deutsche Volkszeitung" ("German People's Paper") brought out by the Central Committee of our Party, and the newspapers of the Party published in the districts, and, if they agree with the aims and objects which the Communist Party sets itself, to become a member of the Communist Party and actively to support its work. We call upon all our comrades and friends to conduct a constant and intensive recruiting campaign for the Party. In continuous training courses the Party is striving to train its functionaries and members for the great tasks ahead and so to ensure the carrying through of a soundly based democratic policy.

For peace, freedom and democracy!

THE WORLD TRADE UNION FEDERATION

E. THORNTON

I HAVE been extremely fortunate to attend, as one of Australia's representatives, the two World Trade Union Conferences held in London in February, 1945, and Paris in September, 1945. It has been for me a wonderful experience and I believe that I have gained in knowledge as a result of my attendance at the conferences and my general experience in London and Paris. I have also become personally friendly with most of the leading trade union figures in the world.

The first conference in London, at which the prospect of unity of the trade unions of the world was investigated, was very much preliminary in character. It was found there, beyond a shadow of doubt, that it was possible to unite the trade union organisations of every country into one organisation, in spite of national, political, religious or language difficulties.

This conference also arrived at some very fine decisions about policy, which have already had a great effect on trade union activity. But it was the Paris Conference that set the seal on the London work and formed the new World Trade Union Federation. I think it was appropriate that this conference should have been held in Paris, the centre of so many struggles for liberty and the greatest locality for French resistance against the German invaders.

I would like to quote the opening sentences of the speech made by Leon Jouhaux in his chairman's address at the beginning of the conference.

"I am happy and proud, in the name of the General Confederation of Labour over five million strong, fraternally to salute you in this revolutionary Paris, so undiverted, so fiercely attached to human liberty and to national independence; in this Paris, capital of France, which has just again gloriously illustrated its history in aiding so efficiently the French and Allied Armies to hound from the soil of the mother country those who during more than five years sullied it with their crimes and with their grotesque vanity.

"The proletariat of this country never accepted this humiliating occupation to which the people of France had to submit, imposed by reason of a government without honour, and illegally it prepared itself for the day when by its action of insurrectional general strike it could collaborate victoriously with the armies of the united nations.

"It is in this Paris that you are meeting today, this Paris of 1789, of the taking of the Bastille, of the revolutions of 1830 and of 1848, of the Commune of 1871, and which brought to the deliverance of the country its large share of heroism, of sacrifices, of courage.

"It is not then a vain symbol that the workers' delegates of 65 nations representing more than 60 millions of organised workers are assembled in Paris in order to found the World Trade Union Federation, which is so near."

I was a member of the credentials committee and was attending a meeting of that committee when the decision was arrived at to adopt the draft constitution of the new World Federation, but I was not unaware of the decision because, after its unanimous approval, there was a great round of cheering that brought us all out of the committee room to see what was going on, and I will never forget the conclusion of the conference with the singing of the Marseillaise and the International in a dozen or more different languages.

Again this conference arrived at very fine policy decisions which will be of great assistance to the workers of the world; but the really important outcome of the conference is that a united World Trade Union Movement has been born and the old Amsterdam International (the International Federation of Trade Unions), to which Australia was never affiliated, and which had a long and sorry record of reactionary and anti-Soviet activity, is dead.

From the time of the London conference, it was evident that the International Federation of Trade Unions was doomed and that a new and better trade union international would be built, but now, at a conference at which only a few affiliated organisations attended, the Amsterdam International has been officially dissolved. So we have buried a breeding ground of disunity and have created a great weapon for unity of the working class. Throughout the world there has been rejoicing at this event and old veterans who have been fighting all their lives for trade unity unity have breathed sighs of relief as they have said "at last it has come."

Now the problem is to make this new organisation work, and Australian workers who, through their trade union organisations, have done so much and expended so much money in helping to build the new International must see to it that the new Federation is really active, and genuinely tackles the problems of the workers and particularly the workers in the colonial, semi-colonial and backward countries of the world.

One of the features of the two conferences has been the attendance of delegates from such countries as I have mentioned, many of whom made great sacrifices in order to attend conferences. I remember well an Arab delegate from Palestine telling me how his fare to Paris had been raised, how the Arab workers had contributed small sums of money, but in general had made donations in kind: fruit, vegetables and so on to be sold in order to raise his fare. Of the four delegates of the main trade union organisation in Iran (Persia), which is so much in the news at the present time and which our capitalist press tries to assure us is a democratic country menaced by the Soviet Union, two were clapped into jail in order to prevent them proceeding to Paris. Some of the colonial delegates who had left Paris in order to go home early in October were still in London when I arrived back from the Soviet Union at the end of December. An Egyptian delegate told me that he fully expected when he arrived back in Egypt to be put in jail.

These workers are not going to be satisfied with an organisation that just indulges in discussions and arrives at very good decisions on general policy. They had an effective answer to Sir Walter Citrine when he claimed at Paris that the new organisation should be non-political. I remember one of the African delegates saying: "We are not allowed to have free trade union activity, surely the World Trade Union Federation should fight against this sort of thing. To do it they must fight against the British Government. How then can such an organisation be completely non-political? It may be non-party; it is possible to prevent it being dominated by any single political party, but it

must insist on certain political steps being taken to ensure free trade unionism throughout the world."

Unless there is real activity by the Federation, trade union organisations of many countries will become disgusted and it must be admitted that up to the present time the Federation is not as active as could be expected, has not yet developed the functionaries and staff that are needed for such an organisation. The main reason for this is the sabotage by people like Sir Walter Citrine, this Knight of the British Empire, who is also a trade union leader, and Walter Schevenels, the former secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, who is one of the Assistant Secretaries of the new organisation.

Australian trade unionism must see to it that its voice, which was so effectively lifted in a demand for the formation of the International, must also be heard in protest against any delay in building on the basis of the Paris Conference decisions a really effective international trade union body.

HELL DESCENDS ON FREED MALAYA

A British Interpretation of the Atlantic Charter

G. K. PEEL, M.A.

WHEN British troops arrived back in Malaya, the first thing they did was to order the heroic Malayan Anti-Jap army, which had carried on the struggle in the dark years of Japanese occupation, to withdraw from all the principal towns, states a report recently received in Australia from the Malayan Communist Party.

The second British step was the unconditional and immediate cancellation of all Jap currency notes. During the occupation the penalty for having possession of British currency was death. The cancellation of Jap notes in spite of people's protest rendered almost the whole nation bankrupt. Seldom has there been a more cruel step than this in colonial history. It has meant poverty, starvation and unemployment for millions. It has made revival of local industry impossible. Workers are reduced to starvation, business men and farmers are bankrupt and desperate. These are the blessings of the return of British Imperialism to Malaya.

But while Malayans may starve, as far as British Imperialism is concerned, British vested interests are being looked after. Under Government control of the import and export trade a monopoly, for instance, has been given to a few British concerns in the purchase and exportation of rubber. The price at which these concerns buy their rubber from the estates has been fixed for 1st grade rubber at 36 cents, as against a price of 60 cents or more in Ceylon. Furthermore, the native estate owners have no British currency to start clearing estates, rebuilding lines, purchasing machinery and necessary utensils. The result is a stalemate in the rubber industry.

It is estimated that nearly a million people are unemployed and starving. There is little relief; for instance, only 400 to 500 people in Singapore get relief daily, against more than 300,000 unemployed in that city alone. The old oppressive colonial laws of pre-1941 days have been declared in operation. There have been many arrests of leaders who led the anti-Jap guerrilla armies, on trumped-up charges; 7,000 wharfies of all nationalities who struck in sympathy with Indonesia were recently arrested en masse, their leaders were threatened with execution if they did not order their men back to work. On 21st November of last year the President of the Singapore Labor Union (membership 150,000) was illegally arrested by a British M.P. officer. No wonder Malayans ask "Are not such acts akin to fascist terror? Is that the way to act according to the resolutions of the San Francisco meeting?"

The main brunt of this fascist-like attack on Malayan liberties is directed precisely at those forces which were the spearhead of the anti-Jap resistance movement. What is the background and history of this movement?

Before 1941 there was no shadow of democracy in Malaya. The Malayan Communist Party, formed in 1925, was strictly illegal from the beginning. A special secret police force designed to exterminate Communist activities was instrumental in the arrest, imprisonment and banishment of hundreds of Communists annually. Proof of Communist activity was not necessary, suspects were imprisoned and banished along with those actually discovered doing Communist work. Despite this terror the Party continued to grow and recruit new members from all three nationalities of Malaya, Chinese, Indians, Malayans.

And it was not only Communists, but the whole labor movement which suffered this oppression. Strikes were suppressed by force by both police and military. Trade Union leaders were indiscriminately arrested, imprisoned, banished. In 1939, for instance, a great spontaneous strike involved nearly 200,000 workers of all vocations. Thousands were arrested, hundreds sentenced to long-term imprisonment, and dozens banished by the dictatorial so-called "banishment warrant." On May Day, 1940, 50,000 workers of the different nationalities in Singapore demonstrated, carrying anti-fascist and democratic slogans which demanded higher standards of living and the acknowledgment of freedom of speech, publication, assembly, organisation and belief. The Singapore garrison was ordered to fire on the demonstrators. Two of the leaders were killed, hundreds severely wounded and many more arrested. Such was the position of the labor movement in pre-war Malaya.

Working under these great difficulties, the Malayan Communist Party carried on. It was the Communist Party which, as early as 1936, in view of the serious threat of the Japanese southward advance, and in sympathy with China's war of resistance, advocated the Malayan Anti-Jap United Front. But not so the Government, which severely restricted anti-Jap propaganda, banned anti-Jap meetings and so on. Large sums of money collected for China were not allowed to be sent there.

In 1940 when the Japs stepped into Hanoi, Indo-China, with the acquiescence of the Vichy French, the Communist Party of Malaya exposed the collaborationist policy of the French Imperialists, pointed out the danger to Malaya, and started a Malayan People's Anti-Fascist Front Campaign for the defence of democracy and Malaya. After June 22nd, 1941, when the Soviet Union became an ally of Britain and took the lead in the anti-Fascist war, the Party approached the British administration for the granting of democratic rights in Malaya in order to facilitate the organisation of the Anti-Fascist United Front. Improvement of civilian livelihood was stressed. But the British Governor would not budge an inch; he was obstinate to the last.

On December 8th, 1941, the Japanese attacked Malaya. The Party immediately advocated cooperation with the Government for the defence of Malaya. It demanded mobilisation of 50,000 Malayans which the Party was in a position to guarantee. Nothing substantial was done. Meanwhile, the Party remained illegal, suspected Communists were continuously arrested. Demands for mobilisation were flatly rejected under the excuse of lack of arms and ammunition. Only when the Japanese were sweeping through Malaya towards Singapore did the British reluctantly release 1,000 rifles and double-barrel guns to the Singapore volunteers, most of whom gave up their lives near Johore Bahru, about 16 miles from Singapore. If Malayan civilians, 50,000 strong, under the leadership of the Communist Party, had been armed, the defence of Malaya would have been possible, and the calamitous fate of the Southern Regions might have been averted.

During the occupation the whole responsibility of organising the resistance movement rested on the shoulders of the Party. Many Party members were killed in battle. Those captured were tortured for many months by the Japanese before final execution. Red hot irons ran over the bare bodies of Malayan Bolsheviks. Burning cigarette ends were dotted all over their bodies, even the private parts. Long needles were mercilessly forced under their nails. Fingers were chopped off, tongues, ears and noses cut, eye-balls dug out. But the word "surrender" was not to be found in the dictionary of these martyrs.

In spite of the Fascist terror, the resistance movement in Singapore grew rapidly. The people rallied behind the courageous Communists who showed how much they were willing to sacrifice for their country. Illegal newspapers were circulated at great risk. To stamp out resistance the Japs made mass arrests all over Malaya and raided and destroyed whole villages. More than 100,000 civilians were killed in this way by the Japs.

In such conditions the establishment of an All-Malayan Resistance Movement and Malayan People's Anti-Jap Army seemed impossible to the people, but not so to the Party. With a nucleus of Bolshevik members and what little ammunition left by the British they could get hold of, the first units of the Anti-Jap Army were formed. Gradually youngsters of all nationalities came to that Army. From a handful the Army became a force of the Malayan people operating in all provinces. Hundreds joined to fight back against the Jap terror. The Army took heavy toll of the enemy and made their life in Malaya uncomfortable. For instance in one engagement in Johore, not far from Singapore, Japs employed 15,000 so-called crack troops, 15 planes, and more than 10 tanks and dozens of cannon, to launch a fanatic offensive against the 4th independent regiment of Johore. But this regiment evaded frontal assault, launched surprise attacks and ambushes on the attackers, and was able to defeat them. Many of the anti-Jap soldiers were boys and girls of 16 to 17 years old.

The exemplary attitude and heroic acts of the Party members, and of the Anti-Jap Army members, during the occupation, and the anti-Jap organisation comprising 60% of the people which was organised, sowed the seeds of inter-racial unity and fraternity among the Chinese, Malayans and Indians which should develop in the post-war period. Resistance papers were published in every State of the country, and in every language, and 75% of the nation read the papers ardently at great risk. It is estimated that the average sleep in 24 hours of a Malayan Party member during the whole of the Jap occupation was five hours. Often they worked a whole 48 hours through. Today the Malayan Communist Party is a mass Party of the people.

After the surrender of the Japs, Jap soldiers in Malaya continued to ravage and plunder villages and behave as before. The Malayan Anti-Jap People's Army came immediately to the protection of the people, forced Japs to surrender according to the Potsdam Agreement, liberated areas and maintained order. When the Army officially entered villages it received a most hearty welcome from all nationalities. Slogans such as "We want democracy," "Welcome our own Army," greeted it. It is this democracy, the spirit of this army, and the livelihood of the Malayan people, that the British Military Administration in Malaya is so savagely attacking today.

(Acknowledgments to the report mentioned in the first paragraph of this article, from which facts, etc., have been taken in toto.—G.P.)

AT FUTURE FOR THE JEWS OF EUROPE ?

PHIL PIRATIN
(Communist M.P. for Mile End, London)

E of the outstanding tragedies of the war, and for that matter of the years leading up to the r, has been the fate of the Jews in Europe. It estimated that nearly six million Jews have been illed, and there are now about one-and-a-half illion scattered over Europe. There are some 30,000 Jewish displaced persons in the various camps in Germany, Austria and Italy.

What is the future of European Jewry?

Undoubtedly Nazism will have left its legacy, but in the countries of Europe, and particularly those of Central and Eastern Europe, where the greater number of Jews live, new democracies are growing up that aim at the elimination of all oppressions and persecution. Reports of the revival of democracy in these countries, together with the economic changes that make for greater freedom and contentment, lay a firm foundation for Jewish welfare in the future.

It is vital that Jewish people, who have been fighting reaction for centuries and Fascism since its inception, should now equally devote their energies to the building of democratic anti-Fascist countries in which they have an honored place.

Eighty thousand displaced Jews have so far not found their way back to their respective countries. No figures have been published of the nationalities of these Jews, though it is reckoned that many are German and Austrian, some Polish and others from the Baltic and Balkan countries.

Instead of the utmost consideration being given to their special problem and measures being taken to secure their speedy recovery and rehabilitation, the military authorities responsible (British and American) have treated them with an utter lack of sympathy and vision.

I have received reliable reports that in Germany today it is a commonplace in conversation that Hitler did one good thing for Germany in getting rid of the Jews, and no positive propaganda whatever is being done to answer this.

There are instances of German Jews being dismissed and Nazis engaged by the British Military Government. There was even the case of a U.S. Government court intervening to revoke a decision of a local authority, which evicted an S.S. man's family from a flat to let it to a Jewish family released from a concentration camp. Anti-Jewish demonstrations were organised by Nazis in this region following this decision.

Such actions have only emboldened the Fascists still in Germany.

The Governments of the countries whence the displaced Jews come, occupied in rebuilding their new societies, have not found it possible to devote personnel and effort to winning their confidence to go back to their respective countries. On the other hand, Zionist propaganda has been rife, and the Zionists now claim that about 60,000 desire to go to Palestine.

It is not difficult to believe that a number of Jewish displaced persons, after their terrible experiences and memories, would not wish to go back to their own countries; though with the process of rehabilitation and an understanding of the new possibilities in their native lands, many of them would review their attitude.

Our ultimate aim should be to ensure the utmost support for the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe so that the Jewish nationals of these countries can take their full share in a rapidly developing free society.

The Zionists, in discarding such possibilities for the future of Jewry and focussing attention only on Palestine as the solution to the problem, are strengthening the hands of those who would stem the democratic development of these countries.

Our immediate concern should be to ensure assistance and opportunities for rehabilitation for all displaced Jews who at this stage are not physically or mentally fit to determine their future.

While this stage of rehabilitation is proceeding, arrangements can be made for their subsequent immigration to such countries as are prepared to receive them, it being recognised that there will undoubtedly be a number of Jews who will in no circumstances return to the scenes of their former persecution.

In some cases they will prefer to go to Palestine rather than any other country, perhaps because they have relatives there, or perhaps because they have more confidence in their security among people of their own race.

Or they may be political Zionists who see an opportunity of realising their aspirations. It is this section around which the most vigorous propaganda is now proceeding, relating to the whole future of Palestine and the Jews.

The Zionists, who represent the viewpoint of only a section of the Jewish people, are making the utmost use of the general sympathy for these displaced Jews in aiming to achieve the objective of a Jewish State in Palestine. If seen, however, in the light of my earlier remarks, it is obvious that the two questions should be treated separately.

The Zionist insistence that the solution to the immediate problem of the displaced Jews can only be resolved in a solution of the whole Palestine problem may in the long run solve neither.

The question of immigration into Palestine should be settled democratically on the basis of agreement of the population.

The wider question of the future of Palestine, which is bound up with the whole problem of the Middle East, will have to be settled by the United Nations. To force this issue now by the one-sided demand for 100,000 certificates for the entry of Jews into Palestine is to injure the cause of assisting the displaced Jews.

The solution to these problems would appear to be along these lines:—

1. Hand over the responsibility for the displaced Jews in Europe, now in the hands of the British and American military authorities, to special civilian authorities that will include representatives of Jewish organisations in Great Britain and other democratic countries.

These civilian authorities would be supplied with financial resources, possibly from UNRRA, so that they could ensure the comfort and welfare of these people, while at the same time providing education, training and general rehabilitation.

If it is felt that the places where these displaced persons are at present located would not suit these purposes, the authorities should allocate other suitable accommodation.

2. British citizens who have relatives among the displaced Jews and other refugees in Europe, should be given permission to bring them into this country for a period of rehabilitation.
3. The process of rehabilitation should have as one of its objectives the education and encouragement of these Jews to return to their respective countries.

I am confident that once they realise the truth of events as they are now developing in their respective countries, many would return to their original homes.

4. After the period of rehabilitation for those still unwilling to return to their native countries, steps should be taken to ensure asylum and favorable conditions in the democratic countries.

For those who then desire to go to Palestine, every effort should be made to secure the agreement of the communities in Palestine on humanitarian grounds to accept their immigration to that country.

5. The Government should take urgent steps to bring Jews and Arabs together, if necessary consulting directly with the Jews and Arabs in Palestine, and in co-operation with the other United Nations work out the future state in which both peoples could work and thrive.

SOVIET MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

XENIA BELOUSSOVA (from "New Masses")

ON July 8, 1944, the Soviet government published an order increasing state aid for pregnant mothers, mothers with large families, and for widowed and unmarried mothers. This law increases state solicitude for mother and child and establishes the honorable title of "Mother-Heroine," the "Glory of Motherhood" Order, and the "Maternity Medal."

Under the new law mothers with large families enjoy a significant increase in the state grant which now ranges from 400 to 5,000 roubles, depending on the number of children. In addition, mothers of large families receive allowances of from 80 to 300 rubles per month. The law also provides for state maintenance and education of children of unmarried or widowed mothers if the mothers request such assistance over a limited or indefinite period.

Privileges afforded to pregnant women have been increased. Pre- and post-delivery vacations have been fixed at seventy-seven calendar days, and this period can be prolonged in case of abnormal birth or the birth of twins. Extra food rations for pregnant women and nursing mothers have been doubled. The organisation of creches, kindergartens and rooms for nursing mothers is made compulsory. This law also provides for a wide extension of the network of welfare institutions; special rest homes for pregnant women, mother and child homes, milk kitchens, lying-in homes, children's medical consultations, etc.

The order has also instituted changes in laws concerning the family. In particular, it has been established that only registered marriages shall henceforth carry with them the conjugal rights defined in the Soviet code of laws on marriage, the family and guardianship.

It has been established that henceforth divorces are to be granted only as a result of a public trial at which the motives of the divorce are to be ascertained by summoning the interested parties and witnesses. Due notice of the opening of divorce proceedings is to be published in local newspapers. The decree of divorce can be issued only by the provincial, regional, city or supreme court of a constituent or autonomous republic.

Some people consider the new divorce limitations retrogressive as compared with former Soviet laws on marriage and the family. Is this really the case? A consideration of the actual facts will be the best answer to this question.

Soviet legislation aims to serve the needs and interests of the masses. Accordingly it is guided by the principle that laws are made for man, and not man for laws. Therefore they are not unshakeable, dogmatic and fixed, but must change with changing circumstances.

For this reason, a consideration of Soviet laws concerning marriage and the family cannot be isolated from the general background and the concrete conditions under which these laws were passed, nor from the purposes which prompted

ption. Czarist laws on marriage and the eflected woman's position of subjugation endence. Then woman was not a member ety with equal rights. Many roads to edu- and independent work were closed to n. Therefore marriage remained the prin- means by which women provided for them- es and found a place in society. The elevated ing of human love, which should be the basis all marriage, was rarely the true motive for atrimony in czarist Russia. The tragedy of nequal marriages, marriages of convenience, placed woman in a humiliatingly dependent posi- tion in the family, and tzarist legislation intensified these abnormal relations by declaring that the husband was the master whom the wife was to obey without question. In those cases when, no longer able to withstand the yoke of marital tyranny, a woman left her family, the laws of czarist Russia gave the husband the right to have the police return his wife to him. Divorce laws were particularly humiliating. Suffice it to mention that one of the conditions for divorce was proof (which had to be substantiated by witnesses) that adultery had been committed by one of the parties. Tolstoy's **Anna Karenina** and **The Living Corpse** give us a vivid picture of the tragedy of woman in czarist Russia and of how human feelings and relations withered and died under the burden of the dead letter of the law.

The Soviet marriage laws passed in December, 1917, established a new principle of marriage — that of absolutely free choice — and in so doing they declared that the Soviet family henceforth was to be founded on love, mutual respect and the equality of both parties.

At the same time the first Soviet law had, once and for all, to destroy all limitations for divorce. According to the law, marriages were dissolved on the application of husband or wife or both. The decree further simplified the divorce ceremony by permitting the dissolution of marriages to take place not only in the local court, but also in the local registrar's office. And though this aspect of the law was unquestionably exploited by certain morally unstable elements of society for the con- summation of temporary liaisons, and though the broad democratic principles of Soviet marriage laws were interpreted by certain exponents of so-called "free love" as a proof of the superfluousness of the family which, forsooth, was supposed to chain per- sonal freedom, nevertheless the new law of 1918 was absolutely necessary and its positive signifi- cance was enormous. It eliminated once and for all any possibility of making the marriage tie a means of enslaving women and establishing inequality within the family. Unstable elements (against which no society and the best laws in the world have no guarantee) were given a sufficient rebuff by public opinion in the young Soviet Republic whose ethics and morals decisively condemned all elements of moral corruption, looseness and friv- olity in the relations between man and woman.

Together with the change in the marriage laws, the Soviet government took decisive steps facilita- ting the actual emancipation of woman by extend- ing to her not only the right to, but also the material conditions for acquiring an education and a profes- sion (by granting stipends, organising public dining rooms, etc.). It drew her into productive labor, into public and state activities. The state assumed much of the burden of caring for children and vigorously defended the interests of woman.

But a huge gulf lay between the legal declar- ation of the right to equality and equality itself. Circumstances hampered the realisation of these rights. Every day the woman encountered those innumerable infringements which had been handed down through the ages, which had become ingrain- ed in habits and customs, and had penetrated the psychology and social perceptions of men and women, the majority of whom considered the old relationship normal and natural. And no law, however democratic, could destroy at one blow this heavy burden of prejudice and tradition which regarded woman as having been created solely for child-bearing, family and household cares. Soviet woman had to traverse a long and difficult path if she wished to take advantage of the exceptional opportunities for social, spiritual and human devel- opment which the Soviet regime opened up to her. But in making this her choice, she was assured the fullest support from the Soviet state and from Soviet public opinion.

She had to overcome various difficulties. Many of them were caused by the hardships of the time and by having to master arduous trades hitherto regarded as suitable only for men. She had to sur- mount a distrust of and contempt for her capabili- ties on the part of zealous male partisans of the "good old times," who used to say: "A woman resembles a human being as a chicken resembles a bird." Often she had to overcome resistance to her development from members of her own family, especially from a backward husband who consid- ered his wife's breaking away from the narrow circle of family interests a threat to the stability of the family and to his own prestige as head of the family. Finally, she had to overcome survivals of the old psychology in her own mind. She had to imbue herself with a resolution to conquer all diffi- culties and surmount all obstacles regardless of their nature. This was a complicated psychological process, made all the more so by the fact that the Soviet woman had no historical example to fall back upon. There was no prototype of the new woman who would combine in herself all those manifestations of personal and civil liberty placing her on a level with the male, and yet retaining those natural qualities of womanliness, grace, maternal tenderness, which formed an integral part of her nature. Humanity's past could give examples of the development of only one side of the female

character. It did not and could not provide the type of a universally and harmoniously developed woman. The very fact that its searchings were made not in abstract theory, but in the course of life experience itself, that sometimes mistakes were accompanied by the bitter personal sufferings of men and women, by family conflicts and rifts in family relationships, served to increase the difficulty of the problem.

By her persistence, Soviet woman proved her right to take equal part in the industrial and cultural life of her country. But it was only by a heroic ex- ploit that she could achieve such results. Her hero- ism was accompanied by privation and sacrifice. And one of the greatest sacrifices of all was that she was now forced to devote less time to her family and to her children. These same circumstances likewise reduced to a minimum her care for her husband and for her home. It goes without saying that it was well-nigh impossible for her to find time to devote to her clothes, hair, her general appear- ance.

The vast majority of Soviet women recognised that the conflict between family and profession was only temporary and the result of bitter necessity; that without labor and sacrifice it would be impos- sible to make engineers, physicians, teachers, scientists, factory foremen, pilots, out of women who for centuries had been trained to the part of housewife and had been taught that wider circles of interest and activities were "not for them." But it was necessary to surmount all these difficulties in order to help their country during years of incred- ible struggle with inherited backwardness. It was necessary to overcome all these difficulties before woman could win actual equality in Soviet society, and, accordingly, actual equality in the new Soviet family. Renouncing many of the necessities of life, observing the strictest economy in the satisfaction of her natural feminine desire for beautiful clothes, and likewise observing the strictest economy in her time, Soviet woman, at the price of selfless labor, made up for thousands of lost years and climbed ever higher on the ladder to genuine equality. It should be emphasised that the temporary and ex- pedient nature of these privations was plain to every Soviet woman. She never relinquished her desire for a stable family, for the joy of motherhood, for the human sentiments of love and comradeship in her relations with her husband, for comfort and femininity.

True, a few women did succumb to the superficial attraction of the outward attributes of sex equality. A new fashion arose — that of wearing men's clothes, of using mannish gestures, intentionally rough manners. In the U.S.S.R. such women were called "military-communism types," even though this definition was not exact, as the fashion of imitating the male arose much later than the period of military communism and affected young women and girls who had not lived through it. Even though this fashion was short-lived, was adopted by very few Soviet girls and w[illegible]tep requiring finally denounced by Soviet publ[illegible]ghly before some reason or other there is a w[illegible]s and depth firmly rooted opinion in other coun[illegible]curtail the ideal of the Soviet woman is repres[illegible] temporary exaggerated imitation of the male. Th[illegible]flicts and is not true. But even as the moveme[illegible] on the surface of a stream is a sign o[illegible] and direction of the deep current, so [illegible]s the fashion, in spite of its superficiality, still[illegible]dards the mighty movement of the millions [illegible]ntial women toward genuine liberty, toward [illegible]nd and absolute equality with man.

As a result of the Stalin Five Year Plans, [illegible] society attained an immeasurably higher m[illegible] and cultural level, and woman was no longer with the necessity of making a choice bet[illegible] "family or work," of "private life or s[illegible] activities." Woman, who had forced public opi[illegible] to accept her as engineer, pilot, physician a[illegible] scientist, collective farm chairman and Stakhanov[illegible] worker, now had far greater opportunities f[illegible] providing for herself and children. In this respec[illegible] her position in the family became equal to that of the man.

The Soviet family now entered the period of maturity.

In continuing to grant woman every opportunity for development by helping care for her children in creches and kindergartens, the Soviet government attaches particular importance to the family as the nucleus for training future generations. The care of the family and children, the duties of motherhood to which the Soviet woman was formerly unable to pay sufficient attention, once more regained their full significance. But this fact is not to be regarded as signifying that the Soviet woman has ceased striving for the complete development of her powers and abilities, for the complete realisation of actual equality with man. The Soviet mother is no longer that backward, ignorant housewife with a limited outlook who was the typical mother in czarist Russia. Today, the Soviet mother is an active member of the community. She has completely identified herself with the interests of her country. She shares the joys and sorrows of her husband and occupies a worthy place in industrial, cultural and social life. Such mothers bring up children to become genuine patriots, help them acquire know- ledge, perceive their inclinations and abilities, and have an immense influence on the formation of character.

"Even chickens can love their chicks," wrote Maxim Gorky. "But the bringing up of children is a matter of state importance, demanding skill, experience, and a great knowledge of life." The Soviet woman of today possesses to a very great extent these qualities so necessary for bringing up children, for the very reason that she herself has surmounted incredible difficulties in achieving her equality.

written by Captain
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ing the last quarter of a century the Soviet
has trained a new generation with new
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and heroic exploits at the front. She has
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family happiness of Soviet men and women is
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A new generation has been born during the
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never had occasion to buy women for money
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will never have to give themselves to men
any consideration other than that of genuine

Under the new conditions the marriage laws
December, 1917, have proved insufficient.
ay when all legal and actual prerequisites have
created for founding the family on pure
g between man and woman, on mutual love,
dship and respect, on common views and
ests. Soviet legislation has been forced to reflect
changes by a corresponding change in existing

The family is the basis for training the new
ration. The strength and stability of the family

to a great extent determines what human traits will be developed in the characters of the children. More than ever before the parents become responsible before the state and the entire people for the training of their children. The desire for a home and family, for motherhood and fatherhood, expressed in Ludmilla Zykova's letter, is a desire deep-rooted in all the people of the Soviet Union.

The former laws making divorce easy cannot now serve the purpose of strengthening the family. On the contrary, they give rise to a feeling of instability and do not stimulate that serious attitude to the home which naturally leads to the happiness of parents and children and to a normal training of future generations of Soviet citizens.

The new law provides for divorce through court trial. Divorce proceedings are to be conducted publicly following the publication of a notice of the institution of such proceedings. At the court the motives for the proceedings must be explained and steps taken to reconcile husband and wife. Witnesses are to be summoned if necessary. (At the request of the claimants and if the court deems the reasons valid, the case may be heard in closed session.) After the people's court has heard the case, if no reconciliation has been agreed upon, and if the claimant sends on his application for divorce to a higher court, the decree of divorce may be granted by provincial, district, regional, city or supreme court of constituent or autonomous republics. If divorce is granted, the court decides which of the parties of the marriage keeps which of the children, which of the parents is to maintain the children and what alimony he or she is to pay for this purpose. The court decides the division of property between the parties to the divorce, and, is the divorcees so desire, it restores pre-marital surnames. It likewise issues the certificate of divorce.

This divorce system, as we see, differs greatly from the system of divorce provided for in the **Decree Concerning the Annulment of Marriages** passed on December 18, 1917, by the All Union Executive Committee. According to Par. 1 of this early decree, "A marriage may be annulled at the request of one or both parties to the marriage." The note to Par. 2 of this decree rules that it is not necessary for a divorce to be obtained by court proceedings, that it is sufficient for an application for divorce to be sent merely to the local registrar's office.

The new law aims to strengthen the Soviet family by making the institution of legal divorce proceedings obligatory. The attention of the Soviet people is hereby focussed on the family as the centre of child training. As such, it must be protected from arbitrariness on the part of either husband or wife, inasmuch as the care of children in the Soviet Union cannot be regarded as merely the private matter of the father or mother. This, of course, does not signify that the new Soviet law will force family relations onto people no longer tied by sentiments of love and mutual respect and who no longer have ideas and interests in common. In such cases, divorces will be granted by the corresponding legal organs. But at least attempts will be made to reconcile married couples in the people's court. During the actual trial, the insufficiency of motives may be made clear to the claimants, the reasons for their dissensions dispelled, and the family saved, thanks to this new law. Furthermore, the publicity of divorce proceedings will prompt married people to treat their relationships more seriously, more fully to realise the responsibility they bear to each other and to their children. Finally, couples contemplating marriage will be more inclined to regard this as a decisive, all-important step in their lives, a step requiring that they know each other thoroughly before marrying, that they verify the seriousness and depth of their feelings. It should thereby curtail the number of accidental marriages and temporary liaisons, resulting so often in painful conflicts and the breaking of lives.

The new law strengthens the family as the nucleus of Soviet society, advances new standards of social relations, and provides a substantial material basis for the safeguarding of maternity and childhood, for providing children with every opportunity for development and education. In strengthening the Soviet family, this new law at the same time strengthens the Soviet system.

NOTES ON CANADIAN MONOPOLY AND INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

(From "National Affairs," Canada, October, 1945)

The following material has been prepared by the National Educational Department of the Labor Progressive Party for use in Party schools and study-groups in a programme of study of Imperialism and the Post-war World. The basic text being used is Lenin's IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM, and the NEW DATA ON LENIN'S IMPERIALISM compiled by Varga and Mendelssohn (these are published together in one volume, available from Progress Books, Toronto). The data presented here are drawn for the most part from such sources as the CANADA YEAR BOOK (1944-45), MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF CANADA (1943), etc. They should be studied in conjunction with Chapter 1 of IMPERIALISM "Concentration of Production and Monopolies."

TABLE I

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF CANADA

Year	Establishments	Capital (Millions)	Net Value (Millions)	Employees	Capital Per Employee
1870	41,259	77.9	96.7	187,942	415
1890	75,964	353.2	219.0	369,595	956
1920	22,532	2,923.6	1,621.3	598,893	4,882
1930	22,618	4,041.0	1,522.7	614,696	6,574
1940	25,513	4,095.7	1,942.4	762,244	5,373
1942	27,862	5,488.7	3,309.9	1,152,091	4,765

NOTE.—Net value is computed by subtracting cost of fuel and electricity as well as the cost of materials from the gross value of the products.

The foregoing table shows that while the total number of manufacturing establishments **declined,** between 1870 and 1942, by almost a third, capital invested increased roughly by 70 times, production 34 times, the number of employees six times, and capital per employee eleven times.

While capital investment increased nearly five-fold in the period 1870-1890, and then eightfold between 1890 and 1920, in the following 20-year period it increased by only a third. Canada having entered the imperialist stage of its development roughly in the period 1910-1920, the slowing down in the rate of expansion is significant.

Out of a total of 374 consolidations which took place between 1900 and 1933, 58 occurred during 1902-12 and 231 during 1925-30. **(Price Spreads Report, p.28.)** The mergers in the first period took place particularly in heavy industry (e.g. Canadian Car & Foundry, Dominion Steel Corp., Stelco, Canada Cement, Amalgamated Asbestos).

Tables II and III indicate the role of monopoly in Canadian industry: the former, in showing the degree of concentration of production in big plants in the main industries; and Table III, in revealing the margin of super-profit which monopoly provides to its owners.

TABLE II

DEGREE OF CONCENTRATION IN 25 LEADING MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN 1942

	No. of plant employing over 500 workers	% of total No. of plants in industry	Their output as % of total output in industry
Non-ferrous metal smeltering and refining	8	50%	83%
Slaughtering and meat packing	12	8%	57%
Pulp and paper	34	32%	71%
Automobiles	3	50%	Not given
Miscellaneous chemical products	11	6%	83%
Shipbuilding	19	24%	92%
Primary iron and steel	18	30%	81%
Butter and cheese*	11*	0.5%*	12%*
Electrical apparatus	14	6%	61%
Sawmills	3	0.05%	7%
Automobile supplies	10	10%	66%
Miscellaneous iron and steel products	16	10%	82%
Brass and copper products	12	8%	74%
Petroleum products*	7*	14%*	57%*
Flour and feed mills*	6*	0.5%*	35%*
Machinery	9	4%	40%
Railway rolling stock	15	43%	90%
Aircraft	14	33%	91%
Men's factory clothing	9	2%	20%
Cotton yarn and cloth	16	40%	83%
Rubber	11	22%	81%
Women's factory clothing	14	2%	14%
Sheet metal products	10	5%	36%
Broad and other bakery products	3	0.1%	7%
Hardware and tools	4	2%	20%

*Those so marked are for plants employing 200 or over, usually because there is only one plant employing over 500, so separate figures are not given.

TABLE III

EARNINGS OF SELECTED CANADIAN AND U.S. COMPANIES, 1927-1937.

(Net Earnings after Charges as a Percentage of Common and Preferred Stock, Surplus and Reserves.)

Year	Monopolies Canada*	All Manufacturing Canada**	All Manufacturing United States***
1927	... —	6.2% —	8.4%
1928	13.0% —	6.3 —	9.8
1929	19.7% —	6.9 —	13.4
1930	16.6 —	4.7 —	7.1
1931	9.7 —	3.3 —	3.3
1932	6.0 —	1.9 —	0.3
1933	3.4 —	1.5 —	3.1
1934	9.6 —	2.5 —	4.3
1935	10.8 —	2.7 —	6.7
1936	14.3 —	.. —	..
1937	19.1 —	.. —	..
Average	12.2% —	4.0% —	6.3%

(From L. G. Reynolds, **Control of Competition in Canada**, p. 60.)

* Canada Cement, Canadian Westinghouse, Canadian General Electric, Canadian Celanese, Canadian Industries Ltd., International Nickel, Consolidated Mining and Smelting, Imperial Tobacco, Canadian Brewing Corporation, and National Breweries.

** Data obtained from Houston's Annual Financial Review.

*** National City Bank series, which includes 615 manufacturing companies in the United States.

Tables IV and V reveal the growth of concentration of capital in the last twenty years. Thus by combining figures in sections A and B of each of these two tables it can be seen that — for instance — in 1942, 3.6% of the total number of plants (990 of them) employed 62.7% of all workers employed in manufactures (Tables IV-A and B, adding the last two figures in each of the columns for 1942.) Similarly, in the same year, 1% of the plants (those producing over $5 million annually) accounted for nearly half (48%) of the total output in manufacturing (Tables V-A and B).

Note the sharp increase in the number of large-scale plants in the first three years of war.

NOTE.—Figures are given for each "plant" or "establishment." As a number of plants are in many cases under the same ownership, these figures do not fully present the degree of concentration of ownership.

TABLE IV-A

SIZE OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS BY NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN PLANTS.

Percentage of total working force employed in plants employing	1923	1929	1939	1942
under 5 employees ..	4.3	4.3	4.3	2.5
5 to 20	10.3	9.0	10.4	4.8
21 to 50	12.8	11.8	11.4	10.1
51 to 100	14.0	13.0	12.4	9.2
101 to 200	15.2 56.6	14.9 53.1	14.7 53.2	10.7 37.3
201 to 500	22.0	19.6	21.2	16.8
501 or over	21.4 43.4	27.3 46.9	25.6 46.8	45.9 62.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE IV-B

	1923		1929		1939		1942	
Plants employing	No. of Plants	% of Total	No. of Plants	% of Total	No. of Plants	% of Total	No. of Plants	% of Total
Under 5 employees	13,156	58.1	12,273	52.0	13,002	52.4	13,622	48.9
5 to 20	5,310	23.4	6,160	26.1	6,985	28.2	6,580	23.6
21 to 50	2,093	9.2	2,531	10.7	2,330	9.4	4,265	15.3
51 to 100	1,031	4.6	1,262	5.3	1,158	4.7	1,520	5.4
101 to 200	566	2.5	745	3.2	695	2.8	885	3.2
201 to 500	374	1.7	444	1.9	458	1.8	631	2.3
Over 500	112	0.5	182	0.8	172	0.7	359	1.3
TOTALS ..	22,642	100.0	23,597	100.0	24,800	100.0	27,862	100.0

TABLE V-A

SIZE OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS BY GROSS VALUE OF PRODUCTION.

Per cent of total value of manufacturing production produced in plants with annual output of	1922	1925	1939	1942
under $25,000	4.6 —	2.6 —	3.5 —	1.6
25,000 to 50,000	3.5 —	2.5 —	2.9 —	1.8
50,000 to 100,000	5.2 —	3.8 —	4.5 —	2.8
100,000 to 200,000 ..	7.7 —	5.8 —	6.5 —	4.2
200,000 to 500,000 ..	13.3 —	12.4 —	11.2 —	8.5
500,000 to 1,000,000 ..	14.6 48.9 —	10.9 38.0	13.4 42.0	8.4 27.1
1,000,000 to 5,000,000	27.9 —	30.1 —	31.4 —	25.0
over $5,000,000	23.2 51.1 —	31.9 62.0	26.6 58.0	47.9 72.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE V-B

Plants producing annually :	1922 No. of Plants	%	1929 No. of Plants	%	1939 No. of Plants	%	1942 No. of Plants	%
Under $25,000	14,978	66.4	14,024	59.4	15,623	63.0	14,795	53.0
25,000 to 50,000	2,401	10.7	2,802	11.9	2,803	11.3	3,747	13.4
50,000 to 100,000 . .	1,793	8.0	2,209	9.4	2,215	8.9	2,972	10.7
100,000 to 200,000 . .	1,355	6.0	1,688	7.2	1,584	6.4	2,256	8.1
200,000 to 500,000 . .	1,078	4.8	1,519	6.4	1,285	5.2	1,993	7.2
500,000 to 1,000,000 .	516	2.3	636	2.7	689	2.8	898	3.2
1,000,000 to 5,000,000	364	1.6	601	2.5	520	2.1	923	3.3
Over $5,000,000	56	0.2	118	0.5	81	0.3	278	1.0
Totals	22,642	100.0	23,597	100.0	24,800	100.0	27,862	100.0

"IN THE GARDEN OF EPICURUS"

(An excursion into ancient Greek philosophy, and some lessons for today)

L. HARRY GOULD

SHORTLY after the October Revolution the Director of the Rumyantsev library in Moscow was reading a letter signed by one, V. I. Lenin. The writer wished to borrow a few books, including Gomperz's **Greek Thinkers,** and stated that if it was against the rules of the library to lend out these books he would thank the Director for "the favor of being allowed to have them only over night when the library is closed." This account of Lenin's request raises two points. The man who organised the power that was overturning the world was first among men to respect those rules adopted by civilised (really civilised!) humans for sensible regulation of social relations and practices. Second, that even in the storm of battle to remake the world and burdened with gigantic labors, Lenin found it useful to restudy the methods by which the great thinkers of antiquity had grappled with problems parallel to his own.

The inclusion of Gomperz's classic suggests that Lenin was again examining the experiences of the class struggle in humanity's past, and almost certainly the one problem in particular that inevitably challenges every leader of social revolution. This was the task of fashioning, through education and organised mass activity, the instrument of successful revolution, namely, the exploited masses, because they alone are interested in and capable of struggle for the new social order. From the very first days after October, the Russian and international capitalists gathered their tremendous powers to strangle the newly-formed Soviet Republic. The overwhelming majority of Russians were ignorant and illiterate, only now awakened from the sleep of centuries. The backwardness was elemental; and as Lenin said, the power of habit of these backward tens of millions was a terrible power. A primary job was the speediest possible injection into the Russian body politic of education, scientific enlightenment and of consciousness of present demands and future aims.

Now, ancient Greek society produced a remarkably noble and courageous movement for such mass enlightenment. Its founder was the philosopher Epicurus (371-270 B.C.). The aim was social emancipation; its method, education to combat the ignorance and superstition which the ruling class had deliberately and "scientifically" inculcated into the lower orders of society. After centuries of effort Epicureanism finally failed, first in Greece, the land of its birth, and later in Rome to where it was transplanted. The night of the Dark Ages which then settled on Europe was to last a thousand years.

Our short excursion into Greek history and philosophy will provide us with many useful lessons, of which we may note immediately the following two. First, the class struggle rent society 2500 years ago as fiercely as in recent times; then as now the defence of private property engendered "the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast" (Marx). Second, every exploiting class from that day to this has made a point of obscuring the events of the class struggle in Graeco-Roman civilisation and, in particular, of blackguarding the great Epicurus. The word "epicurean" has become synonymous with licentiousness, with gluttony and the abandonment of moral standards for pleasure. But the only pleasure which Epicurus sought was the emancipation of mankind from oppression, and to secure tranquility of the spirit by the triumph of knowledge over superstition. "Vain is the word of a philosopher," he said, "which does not heal any suffering of man." The movement he founded was the first of its kind in history. The "Garden" of Epicurus was merely the name of his school and not, as his traducers hint, a resort for debauchery. (Compare with the "Academy" of Plato, the "Lyceum" of Aristotle or the "Porch" of the Stoic philosophers.). The Epicureans welcomed women and slaves as students. The community life of the Garden was one of the greatest simplicity and virtue, but the slanders multiplied with each passing century.

* * *

In 173 B.C., that is, about 100 years after the death of Epicurus, two Epicureans were expelled from Rome. What was their offence? In the eyes of Rome's rich and aristocratic rulers, these two were guilty of the heinous crime of "subversive" and unremitting effort to equip the "common herd" with knowledge. Educating and organising the masses has always been a sin for which there is no absolution.

The Epicureans were particularly interested in restoring the science and philosophy produced several centuries before in Ionia, in western Asia Minor. They sought to arm the oppressed populace with "Ionian enlightenment" for the fight against tyranny. The story, all too briefly here, begins about 600 B.C., when the Greek colonists of Ionia produced a remarkably rich store of technical inventions and scientific knowledge. In Ionia, and later on the Greek mainland under Ionian inspiration, was first enunciated, in primitive yet authentic form, the atomic theory, materialist dialectics and the philosophy of change in nature and society, and other trends of thought remarkable alike for brilliant originality and their enduring significance for succeeding ages.

The genius of Ionian philosophical speculation lay especially in the fact that it derived from the closest possible observation of nature and from labor—its forms, techniques and results. Philosophic theorising was integrated into the day-to-day work and the stimulating contacts of Ionia's citizens who were, in the main, a class of merchants favorably situated in the trade and cultural highways of the ancient world. Unhampered by tradition or taboo, the Ionians struck out boldly in their investigation of man and nature, and gave a consistent materialistic interpretation of the universe.

The great names include Thales, the "Father of Philosophy," and the first to speculate systematically on nature; Anaximander, an early gifted evolutionist; Heraclitus, the philosopher of change, on whom Lenin commented: "More Heraclitus, less Plato;" Hippocrates, who founded a school of medicine and some of whose principles of healing are used to this day; Democritus, propounder of the atomic theory; Anaxagoras, noted for discoveries in astronomy, biology and his theory on the constitution of matter; and many more. Their philosophy was materialistic, necessarily so, because it had the most intimate connection with the tools and technical inventions used in agriculture, irrigation, medicine, astronomy, navigation and other related or derived practices and studies. "The materialist world outlook," said Engels, "is simply the conception of nature as it is, without any reservation." They frowned on philosophy if it meant theorising divorced from practice. Natural science and materialism in philosophy expressed the needs and aspirations of the "mercantile bourgeoisie" of ancient Ionia as appropriately as they did for the bourgeois method of production in England in the 17th century and for France of the Great Revolution in the 18th century. Here is an excerpt from the Hippocratic writings on medicine dealing with epistemology, or the theory of knowledge:

> "One must attend in medical practice, not primarily to plausible theories, but to experience combined with reason. A true theory is a composite memory of things apprehended with sense-perception. For the sense-perception, coming first in experience and conveying to the intellect the things subjected to it, is clearly imaged, and the intellect, receiving these things many times, noting the occasion, the time and the manner, stores them up in itself and remembers. Now I approve of theorising if it lays its foundation in incident, and deduces its conclusions in accordance with phenomena. For if theorising lays its foundation in clear fact, it is found to exist in the domain of intellect, which itself receives all its impressions from other sources. So we must conceive of our nature as being stirred and instructed under compulsion by the great variety of things; and the intellect, as I have said, taking over from nature the impressions, leads us afterwards to the truth. But if it begins, not from a clear impression, but from a plausible fiction, it often induces a grievous and troublesome condition. All who act so are lost in a blind alley."

A splendid proposition! The key is in the third sentence. Defending materialism against the conception of innate knowledge and the "logical categories" of the idealists, Lenin said: "Categories of logic are factors of the cognition (ideas) of nature by man. . . . The practices of man repeated a billion times become fixed in man's consciousness as figures of logic. These figures have the endurance of prejudice, and are axiomatic in character precisely (and only) by virtue of this myriad repetition."

In the centuries that followed, Ionia with its science was all but forgotten in the great cities of Greece and Rome. Slavery was now the dominant feature of civilised life. Where once the trader, merchant, explorer or coloniser had led society, now the heads of the State were the great

landowning knights living on the labor of thousands of slaves employed on great estates; or the governor or proconsul of a province bent on extracting the last ounce of wealth from the natives; or the "statesman" serving these two and equally remote from personal toil. And where previously the arts and sciences had stood in the closest relation to production, now culture becomes the pursuit of the leisured class, whose publicists and ideologists provide the philosophical and spiritual justification of class domination. Scientific endeavour and invention necessarily came to an end. With a plentiful supply of slaves, why bother with labor-saving inventions? The earlier fruitful contact with nature and labor which produced materialism in philosophy gave way to metaphysics, to idealism in the method of interpreting the world, to dualism in ethics, and to a hundred philosophical trends which for 2000 years have subverted reason in the interests of the exploiters.

In particular, the honest upstanding science and philosophy of Ionia were followed, when society's class divisions had hardened definitely into upper class and lower orders, by a planned set of religious beliefs whose falsity was openly acknowledged, but nevertheless inculcated into the masses to make them "willing servants of their masters."

Chief sponsor of this deliberate fraud was Plato, the Master himself, and supporting his thesis on the need of the "noble lie" (his own term) with which to confirm the rule of the aristocratic over the slaves and freemen were Aristotle, Varro, Cicero and scores more of the great names in philosophy and literature of Graeco-Roman history. All except the Epicureans! Plato proposed imprisonment and death for their subversive attempts to resurrect the science of Ionia. In both his great works, **The Republic** and **The Laws,** in the latter especially, Plato returned repeatedly to the theme of the "useful lie" and the "royal lie," the value of the myth for proper administration of the State, the inculcation of falsehood, the elaboration of a system of myth and superstition as the means by which true governance was to be secured.

One must guard against any false appraisal of Plato's work and his role in the history of thought, especially by too easy an identification of his "royal lie" with, say, Hitler's "big lie" of this generation. The student must note the immense difference in time, place, economics, forms of the class struggle, the temper of the epoch, and the experiences of history. Plato's program was designed for the good of the masses in an age when slavery was accepted as a natural phenomenon. Man's intellect cannot transcend the given material and spiritual development of his time. Aristotle, that "mightiest thinker of antiquity" (Marx), floundered helplessly in his effort to discover, in a civilisation based on slave labor, the true nature of "labor," "value" and other economic categories. It would be amiss to draw too close a parallel between the intrigue, cynicism and priestly humbug of the present with the ethos of ancient times. Plato, for example, set the most exacting moral standards for his students—those intended to become the governors of society. He proposed selecting a small group of men for a life of scholarship and rule, and living an austere life despite the possession of power. Plato's ideal was a State in which "philosopher kings" ruled for the common good; knaves and incompetents were to be completely barred from office.

Plato lived in the social childhood of mankind. With its huge slave (or helot) population debarred from enjoyment of the suffrage, the democracy of ancient Greece was sharply restricted. But Greek democracy was mankind's first taste of voting, majority rule, the right to elect and be elected, and the important experience of the masses exercising control over their institutions and elected or appointed officials. The Marxist can easily trace the link between the promise of Greek democracy—new, unsure and circumscribed—with its present historical fulfilment in the Bolshevik practice of democratic centralism. Further, the historical materialist recognises in the institution of slavery of classical times the means by which the leisured classes could advance their own culture, thereby laying the basis for the future cultural progress of humanity as a whole. Plato's philosophy, therefore, and his ethical code and sociological ideas do not lose their importance for later ages, albeit their predication on human slavery. What Engels said of Hegel applies to Plato, that he covered an incomparably greater domain than any earlier system, and he produced a wealth of thought that is astounding to this day. His limits were set by the social development of his time; specifically, whereas the slave and the freeman enjoyed intimate experience with nature and labor, Plato (and all too many philosophers since, and with less or no excuse) embarked upon the quest for reality independent of experience.

In contrast to Anaxagoras of Ionia, who said that man acquired wisdom through the possession and use of capable hands, Plato discovered more valid knowledge in the enjoyment of the goods produced than in their production! Here is the perfect warrant for social parasitism. Aristotle considered that the era of technical invention had come to an end, and with "the requisites of comfort and social refinement" fairly well secured, the only worthy pursuit left was metaphysics. This gross denigration of labor explains the ethical mutilation. Brilliant and profound, with a richness of thought and a graciousness of expression scarcely ever excelled, Plato's philosophy still presents, when it is all boiled down, a philosophical justification of class oppression.

The following quotation from the Greek historian Polybius (198-117 B.C.) clearly reveals the intent of the "noble lie" and the police function of religion.

> "I will venture the assertion that what the rest of mankind deride is the foundation of Roman greatness, namely, superstition. This element has been introduced into every aspect of their private and public life, with every artifice to awe the imagination, in a degree which could not be improved upon. Many possibly will be at a loss to understand this—my view is that it has been done to impress the masses. If it were possible to have a State in which all the citizens were philosophers, perhaps we might dispense with this sort of thing. But the masses in every State are unstable, full of lawless desires, of irrational anger, and violent passion. All that can be done, then, is to hold them in check by fears of the unseen and other shams of the same sort. It was not for nothing, but with deliberate design, that the men of old introduced to the masses notions about the gods and views on the after-life. The folly and heedlessness are ours, who seek to dispel such illusions."

Among historiographers only Polybius, Gibbon and a few other historians are credited with being painstakingly truthful and "most exact." Perhaps so. But note the typical ruling class detraction of the masses. Exploiters never can conceal their hatred and fear of those who produce their income.

Dealing with the various traditions of God in human shape, Aristotle agrees that they are "myths that have been introduced to persuade the multitude and on account of their utility in regard to social custom and public good." And Cicero, of whom it is said that he expounded all philosophical systems while believing in none, justified the deception by saying that the people's constant need for advice and authority of the aristocracy holds the State together.

Before leaving the "Garden of Epicurus" to draw some lessons for today's problems, we should pay our tribute to the last of the Epicureans, the Roman poet Lucretius (98-55 B.C.), whose marvellous philosophical poem, "De Rerum Natura" (On the Nature of Things) remains one of the great spiritual treasures of humanity. Of special interest here is the atmosphere of tragedy—noble and universal—pervading the work. His genius discerned the gathering catastrophe. The movement which he championed so valiantly was proving ineffectual against the moral decay, corruption and injustice of the Roman empire. No social class appeared capable of challenging the established order. The slaves who formed in his day a large section of the population could not produce ideology, effective organisation or social policy. (Note: I mean slaves in their actual condition of servitude, as distinct, for example, from the runaway slaves, semi-free-men and others who took part in the heroic Spartacus revolts). The class struggles of antiquity led frequently, as Marx said, to the common ruin of the contending forces. Lucretius witnessed this tragedy consummating itself on a universal scale —or to use Spinoza's term, "under the form of eternity" (sub specie aeternitatis). What ecclesiastical and other historians described as the "madness" of Lucretius was merely his driving passion for an enlightened and moral world which he knew man really possessed the power to create.

* * *

The "noble lie" today. The hangman and the priest, said Lenin, were needed by the bourgeoisie to maintain their power. By "hangman" is meant the standing army and like agencies for violence against the labor-democratic masses at home and the colonial masses abroad; the "priest" includes many others besides the man in surplice (or the "gendarme in surplice," as Lenin also described him). The class function of the priest, religious or otherwise, is the preservation of bourgeois ideology among the exploited. But religion has long ceased to be the chief ideological weapon of the exploiting classes. Statistics show that not one adult Australian in ten attends church, and even among churchgoers only a minority really subscribe to all the traditional beliefs. Furthermore, many enlightened clergymen and their communicants actively support progressive movements. Engels challenged Feuerbach's assertion that the periods of human development are distinguished only by religious changes. "Great historical turning points," said Engels, "have been accompanied by religious changes only so far as the three world religions which have existed up to the present—Buddhism, Christianity and Islam—are concerned." The Protestant Reformation of the 16th Century represented, in theology and religious practice, the revolt of the new merchant and manufacturing class plus the smaller nobility, artisans and handicraftsmen against feudalism and the Roman Catholic Church, which was the greatest single feudal power in Christendom. The religious imprint on many historical movements of the past becomes clear; equally understandable should be the banner of rationalism under which the French bourgeoisie fought their great revolution in the 18th century.

The chief form of the ideological struggle in this epoch of imperialist decline and proletarian revolution is not religion. The most dangerous "priest" today is not connected with religion, and he may even be quite anti-religious in outlook. He is first and foremost the right wing labor leader or trade union official who, while occasionally compelled to give lip-service to the Socialist ideal, is really appalled at the prospect of a world without the boss; or the starry-eyed soothsayer, like Browder, who visions decades of prosperity if only the workers would leave matters to the "true class interests" of the imperialists. The Social-democrat, or reformist, has been historically the main social bulwark of capitalism. Among the many types of "priests" must also be included the escapist in art, the materio-criticist in philosophy, race theorists and similar purveyors of outright or hidden imperialist propaganda, the pacifists, philistines and a thousand more.

Science as Politics. Scientific truth is anathema to reactionaries. "The more ruthlessly and disinterestedly science proceeds," said Engels, "the more

it finds itself in harmony with the interests and efforts of the workers." Hence, the scientist eager to propagate his discoveries becomes a politician, or involved in political controversies. The struggle between science and any kind of obscurantism is ultimately a political one. A current example is the attitude of the scientists who produced the atom bomb. In urging international control, they are trenching directly onto the political sphere. Most of them scarcely realise the issues involved. Professor Sir William Bragg laments that scientists are merely "conscripts," meaning that they have no say on what is done with the products of their genius. But those scientists and others who study, and apply, the science of Marxism are not victims of events or conditions. The reverse, in fact! Marxists know how to grip hold of events, to master conditions and make history. It is interesting to trace the development of science in terms of correlative socio-economic conditions, with its all-too-frequent note of frustration and crisis. The "nice people" of Greece and Rome mentioned " loathing the names of Leucippus and Democritus, founders of the atomic theory of the constitution of matter. Plutarch relates that the great Archimedes felt contempt for his mechanical inventions. The persecution of Galileo and the burning at the stake of Bruno testify to the mortal terror of clerical-reaction at the advance of science. Contrast this with the experience of scientific endeavor in the Soviet Union! Every scientist, who dedicates himself to search for the truth, will appreciate anew Lenin's statement: "Human thought then by its nature is capable of giving, and does give, absolute truth, which is compounded of the sum-total of relative truths. Each step in the development of science adds new grains to the sum of absolute truth."

Laws and Institutions. The history of class society provides numberless examples of laws and institutions, designed for particular purposes, but used by exploiters to defend their own special class interests. In ancient history we have the example of the Augurs in Rome. Cicero relates how this body of diviners, ostensibly interested only in religious practices, intervened at the critical moment to defeat the first Gracchi revolt. The best modern example perhaps is the Arbitration Court. Created to arbitrate between employers and workers, the Court now decides upon who are to be the officials of trade unions! The Combination Acts of 1799 and later were supposed to operate against both employers and employees; in actual fact not a single factory-owner was ever prosecuted, whereas thousands of wage-laborers suffered imprisonment and transportation across the seas for "violation" of the Acts. American workers know only too well about the operation—against trade unions—of the Sherman "anti-trust" law. Newspapers exist, it is said, to provide the public with truthful accounts of what is happening! Take the simple case of a municipal by-law penalising persons for littering the streets. A necessary by-law, indeed. But why is it invoked against persons distributing leaflets bearing a working class message? Change the names and dates, and the burning denunciations by Epicurus and his school could apply in all essentials to capitalist repression.

Parasites Hate the Producers. The statement of Polybius quoted above, with its defamation of the toilers, is typical of the attitude of exploiters in all epochs. Fear, contempt, hatred—that is how the wealthy and their ideologists regard the producers of their wealth. "Trample on the empty-headed populace," advised the poet Theognis 2500 years ago. "Goad them hard and let their yoke be heavy; that is the way to make them love their masters." The leader-writers of the yellow press in modern times phrase their thoughts differently, but with the same malign spirit. In **Capital** Marx quotes a number of ardent champions of the idea that the masses should not only toil, but suffer acutely for the benefit of society's elite. There was the 18th century writer Townsend who glorified widespread misery and hunger as a necessary condition of wealth and happiness for the few . . . "legal constraint (to labor) is attended with too much trouble, violence, noise . . . whereas hunger is not only a peaceable, silent, unremitted pressure, but as the most natural motive to industry and labor, it calls forth the most powerful exertions." The approach varies with time and circumstance. Plato and Aristotle deplored the advent of free labor, preferring a society composed only of aristocrats and slaves; a Papal Encyclical in 1937 condemned the Communists because they denied the existence of a "natural hierarchy" in society! And what happens when the workers decide that "natural law" or "God's law" must be changed? "The civilisation and justice of bourgeois order," wrote Marx, describing the butchery of the workers and their families, after the Paris Commune, "comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters." The fascist terror, with its mountains of corpses, was the method by which Moneybags in the 20th century met the threat to his privileges. The worker who studies events on the industrial front and the happenings in Greece, Argentine and Indonesia, will readily understand that Moneybags, though happily shorn of much of his earlier power, has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. Recall the provocation, as well as its customary perjury, of the monopolist press during the Pt. Kembla strike. The millionaire's appetite for repression has abated not one jot.

And this is the final lesson—that there now exists the force in society fully capable of ideology, organisation and successful struggle for political power. Civilisation based on class oppression is patently passing away before our eyes. The workers, who triumphed in one-sixth of the world 28 years ago, are steadily extending their influence throughout the other five-sixths. Two thousand years ago Lucretius saw the darkness descending upon mankind, and it evoked his passionate and majestic protest. The last century has given mankind Marxism—with its theory of class struggle, its materialist conception of history, its Party, its Soviet Union, its advancing united world Labor Movement. Humanity is indeed passing, in Engels' words, from the realm of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

* * *

Acknowledgment: I am indebted to Prof. Farrington's **Science and Politics in the Ancient World**, of which this article is, in part, a review; also, Engels' **Feuerbach**, and miscellaneous references to Greek philosophy in basic Marxist writings. Of special interest to Australian Marxists will be, as soon as an adequate translation is available, Marx's doctoral dissertation, "On the Difference between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophies of Nature."

PEST CONTROL

"SCIENTIST"

ALMOST every section of the animal and plant kingdoms contributes its quota of "pests"—from the protozoa to the mammals, and from the bacteria to the higher plants. Pests are plants or animals whose activities in one way or another run counter to human interests. They may attack man directly, producing discomfort or disease. They may attack his domestic animals, his crops, pastures, and forest trees. Or again they may damage dead materials of value to man — stored food, woollen goods, and timber structures. The losses and inconvenience caused in these various ways costs Australia many millions of pounds annually. As a consequence, much attention has been paid for many years to the development of methods of combatting pests.

For a pest to cause damage, three things are necessary. First, the pest has to be present in sufficient numbers. Second, it has to have access to the thing it is capable of damaging. And, thirdly, the latter has to be in a condition that is attractive to the pest. Very broadly, methods of pest control may be classified according to whether they are concerned with the first, second or third of these aspects. That is, one may attempt either to reduce the numbers of the pest, or to prevent it from gaining access to the plant, animal or stored product which it damages, or to render the animal, plant or stored product unattractive to it.

The majority of control methods aim to reduce the numbers of the pest. Only in very special circumstances, as, for example, when a pest has recently been introduced into a country and is restricted to a very small area, is it at all practicable to exterminate it altogether. As a rule the cost increases so steeply as one attempts to kill a higher and higher proportion of the pest, that it becomes quite uneconomic to continue operations once numbers have been reduced below the level at which significant damage occurs.

The actual method of killing may be quite direct. Weeds may be grubbed up or ploughed under. Rabbits may be shot, trapped, poisoned or gassed. Insects may be sprayed or dusted with poisons, or fumigated. On the other hand, the method may be indirect. Owls and hawks may be protected by law, so that these birds may help to reduce the numbers of field mice. The Cactoblastis moth may be introduced to control prickly pear, or a minute parasitic wasp to control the cabbage moth. A reduction in the numbers of a pest may also be achieved by a slight modification of farming methods. Thus it has been found that bulrushes clogging irrigation channels may be killed if the water in the channels is maintained above a given level for a sufficient period.

Among methods of denying the pest access to the thing that might be attacked, one may mention the use of mosquito nets, fly screens, rabbit-proof and dog-proof fences, and the packing of food products in insect-proof containers. Insect attack on a crop may sometimes be largely evaded by sowing the crop a little earlier or later than is the normal practice. Quarantine also comes under this head. The entrance of a pest into a country where it does not occur may be delayed for many years, or perhaps prevented altogether, by appropriate quarantine measures. Sometimes its spread within a country may be limited in the same way. Many insect pests have been kept out of Australia by quarantine, and many more could have been excluded, had there been a quarantine control in the early days of settlement.

The object liable to attack may be rendered less susceptible in various ways. Repellants rubbed into the skin may protect the human being from mosquito attack. Repellant dressings give sheep some protection from blowfly attack, as may the surgical removal of certain skin folds. By breeding and selection, varieties of plants and animals may be produced that are resistant in varying degree to pest attack. We have "rust" resistant wheat, and breeds of sheep that are relatively unsusceptible to blowfly strike. Zebu cattle, and Zebu crosses, are relatively resistant to cattle ticks and the disease they transmit. The resistance of plants, both to insect attack and to fungal diseases, may often be increased by the use of fertilisers, which enable the plant to grow with maximal vigour.

In dealing with any pest, all these methods of reducing losses have to be considered, and a programme worked out to embody those that appear most applicable.

Pest control is an outstanding example of an undertaking that can only be carried out satisfactorily on a community basis. Before the best method

of control can be devised, a great deal of scientific research is necessary. The habits and life history of the pest must be closely studied to discover the weak points against which attack should be directed. Alternative control methods should be carefully compared, to determine their relative efficiency and cost. Now research is not a thing that can be carried out by an individual on his own resources. It requires special training, costly equipment and facilities, a great deal of time, and security for the research worker—for with the best will and the highest ability, he will be unable to find a solution to certain problems. These conditions can only be provided in a research institution, preferably, like the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, financed by the State.

After the research has been completed, and satisfactory methods of control have been found, there is a need for the information to be conveyed from the research worker to the man who will use it; that is, there is need for an "extension service." This, too, requires men of special training to act as advisers, and must be run by the State.

When we come to the actual work of applying the control measures, we find, again, that co-operation and organisation are very important, and frequently essential. All pests are to some extent mobile. Whether plants or animals, they spread from one field to the next, from one property to the next, from one district to the next. The efforts of the individual are at best only partially and temporarily effective, and at worst quite useless, without the full co-operation of all his neighbours. As a consequence, legislation has been passed making it compulsory for landholders to destroy certain specified kinds of agricultural and stock pests if found on their properties.

Unfortunately, legislation is frequently a quite inadequate means of solving the problem. Apart from the many ways in which the law can be evaded, the landholder may have neither the funds nor the manpower to carry out the requirements of the law. He may also lack necessary special knowledge or special equipment to offer more than a token observance of the law, the provisions of which are in any case frequently quite inadequate to secure proper control of the pest.

Granting, then, the importance of co-operation and organisation in pest control, from the stage of research, through that of extension, right down to the stage of practical application, let us consider to what extent these principles are observed in practice in pest control in Australia.

Starting with research, we find that a number of different institutions are engaged in this work. On the agricultural side alone, the C.S.I.R., the Waite Agricultural Research Institute of South Australia, and the Agricultural Departments of each State, are all doing a certain amount of research on pest control. Some of these institutions are not well-equipped for research work, but their directors wish to raise the prestige of the institution, and think this can be done if they are able to point to "research" being carried out on a number of important problems. Petty rivalries of this kind result in much duplication of work, and interfere with the rational planning of research. Frequently the research workers themselves are willing to co-operate, but the policies of their chiefs make this difficult or impossible. Duplication of research facilities, regional research stations, etc., is often more serious than the duplication of research effort. Sometimes it is only necessary for one research institution to start a regional research station, and immediately another institution will bring forward plans for a research station in the same region.

When we come to extension, we find that it is not so much the organisation of the advisory service that can be criticised, as the hopelessly inadequate staff and funds allocated for this purpose. In this respect we compare very unfavorably with the United States. The small staffs and resources that are available are also frequently deflected from what should be their main work, by demands that they should carry out research. However, we do find a serious lack of proper co-operation between the research institutions and the agencies responsible for extension. The chief research institution, the C.S.I.R., is debarred, by an arrangement with the States, from taking any part in extension work. Its publications are, in general, quite unsuitable for the layman. They need to be carefully studied by the properly-qualified extension scientist, and translated into practical recommendations written up in a simple and attractive manner. Petty jealousy, lack of the necessary time, and sometimes lack of the necessary qualifications, often combine to delay this process for years after important new knowledge has been gained through research.

It is in the field of the practical application of control measures that deficient organisation is most evident and most serious. These deficiencies have already been mentioned, and some of the reasons for them have been given. One is forced to the conclusion that a social and economic organisation based on unrestricted individual ownership and control of land and other means of production, is inherently incapable of dealing efficiently with problems whose range cuts clean across individual boundaries. Narrow self-interest, temperamental intractability, or lack of necessary resources in finance, manpower or equipment, can always be relied on to prevent a variable but considerable proportion of individual producers from co-operating wholeheartedly in a campaign of pest control, or any similar project.

The clash of rival political and commercial interests has unhelpful repercussions on pest control. The market is flooded with useless specifics for the control of this or that pest, just as it is with useless patent medicines. Sometimes these specifics claim dishonestly to conform to the recommendations of some research institution. On the other hand, a genuine formula evolved by a research institution may become the exclusive property of a single firm. The firm first works itself into a privileged position with the research institution. It may make a grant towards a particular branch of investigation. It may give assistance in some technical aspect of the work, supply test materials free of charge, and so on. It may even secure representation on the governing body of the institution, or at least obtain influence with that body. In this way it gains inside information on the progress of the research, and by the time the results are ready for publication, it already possesses the patent rights, and is prepared to start production of the recommended specific.

The emphasis placed on various problems competing for the attention of research workers in pest control, as in other fields of research, is determined to a large degree by the influence wielded by the various groups that could benefit from the results of the research. There is no difficulty in obtaining funds for the investigation of some problems, while others no less important to the community fail to gain proper recognition. We are still far from being able to plan the distribution of effort in research according to the economic importance of the various possible fields for research.

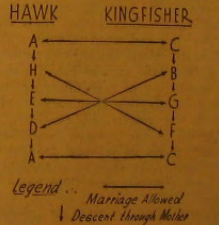
SIDELIGHTS ON ABORIGINAL SOCIETY

CAPT. A. H. JOLLY

PART V.

The Eight Lineage Matrilineal Society and the Quintinary Taboo.

IT is not intended to dwell at any length on this type of society; it is sufficient to say that the pattern and type of fusion, although more complicated, is similar to that of the Four Lineage Society, but in this case each individual had four common ancestors instead of two. If we call one society A B C D and the other E F G H and the Hawk and Kingfisher totems are used this is what happens:



It is not necessary that a whole generation should separate H & F or B & D or, for that matter, that A & C or E & G should marry in their own generation. The society is large enough to accommodate generations of all lineages. The grandparent-grandchild type of marriage is the rule rather than the exception in aboriginal societies.

In this type of society cousin taboo has been eliminated and it is now only possible to marry a second cousin; further, you may not marry a close second cousin, who is differentiated from distant second cousin or spouse. Thus in the Eight Lineage Matrilineal Society one would expect a new term for second cousin and this is exactly what we find.

Many of these Eight Lineage Societies have only fused recently and still retain totems as above, others have lost the matrilineal totemic lines, but the society still works in the same way. Although nearly all aboriginal societies are matrilineal, they are for economic reasons patrilocal. The women move and live in the camp or land of their husbands, thus we find family groups made up of fathers and sons but no older daughters. The relatively long distances which separate the family groups make the observance of taboos much easier, but they hinder the coming together of the tribe into a village and hinder the communal economy which would result from village formation, and we shall see that these contradictions are finally overcome by gentile society with a more advanced economy.

The Eight Lineage Matrilineal Societies exist in Northern, and continue down the central regions of Australia.

The Quintinary Taboo

In most Australian tribes an interchange in marriage occurs between sisters of one group and brothers of another, in fact a man will speak of his brother's wife as wife and a woman will speak of her sister's husband as husband and sexual relations between these groups are the rule. To the individual man an individual wife is an economic, not a sexual asset.

Now most tribes have evolved their systems of taboo purely on an empirical basis, they had no scientific knowledge of eugenics nor even of conception. Man's part in child production was from dreaming or a lightning flash. In fact if they had had a knowledge of how conception occurred there would have been no need for taboo, all they need have done was to prohibit sexual relations as we do today.

The first inkling of the biology of sex has reached some of the northern tribes and they have introduced the Quintinary Taboo which prohibits a brother-in-law from social and sexual relations with his sister-in-law. In other words it is the first attempt at monogamy and establishing the paternity of one man.

We still have relics of this taboo in our own churches, some of which prohibit the marriage of a man to his dead wife's sister or of a woman to her brother-in-law.

ATOMIC BOMBS: END THIS SECRECY

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

IT is reported that President Truman has decided that the technical details of the manufacture of "atomic bombs" are to be kept secret, except perhaps from the Canadian and British Governments.

If this is correct, it probably takes a year or so off my expectation of life, and also off that of a good many Americans. For it means that international control of this weapon will become impossible, or at any rate much more difficult, and that suspicion between nations will grow.

Our own country's part in the matter is unfortunate and dishonorable. In his broadcast speech of June 22, 1941, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, Mr. Churchill promised to put British technical devices connected with the war at the Soviet Union's disposal.

This promise was not kept as regards the atomic bomb, or a number of other inventions of minor importance.

What will be the result?

I have no doubt that research on the utilisation of atomic energy is going on in the Soviet Union and in France. Very probably it is going on in Sweden. Other countries will follow suit. The Belgians, for example, may try it in the Congo, where there is plenty of uranium.

And this is not being done wholly or mainly as a war preparation. It is being done largely in the hope that it will be possible to use the energy of nuclear reactions for industrial purposes, and so bring in an age of plenty.

No nation wishes to be in a position ten years hence of finding America (and perhaps Canada and Britain) using atomic energy by the thousand million horse-power for industry, while they are still working on coal and water power. And industrial use seems nearer realisation today than it did in August.

We are now allowed to know that in the process of making plutonium large lumps of uranium are embedded in a "pile" of graphite, and a fraction of them transformed into neptunium, which then generates plutonium. In this process large amounts of heat are given out, and the whole outfit would melt, and perhaps explode, if the transformation were not regulated. This appears to be done by blocking the streams of neutrons which run through the pile with shutters of the metal cadmium.

In fact, then, the liberation of nuclear energy can already be controlled to some extent, and a development on this line may perhaps give us a source of industrial power. If the details are kept secret, the French and Russians will doubtless work them out at a cost of much money, and perhaps some lives. And they will then keep their processes secret. So five or ten years hence there will be several Powers or groups of Powers with materials for atomic bombs, and no world organisation controlling them.

Only two Powers will have anything but complete destruction to expect in the event of a war with these weapons, namely, the United States and the Soviet Union.

Britain would have no chance at all. The crazy gang who are working for a Western European bloc do not seem to realise that within ten years London and Paris will probably be within rocket range of the Soviet Union or at least of States which would not belong to any such bloc. We shall also be within range of carrier-borne aircraft, not to mention submarines, from the United States. Meanwhile, we are keeping up a large army and navy which would be about as useful as so many bowmen against atomic bombs, though they are doubtless effective in preserving the interests of the City of London in Greece.

And we are starving science. For example, one of the main laboratories at University College, London, is still occupied by a naval department.

Now if there is any defence against atomic bombs it will be found by scientific research.

Secret research is most unlikely to help us. To take an example, the principles of "radar" were discovered by Watson-Watt in the course of research on the reflexion of radio waves from ionised regions in the air, an investigation which came into the field of meteorology rather than warfare.

Scientific men and women, even those who dislike the Soviet Union, are dead against this policy of secrecy. Not only is it utterly futile, but it may lead to a strangling of scientific freedom far more dangerous and effective than any amount of state planning. If the results of research on atomic physics are to be kept secret, ambitious men will turn to other fields of science, leaving this branch to those whose main ability consists in persuading ministers and generals that they have made great discoveries.

Above all, secrecy will hold up the advent of an age of plenty in which one of the main causes of war will be removed.

The United States has been unusually unaggressive, for a great Power, since 1848, because its people were so fully occupied in developing the resources of their own country. In an age where atomic energy was available for industry every nation would be in this position.

For these reasons I believe that all men and women who love peace, freedom, and honor, should urge that at least the British Government, which started the research on atomic energy, should publish the facts of which it has knowledge. And I have no doubt that the same policy would be in the long run to the interest of the United States.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY.

AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIFTH OF THE MONTH.

EDITORIAL

THE imperialist colonial system was indicted and placed in the dock at the initial meeting of the United Nations Organisation. That was the true significance of the struggle between Mr. Bevin and the Russian and Ukrainian delegations. The colonial system, from the point of view of democracy and world progress, is just as much a reactionary anachronism as is fascist Spain. It is a system of super-exploitation which brings continuous famine and death, incredible poverty and backwardness to its unfortunate victims. It is maintained by armed violence and refusal of elementary rights to the colonial peoples. The survival of the imperialist colonial system in India, Indonesia and elsewhere contains the greatest danger to future peace.

Mr. Bevin may protest that Britain was the "target" for the attack on the colonial system. That is inevitable while British capitalism remains the greatest imperialist power in the history of the capitalistic system, directly exploiting some half a billion people and, through the subsidiary Dutch, Portuguese and Belgian Empires, a hundred millions or so more. The complaint of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Indonesia naturally was directed at British imperialism. So, too, would India direct its complaint were it allowed a free voice before the UNO Assembly. So, too, would Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and the African colonies indict the British ruling class. While Bevin was wriggling, evading and shouting at UNO, soldiers and police were shooting down, for the thousandth time, the Indian masses. That is the unanswerable reply to Bevin. The interference in Greece has its basis in the strategic military defence of the imperialist colonial system. So, too, with Bevin's efforts to maintain the semi-feudal dictatorship in Persia.

To attack imperialism does not mean to attack the British people as Bevin slanderously asserted. Imperialism is the outcome of monopoly capitalism, in its search for markets, super-profits and control of raw materials to the exclusion of imperialist rival monopolists of other countries. Mr. Bevin was quite plainly defending the Anglo-Persian Oil trusts and, in Indonesia, the Anglo-Dutch Shell Co. M. Vyshinsky clearly indicated this when he retorted to Bevin: "The Red Army fights to defend its country and not for the oil companies."

Bevin, charged with restoring reaction, including open fascists, to rule Greece, with the slaughter of many thousands of democrats, the imprisonment of thousands more, and the political persecution of hundreds of thousands and with the use of Japanese fascist troops against the Indonesian liberation movement, took refuge in specious demagogy and finally claimed that "Britain was insulted." That indicates clearly enough the full measure of his bankruptcy and moral defeat.

Bevin's only strong card was that the majority who had to make the decisions were representatives themselves of imperialist powers. Hence, Bevin was assured of a majority vote and this was coupled with the fact that the Soviet representatives did not wish to force the issue to the point of breaking up the United Nations Organisation.

Joseph Stalin long ago summed up the attitude of such "Socialists" as Bevin, who in reality support imperialism, when he wrote:

> "In the era of the Second International it was usual to confine the national question to a narrow circle of questions relating exclusively to the 'civilised nations.' The Irish, the Czechs, the Poles, the Finns, the Serbs, the Armenians, the Jews and a few other European nationalities — such was the circle of non-sovereign peoples whose fates interested the Second International. The tens and hundreds of millions of the Asiatics and African peoples suffering from national oppression in its crudest and most brutal form did not as a rule enter the field of vision of the 'Socialists.' The latter did not venture to place the white peoples and coloured peoples, the 'uncultured' Negroes and the 'civilised' Irish, the 'backward' Indians and the 'enlightened' Poles on one and the same footing. It was tacitly assumed that although it might be necessary to strive for the emancipation of the European non-sovereign nationalities, it was entirely unbecoming for 'decent Socialists' to speak seriously of the emancipation of the colonies, which were 'necessary' for the 'preservation' of 'civilisation'." (Stalin, "The National Question Presented.")

Bevin, Makin and Fraser, leaders of the Labor Parties of Britain, Australia and New Zealand, declared themselves before the whole world as defenders of the imperialist colonial system, thereby forfeiting any faith a thousand million colonial people and the advance guard of the working-class throughout the world may have had in them in the fight for the liberation of enslaved Africa and Asia.

Nor can one remain a progressive within his own country if he supports imperialist reaction abroad. "Labor in a white skin," Karl Marx wrote, "will never be free while it is branded in a black skin."

It must not be concluded that UNO is of no use because of these happenings. A heavy blow was dealt the activities of the imperialists by these revelations. The task of peace-lovers everywhere is to strengthen organisation against war and to strive for the maintenance of the Anglo-Soviet Alliance in spite of the imperialist policy of the British Labor Cabinet, which is already under fire from vast sections of the British labor movement.

REACTION IN THE TRADE UNIONS

T. WRIGHT.

A BIG change has taken place in the industrial scene since the ending of the war. Very quickly the working class has become involved in struggles of the greatest importance for the future of the trade union movement.

The recent great struggle involving the workers of the steel industry, miners, and seamen was by no means a question only of the victimisation of an individual union shop steward, or one of a legal technicality as to whether or not a union deregistered by the N.S.W. Arbitration Court should be recognised by the employers. The struggle was to decide whether the organisational and other gains made by the trade unions during the war period were to be maintained; whether progress was to be made towards a forty-hour week and higher living standards; whether the Federal Labor Government was to follow a progressive policy in co-operation with the trade union movement; or whether the B.H.P., and Australian reaction in general, were to be permitted to develop attacks against trade union organisation and working conditions.

While the steel industry workers, supported by the miners and seamen, by their determination brought a successful conclusion to the strike, it became clear, in the course of the struggle, that the Federal Government and right wing leaders of the Labor Party and trade unions were pursuing a policy of capitulation to reaction. The tramway disputes in Adelaide and Brisbane, the Bunnerong and printing industry disputes, and a number of other actions of the workers prior to the steel strike, had shown a high level of militancy, and a desire of the workers to press forward with their demands for improved conditions. The strike-breaking role developed by the right wing in the course of these struggles reveals the subservience of the right wing leaders within the trade unions to the parliamentary machine of the Labor Party, which is defending the interests of the employers.

The tactics of the right wing traitors is to use any and all means to avert or end strike struggles, and to divert them into the "safe" legal channels of the arbitration courts. These right wing leaders, who only a few short months ago vied with the left wing in trenchant criticism of the system of compulsory arbitration, suddenly discovered that they had been in error, and that compulsory arbitration provided the trade unions with a panacea for all their troubles.

To succeed in its strike-breaking role the right wing has been impelled to conduct, in close alliance with the capitalist press, an unprecedented campaign against Communists and all militant and progressive elements in the trade union movement. The press, assisted by right wing trade union officials, gives a daily report of the fight within the trade unions against "Communism." In this campaign Australian journalism has reached a record low in distortion and deliberate lying against the trade union movement.

Not the least factor in this anti-Communist incitement is the development of Catholic Action's conspiratorial movement within the workshops, unions and Labor Party. This "movement," so effectively exposed in the document of Catholic Action discovered and published by the Communist Party, seeks to extend its influence over the Australian Labor Movement, and to impose its policy of betrayal and class collaboration.

The policy of Catholic Action includes: prohibition of strikes; Court control over ballots and other internal affairs of the trade unions; collaboration with employers though "Industrial Councils," a conception based on the fascist "corporate State," to provide state regulation of private industry. To foist these poisonous ideas on the Australian working class, groups of selected Catholics are being organised on a workshop and union basis, together with an organised infiltration of the Labor Party, and a planned use of the Labor Party as a cloak for their sectarian activity. There can be no doubt as to the truth of claims of Catholic Action to have strongly influenced the "anti-communist" decisions of recent conferences of the Labor Party.

An outstanding example of Catholic Action disruption, sustained over a long period, is the struggle in the Clerks' Union. Here certain Government offices, staffed during the war with a big proportion of middle class people and conservative salaried workers, including many of the Catholic Action type, provided a more fruitful basis than would be found in an industrial union. They are now attacking the Union Executive for granting sustenance to clerks thrown out of employment during the recent ironworkers' strike. This is an attack on an elementary union principle, for it means that in future industrial struggles, clerks would be faced with the alternatives of starve or scab.

Catholic Action also met with considerable success in disrupting the Ironworkers' Union, but, as far as the Balmain dispute was concerned, Catholic Action confessed that it acted as ally to a Trotskyite group. Minor successes have been recorded in Government workshops, where Catholic Action organised disruption against the shop committees, but there are indications that in some instances these successes have been only short lived.

It would be wrong, however, to underestimate the ability of Catholic Action to pursue and develop its campaign of disruption. The chief method is to concentrate the attack against individual Communists and militant officials, and by means of slander and lying charges, unprincipled "criticism" (spread by whispering, anonymous leaflets, stickers and the daily press), harassing litigation, and other means, to undermine and weaken their opponents. This dishonest and semi-criminal activity is so much in contradiction to their religious pretensions that, apparently, a special system of indulgences must have been arranged for their absolution.

Apart from the activity in a number of workshops and unions, there has been a drive in various Labor Councils, particularly the Labor Council of N.S.W., where Catholic Action and A.W.U. elements have taken the leadership of the right wing. It was inevitable that honest elements, previously accepting right wing leadership, should revolt against the blatant strike-breaking role of this new leadership, and there is no doubt that in the course of the struggles to come the extreme right wing reactionaries within the Labor Councils will be defeated.

The methods of struggle against progressive unionists include: expulsions and removals from office (The A.W.U. and Queensland Branch of the F.E.D. & F.A.); decisions to prohibit Communists from holding official positions (Shop Assistants); decisions to exclude Communists from trade union membership (Builders' Laborers, N.S.W.). In the use, and attempted use, of these methods the extreme right wing has shown that it is prepared to abolish trade union democracy and seek to maintain its own position by dictatorial methods. However, these methods are so blatant as to be in conflict with the law and in some cases the Courts would be obliged to decide against the scoundrels responsible for them.

Special mention should be made of the reactionary clique dominating the A.W.U. Their chief method of struggle against progressive elements is expulsion. Last year they expelled a number of N.S.W. Branch officials, including A.L.P. members Bowen, Renwick, Moss and McCartney. This year Mat Lauder, an A.W.U. Convention delegate with 40 years active union membership, is threatened with expulsion because he supported proposals for greater union democracy, annual ballots, readmission of N.S.W. expelled members, affiliation to the A.C.T.U. and a more virile A.W.U. campaign for the forty-hour week.

To defeat the right wing it is necessary more than ever to establish the united front in action of the Communist, Labor Party and non-Party workers, regardless of religion, and to work in agreement with all progressive and honest trade unionists. The current struggles of the workers for the forty-hour week, an increased basic wage, reduced taxation, housing, factory amenities, etc., provides a wide scope for united action. The development of these struggles will reveal the treacherous role of the right wing and facilitate their exposure and defeat.

THE COLONIAL UPSURGE

R. DIXON

(Abridged from a report delivered to the Central Committee, 19th January, 1946.)

I AM in full agreement with the report delivered last night by Comrade Sharkey.

I think we all recall how, following the end of the 1914-18 war, revolutionary conditions existed in a whole number of countries and continued to develop over a number of years up until 1923, and that was a period when Communist Parties were actually only coming into existence. Well, the end of the great People's War against Fascism is also marked by a growing revolutionary upsurge throughout the capitalist world and the existence in quite a number of countries of actual revolutionary situations. This general revolutionary upsurge and the revolutionary situations in some countries create more and more complications for the imperialist powers.

We know that within the great imperialist countries themselves the situation is not at all a happy one for the ruling class. If you take America, there is a tremendous strike movement, the biggest strike movement in the history of American capital. The working class of America is playing a new role. But in addition to that, the morale of the American soldiers is not too good. There has been a demand that they must return home, which has created a flurry in the leading circles of the bourgeoisie. It is not much use for Mr. Byrnes, Secretary of State, to say that he is going to get tough with the Soviet Union if the army is throwing down its arms and demanding return to America. I have no doubt that the collapse of the morale of American troops has had an influence on American foreign policy, and has been an important factor in causing them to pursue a more conciliatory policy than they were pursuing immediately after the war with Japan.

We witness significant developments in colonial countries. The war resulted in the destruction of two great props of imperialism, Nazi Germany and Fascist-Military Japan. We recognise that that was a devastating blow at imperialism. But imperialism rests upon colonies, on the exploitation of colonial people, and if this base is shattered or partly shattered, then obviously a blow will be delivered at the imperialist powers—maybe not the United States, but Britain, France and Holland. British imperialism today is in pretty desperate straits, because wherever the flag of Britain flies in the colonial world, there you can see struggles taking place. You have the Middle East which is

vital to imperialism because of the very important oil to be obtained there, but also because it is a decisive military position of immense strategic importance. The situation is that Zionists are demanding a Jewish State in Palestine. They have received a backing throughout the world. Truman has declared in favour of establishing a Jewish State. But the Arab Kings met a couple of days ago and carried a resolution demanding that Palestine be returned to the Arabs. Ernest Bevin has to tread a pretty sticky path between powerful conflicting forces in his effort to maintain imperialism in the Middle East.

Further East we come to India, the brightest jewel in the British crown. Anything can happen in India, and it looks as if everything will happen in this year; 1946 will be of decisive importance as far as India is concerned. Britain without colonies would be in a parlous condition, unless she achieved, as a result of granting independence, a thorough-going understanding with India that would enable maintenance of economic relations which would help stabilise the economic position in Britain.

Burma is also the scene of a very big struggle at the moment. During the Japanese occupation an anti-Japanese movement developed under the lead of the Communist Party and has grown into a broad people's movement of the Burmese. You can see a difference from the situation in India. For instance, in India, with the Indian National Congress and Muslim League, you have both Hindu and Muslim bourgeoisie, and they are powerful organisations with reactionary leadership. The Indian Communist Party and its working class policy is causing growing interest.

In Burma there is a broad national movement of Burmese people under the leadership of the Communist Party. Mr. Bevin, who weeps tears of blood for the people of Bulgaria, who, he declares, are without democratic rights because they can elect the kind of people they would like to see at the head of the Government there—his policy in Burma is a very interesting one. There the British Government appoints an Executive Council of 10 members, and although the Anti-Fascist People's League represents the vast majority of the Burmese people, it refuses to include any of these in the Burmese Council, because they wanted to select their own people and because it is under the leadership of the Burmese Communist Party. It is a question of selecting the Executive as subordinate to the Governor, and even under such a leadership they do not dare have representatives of the main organisations of the Burmese people.

The further we go, the worse it seems to get for imperialism.

Move across to Indo-China: there French Imperialism is in pretty dire straits insofar as maintaining control over the peoples of Indo-China is concerned. The Annamese have declared for an independent republic. The Viet Minh, which is the great nationalist organisation, is under the leadership of the Communist Party. Only a few weeks ago I heard a report from a journalist who had travelled through Indo-China and had met the leader of the Viet Minh; he was tremendously impressed by the great political and organisational capacity of the Communist leaders of this organisation. They have control over practically the whole of the interior, of those areas populated by the Annamese. The French have held a number of coastal ports, but there you can see also that the country virtually is under the leadership of the Annamese Republic.

In Malaya today the Communist Party is the only political organisation with any mass influence. Before the war the Party there was illegal, after the Japanese attack in December, 1941, the British found it was necessary to legalise this Party. After the Japanese seized Malaya it was the Malayan Communist Party which organised guerrilla warfare, organised a whole number of fighting regiments of the anti-Japanese army and today commands the respect and leadership of the people on the Malayan Peninsula.

The Party in Malaya, in spite of its great record in the struggle against the Japanese, is under attack from the British. Just a few days ago we heard a report of the ten days' strike in Singapore which, it appears, the workers won or in any case the British had to agree to pay them for the period they were out on strike, so it looks very much like a victory. We need to watch very closely the set-up in Malaya because here there is a great amount of Australian capital invested in tin dredge and tin mines and our Australian capitalists, from reports, are very busy in their efforts to restore the industries they formerly controlled there.

Comrade Sharkey mentioned last night about the prestige of Australia and the Australian working class, and there is not the slightest doubt that right throughout the Malayas, the Philippines, across to Indo-China, the prestige of the Australian workers and Communist Party is very high.

You will see from this outline of the developments in the South-Western Pacific area and a bit north of that, that we are living in a part of the world where the revolutionary struggle is today being waged at its highest levels and the role of the working class in this situation is really immense. The support that was rendered here by Australian workers to the Indonesians has given tremendous moral support, far more than the practical benefits of it, it has given immense moral support to the whole movement of the colonial peoples for their independence. It concentrated attention right throughout the world on the struggle the Indonesians were waging and it had its repercussions insofar as the New Zealand waterside workers agreed to take the same stand as was taken in Australia, the waterside workers or longshoremen in America likewise took their stand, following the decisions of the Australian workers. The Indian waterside workers, to, imposed a ban and, as a consequence of this, publicity was given throughout

the world to the struggle that the Indonesians were waging. So that the decisions that were taken have helped to raise immensely the prestige of the Australian Labor Movement and I understand that only recently, when a representative of the Australian Government was in Indonesia, he got an almost regal welcome from the Indonesian Government. They went to great lengths in order to welcome him, not so much as a representative of the Australian Government, but as a representative of the Australian Trade Union Movement. They assembled the whole of the Indonesian Government to meet this representative of the Australian Government and they, I understand, had quite a pleasant session. Other comrades, or other people who have been to Indonesia, all come back telling us how tremendously high is the prestige of Australia because of the actions of the Australian Trade Union Movement.

Administration in the areas controlled by the Indonesians is much better than in Batavia, Sourabaya or any areas controlled by the British. The National organisation is in an immensely strong position and both the British and Dutch understand this; the British have been striving to secure an agreement between the Dutch and Indonesian leaders which would leave the Dutch fundamentally in control of the island, so they seek to placate the Indonesian leaders into this position where they can force this position upon them.

There are a number of reasons for this. The British troops in Indonesia are unreliable: there is much discontent among the Indians, because they are mainly Muslim troops and are fighting against the Indonesian Muslims and the demand is for a return to India, and the British Government has made it public that the Indian troops will have to be withdrawn by the end of March because the elections take place in India somewhere about that time and the Indian Government elected will probably insist that they be withdrawn because the Muslim League, as well as Congress, are demanding the return of the Indian troops. British troops are also discontented because they anticipated when the war ended they would be returned home and here they find themselves fighting against the independence of the Indonesian people.

The Dutch Government proposes this year to send over 40,000 Dutch troops to Indonesia; so, the British will permit the Dutch to come in and take over the areas they wish to occupy and the Dutch will send out troops in order to impose by force their policy in Indonesia.

That is the situation suggested by all the statements that have appeared during these last few days. We can expect a vigorous offensive by the Dutch against the Indonesian Republic, supported by the British. The Indonesians are preparing for this, that is why apparently the Government leaders have been sent to the interior, they have an army, plan to wage guerrilla warfare and they believe they can carry on this struggle over years if necessary, but they look for the assistance, the aid of the working class in the countries outside Indonesia and are looking particularly to Australia for support in this situation.

THE WOMEN'S QUESTION AND INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

MRS. R. WHITFELD.

IF anyone doubts that there is a women's question (and in our efforts not to be feminist we have this tendency sometimes), let him run his eye over history for the past hundred years. In 1845 votes for women would have been regarded as fantastic. Women were not admitted to University education at Oxford or Cambridge till 1869. Not only had married women no control over their property till 1882, but at this date they had not even the right to control their own persons, and could still be put in gaol for refusing conjugal rights. Guardianship even of their own children was not given them till 1886, and widows did not get the same pension on the same basis as men till 1925. Women in England did not get the full franchise till 1928. These are some of the disabilities women have suffered in comparatively advanced democracies. What they have been and are in other countries, in purdah, behind veils, in the fields as slaves and chattels, can hardly be imagined.

In Australia, as a result of a continuous struggle by a small minority of politically conscious women on behalf of their sisters, many of the legal disabilities have been shed. Women can control their own persons and have a share in the government in the form of a vote. Nevertheless, much of the old conventional attitude that a woman's place is exclusively in the home and that her world should consist entirely of love and motherhood and domesticity, still persists. Marriage is her job. She can work for a year or two in the lower paid jobs in offices and factories while she is waiting to get married, but beyond that she really has no place there. Under capitalism where woman has really no part in the process of production, her position in society can, as a matter of fact, be very little improved. Engels, in his Origin of the Family, summarises the position. He points out that if a woman "carried out her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she wants to take part in public production and earn independently she cannot carry out family duties. And the wife's position in the factory is the position of wives in all branches of business right up to medicine and law. The modern individual family is

founded on the open or concealed do-
of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules. In the great majority of cases today, at least in the possessing classes, the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy, without any need for special legal titles and privileges. Within the family he is the bourgeois and his wife represents the proletariat. . . The peculiar character of the supremacy of the husband over the wife in the modern family, the necessity of creating real social equality between them, and the way to do it, will only be seen in the clear light of day when both possess legally complete equality of rights. Then it will be plain that the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry." The question is redolent with problems. Prejudices are not yet discarded, many obvious rights not yet won. There is need to take stock of the situation, and this is exactly the purpose of International Women's Day.

In the words of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, noted American writer, the aim and object of International Women's Day is "to recall the past, review our accomplishments, and define our expectations in relation to women's struggle in all spheres, social, economic, cultural and political."

It originated in U.S.A. during the Votes for Women campaign in 1908. At an International Congress of women held at Stuttgart in 1910 Clara Zetkin, a member of the Reichstag, moved that the date March 8th be designated International Women's Day. Her proposal was adopted unanimously, and since then International Women's Day has been celebrated in U.S.A., China, England, U.S.S.R. and, before the war, in France and Germany. It was on this date in 1917 that there was a mass demonstration by the women of Petrograd against starvation, war and tsardom. The men supported the demonstration by a city-wide strike. International Women's Day in 1917 became an historic occasion.

In Australia there have been annual celebrations for many years. These have taken the form of public meetings, international concerts, and conferences, at which representatives have spoken from all types of organisations connected with the needs of women. The Trade Union movement has also been interested, and meetings have been held in workshops with the co-operation of shop committees.

At a conference organised by the International Women's Day Committee in England in 1945 the following objectives were formulated in a charter:

"As mothers: The right to bring children into a world free from fear and want and war; the provision by every government of decent health services and houses fit to live in.

"As workers: The right to enter all industries and professions and to receive equal pay for equal work, and the same opportunities as men for training and promotion to all responsible positions; the ending of the exploitation of women as cheap labor, and the improvement of working conditions.

"As citizens: The right to equal status with men and full democratic expression; the opportunity to vote and serve on committees, juries and public bodies whether national or international."

When we review the position in the light of the foregoing demands we can see that some gains have been made since then.

The most important gain is the defeat of fascism, the greatest enemy of womankind, claiming that women are inferior and subject to men, fit only for kitchen, church and kindergarten. On taking their part in the fight against fascism, women have gained new freedom for themselves. In France women voted for the first time, and it is significant that the majority of the women elected to the Constituent Assembly stood on the Communist ticket which polled over 5 million votes. In Indonesia, one of the first reforms made by the new Government was to give women of Java the vote. Village women in unoccupied portions of Java are voting for the first time in the election of village councils. In China, women have gained many freedoms in the way of franchise and ability to enter the professions, etc., but a long task still remains for them to conquer the prejudice and resistance of the older generations. In America many alterations have been made in industry, both in accommodation and processes to suit the employment of women, and according to a publication of the Labor Bureau, women have come to stay. Indeed, it can safely be said that there is no country in which women served during the war, where there is not a greater respect for their capabilities in jobs not previously regarded as within their sphere, and everywhere there is a definite move towards the ultimate aim, full citizenship. An International Women's Congress was held in Paris, late last year, at which 350 delegates attended, repreeating over 81 million women. The agenda included the following: "Economic, Legal and Social Position of Women and Ways of Improving their Status without Delay"—this is surely further evidence of the growing interest women are taking in their own future.

In Australia, the woman question shows every sign of becoming acute in the post-war period. Gains have been made (in the phrase of the Charter)—for women are workers. They have been granted, certainly only as a temporary measure—but even this is an advance, 75 per cent. of the male rate, and in some cases as much as 90 per cent. and, in a very few cases, 100 per cent. As citizens, the fact that Mrs. Street was chosen to go to the San Francisco Conference was indeed a gain; and in other spheres such as equality of pay for servicewomen doing university and other training courses, some progress has been made.

However, women as mothers, as housewives have gained nothing.

It remains to be seen if, in the difficult period of rehabilitation of servicemen, women will be forced out of the jobs where they have earned from 75 per cent. to 90 per cent. of the male rate, back to ill-paid, ill-regulated domestic service, or the lower-paid traditionally women's jobs in industry. The wages in these industries have been raised as a temporary measure only, until six months after the end of the war, when the economic position will be reviewed, and wages revised. It is interesting to speculate whether the large number of women demobilised from the services, and forced out of higher paid jobs in industry, will constitute a sufficiently flooded labor market, for a general lowering of wages for women, hence a fall in the general living standard.

International Women's Day this year will be celebrated in a time of industrial unrest and objectives and aims should be clearly understood.

In industry, then, the aim is clearly to ensure that increased rates are written into the awards, and to continue the struggle for the rate for the job. The 40-hour week and £1 rise in the basic wage are aims around which all women can be rallied.

As citizens, women are still handicapped by many legal disabilities as regards domicile, serving on juries. Many of us are really hardly aware of the extent to which Acts of Parliament (in England there are no less than 30) discriminate against women.

In the third of our categories, that of women as mothers, there is a very long list of demands. The proletarian woman has always had the whole burden of bearing and rearing children, cooking, cleaning and shopping—no domestic help for her! During the war years the middle class woman has had to bear the same burden—though perhaps in better surroundings. She, too, is expected to bear the children, do the housework, the cooking and the shopping without help, without rest and without reward. But she is not inarticulate and much rancour has accumulated.

Olive Schreiner, in 1890, noted that upon the bearing and rearing of children, the state set no economic value. In 1946, with 50 years of struggle behind us, it sets a value of 7/6 a week for the second child, and gives a bonus at birth at a rate also determined by the number of children.

Relief can be given and should be given to overworked housewives, endeavouring also to be good mothers, in the way of creches and nursery schools for the pre-school child. The suggestion that there should be the responsibility of the Education Department should be strenuously supported. Housing, the scarcity of which adds to housewives' difficulties, needs to be hurried, health services and hospitalisation improved and that most difficult problem facing the mother of several small children, the lack of any help with the innumerable jobs in the home, must be tackled effectively, if we are to maintain, never mind increase, our birthrate.

International Women's Day is the rallying point for housewife, citizen and worker—they meet on common grounds as women and put forward their demands—demands that can only be fully realised in a socialist society—that actually have been realised in the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. Constitution states that "Women have equal rights with men in all spheres of economic state, cultural, social and political life. The equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, State protection of the interests of mother and child, pre-maternity and maternity leave with full pay; and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens." What a marvellous picture this is, and still more marvellous when we realise that it has already been achieved.

Fifty years ago votes for women were fantastic—with the example of the Soviet Union before us where the position of women was even more subservient, we should be filled with hope for the future, and with the resolve that we shall take our part in the struggle—that we will fight for the retention of better wages, fight for creches and kindergartens, fight for municipal markets and cheaper food, and fight for socialism and an equal citizenship.

ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

N. BALTIISKY.

(From "New Times" No. 13, December 1st, 1945)

WHEN, in the autumn of 1944, Mr. Kent Cooper, Associate Executive Director of the Associated Press, stepped into the arena with the specious cry of "international freedom of the press," it served as a signal to the heads of the great American and British news agencies and other newspaper magnates to launch a general campaign demanding an open door and uncontrolled activity for their establishments in all countries of the world.

This campaign, it is easy to see, has nothing in common with the democratic struggle of broad masses of the people for broader civil liberties, including liberty of the press. Oh no, the American and British entrepreneurs of the newspaper industry are not a bit interested in enlarging the rights of the people in the matter of newspaper publication. On the contrary, they have long been striving—and not without success—to concentrate the whole

newspaper business in their own hands, in the hands of big capital.

In America and Britain concentration in the newspaper business has been carried to no less length than in other branches of industry. Owing to powerful competition, the "mortality" among the American newspapers is very high: their number (counting only newspapers published in English) has declined from 2,042 in 1920 to 1,754 in 1944. There are 1,103 American cities today where only one newspaper is published, and in 159 large cities where more than one newspaper is published, they are in the hands of a single owner, or a single group of owners. All, or nearly all, the big and influential newspapers belong to multi-millionaires. According to Oswald Garrison Villard, himself a former publisher (of the **New York Post** and the **Nation**), "no one would dream of starting a metropolitan newspaper with less than ten or even fifteen millions in the bank." Hearst, the notorious pro-fascist publisher, is usually called America's newspaper king. But he is certainly not the only one. It can scarcely be said that he is even the most influential of them. The real proprietors of the Associated Press, for instance, are a small group of wealthy publishers, who not only control the extensive activities of this agency (with its 10,000,000 dollars of annual revenue) but are at the same time the owners of many of the 1,124 newspapers affiliated to it, ostensibly on a co-operative basis. Another big American agency, the United Press, is under the control of Roy Howard, who at the same time runs the Scripps-Howard group, embracing 19 newspapers. We find a similar concentration of newspaper capital in Great Britain. All the big English dailies, with the exception of the Daily **Herald**, belong to a small number of wealthy proprietors. This equally applies to the Reuters agency.

But it is generally known that far-reaching concentration in any branch of industry inevitably leads to monopoly, and to an urge for expansion, i.e., to enlarge the sphere of domination of the monopolies both at home and abroad. The newspaper industry of Britain and America is no exception to this economic law, it seems. Reuters already holds a dominating position in Great Britain and the British possessions; moreover, before the war it constituted, together with the French Havas agency, an international cartel which had no serious competitors either in Europe, or in Asia and Africa. In America, the Associated Press and the United Press are still competitors. But both are rapidly penetrating into all parts of the world. All the three mentioned agencies have an extensive international network of branches and maintain thousands of staff correspondents in all the major cities of the world, apart from foreign correspondents of the big British and American newspapers. The agencies have exchange contracts with press associations in many countries. Furthermore, the American agencies have subsidiaries in other countries, e.g., in Great Britain (the Associated Press of Great Britain and the British United Press) and in South America (La Prensa Asociada). The Associated Press leases over 285,000 miles of telegraph wires for its exclusive use.

We thus see that these three news agencies represent powerful international capitalist (or commercial, as they call themselves) concerns. And there is nothing surprising in the fact that these concerns thirst for expansion, for the constant extension of their spheres of action and domination. But is it seemly on the part of the business men who head these commercial concerns to impose their economic expansion upon the world public under the guise of a fight for "international freedom of the press"? Does this not smack of unfair competition? When other merchants seek for expansion in the world arena they do not assume the pose of champions of the "liberties" of mankind, but talk of their interests and earnings in plain business-like language. And when the British and American newspaper concerns strive to secure a dominating position in the collection and distribution of international news, is it not also because it is for them a profitable commercial enterprise? Why then hide the fact under a false label?

It seems to me, in particular, that it is hardly becoming of the Associated Press and its director to don the democratic toga of fighters for freedom of the press and news. Did not the U.S. Department of Justice deem it necessary in 1942 to bring action against the Associated Press on the charge of unlawfully monopolizing the distribution of news by depriving its members' competitors of the possibility of obtaining information? And did not the court in October, 1943, declare the monopolistic actions of the Associated Press unlawful on the grounds that they prevented the free distribution of news? True, the Federal Supreme Court has not yet passed final judgment, but if Mr. Cooper had any modesty at all he would not, pending the Supreme Court's decison, come forward as chief hero in the fight for international freedom of the press. For such a role, it seems to us, little befits a man who even in his own country has been officially charged with violating the law on freedom of the press. If I mention this fact, it is not, of course, because I want to disparage the Associated Press as compared with its chief European competitor, Reuters, which has long been known as a monopolistic concern that dislikes free competition within its spheres of influence.

But this is not the main thing. It is the political character of the doings of the press agencies, of the big newspapers and of their foreign correspondents which is the main thing for the public of our country and of the world generally.

It is true that the directors of the three mentioned news agencies make a show of having no political trend. Desirous of supplying their news to all periodicals of the world, both reactionary and otherwise, they claim that their agencies are purely commercial enterprises which are independent of parties, governments or nations. And, on the basis of the alleged independence of their agencies, these businessmen claim that their enterprises are the sole free sources of objective information. This assertion was made, for instance, by Mr. Chancellor, General Manager of Reuters, in the **World's Press News**. At the same time, he advertised his own firm in the following, far from objective words:

> "In Reuters our chief aim is to preserve our integrity in providing for the newspapers of the world a reliable, unbiassed, international news service. We are not purveyors of British news; news cannot be British or American — it is an international commodity."

We shall later give a concrete analysis of the political and moral quality of this "international commodity," as purveyed by Reuters, the Associated Press, the United Press and newspapers closely associated with them. But first, touching briefly on the fundamental question — does the capitalistic management of newspapers and press agencies have a good or a bad influence on their work? — it must be bluntly stated that, morally and politically, their work only suffers from the "commercial" character of their management. Everything essential on this score was said in our frank talk with Mr. Kent Cooper (**The War and the Working Class,** Nos. 1 and 2, 1945). We then noted that "in the United States, the enjoyment of freedom of the press by the citizens largely depends upon whether they own sufficiently large amounts of capital, and this, in the long run, moulds the predominant features of this press." In reference to this statement Mr. Chancellor, General Manager of the Reuters agency, in a lecture at the Czechoslovak Institute last February in which he commented on our article, said:

> "Although admittedly important, this concerns only one aspect of the problem — ownership and financing of newspapers — the question which at the moment is exercising serious minds in France and other liberated countries of Europe."

Mr. Chancellor, as we see, is here trying by an elegant but too airy gesture to shield the commercial command of the British and American press from criticism. But can the chief and fundamental item of criticism, namely, the fatal influence exerted by the capitalist owners on the contents of their newspapers and the reports of their agencies, be disposed of so simply? For we pointed out that "in so far as the owners of the big American newspapers are interested in obtaining the largest possible amount of revenue from their enterprises, the national and ethical functions of the press are in practice, as a rule, subordinated to this narrow object of profit-making." This, of course, is not a side issue or "only one aspect of the problem," as Mr. Chancellor declares. It is the crux of the matter. For therein lies the essential viciousness of the private capitalistic, or commercial, system of control of the press.

This, too, is the source of the political tendentiousness of the commercial newspaper enterprises and of the news agencies. To say that these enterprises are politically independent is a childish fable. They are utterly dependent, economically and politically, upon their owners. Everybody knows that the general rule is: if the owner is a conservative, the trend of his newspaper is also conservative; if he is a reactionary, his newspaper will betray reactionary tendencies; if he is a fascist, his newspaper will infallibly lean towards fascism. And as there are very few progressives among the multi-millionaires who own the big commercial newspapers, it is easy to understand why nearly all the progressive newspapers in America and Britain are comparatively small and weak, or belong not to capitalist owners, but to public organisations of one kind or another.

Oswald Garrison Villard, whom we have already quoted, a man of anything but Left convictions, explains this fact in his book, **The Disappearing Daily,** published in 1944, as follows:

> "Just as the profession of journalism has changed into a business, so there is every temptation for the proprietor to consider all political and economic questions from the point of view of those who have very large economic stakes and to look with alarm upon all proposed social and political reforms. The newspaper owner feels that he belongs in the Chamber of Commerce and the merchants' associations. . . . His property ranks with those powerful business corporations which in nearly every American community dominate its economic and financial life, whose officials and their wives set 'the society' tone and too often control all social progress."

Villard relates that the late President Roosevelt bluntly declared to the assembled journalists at a press conference on June 29, 1943, that there were a number of men in front of him who had to write under orders from their employers, the newspaper owners, or lose their jobs, and added that there were "flocks" of such journalists. On one occasion he even brought a German Iron Cross to a press conference and requested one of the journalists to present it to O'Donnell, correspondent of the pro-fascist Chicago **Tribune** and the New York **Daily News**, as a merited award for his obsequiousness to the Nazis.

The Chicago **Tribune** for which this "decorated" correspondent worked and still works, is particularly clamorous in its demand for "freedom of the press." At the same time its pugnacious publisher, McCormick, advocates a gigantic imperialistic plan for

incorporating Great Britain, France, Latin America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand into an American Union. And it is by no means fortuitous that both in America and Britain it is the imperialistically-minded who are calling loudest of all for "freedom" in general, and for freedom of the press in particular. In Great Britain, for example, the **Nineteenth Century and After,** the frankest of the proponents of imperialist policy, recently wrote literally as follows:

> "The main defence of freedom abroad has, in this country, passed to a handful of Conservatives. The only concerted protest against the disastrous agreement concluded at Yalta came exclusively from the Conservatives."

Of course, not all the British Conservatives are pleased with the specific political aims of the American campaign conducted by Mr. Kent Cooper under the cry of "international freedom of the press." The **Economist,** for instance, bluntly declared that Cooper's slogans paved the way for the attainment of world hegemony by the United States with the assistance of the financially powerful American news agencies. To which Mr. Cooper retorted by accusing the **Economist** of wanting to retain the control of the world's means of communication in British hands.

Who is right — the **Economist** or Mr. Cooper? Both, it seems to me. In our era the "commodity" of reactionary news has become an effective instrument of capitalist penetration into other countries and continents — an undoubtedly more effective one than was the import of whisky, bibles and opium into non-capitalist countries in the early days of the spread of capitalism. And the role of the foreign correspondents of the reactionary press is far more important than was that of the missionaries.

There are, of course, different kinds of newspapers, editors and correspondents and different kinds of proprietors, too. Some realise their responsibility, some only dimly realise it while some are absolutely irresponsible. Let us examine the "commodity" of some of the bigger newspaper merchants more closely, and get the feel of it — not the whole stock, of course, but only that part which is of international interest.

In the controversy with Mr. Kent Cooper we noted as a favourable fact that owing to the participation of the United States in the common struggle of the freedom-loving nations against fascist Germany "the degree of truth and honesty of the American press had grown considerably" in handling international affairs. Many influential newspapers which had before the war played up to the fascist aggressors, began in 1941 to expose them; whereas formerly they had not hesitated to slander the Soviet Union, during the common war they paid incomparably greater attention to the truth about our country. We also admitted that the information distributed by the Associated Press after 1941 was on a higher level of objectivity than the tendentious material which the newspapers received from this agency in earlier years. But while we noted these favourable developments, we even then, while the war was still on, suggested the necessity of consolidating this progress in objectivity achieved by the American press. "If only we could consolidate this valuable achievement so that it may not be lost when the war comes to an end!" we exclaimed. "This is extremely important as a guarantee for a durable peace."

But apparently nothing serious has been done by persons in authority to consolidate this change for the better. For directly following the conclusion of the war (and partly even on the eve of the Allies' victory) a number of big American — as well as British — newspapers and press agencies began to display an increasing contempt for the truth which is so necessary for anti-fascist international co-operation. And today many of them have distinctly reverted to the old vice.

Even during the San Francisco Conference, whose purpose it was to unite all the peace-loving nations into a single security organisation, a large section of the American press endeavoured to set the Allied powers at loggerheads by publishing downright false reports about the course of the discussions. A reminder of this by a reader of the **New York Times** was given in a letter to that newspaper after the Berlin Conference, stating that if a man from Mars happened to land on our planet while the San Francisco Conference was in progress and read such newspapers as the New York **Daily News,** New York **Journal-American,** Chicago **Tribune** and the New York **Sun,** it would never occur to him that this was a conclave of allies. He recalls to the memory of the New York **Times** newspaper headlines then current of the following tenor: "Russia beaten on the Argentine Question," "Soviet Union compelled to Yield on Veto Right," "Will Russia Walk out on the Conference"? And he asks what purpose these headlines served and whether they gave a correct picture of the course of the proceedings or were deliberately intended to arouse distrust among the Allied Great Powers.

And this reader quite rightly added, in reference to the complaints of pressmen at not being admitted to the Berlin Conference, that inasmuch as newspapers were unwilling to assume any responsibility, while at the same time claiming the privileges of freedom of the press, he saw no cause for waxing indignant because what was happening at the Berlin Conference was temporarily being kept a secret.

At the time when the Red Army had already reached the vicinity of Berlin (in the latter half of April, 1945) some of the American newspapers published a story from Washington which was a fabrication from beginning to end, and which said that American advance patrols had already been in Berlin on April 13, but withdrew owing to the protest of the Russians who declared that by previous agreement the Russians were to be the first to occupy

Berlin. Could the editors of the **Daily Mirror** and the other newspapers who printed this canard have doubted its falsity even for a minute? It is hard to believe.

But as a rule, as long as the war was on, influential American and British newspapers did not attempt to defame and vilify the Red Army by publishing false news. In September of this year, however, the majority of them began a systematic campaign of calumny against the Soviet forces of occupation in Germany. As though acting to orders, British and American correspondents in Berlin began flooding their newspapers with absurd fabrications about the behaviour of Red Army men in Germany and Austria. When framing their stories of pillage, violence and black-market operations allegedly committed by Soviet soldiers, these cautious gentlemen, to avoid being convicted of lying, studiously avoided mentioning names, time or place.

Reactionary newspapers of the type of the **Observer** and the **Daily Mail** are not the only ones that have distinguished themselves in this despicable campaign; many others, including Labor periodicals, are involved. One particularly vile article printed in the London **Tribune** called forth numerous protests from the readers of this "Left" journal. One of them, for instance, wrote:

> "I am amazed that a Left paper should publish such a slander on the Red Army without a single verifiable fact and by a special correspondent without the courage to sign his or her name. I challenge you to publish his or her name and record and produce facts to prove such wild and malicious statements."

Evidently the campaign of vilification of the Red Army was not only conducted with the aim of counteracting the widespread sympathy entertained in Great Britain and America for the Soviet Union, but also with the purpose of surreptitiously inciting the population of Germany. This was obviously the purpose of a slanderous fabrication circulated by the Associated Press (under the guise of an interview with Senator Brewster) to the effect that Soviet authorities were "liquidating" German professional men in Berlin and other parts of Germany. The laurels of this American agency evidently aroused the envy of the Berlin correspondent of the London **Times,** who, as we learn from a London radio message of September 21, decided to present his employers with the following rank bouquet of lies:

> "The Russians are abducting Germans from the British sector. The abductions are occurring at the rate of one a day. The victims are scientists, technicians or policemen. . . ."

The unusual proficiency of this British correspondent was displayed in the fact that he did not confine himself to simply slandering, but supplied his slanders with the following unctuous moral:

> "It is much to be hoped that this frankness will lead to a quick transformation of a situation, which otherwise could lead to strained relations between the Allies."

In the display of such "frankness" the British correspondent beats his American competitors hollow.

Following on this (on October 16th) the Allied Press, the agency of the British military administration in Germany, launched a canard to the effect that collective farms were being formed in the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany; such collective farms were allegedly being organised in the province of Brandenburg, where a special department had even been set up for the purpose. The administration of Brandenburg declared that this report was absolutely unfounded. But the London radio, broadcasting in German, continued to feed the population of Germany with such putrid dishes — with endless descriptions of the "awful plight of the Germans," and with grossly distorted accounts of the policy of the Soviet Government and of the new democratic governments in Central and Eastern Europe. These lies broadcast from London day after day, for several months now, in excellent German, bear the obvious stamp of incitation, likely to encourage fascist sentiments in Germany.

But for all the efforts of the London radio and of many of the English newspapers, their anti-democratic propaganda was for a long time rather anaemic — until Reuters came along and brought it up to the mark, so to speak. On November 4 it distributed the sensational story that according to reports reaching London about a million Germans were to be suddenly shifted from the Soviet zone in Germany into the occupation zones of the Western Allies. "This large-scale movement is to begin tomorrow" (i.e., November 5), it stated, and added that this was a measure apart from the transfer of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria.

That same day all the big English newspapers raised a desperate outcry over the "influx of millions of Germans forcibly expelled by the Russians" which was to take place the next day. The **Observer** warned that "masses of Germans will die by the roadsides next winter." The following morning Reuters reported that Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin had called for an immediate report on the proposed expulsion of a million Germans from the Soviet zone of Germany. More, that same day the question was raised in the House of Commons; and as Foreign Under-Secretary Hector McNeil was unable to furnish the House with any information on the subject, Labor Member Richard Stokes hastened to demand that "the strongest possible representations should be made" to the Soviet Government "in view of the conduct of the Russians."

But since the fatal day of November 5 passed without any signs of the "influx of millions of Germans" from the Soviet zone announced by the English press, some explanation of this strange fact

had to be furnished to the British public. And so Reuters, which, as Mr. Chancellor, its General Manager, assures us, always places reliable and unbiassed information above all other virtues, quickly found what seemed a way out: it furnished the newspapers with a report of its correspondent at British Headquarters in Germany to the effect that "the Russians have apparently withdrawn their instructions."

This was explanation No. 1. And the English newspapers printed it under appropriate headlines—e.g.: "Soviet 'Reprieve' for Refugees. Mystery of Russian Order" (**Evening Standard**); "Soviet Order Toned Down" (**Evening News**); "Soviet Cancels Order to German Refugees" (**News Chronicle**).

However, it soon transpired that there had never been any Soviet order for the expulsion of Germans, and consequently that it could not have been cancelled. Reuters Berlin correspondent began muttering something about a "misunderstanding"; the Soviet order, it turned out, applied only to "several hundred non-Germans," and in any case "they were not ordered to return to Western Germany at once." Matters having taken such a turn, it behoved the worthy agency to issue explanation No. 2. Through the lips of its reviewer, Robert Lloyd, Reuters admitted that the false reports which had caused questions to be raised in the House of Commons and had led the Foreign Office to draw hasty conclusions

> "were due partly to the unauthorised initiative of a district official and partly to a newspaper scare based on an inaccurate translation of a Berlin radio broadcast."

What was the panicky newspaper which suddenly loomed out of the thick fog of this explanation? The answer may be gathered from the following phrase in Lloyd's story:

> "The panic was caused when an inaccurate report was reproduced in the **Berliner,** the British military government paper published n Berlin."

So that was the origin of the "mysterious order!" In other words, a sensational lie was fabricated, out of "panic," for distribution through the "independent" Reuters news agency.

But if anybody thinks that this newspaper scandal taught the British periodicals involved in this affair to moderate the tone of their reactionary propaganda in connection with German and European affairs, he is mistaken. The **Daily Mail,** for instance, continues to cry in the following strain:

> "Distracted, demoralised, disintegrating Europe looks today for leadership, and she looks not to America or to Russia but to Britain. The question which will decide the fate of this generation is whether Europe will look in vain."

Everybody knows where this sort of thing leads.

We have given a number of illustrations of how cavalierly the reactionary "news purveyors" handle the truth. The list of illustrations is anything but complete. And it stands in need of substantial supplementation in the form of a reply to the reader's legitimate queries: Why do they lie? What is their political purpose? And does democratic freedom of the press necessarily imply freedom of political calumny, or freedom from all responsibility for such calumny, which is so dangerous and detrimental to the peaceful intercourse of nations and states?

But of this we shall speak later.

(To be continued)

BUILDING A NEW WORLD

MARCEL CACHIN, Chairman, Communist Party of France.

(From "World News and Views," December 1, 1945.)

(Translation of the speech of Marcel Cachin, fraternal delegate from the Communist Party of France to the 18th National Congress, C.P.G.B.).

ON behalf of our French Communist Party, my Comrade Cigniot and I bring to you, brother and sister Communists of Great Britain, a most cordial and fraternal greeting.

In France, we follow with burning interest your persistent efforts in the difficult struggle you have undertaken.

We express hope that you, comrades of the British Communist Party, represented here, in this majestic Congress, by generous and ardent youth shall, in the near future, gain the political success so richly deserved by your persevering tenacity, and faithfulness to our common cause.

No doubt, comrades, you know what important political and trade union progress has been attained by French Communist workers, since the liberation of their country. The **Daily Worker** gives accurate and precise information, concerning all our political battles. Permit me to summarise briefly the victories we have obtained.

Before the war, the Communist Party was already the foremost political party in Greater Paris. But since the October elections, it has become the strongest Party in France. It numbers, in the Constituent Assembly, 151 deputies, seventeen of whom are women. With associated representatives, it numbers 160 deputies. The Catholics follow with 142 deputies. After these come the Social Democrats, with 138 deputies.

The Communist Party recorded 5,000,000 votes, 800,000 in the Paris region alone. One of the outstanding features of the elections was the fact that many of our candidates were elected in rural districts.

The French Communist Party comprises one million members, grouped in 31,963 branches. Of these, 7,259 are factory and workshop branches, and 12,161 rural branches.

Our organisations of young people embrace 300,000, and our Union of Women of France has a membership of one million.

Furthermore, we must take into account our French Confederation of Labor, five million strong. Four-fifths of these vast forces have Communist leadership. One of these leaders is General Secretary Benedict Frachon who shares the directorate with Jouhaux. For a long period, our active members gave their main energies to work in their trade unions. Our Party is now reaping the fruits of these efforts.

In the French Government, the Communist Party, by its energy and firmness, in the recent period secured the entrance to the French Ministry of five Communists including Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Party. The four other Communists direct the departments of Armaments, Work, Industrial Production and National Economy. These comrades will ensure the success of nationalisation and the crushing of the omnipotence of the trusts.

In relation to these gains, the most widely-read paper in France is **l'Humanite.** Its daily circulation is 500,000 and, on Sunday, 600,000. In the last few days (during the political crisis) the daily circulation rose by 100,000. This circulation would be much greater if the Government, which monopolises the distribution of paper to the press, did not exercise arbitrary limitation of the share allotted to **l'Humanite.** Since the liberation of France, **l'Humanite** occupies the press machinery and offices of **Le Petit Parisien** which had the highest circulation of all French papers before the war. We expelled this paper from its premises because its staff were in collaboration with the enemy, and traitors to their country. Their property was seized and put in trust with the patriotic press. In the provinces, the Party publishes twelve daily papers and seventy weeklies. Two million copies daily is the total circulation of our Party controlled press.

These are the results we are glad, comrades, to bring to your attention.

What are the reasons for this success?

We think that our Party has come to the front in French opinion, because its primary aim has always been the defence of the people of France, and their great national and democratic traditions.

Before the war, they evidenced their foresight by demonstrating the signal danger of Fascism—a danger to Peace, human progress and civilisation.

During the enemy occupation of our country, the Communists took the lead in the struggle against the invaders. They put up the best fight for their country by creating an Underground army, 500,000 strong, the Free Shooters and Partisan troops, and the Interior French Forces who took an important share in the liberation of French soil. The largest contingent of hostages came from Communist ranks —they were named the "Party of the Slain." Seventy-five thousand of their best members were shot by the Nazis. The great trust and confidence of their country was won by these sacrifices and terrific struggles.

Furthermore, the people of France called to mind our unceasing propaganda for Peace before the war, and our constant efforts to ward off the catastrophe. They remembered that the Communist Party protested unceasingly against the errors of the pre-war politics of reactionary Governments of Western Europe. We drew attention to the criminal abandonment of Ethiopia, of Republican Spain, Czechoslovakia, and to Munich. We battled for collective security, and against Hitlerism. We agitated for the Alliance of France with Soviet Russia. This necessary understanding was rejected by your Government and ours, owing to class interests.

The Communists were persecuted and their Party disbanded in 1939 because they upheld a political course of Alliance with Soviet Russia. The disaster of 1940 was the necessary outcome. And now, honest opinion recognises that we alone were right when the Red Army, guided by the genius of Stalin, saved Europe and the world. Justice is at last rendered to French Communist action and that is one of the principal reasons for our success.

And now, Fascism is downed. The time has come for the establishment of a just peace. French Communists demand that the Hitlerites, who pillaged and killed, should take their share in rebuilding what they have destroyed. They demand for France part of the coal of the Ruhr, and the raw material and machinery stolen from their country during four years. It is a case of elementary justice. But after justice is obtained, like all our peoples, the French want Peace. And, once again, Peace still depends on collective security. No more bloc politics in the world.

Yesterday, Harry Pollitt exposed all the vices of the Western bloc. With you, we opposed these politics energetically. We must consolidate the union of the Big Three, basis of the Union of all nations. No more secret armaments—like the Atomic Bomb! There must be a universal application of Democracy and the rooting out of Fascism.

This is the gist of our position with reference to Foreign Affairs, approved by the people of France, and by your own people.

In France, our Party is considered the most dynamic, the most united, the best disciplined, the most concerned with the immediate daily interests of the French working class and nation.

Our Party has preserved, intact, all its firmness of doctrine. It rejects all narrowness and sectarianism but remains attached to Marxist concepts and dialectics, the soundness of which has been demonstrated over one-sixth of the world's surface, and has proved that Socialism is a superior form of civilisation.

Soviet economy has downed Fascism and solved the problems of our historic period better than the forms of the old Liberalism, and better than the Reformist and opportunistic Socialism, which rejects Marxism and is mortal to the working class.

These are the reasons why our French Party exercises a vigilant and careful supervision over the formation of Party workers and officials. Many central and regional schols have been founded for the teaching of the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It considers that one of its primary tasks is the Marxist education of the "elite" of French workers. Permit me to advise you to do likewise.

Dear Comrades, we are certain that we are on the right road—the road that leads from formal democracy to real democracy. We shall persevere, without faltering, in the cause we have chosen irrevocably.

We have numerous foes. Like you, we meet with greater misunderstanding on the part of many workers, left as well as opportunists. But we shall remain faithful to our daily, patient action of propaganda and persuasion.

We cherish all our hopes of the infinite possibilities of the people. We are sure that Communism is the future of the world.

The course of events after the war justifies our position with striking evidence. The advance towards Socialism is henceforth inevitable and universal.

But the struggle will be severe. It will cost Communists persevering efforts, sacrifices, great political intelligence, exact appreciation of the balance of forces, unshakeable confidence in our Marxist doctrine and in final success.

Both our parties are confronted with the same reproaches. We are accused of professing too great a sympathy for the Soviet Union. We acknowledge that the Soviet Union has rendered immense service to the cause of all peoples. Its arms saved the world: its example illumines the future of all nations.

Your great people of Great Britain and our people of France played the same identical part of leadership in the history of the past. All intellectually honest minds admit that the sacrifices of Soviet peoples and the great genius of Stalin have cleared the road to a new world for humanity.

It is in Soviet Russia that, for the first time in the world, the exploitation of man by man has been suppressed. That is true progress, true democracy, the only true human morality.

Comrades, a few weeks ago, the World Federation of Trade Unions was founded here, in London, and later on in Paris. We consider this to be the greatest event of the year 1945. If henceforth, the manual, intellectual and technical workers of the world were to unite, they also, in the political field, would have discovered the only issue open to this stricken world for the attaining of peace and human happiness.

These young delegates, so numerous here, represent to my eyes the future of Great Britain. Before them lie exacting tasks: they are the builders of a new world. But, to fulfil their great mission, they must each and every day expand the possibilities of action and the power of their Communist Party. Such is the immortal teaching of Lenin.

A great Communist Party, well instructed, firm, disciplined, skilled, full of faith and confidence in the future, is, in every nation, the essential instrument of the liberation of mankind.

Hurrah! For the Communist Party of Great Britain!

OUR STRUGGLE

SUTAN SJAHRIR.

(Extracts from the book of this title by Sutan Sjahrir, the Premier of the Indonesian Republic. Translated in Australia from the original Malay.)

AFTER two months of the establishment of the Indonesian Republic there is the hope and desire in every section of our people for independence and the determination to defend it. . . . For the people the slogan "Independence" does not merely mean the establishment of the Indonesian State, nor is our flag of red and white merely a symbol of the unity and ideals of the people and the state, but these things mean for them their own independence from tyranny, from starvation and misery; the red and white flag is for them a symbol of struggle, the struggle of the people. . . .

During the last 3½ years under Japanese subjection the basis of village life was disrupted and destroyed, by forced labor levies, the kidnapping of villagers to become slaves far from their homes, impressment into military service, the forced surrender of crops, in short by a tyranny that knew no limits. Likewise in the cities . . . . thousands were thrown out of work, thousands fled from the villages to the cities to escape the tyranny and starvation in the villages, and thousands more fleeing from forced labour and military service swelled the unemployed army in the cities. All this caused unrest in the cities, too. The Japanese were faced with a rising tide of resentment which was likely to explode at any moment into open revolution.

After the Japanese were defeated and were awaiting to be taken captive, their government (in Indonesia) was without authority, and . . . popular resentment against them increased. Such were the conditions before the emergence of Independent Indonesia, and such are the conditions in which

Independent Indonesia has been established. . . .

The ending of the Second World War left three supreme military and economic powers, that is, the U.S.A., England and the Soviet Union. These three are the leading powers which control the international relations linking most of the countries of the world. This has caused the disappearance of the individual sovereignty of all other countries, a sovereignty which in any case was extremely limited previously.

The political system of Soviet Russia stands strongly on its basis of socialism, and has passed the difficult tests of the past years, its basis not being dependent on political or economic conditions outside Soviet Russia. The United States and England on the other hand require the whole world as a field for their economic existence, which is capitalist and imperialist. The Second World War which destroyed the wealth of the world to the extent of thousands of millions of guilders, has impoverished, with the exception of the United States, the whole world. Everywhere the means of production have been destroyed to a great extent, and there is a lack of manpower due to widespread starvation and sickness.

All this has brought about a weakening of the capitalist world, and it is difficult to see how capitalism can find the strength to continue its existence. In a large part of the world there are economic crises, confusion, and sharp political struggles. There is the increasing trend of the working-class to change the basis of capitalist society and create a socialist society. On the other hand those holding to the old system, despite this threat, still search every road by which they can strengthen their position, with plans to improve capitalism and imperialism. Thus we face a new imperialism. We are living now in a period which will determine which system will emerge and finally determine the fate of mankind, that is, the new capitalism or socialism. The competition between these two tendencies and powers is reflected in the continuous political struggle of the world. We will experience continued political crises, economic crises, and there exists the possibility of conflict and perhaps of another world war.

Indonesia is surrounded by countries under the influence of the capitalist imperialism of England and the United States. The fate of Indonesia is bound up with English-American capitalist imperialism.

For more than a century past Dutch power over our people has been a fruit of English foreign policy. We know that in the beginning of the nineteenth century England seized Indonesia from the Dutch, and indeed, the Dutch would not be in Indonesia except by grace of England. They are merely a factor in English policy. English foreign policy towards East Asia has been carried on for more than a century, though new powers and conditions have appeared, such as Russia, Japan, USA, the Chinese Revolution and the changed circumstances, especially in China, cannot be overlooked. The most important change in relation to our country occurred when the Japanese drove out the Dutch. On account of defeat Japan will temporarily disappear from the politics of North East Asia, and it can be said that Japan will fall into the hands of the USA which has now become the biggest Pacific power. The United States now feels that it can modify and reconstruct English policy of the last century throughout the East, and in our country too. If the English cannot reconcile their policy with that of the USA, which is concerned only with its own capitalist existence, then England will be overwhelmed by the power of the USA. It is clear that the Dutch power has only been a tool in English policy. It is also clear that the American attitude towards Dutch control of our country is not the same as the English attitude. In this circumstance it may be possible for us to occupy a position which will agree with the political aspirations of the United States, the colossus of the Pacific, but this possibility is limited as long as the world is capitalist and imperialist as at present. . . . Because of this the fate of the people of Indonesia is bound up with international conditions and developments. . . .

[Until the basis of society is changed and an end is put to capitalism and imperialism] the struggle of our people cannot be fully satisfied, and the independence which we can achieve, even freed fully from the Dutch, will still be nominal independence, similar to that of other small countries under the influence of big capitalist countries. . . . .

Although for many years we have been in a modern world, and although the society of our country was changed and influenced by it, the existence and outlook of our people, especially in the villages, was still feudal. To maintain our subjection the Dutch retained all remnants of feudalism in order to restrict the development of our people. Thus for example, government officials are merely tools made by the Dutch exploiters from the feudal heritage of our society. . . .

Dutch exploitation sought its strength in alliance with modernity and Indonesian feudalism, finally to become a special type of fascism. Colonial fascism far surpassed that of Hitler or Mussolini. Long before Hitler's concentration camps of Belsen and Buchenwald, Boven Digoel was established. The movement of our people opposed foreign subjection from the beginning, and in opposing this feudal bureaucracy, the autocracy and fascism of the Dutch, our movement is a genuine social movement. . . .

The revolution emerges in its beginning in a national form and enters the setting up of a democratic society, thus giving it a social character. If we do not perceive this transition . . . . we face a great danger, that in not considering feudalism as

an enemy, we still permit the spirit of feudalism which still exists as a sort of nationalism. This would become nationalism with a type of solidarity that is feudal solidarity or hierarchism. . . . So in setting up the power of our society in our revolution, we must never forget that we are taking part in a democratic revolution. . . . .

Having defined the nature of our struggle as above, it is clear that our revolution must be led by democratic groups, who are revolutionary, and not by nationalist groups who have been slaves to fascism, either Dutch colonial fascism or Japanese military fascism.

The revolutionary democratic struggle begins with the eradication of all traces of Japanese fascism, which prevents understanding amongst those who are still influenced by Japanese instruction and propaganda. Those who sold their souls and honour to fascist Japan must be separated from our revolutionary leadership (that is, those who worked in propaganda, Japanese secret police, those who took any part in the Japanese fifth column). All of thesa must be considered as traitors to our struggle and are not to be identified with the workers who worked for the time being only, to secure the necessities of life. Thus all political collaboration with the Japanese such as mentioned above must be regarded as fascism itself, or a tool of fascist Japan, and is a betrayal of the struggle and revolution of the people.

The State of the Republic of Indonesia which we create as a means in the revolution of our people, must become a means of democratic struggle, cleansed from all traces of Japan and its fascism. . . . The entire government must be democratised as quickly as possible, so that the majority of the people may participate in government affairs. This may easily be accomplished by setting up where necessary representative bodies of the people from the village up to the highest government authorities. All means of authority must be democraticised as much as possible, so as to minimise dissensions among the people. . . . With the formation of new means of government any difficulties can be straightened out where they arise, that is in the village itself, and the government will have the means which can be used in carrying out the democratic revolution in the social and economic sphere in the village. . . .

Of itself, too, our position in relation to the outside world will increase in strength. With the strengthening of the organisation of our state in a democratic manner, the world will believe that we are quite capable of controlling our state and our people without disturbing the economic, political and cultural links with outside countries. As long as we live in a capitalist world we are forced to avoid the enmity of world capitalism, and so must allow an opening for capital, with the reservation that the security of the people must not be disturbed. . . .

Of great importance in our struggle is our attitude and policy towards those groups who are foreigners among the inhabitants, that is, those of foreigners among the inhabitants, Christians, Ambonese, European or Asiatic birth, Christians, Ambonese, Menadonese, etc. Up to the present we have not yet adopted a satisfactory attitude and policy towards these groups. Furthermore this can develop into a grave error, and can destroy our struggle. . . .

In this stage of capitalism, the capital of the world is highly concentrated, especially in New York and London, and more than ever there is a centralised control of world capitalist production, especially in Wall Street. As a result of this war it can be said that the whole world is in debt to Wall Street. These conditions make the world one international unit. Thus the resistance and struggle of the working class against this can only produce any result if this truth is fully realised. The activities and struggle of the working class must be on an international scale.

Our working class is now directing its struggle towards defending the State of the Indonesian Republic. This is as it should be, but . . . . the national solidarity of the working-class must be raised to an international level, so as to be in tune with the struggle of the working class throughout the world. The excess of the spirit of nationalism can hinder the working-class from perceiving the international nature of the struggle, and may cause deviations which will weaken its position and cause retreat. In order to avoid the danger that in the nationalist struggle the basis of the struggle is overlooked and forgotten, that they will not be deceived or imposed on, it is necessary that in the nationalist struggle the working-class knows how to struggle for its position in its own manner as Indonesians, that is organised as workers with weapons of class struggle. The spirit which is necessary to carry on the struggle in this way is the spirit of its class and the solidarity of its class not weakened by the spirit of nationalism. The conditions for clarifying its position in the political struggle of the working-class are to claim full rights of the people, even from the State of Independent Indonesia itself, the freedom of speech, of writing, of assembly, of meeting, of the right to strike, of the guarantee of employment, of health conditions, education for children, the fixation of wages, etc. . . .

For our peasantry the struggle for independence can only have meaning if its mass nature is realised by them. If the present revolution of the Indonesian people is to be felt as a popular revolution for the peasantry, so that they can no longer be suppressed by the government, so that they can enjoy the fruits of their labour, and not be oppressed by laws which benefited only those who governed, then our revolution must overthrow feudalism in the rural districts, feudal government regulations, the impressment of labour and produce, as was the custom under Dutch subjection. The villages

are so overcrowded that although production from the soil is carried out as intensely as possible, it is still not enough to raise the living standard of the people in general. This condition is becoming more and more acute. Apart from attempting to redistribute the inhabitants of Indonesia more evenly among the islands with intermigration, the complete answer to the question in Java is undeniably industrialisation. If the surplus population of the villages is decreased so that the village becomes a field for raising the standard of living with co-operative endeavour, and industrialisation is brought about under government planning, a large part of the surplus village population can find employment as factory workers and the prosperity of Indonesia will be increased, especially with the basis of a prosperous peasantry. . . .

One of the most pressing problems of the moment is that of the youth. It cannot be denied that it seems as though the present awakening of our nationalism is largely represented by our youth. . . . When the youth widen their vision towards the basis of the new society, they will understand from that that the strength of our struggle is not centralised in the forces of the youth, but in the mass of the people, especially in the working class, which is organised and has a sharp consciousness and understanding regarding the class struggle in the world. If our youth understand this, they will know that their position is in the front ranks of the working class and the peasantry.

It is clearly an error to presume that the youth must lead our struggle of independence, an error which can lead to the destruction of our struggle. . . . . In conjunction with a working class revolutionary party the youth become the shocktroops of the party leading our struggle. . . . It is necessary to organise to overcome the deficiency of understanding in all matters relating to this problem. . . .

Owing to the present conditions in the world it is necessary for us to heighten our readiness to defend the motherland and our people with fully organised resistance. We require that this resistance be organised. We require an army according to the need of the period. . . . As quickly as possible we must bring into being a people's militia in which all youth from a certain age must undergo military training for a certain period. On account of the deficiencies of material, this must be carried out with the limited means available, and meanwhile the lack will be made up. The need for this instruction is extremely urgent. It must include academies for land and sea. The shortage of instructors can be made up with assistance from overseas. In order to overcome the shortage of weapons for our resistance, it is only fitting that we sacrifice other necessities, owing to our circumstances at present. The manufacture and purchase of weapons is of special importance at this moment. In admitting military requirements we must not for a moment make any mistake about the role of military force in our revolution. Having set up the Indonesian State in our struggle we are forced to use the weapon of State struggle, that is the Army. This does not mean, however, that we become slaves to the state or to militarism. . . . We must be careful lest we destroy the spirit of our popular revolution by being enmeshed in militarism and fascism.

BATTLE FOR THE BANK OF ENGLAND

JACK GASTER

(From "Daily Worker," London, 30/10/45)

THE private owners of the Bank of England have had a good run. For 260 years they have manipulated the country's finances to suit the interests of their class and to line their own pockets.

Now a battle has started to end this private monopoly and to bring into public ownership and under public control a key instrument in the handling of the nation's credit. The Bank of England Bill empowers the Government to take over the existing Bank Stock and to appoint the future Courts of Governors, who will manage the Bank under the direction of the Treasury. The Court will in turn be empowered to request information from and give directions to other [illegible] and there's the rub.

The financial P[illegible] tures of what this ment will be able to pry into the secrets of every little man's bank account"—as if the bankers were really concerned with the little man's account—or overdraft. They are more concerned that this Bill will enable the Government to discover how bank credit is being issued, whether to help industry or to encourage speculation; to keep track more readily of the affairs of the big trusts and cartels, and, by direction, to ensure the flow of credit into those channels where it is really necessary.

This private bank monopoly in pre-war days did inestimable harm to British industry in the way in which it sought to deal with the cotton industry, with shipping, and not least in the way it in fact h[illegible]n the Labor Government in 1931. It [illegible]ly which is now to be transferred to [illegible]nd it is this public control that the

It is true, of course, that the Bank has been virtually under Government control for some years, and it may be said that this Bill merely gives legal sanction to the existing state of affairs. But the point really is that the Government is a new one, with new ideas about the extent and kind of control that must be operated if a great reconstruction programme is to be carried through without sabotage from the City. Coupled with the proposed National Investment Board, the Bank of England, through its power of direction to other banks, will be able decisively to direct the nation's finances in accordance with Government policy.

But there are still weaknesses. The Bank is to be controlled by a Court of Governor and Deputy Governor appointed for a five-year term (and apparently not removable during that time by the Government of the day), and 16 other Governors, four of whom shall retire each year, in rotation.

The people will require to be satisfied that this Court is answerable to the Government, removable by the Government, and is composed of people who represent the interests of the working people. The present close monopoly of finance and big business represented on the Court of Governors must be broken. We cannot entrust our destinies to Lord Catto (of Morgans), Hambro (of Hambro's Bank, G.W.R., etc.), Astor (of The Times), representatives of Barings, Schroeders, and Flemings, Cooper of the Hudson's Bay Company, the shipping magnates such as Anderson (P. and O.), Sanderson (Shaw Savill), industrial bigwigs such as Hyndley (Powell Duffryn, Guest Keen and Nettlefolds), Weir (G. and J. Weir), etc. These are all on the present Court. Where is the T.U.C.? Where is the Co-operative movement?

A substantial change will have to be made. Some of these Governors will have to be removed for good.

So will all the 17,000 stock-holders. These 17,000 people own £14,533,000 of Bank stock between them. They are going to receive £58,212,000 of Government stock carrying 3 per cent. interest in exchange. In other words, these people are going to be paid £1,746,360 a year for ever—unless the Government in 1966 prefers to stop paying them that annual tribute, and pays them the whole sum of £58,212,000 in cash, intact.

This immense sum of compensation must be examined. No measure has ever before been brought in requiring such a considerable expenditure without the fullest publication of the accounts and figures upon which the compensation has been based.

In this case, no adequate accounts have ever been published, no list of stockholders is disclosed. But this much is known. The Bank has managed to pay an average of 12 per cent. interest over the last twenty years. It has done well for itself—out of the public.

For what is the business of the Bank out of which this considerable profit has been made? The Bank (in addition to its private banking work, which can produce only a small part of its income) derives its income from its functions as a Central Bank, from its management of Government stocks, of the Issue Department, of the Exchange Equalisation Fund, for all of which it is well paid by the Government.

In other words, the Bank has made its profit out of its activities as the Government's agent. Precisely by reason of its operation of Government policy in the money market, the present market price of its stock stands high; higher than it stood 20 years ago.

Can a progressive Government support the principle of paying out of public funds an inflated capital sum guaranteed to produce for ever an income that has only been earned because a private monopoly acted virtually as a Government Department?

Is this a satisfactory precedent to set, when it is hoped that many monopolies, some, maybe, in a decrepit state, but others now profitable, going concerns, will be nationalised?

The nation cannot afford this type of "generosity" to those who have sucked it dry for far too many years.

We may in the present circumstances have to compensate them. But in a reasonable manner, and for a reasonable period; not by placing an intolerable capital burden on the nation.

Fixed annuities if necessary at the present rate of income, for the life of the present holder or for 20 years, whichever should be the shorter period, would be quite enough. If that is not agreeable, in any event the proposed sum of Government stock must be drastically cut and should carry a lower rate of interest. The issue of new stock now at 3 per cent. is hardly in line with the Chancellor's suggestion that the Government is aiming to secure low rates on long-term securities, and is setting a bad precedent which the City is watching with eager eyes.

The principle of this Bill is sound, and must be fought for against the Tory barrage that will be put up against it. But the Labor movement will have to seek some amendment of the compensation proposals, and will require satisfactory guarantees that control really will be vested in the hands of those the movement can trust.

UNSCIENTIFIC POLITICS IN THE B.M.A.

DR. G. P. O'DAY.

THE Medical Journal of Australia, January 19th, contains a lengthy presidential address delivered by Dr. John Dale, the well-known Health Officer to the City of Melbourne, to the Victorian Branch of the British Medical Association. This address is noteworthy because it is political, because it will be read by thousands of medical men throughout Australia, and as these men are persons of influence, it will have a political effect extending far beyond the medical profession; and it is also noteworthy because it gives a clue to the political ideas of a large section of our intelligentsia.

Dale begins by stating that political problems are at present of great concern to the profession. This recommendation of politics to the serious consideration of our doctors is welcome to Communists whose aim is that everyone should take their politics seriously and in the end should be able to take part in the government of the country. It may be safely stated that this president of a B.M.A. locale is quite unaware of that Communist objective. This is evident from his statement "that the period is at present a battleground between two opposed philosophies—on the one hand the philosophy of collectivism, under which the individual is subservient to an abstraction called the State . . . and on the other hand the philosophy of freedom which aims to secure the utmost development and liberty of each precious, unique individual." Naturally we ask, who are these state-worshipping collectivists? According to Dale "Germany and Russia have nationalised and socialised their medical services." Thus in this address Dale has managed to give considerable support to two errors fostered by anti-Communist, anti-Soviet war mongers; namely, that nationalisation and socialisation are identical and that Hitlerite Germany and the Soviet Union are profoundly similar. The conclusions drawn are two: (1) That the medical profession must fight against further nationalisation of medicine by the Labor Government, and (2) that the profession must oppose socialism—or else we may be enslaved as Hitler Germany.

It is remarkable and disturbing that statements so profoundly removed from reality can be made to the medical profession. Surely everyone knows that Germany was a capitalist State: that Hitler was the representative of twenty millionaires and was, along with Goering and Goebbels, allowed to become a millionaire himself: that the land of Hitler Germany was owned preponderantly by the Junkers; that German business was still carried on for profit: in short, that collectivism had no place in Hitlerite Germany—and socialisation of medicine could not possibly exist there. Dale, perhaps, is deceived by the words National Socialism. Possibly he has not observed that political parties often cloak themselves with names that do not correspond to their reality. Yet he would not need to leave Australia to make this observation. For example, the Liberal Party which is purely Tory and the Labor Party which is bourgeois liberal. Indeed Dale does not seem to be gifted with much talent for observation, or else he would know that collectivists do not set up an apparatus called the State to which the individual must be subservient. This was done by Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. These men in their writings and speeches affected to worship as mystic entities the German, Italian, and Japanese States respectively; to all, divine origin was ascribed. While in reality they developed the most powerful material states with an enormous bureaucracy, armed forces, courts, jails, torturers and executioners. These states enforced servile obedience to the commands of the monopoly capitalists and big landowners.

On the other hand, the collectivists, i.e., the Communists, do not idealise the State. They regard it, as our law schools do, as an earthly mortal organ of power directed against the external and internal enemies of the rulers. Therefore when socialism is universal, the State will no longer be necessary and will be relegated to the museums. Then and only then, the collectivists say, will man attain the fullest possible freedom, individually and collectively.

We agree with Dr. Dale that two philosophies are opposed in the world today. But this is nothing new. Idealism and materialism have been opposed for 2,000 years. Today Idealism is the philosophy of the reactionaries. Materialism is that of the progressives. Scientific medicine, like all science, is de facto materialist. Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo were Idealists. So, too, is Mr. R. G. Menzies. Dr. Dale expresses great fear of centralised power and bureaucracy. Is he not aware that monopoly capital is the consistent and persistent generator of bureaucracy and centralised power? However, he aims his blows at the collectivists who have shown in actual practice in the U.S.S.R. that socialism means local democracy which is not incompatible with central democratic authority — more, that socialism can only be achieved by the destruction of the tyrannic bureaucracy that Dale affects to hate.

Christian Science adopts the idealist approach to medicine. Dale comes very close to Christian Science in his address by stating that a wicked person cannot be well. This when America's pathologists have just declared Mussolini's body healthier than most of his age—and doctors continually see wicked people well by all medical criteria and good people rotten with disease. Here is another utterance of Dales: "May we be at length delivered from those who are sure they know what is good for other people." Quaint, isn't it? The good doctor evidently wishes to destroy the medical profession

—or do not doctors believe that they know what is good for other people?

"Only a people ethically prepared to do so can enter the promised land." By endorsing this statement of Sir Robert Erwing, Dr. Dale supports the Moral Rearmament racket sponsored by Dr. Buchman and Heydrich the foul gauleiter of Czechoslovakia. The usual inversion of the idealist. We must be good to be healthy and we must be good to have a sound political economy. The real truth is much more nearly expressed by saying that we must have a sound political economy in order to have in general a higher morality and sound health.

After introducing the absurd Douglas Credit phantasies about money, Dr. Dale concludes by appealing to the medical profession to stand firm against the "Planners." We hope that the medical profession will not be deceived by Dr. Dale's confused and reactionary utterance. We would urge the profession to examine politics in the same manner in which they examine their patients, i.e., scientifically.

If they do so they will discover that the Labor Government are reformists, not socialists. Thus reforms must be examined on their merits in this our capitalist state and a non-existent bogey must not be allowed to obscure an impartial view. They will also discover that the collectivists (the Communists) are staunch enemies of bureaucracy and firm supporters of democracy. On the great issue, the new world order, let us hope that, as in obstetrics, the profession will devote some attention to the study of the laws of delivery of this order, and help to make its delivery as painless and smooth as possible.

We, too, must draw our conclusions. They are simple and clear. This address reveals again to us the necessity of destroying the basic ideology of fascism. There can be no more important way of doing this than by the building of a Communist daily press. This is urgent today. Without the ideological confusion amongst the petit bourgeois so clearly evidenced by Dr. Dale's address, the fascists could never hope to achieve a mass basis. Now that we have saved our democracy from the foreign fascists, we must explain, explain and explain, as Lenin and the Bolsheviks did after the overthrow of the Tsar in 1917. Let us then think no sacrifice too great in our efforts to establish our press. Great trials confront the people and the dangers from misleaders and charlatans is truly enormous.

POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION
Of The National Outlook

WILLIAM HATFIELD.

I MUST enter a plea for faithful reading of my article if criticism is to be levelled, as against the distortion resorted to by Joan Saxton in the September "Review."

This writer wrests my insistence on city dwellers learning at least something of the processes of agriculture at first hand as part of a normal education to a cry for "back to the land" and then accuses me of being fuddled by the theories of Rousseau and Henry George — "petty bourgeois theories which run contrary to Marxism." Marx never said anything about the "idiocy of rural life," but spoke of industrialization ending the "idiocy of the village"—a vastly different thing. Marxism is not a dogma, but a scientific approach to problems as they arise, which is what I insist on with regard to the problem of the land. In the same breath with which Miss Saxton attacks my pointing out our lopsided industrial development, she goes on to say that it has largely passed agriculture by, which is precisely my complaint, for I stress early in my resume of progress that the "search for better weapons" has been the greatest impulse in industrialization.

Normal critics, even reactionary critics in the capitalist press, pay me the compliment of at least being acquainted with my subject when I speak of the land, the arch-reactionary in this country, the Sydney "Bulletin," conceding that "when Hatfield gets to the region of the Mitchell-grass plains he knows the country he is talking about," but this writer, after the narrow sectarian gibe about my "petty bourgeois" befuddlement, goes on to inform me, as though talking to a complete ignoramus, that "the country dweller is deprived of many cultural pursuits open to those in the cities, and also many technical advantages such as electricity and labor-saving devices connected with it, sewerage, running water, frequent postal services, and many others." The fact that there are books of mine still current, after years of reprinting, urging the introduction of these amenities to the rural areas, can be ignored by this critic, who seems bent on proving my ignorance and discounting my authority to speak on these and related subjects.

The slighting reference to "Hatfield's 'savages' " is a particular instance of this attempt to discredit. The sarcastic quotes definitely imply that I don't know what I mean when I speak of the savage. The critic goes on to inform me that "there was little possibility of hunting before the development of the bow and arrow!" This person with the Master of Arts degree, connoting some claim to be heard, can remain ignorant of the fact that the

savages of this continent have lived by hunting throughout the countless thousands of years since the disappearance of the Asiatic land bridge to this day without having seen a bow and arrow.

Further, an attempt is made to teach me history by the assertion that "the mariner's compass had its origin in the voyages of exploration made by the early merchants in their search for luxury goods from the east"—"since the peak of the feudal period." One can attain to a Master of Arts degree, evidently, without having heard of the use by the Arabs of the "wise iron" in their great voyages, including the circumnavigation of Africa, before feudalism became established, let alone reached its peak.

My article does not demonstrate a "horror of examinations," but only of the system of education which forces children of poor parents to pass them to secure an education which is the perquisite of children of the rich whether they can pass or not. Indeed, far from having a horror of examinations per se, I love them. I gained a scholarship, but my parents could not afford to support me while I availed myself of it, so I had to go to work at thirteen, and swot after working from eight in the morning till seven at night.

That is what this is all about.

And there need be none of the overpowering fears regarding an education obtained "within the framework of class society." Professor Haldane must have got his that way—as, come to think of it, must Marx and Engels, even Lenin and Stalin.

The thing about education is to get it.

The attempt to reduce my whole thesis to ridicule by condensing it to one potted gibe that "we began at the beginning," rebounds on the head of an ill-informed critic who yes-buts her way through those points of mine read honestly and conceded, when she winds up on the defeatist note that until we have the classless society we can never hope to get the education which will give us sufficient gumption to establish it.

NEED TO REVISE WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY!

L. HARRY GOULD.

("Words are spoken to conceal thoughts."—Talleyrand).

LANGUAGE changes with social evolution. Man coins words to communicate thoughts and ideas. In the daily crucible of his experience and activities—in the home, at work, in politics—words are tested for their exactitude in conveying ideas, for the fidelity with which they describe feeling. Certain words never change; the meanings vested in them by early man survive the vastest mutations of history. From primordial times to the present, these meanings have remained unaltered right through the different historical stages and the varied social developments and social catastrophes; they are indeed inalienable. Words marked with this "stamp of eternity" are, understandably enough, those denoting nature's phenomena, and hence are immediate to man, such as the parts or movements of the universe around him (sun, moon, tide, day, night), bodily organs and functions (hands, head, to eat), biological divisions (man, woman, child, animal).

But the meanings of many words change, or go out of use altogether, some within extraordinarily short periods. Suffice it here to refer to any of the big standard dictionaries with their lengthy columns of words, once replete with vigor and life, now reduced to the category of obsolete or archaic.

The scientific Socialist, fighting for the new civilisation, is continuously at grips with the problem of words and their meaning. His weapons of struggle are ideas, political programmes, transmitted to the masses by the oral or written word. Analysis of those words which are significant for the remaking of society is not a problem of philology; the essence of the problem is political, i.e., class. Select a group of words and terms commonly associated with the class struggle (democracy, law and order, defence of small nations, extremism, freedom, justice, pacification, illegality, etc.) and study the denotations given by Webster or any other authoritative work. One is immediately struck with the superficiality, the perversion of meaning, the unreality and the divorcement from verifiable fact. Sometimes, the definitions border on the ludicrous. But above everything else, the definitions are characterised by concealment of the real issues in contemporary class-divided society.

Are these defects deliberate? Yes, they are. An interesting example is to be found in that "fount of all knowledge and final arbiter of man's wisdom" — the Encyclopaedia Britannica. The article on atheism is written by a clergyman. The one on Bolshevism was supplied—guess by whom—by that most implacable enemy of Bolshevik theory and practice, Trotsky! Such are the standards of truth and scientific objectivity among the bourgeoisie.

This writer, now engaged in compiling his new Glossary, thought it might be of advantage to consult the dictionary and encyclopaedia. (Hence this brief essay.) But the search for helpful definitions or phrasings drew a complete blank, not only of course in regard to social content, but even in the technical aspects of the art of defining words. In proposing the revision of Webster, one does so half jokingly, half seriously. Jokingly, because Webster represents a wonderfully rich part of man's cultural heritage, accumulated through the ages; most of it will endure in its present form for many centuries to come. Seriously, because the changes in the social order—both the current struggle and

their later consummation—demand a corresponding advance in the method and practice of lexicography.

From a hundred examples that might be cited, take the words bureaucracy and bureaucrat. Webster defines the latter: "An official of a bureau; especially an official confirmed in a narrow and arbitrary routine; a member of a bureaucracy." Nothing more. This definition and the one of bureaucracy do possess a certain formal validity, one which the Marxist must comprehend. But it is only formal, or technical. Compare, now, with the Leninist explanation of the words, which uncovers the root of bureaucracy in the apparatus of administration needed by the exploiters in every State organ and government institution to serve their class interests against the exploited people.

Talleyrand's dictum quoted above is not just a clever sally, a bon-mot. Bourgeois pleas and declamations about cherishing everything "we" hold dear, preserving the sanctity of the home, administering justice and guarding truth, and the rest of the claptrap, merely express a principle of social conduct characteristic of every oppressing class in history.

PHILIPPINE PANORAMA

STAFF-SERGEANT A. KEESING.

PART I

THE situation in which the Philippine Commonwealth finds itself today has no exact parallel anywhere in the world. Its historical development, though not markedly different from that of other colonial territories — indeed there are some striking similarities between the Philippines and Java, India and China — has proceeded along a rather strange course in that for half a century it has been tied to the wealthiest country in the world, and one that has two ideologies for export, political democracy and rugged individualism of the finance-capital variety.

It is necessary first to examine the impact of these forces by a rapid glance at past history; then to examine contemporary Filipino politics in the war's aftermath; and finally to assess the position of the Philippines in the world jigsaw.

The discovery of the islands by Magellan during his circumnavigation of the world in 1521 was the starting point of their modern history. The great sailor took possession in the name of the King of Spain of an archipelago of 7000 odd islands in which the majority of the population were of Malayan extraction, with minorities of indigenous Negritos and of some Chinese. Within the next half century Spain had completed the conquest, though not without considerable violence and bloodshed. This rule by violence continued to be a feature of Filipino society for the next three hundred years and more.

To facilitate their rule and the exploitation of the rich products of the country the Spaniards built an extensive road system, at the focus of which was established the walled city of Manila, from which a strongly centralised military government operated. Big estates were granted by the Spanish king to his most loyal soldiers and colonists, and these promptly introduced the feudal system of land tenancy in its entirety. In the 16th century this was the only recognised method of extracting the maximum profit from a recalcitrant native population. Nor did the Spaniards see fit to alter it for the whole period of their domination. The owners of these great landed estates sublet parts of them in minute parcels to the former Filipino owners who, in return, were required to surrender between 50% and 60% of their produce. The very considerable mineral wealth of the islands was left untapped while the production of secondary commodities was left to the village craftsmen or individual peasants.

The preachings and exhortations of the Catholic Church and its missionaries, although a powerful influence, did not fill the peasants' stomachs with bread. Poverty, land-hunger, and repression produced rebellion after rebellion in the 350 years of Spanish rule and gave birth to the powerful popular demand for independence still ingrained in the people. The struggle culminated in 1896 with a revolt on a national scale which almost released the Spanish grip. After two years of ineffectual attempts to suppress the revolutionaries Spain was forced, by her preoccupation in the Spanish-American War, to make a patched-up peace with her subjects and grant them considerable concessions. However, her defeat in the major war lost her this and most of her other colonies. The Philippines passed to American control in return for a payment to Spain of $20,000,000 as compensation.

The new administrators were content to leave things very much as they found them, particularly in regard to the vital questions of land ownership and distribution. The former owners, Church and lay, continued in possession and the semi-feudal system was preserved. But the people were by no means content to exchange one colonial oppressor for another. The traditional struggle for independence, now sharpened and unified by partial success, was turned against the Americans. Only by pouring large bodies of troops into the islands were the Americans able to suppress fierce revolts and consolidate their control. For three years the country was under military government; not until

1901 was it possible to maintain control without overt violence. A progressive easing of restrictions and limitations began.

During this period many Filipino patriots were won away from their uncompromisingly militant stand on immediate national independence by the benefits received from several reforms (introduced by the new government) such as state education, public health facilities, hospitals, etc., and the introduction of a system of partly representative government which constituted a considerable advance on the Spanish regime. Filipinos were encouraged to qualify for administrative and professional posts and public works monies were made available for the development of Manila into a modern city.

Such a programme could hardly fail to impress a colonial people, more particularly those of them who had been enabled to rise from poverty into a comfortable middle class habitat. The desire for independence was just as strong as ever in the mass of the people, but there was a change in the character of the sentiments of those sections who became the partners of American capitalism. The Spanish landowners and the Catholic Church, proprietor of a third of the land, were also in on the deal. This was a period of shifting class forces. We shall see how American capital amalgamated with native proprietors and petit bourgeois professionals and administrators to take the revolutionary content out of the demand for independence.

The first native Filipino political organisation, the Nacionalista Party, had been, in the early days, a national revolutionary party of the masses. But in the brisk trade between the Philippines and the U.S.A., accelerated by the Free Trade Act, many of the party leaders had acquired big stakes. They dared not denounce independence. But they contrived to play it down or divert the demand into other channels.

The progressive liberalisation of the administration which, by 1916, had evolved along American lines into a bicameral institution, with Filipinos in a majority in both houses, was partly responsible for obscuring the progress of events from the eyes of the ordinary citizen. He could see his own people in many important political and administrative positions, he could see fine buildings, new roads and bridges, school houses and a University, and irrigation works, all the product of the American regime. It was not so easy to see that the grip of U.S. finance capital was rapidly strengthening through the buying over of Filipino political leadership.

The Nacionalista Party was born, and emerged dominant in Filipino politics because of the fact that it was the most articulate champion of nationalism, the will of the people for independence. The popularity and rise to power of Quezon was rooted in this question of national independence. But the development of US-Filipino trade and the increase in US finance capital investments brought about economic changes and regroupings in Filipino society. The export industries, tobacco, sugar, coconut, hemp, etc., developed a native bourgeoisie, comprador (merchant capital) in character, which amassed considerable wealth from the profits of this trade. On its side, American capital took in some sections of this bourgeoisie as partners of convenience or necessity. Leading members of the Nacionalista Party, mainly because they controlled the machinery of government, became the natural allies of finance capital: the partnership guaranteed legislation favourable to the exploitation of the labor and wealth of the Philippines in the interests of the U.S. and Filipino bourgeoisie. The dominant clique became deeply involved, agents of finance capital in the Government apparatus, guardians of vested interests. Thus U.S. finance capital became the real power in Filipino political life, with the Nacionalista Party as willing tools and running dogs.

The Spanish mestizos (landlords) and the Catholic Church also play a big part in economic life, through their ownership of great landed estates and a big share of the sugar industry. They are the most arrogant sections of reaction in the country and are well represented in the Government. Against the mass progressive movement these three, U.S. finance capital, the Church, and the Spanish proprietors, drew together, using the Nacionalista Party as their tool.

The change in the economic interests of the leading members of the Nacionalista Party also changed their political ideology. Separation from the U.S. would mean restriction of trade through tariff barriers and the collapse of the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie. Thus the real struggle waged by the Nacionalista Party became a fight against national emancipation. The divorce between real and ostensible aims became more acute as powerful American interests, whose products were subject to competition from Philippine imports, demanded complete independence for and the erection of full tariff barriers against the Philippines.

Partly on these lines, but also because of acute personal rivalry, there developed a rift between the two chief party leaders, Quezon and Osmena, from 1916 onwards. The former was in the stronger position by virtue of his position as Resident Commissioner to the U.S., but by 1923 a stalemate had developed. Osmena went to the elections with a new party, the Collectivista Party, having no basic political differences with the nationalists. However, neither party was able to gain a clear majority over the other plus the progressive elements, whom both sections were determined to keep out of power in any case. A patchwork compromise was worked out in which the opposing groups reunited within the Nacionalista Party. This incident is of importance today because of its bearing on the attitude of the mass movement to Osmena, now President.

Early in 1930, various organisations of the working class and peasantry began to appear. Due to the onesided development of the economy of the country, in which all the emphasis was placed on the production of commercial crops and mineral ores for export with little or no attention to industrial development, the proletarian movement grew slowly, the main progressive strength being in the provincial peasant organisations. A few trade unions appeared and united in the Committee for Labor Organisation (C.L.O.) but the main field of labor was still in process of organisation at the outbreak of war.

In the provinces, however, a number of insurrections took place as a result of which Quezon in 1935 appointed a Fact Finding Survey. This body brought down a report which stated, inter alia: ". . . . the average peasant does not enjoy his constitutional and inalienable civil and political rights. He cannot openly join associations nor participate openly in any movement organised for his betterment without courting the displeasure of the landowner and risking being deprived of the land he tills."

Nevertheless it was during this period that the basis was laid for several underground organisations, one of which subsequently became the now powerful Confederation of Peasants with more than 100,000 members in Central Luzon alone. And they provided the hard core of the resistance movements and guerrilla forces during the Jap occupation, just as today they provide the leading progressive opposition to the present collaborationist regime in Congress.

When the Japanese invasion occurred late in 1941, and MacArthur, in order to preserve the property of vested interests, allowed himself to be manoeuvred into an untenable position on Bataan rather than defend Manila (the city was a free gift to the Japs who had unrestricted use of all installations and facilities until 1945, when they dynamited them to prevent their use by the Americans), a large number of Nacionalista Party leaders, because of their long experience in collaborating with vested interests, found it easy to transfer their allegiance to Japanese fascist masters. They were made-to-order allies of Japan. Thus the Nacionalista Party produced some of the vilest traitors in Filipino history. Among these leaders were Laurel, Recto, Benigno, Yulo, Osias, Vargas and, most important of all because of his present role, Roxas. In view of the preposterous claims now being made by this Roxas of having been the "spiritual" generalissimo of the guerrillas, as well as his close association with MacArthur, whose support he is receiving in his present campaign to oust Osmena for the Presidency of the Philippines, we must examine his record in some detail.

In 1941 Roxas was already a powerful figure in politics. A leading attorney, owner of a chain of newspapers and large landed estates, he was a member of the directorate of about ten corporations, and was the legal representative of Soriano, multi-millionaire and richest man in the Philippines. When organised resistance on Bataan and Corregidor came to an end and the American cause appeared hopeless Roxas quickly accommodated himself to the wishes of his new masters. He became chairman of the Economic Planning Board which gave him an ex-officio membership of the puppet cabinet. When the Japs asked this cabinet to declare war on America, Roxas gave vehement support and said: "If our allies (the Japanese!) want us to declare war, let us do so." To prove his bona fides he composed a letter to the guerrillas of Mindanao persuading them to lay down their arms and surrender. This letter was reproduced in thousands by the Japs and had the effect of hamstringing the patriotic movement in Mindanao. He then went on to join the committee set up to prepare a constitution for the puppet government and was one of the signatories to that constitution.

The Hukbalahap (People's Guerrilla Movement) in Luzon had been successful in persuading the provincial farmers and peasants against sending their rice production into Manila, where, on the pretext of feeding the people, it had been used by the Japs to supply their establishment. To counter this action, Roxas called a convention of ricegrowers and with the demagogy of a would-be Hitler, made an emotional appeal, broadcast throughout the country, for the delivery of rice (July, 1944) just at the time when it was apparent to all that an American invasion was imminent. In that speech he attacked the guerrillas as 'bandits' whose aim was to starve the people, and was able to some extent to drive a wedge between the guerrillas and the urban people. It may be claimed that many good patriots found it expedient to appear to collaborate with the Japs, the better to defend their people and defeat the enemy at the appropriate moment. But Roxas' associations with other reactionaries clearly disprove any such claims on his behalf, in particular his association with Soriano and Elizalde.

Racism has been one of the distinguishing features of the fascist mind and many a would-be fuehrer today has learnt nothing from the collapse of the Nazi and fascist scum. Here again Roxas betrays himself. A relatively small proportion of the Chinese population consists of merchants who control about 70% of wholesale trade and who share responsibility with the Army, Government and other agencies for the unrestricted black market which is impoverishing Filipino toilers. Roxas, notwithstanding his powerful position in the Government and influence with Army heads, has done nothing to combat the evil at its source, no doubt because the enormous rake-offs are grist to his political mill. When the people complain, what is easier than to attack the Chinese, an alien race, as the cause of the people's privations? All of Roxas' journalistic mouthpieces are engaged in a campaign against the Chinese based on the race issue.

Before the Jap invasion, Roxas had already shown his hand, his admiration for fascism. Along with Quezon he advocated a non-party government, on the same lines as the Japanese military fascist government, at the same time working to destroy the democratic organisations of the people by preventing their meetings and demonstrations.

This unsavoury background, collaboration with the enemy and admiration over a long period for fascist methods, made it necessary for reaction, after the liberation of the Philippines, to whitewash the name of Roxas and blot out the stigma of collaboration. The first step in this direction was taken by MacArthur, who gave him the rank of Brigadier-General. Soon afterwards he was chosen President of the Senate. When outraged public opinion attacked these actions, MacArthur did some fast work. He invited some non-fighting "guerrilla" leaders to a sumptuous banquet and, having dined and wined them well, got them to sign a prepared testimonial naming Roxas as the "spiritual" leader of the guerrilla movement.

It may be wondered to what degree MacArthur is implicated in this devilish intrigue to perpetuate fascism in the Philippines. When the 5-star general dramatically announced in 1942, "I will return!", did he have in mind his stockholdings in Avoje Chromite Co., Antamok Gold Mines, other mining interests in Palawan, his 50,000 pesos a year from the Philippine Government, his palatial penthouse on top of the aristocratic Manila Hotel, board and rent free? At all events, his nomination of Soriano as his economic adviser, his powerful support for Roxas, and his activities in bringing terror and blackmail against the progressive movement are sufficient indictment of this self-styled hero of all Filipinos.

The third member of the evil triumvirate is Soriano, wealthiest individual in the Philippines and until 1941, when there was danger of his investments being frozen by the U.S. Government, a Spanish national. One of the biggest feudal landlords in the Philippines through his family holdings, he has controlling interests in most of the commercial and industrial enterprises in the country including mines, breweries, shipping and transportation, insurance and banking. During the Franco rebellion in Spain Soriano became Franco's honorary consul, and personally contributed 500,000 pesos to the rebel cause, besides organising the collection of 16,000,000 pesos. For these services Franco decorated him with the Grand Medal of Naval Merit. He was one of the principal organisers and leaders of the Spanish Falange, a fascist organisation with a powerful propaganda machine, in close relations with the Japanese government. When asked if he was a fascist, he replied: "I am accused by some of my friends of not being one."

(To be continued)

SCIENCE AND THE FOUNDERS OF MARXISM

ARTHUR W. RUDKIN, B.Sc.

CRITICISING the followers of John Dewey's school of "Naturalistic Philosophy," a writer in the English scientific magazine "Nature" sums up their attitude thus: "Science is fashionable: therefore let us call our opinions on any subject scientific and stop thinking."

Such a jibe could not be levelled with justice against the founders of Marxism, but there are probably many people in the Party who, though they are aware that Marxism is called scientific Socialism, would quickly find themselves out of their depth if challenged by a non-Party scientist to explain just why Marxism is more scientific than any other kind of Socialism.

Marxism claims to be scientific, not merely because it happens to be possible to find some facts in natural science which tend to support it, nor even primarily because there are no facts in natural science which are incompatible with it. Marxism is scientific because it is the result of the application of scientific methods of investigation, analysis and confirmation to scientifically observed facts of politics, economics and history.

The interest of Marx and Engels in natural science and scientific method was not incidental or accidental. As early as 1843—four years before the publication of the Communist Manifesto — we find Engels, in a letter to Marx, criticising the economists of the day for their failure to recognise the importance of the influence of scientific discovery on the development of the means of production. Two of Engels' best-known works, **Anti-Duhring** and **Ludwig Feuerbach**, are devoted to criticism of false theories, based on misinterpretations of scientific discoveries, put forward by contemporary Socialists; Engels also combated pseudo-Darwinism, which sought to justify capitalism and wars of conquest by distorted biological theories, and the tendency of some scientists to convert Newton's discoveries into a dogma, and many other false ideas among scientists, which were proving obstacles to both social and scientific progress. During the last thirty years or so of his life, Engels devoted much time and thought to collecting notes for a book he hoped to publish, under the title **Dialectics of Nature**, which was to show that the scientific principles of dialectical materialism were just as valid in the physical and biological as in the social sciences. Unfortunately Engels did not live long enough to complete the work, and at his death his notes fell into the hands of the notorious

German revisionist, Bernstein, who kept the manuscript hidden away for about thirty years before he even thought of raising the question of publishing it. It was first published by the Marx-Lenin Institute in Moscow—an interesting example of the contrast between the attitudes of Marxism and of revisionism towards science.

Engels, usually in collaboration with Marx, made important original contributions to the science of anthropology, especially in his famous work called **Origin of the Family,** which is recognised even by many bourgeois anthropologists as essential reading for students of pre-history.

The science of history, of course, was founded by Marx and Engels. All previous writers had either adopted a mystical attitude towards history, or treated it as a mere succession of disconnected accidents. It was left to Marx and Engels to discover the natural laws, the chain of cause and effect behind the seeming accidents of history, and so for the first time to enable man to understand his past, and, on the basis of that understanding, to predict and control in some measure the future development of human society.

So we see that there was a twofold basis for the keen interest of Marx and Engels in science: (1) The influence of scientific discovery on the development of productive technique and hence on social evolution, and the reciprocal influence of this development on the progress of science; and (2) the importance of scientific theory as a basis for a scientific philosophy and hence for correct social theory; and, arising out of this, the need to combat false theories based on false interpretations of science.

Lenin's theories on the State and on revolutionary tactics were a further elaboration, in the light of scientific analysis of later experence, of the scientific theories of Marx and Engels. Like Engels, Lenin recognised the need to combat false theories scientifically. For instance, he realised that not only narrow practical but also fundamental theoretical problems were raised by the new situation brought about by the defeat of the 1905 revolution, and in the years of the counter-revolution devoted much time and energy to analysis and criticism of idealist interpretations of recent discoveries in physics, which had penetrated the ranks of the Russian Labor movement through the writings of Bogdanov, Lunacharsky and other inconsistent Socialist intellectuals. The result was his famous work, **Materialism and Empirio-Criticism,** which did for the science of his day what Engels had sought to do for the science of an earlier period in his **Dialectics of Nature.**

Today, despite the fact that recent advances in atomic physics (wave mechanics and quantum theory) and in cosmology (relativity) can only be understood in the light of dialectical materialism, and in some respects actually confirm predictions made by Engels over half a century ago about probable future developments in science, we find people like Jeans using them as a basis for reactionary idealist theories. Even the pseudo-Darwinians still come forward occasionally with their mock-scientific chatter about the virtues of unrestrained competition and the biological necessity of war, despite the terrific blows dealt their theories by the discoveries of men like Fisher and Haldane. Whilst it is not necessary or possible for every Communist to be an expert on atomic physics, relativity and genetics, it is possible and desirable for most active Communists to know at least enough science to be able to combat pseudo-scientific theories when they penetrate the ranks of the Labor movement.

Marx and Engels showed how social relations, from being forms of development of productive forces, become fetters on their further development. Lenin and his co-workers showed how and why in the epoch of Imperialism one manifestation of this tendency is the phenomenon now usually referred to as the **frustration of science.** Great capitalist monopolies hold up scientific development by preventing free interchange of information among groups of research workers in closely related fields; they often buy up patents and deliberately use them to prevent the full application of science to industry. Various estimates have been made of the standard of living that present-day technique makes possible. One estimate (probably exaggerated) puts it at the equivalent of £200,000 a year at present prices for every family; the most conservative estimate puts it at £2,000 a year for every family throughout the world. This refers only to what could be achieved by the universal application of techniques already in use in the most up-to-date sectors of industry; one can only guess at the magnitude of the further advance that could be achieved by the application of techniques already discovered but never applied, or of the still more stupendous advances that could be made in the near future if the development of research were freed from capitalist fetters.

Medical scientists know that, given a free hand, they could, in a matter of a few years or even months, completely wipe out some of the most dangerous infectious diseases, such as diphtheria and malaria; within a generation they could stamp out the venereal diseases and reduce the incidence of tuberculosis, cancer and the rheumatic diseases to a small fraction of today's figures. The chief obstacle under capitalism is that it is not possible to issue shares in the venture and declare a dividend at the end of the year.

It is obvious that such facts have enormous propaganda value, both among scientists and among the people generally, provided we are able to explain them intelligently and not merely announce them dogmatically.

Coming to the post-revolutionary writings of Lenin, Stalin and other Soviet leaders, we see that under the proletarian dictatorship, in the period of Socialist construction, technology becomes of decisive importance. We remember Lenin's slogan, "Soviets plus electricity equals Socialism," and the slogan of the first Five-Year Plan: "Bolsheviks must master technique."

Most technologists in pre-revolutionary Russia were counter-revolutionary. This made it possible for enemies of the revolution to obtain highly responsible posts in vital sectors of the national economy, and caused enormous difficulties in the early stages of Socialist construction, until the U.S.S.R. was able to train its own proletarian technologists. In Australia the possibility exists to by-pass this stage. Since Lenin's time the frustration of science has become more open and more intense, and is bringing scientific workers more and more into conflict with the ruling class. The economic and educational gulf between professional scientists and proletarians is not as deep in Australia as it was in Czarist Russia, so that the task of winning over large numbers of scientists and technicians to the labor movement, or at least overcoming their active hostility, should be much easier for us than it was for the Russian Bolsheviks.

Hence we see that science is vital to an understanding of the **laws of development** of human society, as a means of winning over the people to help **hasten the transformation** from capitalism to Socialism, and finally to **build Socialism** after the working class has seized power. Anyone who in the face of this can claim that science is only a side-issue for Communists might also claim that Communism itself is only a side-issue for us!

SIDELIGHTS ON ABORIGINAL SOCIETY

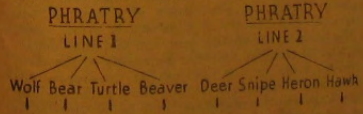
CAPT. A. H. JOLLY

PART VI

The Origin of Gentile Society.

IN northern Queensland, according to Mrs. Caroline Kelly, besides the Matrilineal Lineages which alternate from generation to generation there is another factor, totem, which does not alternate. Thus a Green woman of Emu totem would give rise to a White offspring also of Emu totem, and a White woman of Emu totem would give rise to a Green offspring of Emu totem.

Once all main taboos have been eliminated the stage is set for gentile society. If the economy of the tribe improved to such an extent that they could live in a primitive communal village and cease a semi-nomadic existence, then the need for lineage society has vanished and the direct descent through the new totem becomes the order of the day. We would then have two matrilineal lines each with four direct lines of descent thus:



and this is exactly what we find in the Seneca tribe of the American Indians and of course in other Indian tribes. Further, according to Cunow these Indian tribes still have relics of the old alternating lineages and prohibitions of marriages.

If we consider each old matrilineal line as a phratry, then we have a logical explanation of this institution which up till now has been shrouded in mystery. The totems become the gens or clan. The gens in one phratry consider themselves brother gens, and those of the other phratry as cousin gens exactly as we would expect from lineage society.

Marriage is prohibited within the phratry and the gens is strictly exogamous. Taboos are present as relics of the past and the only possible type of marriage is with a very distant relative outside phratry and gens. Again we see a logical explanation of development from lineage society, for the exogamy of the phratry and the gens which would otherwise be unnecessary.

Gentile society ushers in a new social freedom and with it a new impetus to communal economy, where men and women could work together as a whole tribe and as a federation of tribes, where the mill stone of social restrictions was cast aside and remained only as an inconvenient relic. With gentile society came agriculture and the domestication of animals, quite impossible in the nomadic organisation of lineage society where the village was an impossibility with the strict avoidances that had to be observed.

Two conditions were necessary for the formation of gentile society.

1. Enough natural game and fruits etc., for the society to congregate in a village and cease their nomadic existence, with the necessary technical advancement.

2. Animals and plants which could be domesticated.

Conclusions. It is now possible to give a sociological table for human society.

Epoch 1. General promiscuity with the introduction of taboos leading to the consequent family and group marriage.

Epoch 2. Lineage Society and the elimination of taboos.

Epoch 3. Gentile Society.

Epoch 4. Civilisation and Class Society.

Epoch 5. Civilisation and Socialist Society.

BOOK REVIEW

China's New Democracy (Mao Tse Tung)

JOYCE METCALF

NOW that Japanese imperialism and its dreams of a colonial China have been shattered, and in China itself the most reactionary section of the Chinese bourgeoisie have been forced to desist from their insane policy of civil war against the Communist armies and the people of the Communist-led territories, the questions arise—What sort of a society does the developing Chinese revolution now demand? What are the aims and the policy around which the great Communist Party of China must rally and unite the people to ensure the advance of the revolution?

The answers to such questions are given by Mao Tse Tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party, in an article written in 1941. This article, a masterpiece of Marxist analysis and application of Marxist historical method, applies not only to China but to other semi-colonial and colonial countries today.

China, semi-feudal, semi-colonial, and colonial, says Mao Tse Tung, cannot proceed to the establishment of a bourgeois dictatorship similar to that prevailing in European countries and America. Nor can it press on immediately to the achievement of the socialist revolution. "The present task of China's revolution is the task of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, before the accomplishment of which it is empty verbiage to talk about the realisation of Socialism."

The present task and first step in the Chinese Revolution is the establishment of the New Democracy, of the New Democratic Republic of China, of a "national polity for a certain historical period, transitional in character but a form indispensable and unalterable." What this New Democracy is—its politics, economy and culture—how it is a necessary development and stage in the whole process of the Chinese revolution, and how the struggle for it is a part, and a magnificent part of the world socialist revolution, are the main themes of Mao Tse Tung's discourse.

He shows how, since the Opium Wars of 1840, China's bourgeois democratic revolution has been proceeding and the country turning from a feudal country into a semi-feudal, semi-colonial and colonial country. Till the first imperialist world war and the Russian October Revolution, China's bourgeois democratic revolution had characteristics similar to those bourgeois democratic revolutions in Europe which were to smash feudalism and clear the way for the domination of the various national bourgeoisies. But the rising Chinese capitalist class had also the task of opposing imperialism and establishing an independent bourgeois-democratic society.

After the October Revolution the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries changed their character. With the whole world now in the epoch of the proletarian socialist revolution, when the capitalist world cannot go on without relying more than ever on the colonies and semi-colonies; when the socialist state has been established and declares its willingness to assist the struggle of the liberation movements of all the colonies and semi-colonies . . . at such a time any revolution of the colonies and semi-colonies against imperialism or international capitalsm becomes a part of the new, world revolution—the proletarian-socialist revolution, and its struggling peoples become allies with the socialist and international proletariat in the front of the world socialist revolution.

Thus, although the first stage of China's revolution is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic and its objective demands are to clear the obstacles in the way of the development of capitalism, th's kind of revolution is no longer the old type led solely by the bourgeois class aiming merely at the establishment of a capitalist society, but a new type led wholly or partially by the proletariat and aiming at the establishment of a new democratic society or a country ruled by the alliance of several revolutionary classes in its first stage.

China's bourgeois-democratic revolution is not yet consummated nor can the Chinese bourgeoisie themselves solve its fundamental tasks and problems. "Being the bourgeoisie of a colonial and semi-colonial country it is extremely weak politically and economically and exhibits the characteristic of compromise with the enemy of the revolution. Even in the process of revolution the Chinese bourgeoisie is never willing to break with the imperialists completely; and being closely associated with rural land exploitation it is also not willing and is unable to overthrow imperialism and feudalism thoroughly."

For ten years the Chinese bourgeoisie, represented by Chiang Kai Shek, waged bloody, ruthless warfare against the revolutionary people led by the Communist Party. During the latter years of the war against fascism, it became more and more apparent that this powerful section, in fear of the people, were increasingly ready to surrender to the Japanese imperialists and increasingly concerned with fighting the Communist armies rather than opposing the invader. The only people who today can lead the Chinese people to overthrow feudalism and imperialism are the proletariat, the peasants, intelligentsia and other petty-bourgeois elements, with the main responsibility on the shoulders of the proletariat and its revolutionary party. These are the basic forces that determine the destiny of the country, and "without the guidance of communism even the democratic revolution of China cannot be a success, let alone the final stage of the revolution."

China cannot go the road of a capitalist society ruled by the bourgeoisie, says Mao Tse Tung, because this is not permitted by international capitalism or imperialism; nor is it permitted by socialism since in the struggle for independence against imperialism China cannot be separated from the Socialist state nor from the aid of the international proletariat. The Democratic Republic at which the Chinese people are aiming can only be ruled by an alliance of all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people, by several anti-imperialist classes jointly. It must have a governmental polity of democratic centralisation. Such a government of democratic centralisation can be a system of peoples' congresses of various grades from the national congress down to the village congress, based on genuine, universal election.

As for the economy of the New Democracy, it must rest on the principle of restriction of capital. China's economy is still in a very backward state. There can be no confiscation of private property nor restriction of small capitalist production. But capitalist production which "can manipulate the life of the people" must certainly be restricted by means of nationalisation of all enterprises, foreign or Chinese, "which possess a monopoly character," such as banks, railways, aviation, etc. Further, the New Economy will be based on Dr. Sun Yat Sen's slogan of "Land to those who till it," which means confiscation of big land holdings—not a socialist agriculture but the land turned into private property of the peasants. Restriction of capital and equalisation of land rights is the basis of the New Economy.

Eighty per cent. of China's population are peasants, says Mao Tse Tung. The fundamental problem of China's revolution, as of all colonial and semi-colonial countries, is the problem of the peasantry; the main force of the revolution is that of the peasantry. The war of resistance against Japanese imperialism was fundamentally of the peasantry. Next to the peasantry the working people rank second in number. Without them China cannot exist because they are the producers of China's industrial economy. Without them China's revolution cannot succeed because they are the most revolutionary elements of the population and led by the revolutionary Party, the Communist Party.

"The mast of the Ship New China is appearing on the horizon," he concludes. "We should clap our hands to welcome it.

"Raise both your hands. The New China is ours."

SEAWEED YARN

PROF. J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

DURING the war a new branch of the textile industry has come into being, based on a raw material which we can get in our own country without using a square foot of land which could have produced food. The whole process was secret until recently, and many details are still secret. But the Labor movement should know something of the facts, in order that this invention should be used in the interests of the public, not in those of a few rich men.

The raw material is a slimy stuff called algin, which forms up to 40 per cent. of the dry weight of some of the commoner seaweeds. It is chemically related to starch and cellulose, and seems to act both as a food reserve, like starch in a potato, and also as a structural constituent, like the softer components of wood. Algin is the calcium salt of an acid called alginic acid, and the free acid or the salts of other metals can easily be made from it.

Before the war it had been used to some extent as a glaze for fabrics, as a "deadener" for explosives, and to mix with rubber in the manufacture of waterproof materials. It has now been found that it can be spun into threads by much the same methods as are used in the rayon industry. These methods were largely devised by Professor Speakman, of the Textile Chemistry Laboratory, Leeds University, and he has recently described them in "Nature."

A sticky solution of sodium alginate is forced out through a spinnerette into a bath of acidified calcium chloride solution, containing a little olive oil emulsion, which prevents the fibres from sticking together. The yarn produced is a little tougher than cellulose acetate or viscose rayon. It has, however, the very serious defect that it is easily destroyed, not only by strong alkalis, but by soap. It is therefore useless for ordinary domestic purposes. But it is excellent for making materials which do not have to be washed. It proved useful during the war for various purposes.

The yarn can be made alkali resistant by treatment with solutions of chromium or beryllium salts, by soaking in a solution of formaldehyde, or, better, by a combination of these methods. The

product is said to be cheap, tough, elastic, and suitable for weaving or knitting. It can also be dyed satisfactorily.

But beryllium is expensive, and both chromium compounds and formaldehyde attack the skin, while formaldehyde (formalin) also irritates the eyes and respiratory passages. "It is remarkable," wrote Legge in 1932, "how acclimatised workpeople support atmospheres, vitiated with formaldehyde vapour, which a newcomer finds unbearable." But men and women should not be called on to support such atmospheres when they can be avoided by a proper ventilating system. It is essential that the trade unions concerned should see that what may be an important new industry starts with every possible safeguard to the workers' health.

All these safeguards may have been taken already. I hope they have. But if they have not, it is very important that conditions which may be justifiable in war should not be regarded as normal in peace.

The untreated calcium alginate yarn is easily dissolved by carbonate of soda. Several patents take advantage of this property. For a cloth can be woven of a mixture of the soluble rayon and some other fibre, and then dipped in alkali, leaving the second fibre behind. For example, a yarn can be made from alkali-soluble rayon and mohair in such a way that the mohair is coiled round the rayon in a spiral. When a cloth woven from this composite yarn is dipped in alkali, the loose mohair fibres form loops on the surface of the cloth, giving an effect for which ladies will doubtless pay extra, thought I find it hard to believe that the stuff will wear as well as ordinary cloth.

I have kept to the last the greatest advantage of these new rayons. They are totally non-inflammable. This is partly because they contain a lot of mineral matter, partly because they take up a great deal more water, as compared with wool, from a damp atmosphere. It is this property, along with their ease of production, which has made them so useful in war. It is also a most desirable character in peace, particularly for use in nurseries.

Will these new textiles be fully used? I don't pretend to know. If we go back to monopolistic restrictions in peace-time, they certainly won't. On the other hand, if they are developed to the full, they may give our textile trade the chance of a fresh start after the war, a start on a British invention, wholly made from British materials.

In this case it will be very important to regulate the harvesting of seaweed. At present anyone can do it. If it is done indiscriminately, it will be done uneconomically, and this may also spoil our inshore fisheries, and the scenery of our coasts. In fact, a Labor Government could see that these discoveries formed the basis of a flourishing new industry, without ruining the health of workers or the amenities of the seaside. A Tory Government will no more do these things than it has stopped speculation in land and building materials at the expense of the homeless.

By the way, the whole invention is an excellent example of planned research, carried out by Speakman, Chamberlain, Astbury and others at Leeds.

It has incidentally led to an analysis of the fibre structure which will be of considerable value for the study of immunity, and perhaps for that of muscle contraction.

It we are to get off the mark in peacetime, we need more planned research of this kind, but above all the national planning which will allow it to be used in the public interest.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY.

AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIFTH OF THE MONTH.

EDITORIAL

THE campaign of the reaction in all the capitalist countries against the Soviet Union and the growing forces of democracy, national independence and Socialism daily strengthens and becomes shriller and more threatening.

The speech delivered by Churchill in the United States indicated the views of the warmongering, imperialist monopoly-capitalist cliques everywhere. With their imperialist rivals, Germany, Japan and Italy out of the way, these warmongers see in the Soviet Union and the world peoples' movement the barrier to their totalitarian world domination. The dream of the imperialists in Britain and the United States is the same as that of Adolf Hitler and Tojo, namely, world domination and the exploitation of the workers of the world by the trusts and combines.

Churchill put all this in so many words. British imperialism is faced with revolution in India and the colonies. British capitalism also finds itself faced with enormous economic and financial difficulties. Churchill, like Hitler before him, sees the salvation of imperialism in an anti-Soviet war. So, because British imperialism alone cannot match strength with the Soviet Union, Churchill appeals to the more powerful American imperialism to undertake the "task" of war on the Soviet Union. Churchill proposed a union of the two most powerful monopoly capitalist States knowing very well that in such a partnership the British imperialists would play second fiddle. He is prepared to eat this humble pie in order, he calculates, to save imperialism as a whole.

Churchill's policy, if carried into effect, means an imperialist war waged against the Soviet Union, "the dozen or more European States" where a new democracy has been established, against the Indian national revolutionaries and the other revolting colonies. To carry through such a programme, in face of the anti-war sentiments of the masses, would mean, in practice, a monopoly-capitalist dictatorship, suppressing and persecuting the working-class movement and restricting free speech and democratic liberty in order to prevent opposition to the mad warmongering plans of the Churchills, Hoovers and Deweys. It would be a war against the toiling people of the whole world, as reactionary in character as Hitler's war against democracy and progress.

Knowing that opposition would come from the labor movement to such a reactionary war, Churchill and his kind try to brand, in advance, the Communists and other progressives as "Fifth Columnists."

Out of monopoly-capitalism already two world wars and innumerable lesser wars have come in a matter of a few decades. It is clear enough that, while monopoly-capitalism and its Hitlers and Churchills dominate powerful countries, the dreadful spectre of new world conflagrations remains ever a peril to mankind. Churchill made it clear he wants his anti-Soviet, anti-people's war soon, while the secret of the atom bomb remains in the hands of the Anglo-American imperialists and can be used to bring the whole world under their domination.

But the conquest of the world is not as easy as Churchill appears to think. Hitler considered his massed Panzer divisions the "atom bomb" that would win his war for him "in a few weeks." The wrecked remains of the Panzers now rust and rot in the fields outside Moscow and Stalingrad and a hundred other battlefields of Europe and Africa.

The American rulers are wary of the Churchill proposals, in their public statements, although the presence of Truman in the chair when Churchill delivered his warmongering tirade of lies and falsifications was significant. If not openly yet, in its essentials, the policy of the Truman government veers toward that of Churchill.

So, too, does the foreign policy of Bevin. Although rejected by the British people at the elections, it is the imperialist foreign policy of Churchill and the Tories that the Labor Cabinet has been pursuing. That represents great danger to world peace. The working-class movement in the English-speaking countries now has to play the major role in the prevention of a new imperialist war by defeating Churchill and the American warmongers and by forcing a change in the policy of the British Labor Government.

The cause of peace is by no means lost; even Churchill, who had to admit that the Soviet Union wants only peace and security and by no means sought war with Britain and the United States, had to modify his remarks by referring to a "settlement." British-Soviet-American co-operation is needed to preserve peace. All true friends of peace will spurn the vicious propaganda lies circulated against the Soviet Union and will see where the real danger lies, namely in the imperialist ambition of reactionary cliques in Britain and the USA, and, acting accordingly, will voice the hatred of the world's toiling people for war and warmongers of the Churchill kind. And democratic humanity is stronger than panzers and atom bombs, however much damage the reactionaries might wreak with them.

STALIN ADDRESSES HIS CONSTITUENTS

Full text of J. V. Stalin's speech delivered in the evening of February 9th, in the Grand Opera House in Moscow, at an electors' meeting of the Stalin district of Moscow.

COMRADES!

Eight years have elapsed since the last elections to the Supreme Soviet. This was a period rich in events of a decisive nature.

The first four years passed in the intense work of the Soviet people for carrying out the Third Five-Year Plan. The following four years comprise the events of the war against the German and Japanese aggressors—the events of the Second World War. The war undoubtedly was the principal event of the past period.

It would be wrong to believe that the Second World War broke out accidentally or as a result of the mistakes of some or other statesmen, though mistakes certainly were made. In reality, the war broke out as an inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces on the basis of modern monopoly capitalism.

Marxists have stated more than once that the capitalist system of world economy conceals in itself the elements of general crisis and military clashes, that in view of this in our time the development of world capitalism takes place not as a smooth and even advance but through crises and war catastrophes. The reason is that the unevenness of the development of capitalist countries usually results, as time passes, in an abrupt disruption of the equilibrium within the world system of capitalism, and that a group of capitalist countries which believes itself to be less supplied with raw materials and markets usually attempts to alter the situation and re-divide the "spheres of influence" in its own favour by means of armed force. This results in the splitting of the capitalist world into two hostile camps and in war between them.

Perhaps the catastrophes of war could be avoided if there existed the possibility of re-distributing periodically raw materials and markets among the countries in accordance with their economic weight—by means of adopting co-ordinated and peaceful decisions. This, however, cannot be accomplished under present capitalist conditions of the development of world economy. Thus the first crisis of the capitalist system of world economy resulted in the First World War, and the second crisis resulted in the Second World War.

This does not mean, of course, that the Second World War was an exact replica of the first. On the contrary, the Second World War substantially differs in its nature from the first.

One should bear in mind that the principal Fascist States—Germany, Japan, Italy—before attacking the Allied countries, had destroyed the last remnants of bourgeois-democratic liberties at home, established a brutal terroristic regime within their countries, trampled underfoot the principle of the sovereignty and free development of small countries, proclaimed that their policy was one of seizure of foreign lands, and declared, for all to hear, that their aim was world domination and the extension of the Fascist regime to the whole world; while by the seizure of Czechoslovakia and the central provinces of China, the Axis States demonstrated that they were ready to carry out their threat concerning the enslavement of all freedom-loving nations.

In view of this, as distinct from the First World War, the Second World War from the very outset assumed the nature of an anti-Fascist war, a war of liberation, one of the tasks of which was also to re-establish democratic liberties. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the Axis States could only strengthen—and actually did strengthen—the anti-Fascist and liberating character of the Second World War. It was on this basis that the anti-Fascist coalition of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and other freedom-loving States took shape, a coalition which later played a decisive part in routing the armed forces of the Axis States. This is how matters stand with regard to the question of the origin and nature of the Second World War.

Now probably everyone agrees that the war indeed was not, and could not have been, an accident in the life of the nations, that it actually turned into a war of the nations for their existence, and that, for this very reason, it could not be a fleeting, lightning war. As to our country, for her the war was the severest and hardest of all the wars our Motherland has ever experienced in her history.

But the war was not only a curse. It was at the same time a great school in which all the forces of the people were tried and tested. The war laid bare all the facts and events in the rear and at the front, it mercilessly tore off all the veils and covers which had concealed the true faces of States, governments, and parties, and placed them on the stage without masks, without embellishments, with all their shortcomings and virtues.

The war set something in the nature of an examination for our Soviet system, our State, our Government, our Communist Party, and summed up the results of their work as if telling us: here they are, your people and organisations, their deeds and days—look at them closely and reward them according to their deserts. This is one of the positive aspects of the war.

For us, for electors, this circumstance is of great significance because it helps us quickly and objectively to assess the work of the Party and of its people and to draw the correct conclusions. At another time it would have been necessary to study the speeches and reports of the Party's representatives, to analyse them, compare their words with their deeds, sum up results and so forth. This involves complex and difficult work, and there is no guarantee that no errors would be made. Matters are different now that the war is over, when the war itself has checked the work of our organisations and leaders and summed up its results. Now it is much easier for us to get at the truth and to arrive at the correct conclusions.

And so, what are the results of the war?

There is one main result which served as a basis for all other results. This result is that at the end of the war the enemies suffered defeat and we, together with our Allies, emerged as victors. We ended the war in complete victory over the enemy — this is the principal result of the war. But this is too general a result, and we cannot stop at that. Of course, to defeat the enemy in a war such as the Second World War, the like of which had never occurred in the history of mankind, means to attain an epoch-making victory. All this is true. Still, all this is a general result, and we cannot rest content with this. To realise the great historical significance of our victory, we must go into this matter more concretely. And so, how should we understand our victory over the enemies, what can this victory mean from the viewpoint of the condition and development of the internal forces of our country?

Our victory means, in the first place, that our Soviet social system has won, that the Soviet social system successfully withstood the trial in the flames of war and proved its perfect viability.

It is well known that the foreign press more than once asserted that the Soviet social system is a "risky experiment" doomed to failure, that the Soviet system is a "house of cards," without any roots in life, imposed upon the people by the organs of the "Cheka," that a slight push from outside would be enough to blow this "house of cards" to smithereens. Now we can say that the war swept away all these assertions of the foreign press as groundless assertions. The war has shown that the Soviet social system is a truly popular system, which has grown from the people and enjoys its powerful support, that the Soviet social system is a perfectly viable and stable form of organisation of society.

More than that, the point is now not whether the Soviet social system is viable or not, since after the objective lessons of the war no single sceptic now ventures to come out with doubts concerning the viability of the Soviet social system. The point now is that the Soviet social system has proved more viable and stable than a non-Soviet social system, that the Soviet social system is a better form of organisation of society than any non-Soviet social system.

Secondly, our victory means that our Soviet State system has won, that our multi-national Soviet State withstood all the trials of war and proved its viability.

It is well known that prominent foreign journalists more than once made statements to the effect that the Soviet multi-national State is an "artificial and non-viable structure," that in the event of any complications collapse of the Soviet Union would be inevitable, that the Soviet Union would share the fate of Austro-Hungary. Now we can say that the war refuted these statements of the foreign press as being utterly groundless. The war has shown that the Soviet multi-national State system successfully passed the test, grew even stronger during the war, and proved to be a perfectly viable State system. Those gentlemen failed to understand that the comparison with Austro-Hungary is fallacious because our multi-national State has grown not on a bourgeois foundation which stimulates feelings of national distrust and national enmity, but on a Soviet foundation which, on the contrary, cultivates feelings of friendship and fraternal co-operation among the peoples of our State.

However, after the lessons of the war, those gentlemen no longer venture to deny the viability of the Soviet State system. The point now is not whether the Soviet State system is viable, for its viability is not to be doubted. The point now is that the Soviet State system proved to be a model of the multi-national State, that the Soviet State system is such a system of State organisation in which the national problem and the problem of co-operation among nations have been solved better than in any other multi-national State.

Thirdly, our victory means that the Soviet armed forces have won, that our Red Army has won, that the Red Army heroically withstood all the adversities of war, utterly routed the armies of our enemies and emerged from the war as victor. Now everyone, both friends and enemies, admit that the Red Army was equal to its great tasks. But the situation was different some six years ago, in the pre-war period.

It is well known that prominent representatives of the foreign press — and many recognised military authorities abroad — repeatedly stated that the condition of the Red Army inspired grave doubts, that the Red Army was poorly armed and had no real commanding personnel, that its morale was beneath criticism, that it might perhaps prove useful in defence but was not fit for an offensive, that in the event of a blow by German troops the Red Army must fall apart like a "colossus with feet of clay." Such assertions were made not in Germany alone but also in France, Britain and America.

Now we can say that the war swept away all these assertions as being groundless and laughable. The war has demonstrated that the Red Army is

no "colossus with feet of clay" but a first-rate Army of our times, possessing quite modern armament, a most experienced commanding personnel and high moral and fighting qualities. One should not forget that the Red Army is that very army which utterly routed the German Army that but yesterday struck terror into the armies of European states.

It should be noted that the number of "critics" of the Red Army keeps dwindling. More than that, the foreign press ever more frequently carries reports noting the high qualities of the Red Army, the skill of its commanders and men, its faultless strategy and tactics. This is quite natural. After the Red Army's brilliant victories at Moscow and Stalingrad, at Kursk and Byelgorod, at Kiev and Kirovograd, at Minsk and Bobruisk, at Leningrad and Tallinn, at Jassy and Lvov, on the Vistula and the Niemen, on the Danube and the Oder, at Vienna and Berlin—after all this one cannot help but admit that the Red Army is a first-rate Army from which one could learn a great deal. This is how we understand concretely the victory of our country over her enemies.

These are the main results of the war.

It would be erroneous to think that such an historic victory could have been achieved without preliminary preparation of the entire country for active defence. It would be no less erroneous to believe that such preparations could have been carried out within a short time, within some three or four years. Still more erroneous would it be to assert that we achieved victory owing solely to the gallantry of our troops. Naturally, without gallantry, it is impossible to achieve victory. But gallantry alone is not sufficient to overpower an enemy possessing a big army, first-rate armament, a well-trained officer corps and a fairly well-organised supply. To meet the blow of such an enemy, to rebuff him and then utterly to defeat him, it was necessary to have besides the unexampled gallantry of our troops, quite modern armament, and in sufficient quantity at that, and a well-organised supply, also in sufficient quantity. But for this purpose it was necessary to have, and in sufficient quantities at that, such elementary things as metal for the production of armaments, equipment, industrial machinery; fuel for the maintenance of the work of factories and transport; cotton for the production of army clothing; bread to supply the army.

Is it possible to assert that before joining the Second World War our country already had at its disposal the necessary minimum of material possibilities in order to satisfy these needs in the main? I believe that we can assert this.

To prepare this colossal accomplishment it was necessary to carry out the three Five-Year Plans of development of the national economy. It was these three Five-Year Plans that helped us to create these material possibilities. In any case, the position of our country in this respect before the Second World War in 1940 was several times better than it had been before the First World War in 1913.

What material possibilities were at the disposal of our country before the Second World War? To help you to get at the truth in this matter, I shall have to give here a short account of the activities of the Communist Party in preparing our country for active defence.

If we take the data for 1940—the eve of the Second World War—and compare them with the data for 1913—the eve of the First World War—we get the following picture:—

In 1913 our country produced 4,220,000 tons of pig iron, 4,230,000 tons of steel, 29,000,000 tons of coal, 9,000,000 tons of oil, 21,600,000 tons of marketable grain, 740,000 tons of raw cotton. Such were the material possibilities of our country with which she joined the First World War. This was the economic basis of the old Russia which could be used for waging war.

As to 1940, in that year our country produced:—15,000,000 tons of pig iron, that is, nearly four times as much as in 1913; 18,300,000 tons of steel, that is, four and a half times as much as in 1913; 166,000,000 tons of coal, that is, five and a half times as much as in 1913; 31,000,000 tons of oil, that is, three and a half times as much as in 1913; 38,300,000 tons of marketable grain, that is, 17,000,000 tons more than in 1913; 2,700,000 tons of raw cotton, that is, three and a half times as much as in 1913.

Such were the material possibilities of our country with which she joined the Second World War. Such was the economic basis of the Soviet Union which could be used for waging the war.

The difference is tremendous, as you see. Such an unexampled growth of production cannot be regarded as a simple and ordinary development of a country from backwardness to progress. This was a leap by means of which our Motherland turned from a backward into an advanced country, from an agrarian into an industrial country.

This historic transformation was carried out within the three Five Year Plans beginning with 1928—the first year of the First Five-Year Plan. Until that time we had had to engage in the restoration of destroyed industry and in healing the wounds received as a result of the First World War and the Civil War. If we consider, besides, that the First Five-Year Plan was carried out in four years, and that the work on the Third Five-Year Plan was interrupted by the war in the fourth year of its execution, we shall see that it took only about 13 years to convert our country from an agrarian into an industrial country. One cannot help admitting that 13 years is an unbelievably short time for accomplishing such a tremendous task.

It is this that essentially explains why the publication of these figures at the time evoked a storm of contradictory comment in the foreign press. Friends decided that a "miracle" had taken place. As to ill-wishers, they declared that the Five-Year Plans were "Bolshevik propaganda" and "tricks of the Cheka." But since miracles do not happen and the Cheka is not strong enough to abolish the laws of the development of society, "public opinion" abroad had to reconcile itself to the facts.

What was the policy which enabled the Communist Party to secure these material possibilities in the country within such a short time?

In the first place, it was the Soviet policy of industrialisation of the country. The Soviet method of industrialisation of the country radically differs from the capitalist method of industrialisation. In capitalist countries, industrialisation usually begins with light industry. Since light industry requires smaller investments, since the turnover of capital is quicker and the profits are made more easily than in heavy industry, it is light industry that becomes there the first object of industrialisation. Only after a long period during which light industry accumulates profits and concentrates them in banks, only then comes the turn of heavy industry and there begins a gradual transfer of accumulated profits into heavy industry in order to create the conditions for its development. But this is a lengthy process, requiring a long period of several decades, during which it is necessary to wait until light industry develops and to vegetate without heavy industry.

Naturally, the Communist Party could not adopt this path. The Party knew that the war was coming, that it was impossible to defend the country without heavy industry, that it was necessary as quickly as possible to tackle the development of heavy industry, that to be late in this matter meant to lose. The Party remembered Lenin's words that without heavy industry it is impossible to uphold the country's independence, that without it the Soviet system may fall. Therefore, the Communist Party of our country rejected the "usual" way of industrialisation and began the industrialisation of the country with the development of heavy industry. This was very difficult but feasible. Of great help in this matter was the nationalisation of industry and the banks which permitted the quick gathering and transfer of funds into heavy industry. It is beyond doubt that without this it would have been impossible to achieve the transformation of our country into an industrial country within such a short time.

Secondly, it was the policy of collectivisation of Agriculture.

In order to put an end to the backwardness of our agriculture and give the country more marketable grain, more cotton, etc., it was necessary to pass from small peasant farming to large-scale farming, because only a large farm is able to use new machinery, to take advantage of all the achievements of agronomic science and to yield more marketable produce.

There are, however, two kinds of large farms—capitalist and collective. The Communist Party could not adopt the capitalist path of development of agriculture, and not as a matter of principle alone but also because it implies too prolonged a development and involves preliminary ruination of the peasants and their transformation into farm hands. Therefore, the Communist Party took the path of the collectivisation of agriculture, the path of creating large-scale farming by uniting peasant farms into collective farms. The method of collectivisation proved a highly progressive method not only because it did not involve the ruination of the peasants but especially because it permitted, within a few years, the covering of the entire country with large collective farms which are able to use new machinery, take advantage of all the achievements of agronomic science and give the country greater quantities of marketable produce. There is no doubt that without the policy of collectivisation we would not have been able to put an end to the age-old backwardness of our agriculture within such a short time.

One cannot say that the Party's policy did not encounter resistance. Not only backward people, who always shun everything new, but also many prominent Party members systematically pulled the Party back and in every way tried to drag it on to the "usual" capitalist path of development. All the anti-Party machinations of Trotskyites and the Right, all their "work" in sabotaging the measures of our Government, pursued a single aim:—to thwart the Party's policy and to retard the cause of industrialisation and collectivisation. But the Party did not succumb either to the threats of some or to the howling of others, and confidently marched forward despite everything. It is to the Party's credit that it did not adapt itself to the backward elements, was not afraid of swimming against the stream and always preserved its position of the leading force. There can be no doubt that without this staunchness and perseverance the Communist Party would not have been able to uphold the policy of the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture.

Did the Communist Party succeed in utilising correctly the material possibilities thus created in order to develop war production and supply the Red Army with the necessary armament? I believe that it succeeded in accomplishing that, and accomplished it with the utmost success.

Leaving out of account the first year of the war, when the evacuation of industry to the East retarded the development of war production, in the remaining three years of the war the Party succeeded in rising to such achievements as enabled it not only to supply the front with sufficient quantities of ordnance, machine-guns, rifles, aircraft, tanks, ammunition, but also to build up reserves. And it is known that our armaments, far from being inferior to German

arms, even surpassed them in quality. It is known that during the last three years of the war our tank-building industry annually built on an average more than 30,000 tanks, self-propelled guns and armored cars. It is also known that our aircraft industry in the same period produced annually up to 40,000 planes. It is also known that in the same period our ordnance industry built annually up to 120,000 guns of all calibres, up to 450,000 light and heavy machine-guns, more than 3,000,000 rifles and nearly 2,000,000 tommy-guns. Lastly, it is known that in the period 1942-44 our mortar industry manufactured annually on an average up to 100,000 mortars. Naturally, corresponding quantities of artillery shells, mines of various kinds, aviation bombs, rifle and machine-gun cartridges were produced simultaneously. It is known, for instance, that in 1944 alone more than 240,000,000 shells, bombs and mines, and 7,400,000,000 cartridges were manufactured.

Such is the general picture of the supply of the Red Army with arms and ammunition. As you see, it does not resemble the picture of the supply of our Army during the First World War when the front experienced a chronic shortage of ordnance and shells, when the Army fought without tanks or aviation, when one rifle was issued for every three soldiers. As to the supply of the Red Army with provisions and clothing, it is universally known that, far from suffering any shortages in this respect, the front even had the necessary reserves on the spot.

This is how matters stand as regards the work of the Communist Party of our country in the period before the war and during the war.

Now a few words concerning the plans for the work of the Communist Party in the near future. As is well known, these plans are set forth in the new Five-Year Plan, which is to be approved shortly. The main tasks of the new Five-Year Plan are to restore the afflicted districts of the country, to restore industry and agriculture to their pre-war level and then to exceed this level to a more or less considerable degree. Not to mention the fact that the ration card system will be abolished in the near future, special attention will be given to the extension of production of consumer goods, to raising the standard of living of the working people by means of the steady reduction of the prices of all commodities and to extensive construction of scientific research institutes of all kinds which will enable science to deploy its forces. I do not doubt that if we render proper assistance to our scientists they will be able not only to come level with, but even to surpass, in the near future, the achievements of science beyond the boundaries of our country.

As to plans for a longer period, our Party intends to organise a new powerful upsurge of the national economy which would enable us, for instance, to raise the level of our industry threefold as compared with the pre-war level. We must achieve a situation wherein our industry is able to produce annually up to 50,000,000 tons of pig iron, up to 60,000,000 tons of steel, up to 500,000,000 tons of coal, up to 60,000,000 tons of oil. Only under such conditions can we regard our country as guaranteed against any accidents. This will require perhaps three new Five-Year Plans, if not more. But this task can be accomplished, and we must accomplish it.

Such is my brief account of the activities of the Communist Party in the recent past and of its plans for work in the future. It is for you to judge how correctly the Party worked, and is working now, and whether it could not have worked better.

They say that victors may not be judged, that they should not be criticised or controlled. This is wrong. Victors may and must be judged, they may and must be criticised and controlled. This is useful not only for the work but for the victors themselves: there will be less presumption, there will be more modesty.

I believe that the election campaign is the judgment of the Communist Party as the ruling Party by the electors. And the result of the elections will signify the verdict returned by the electors. The Communist Party of our country would be worth little were it afraid of criticism, of a check-up. The Communist Party is ready to accept the electors' verdict.

The Communist Party does not march alone in the election struggle. It goes to the elections in a bloc with the non-Party people. In past times the Communists treated non-Party people and being non-Party with a certain distrust. This was due to the fact that the non-Party banner not infrequently was used as a cover by various bourgeois groups which found it to their disadvantage to appear before the electors without a mask.

Thus it was in the past. But now we are living in different times. Non-Party people are now separated from the bourgeoisie by a barrier called the Soviet social system. The same barrier has united non-Party people with Communists in one common team of Soviet citizens. Living in a common team, they struggled together to enhance the might of our country, they fought and shed blood together at the fronts in the name of the freedom and greatness of our country, they were forging and forged together victory over the enemies of our country. The only difference between them is that some belong to the Party while others do not. But this is a formal difference. What is important is that both are working for the same common cause. Therefore, the bloc of Communists and non-Party people is a natural and vital thing.

In conclusion, allow me to thank you for the trust you have extended to me, by nominating me a candidate to the Supreme Soviet. You need not doubt that I shall try to justify your trust.

(All rise. Prolonged, unabating applause turning into an ovation. From all parts of the hall come cheers: "Long live our great Stalin! Hurrah!" "Hurrah for the great leader of the peoples!" "Glory to the great Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Stalin, the candidate of the entire nation!" "Glory to Comrade Stalin, the creator of all our victories!"

[We would draw readers' attention to Stalin's remarks about the anti-fascist and liberation character of the Second World War and the period to which he refers. The Soviet leader defines it in the sentence: "If we take the data for 1940—the eve of the Second World War—and compare them with the data for 1913. . ." (P. 102).—Editor.]

DEVELOPMENTS ON THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT

E. J. ROWE.

IT is now more than six months from V.P. Day, and February 15, "dead-line" date for the Labor Government to do something positive about the demands of the Trade Unions for the 40-hour week and higher wages, has been passed.

In the weeks immediately preceding this date some feverish activity was displayed by the Government, not towards granting the 40-hour week, but rather towards convincing the Trade Union Movement that its demand for legislation for this desirable reform under its External Affairs powers was neither practicable nor legally tenable. Discussion took place between the A.C.T.U., the Minister for Labor, and the Attorney-General, at which this viewpoint, plus a number of opinions from legal luminaries, was impressed upon the Unions, all with the aim of having the matter referred to and decided by the Arbitration Court with the "favourable intervention" of the Government. The Unions, mindful of the A.C.T.U. Congress decision that the 40 hours could and should be implemented by legislation, still pressed for this.

The Government, in order to manoeuvre the Unions towards the Court, moved in and intervened in the case for the 40-hour week then before it from the Printing Trades Unions. The Court then obligingly adjourned the case to allow "any other interested parties" to intervene and the employers immediately announced their intention to do so. The Labor Government had faced the Unions with a fait accompli. Finally the A.C.T.U. full Executive, after a further discussion with the Prime Minister on February 21, decided to accept the Government proposals that the Unions should submit the matter to the Court and this decision has now been endorsed by the necessary State Labor Councils.

The Communist Party sharply criticises this capitulation to legalism by the Government. We point out that if the Chifley Government had acted courageously and legislated for the 40-hour week both the Government and its decision would have been defended so vigorously by the workers as to make it most difficult for any legal jugglery to deprive us of such a gain. Reaction could have been driven back.

However, the matter is now in court and the task of the Communist Party and the workers generally is to see that the case is not buried under legal argument and "drawn out" in the time-honoured way the Court has of evading the demands of the workers. Secondly, we must see that there is no "piece-meal" decision, allowing some industries that can "afford" it the shorter week and denying it to others. It must have immediate and national application. The first 44 hours decision was given in 1926 and even today, twenty years later, some Unions are still battling to have their week reduced from 48 to 44 hours.

But the A.C.T.U. Executive resolution contains some positive starting points that must be taken up by us and the workers mobilised around them. These are:—

(1) "That the Commonwealth Government be requested to introduce a 40-hour week for all its employees by Administrative Act."

(2) "That each State Trades and Labor Council approach their respective State Governments that they intervene in the Commonwealth Arbitration Court proceedings intimating their desire that the Court should grant a 40-hour week and will apply a 40-hour week by Administrative Act to all their employees."

We must organise the utmost pressure upon the Federal and State Labor Governments to ensure that this decision is implemented immediately and must refuse to accept any arguments from State Governments about "penalising one State," or about "waiting for the Court." If it is implemented, and there is no barrier to it, we would have gaps in the "hours front" through which the workers would pour and materially "assist" the Court to arrive at a rapid and favourable decision.

The A.C.T.U. Executive also decided that on the Sunday before the Court hearing mass demonstrations must be held throughout Australia, organised by the Labor Councils. These demonstrations must be made a success, but if certain gentry then expect the workers to sit down and await the Court's decision following them they must be disillusioned. We must organise a mass campaign of job meetings, Union rallies, short stop-work meetings and, if necessary, sharp strike action. The employers and the Press will endeavour to prove to the Court "the inability of industry to afford 40 hours—must have increased production.

etc." The workers must not depend on statistical replies from Union advocates but, from the mass campaign outside, intervene and penetrate the legal arguments with their insistence on the 40-hour week. And remember, the workers do not need any long legal argument or statistical calculation to convince them a 40-hour week is necessary.

But there has emerged from these A.C.T.U. discussions a dangerously negative development. For the Communist Party and the workers the shorter working week has an even more important corollary. Alongside it must go an increase in the pay envelopes of the workers. Up to date both the Court and the employers have side-stepped the demand for increased wages by pointing to the Economic Organisation (wage-pegging) Regulations. It is significant that in his discussions with the A.C.T.U. Executive, the Prime Minister gave them an assurance that these Regulations would be amended to allow the Court to grant the 40-hour week. This means that the Government intends to maintain the pegging of wages and therefore intends to resist the demands of the Unions for £1 per week increase in the basic wage. This is in direct contradiction to the demands of the workers.

With the abolition of overtime and a return to "normal" wage envelopes, the drop in real wages that has taken place due to rising prices during the war is painfully obvious to the workers and they want something done about it now. It is the job of the Communist Party, in its role of organising and mobilising the workers, to see that the £1 increase in the basic wage is brought sharply to the front. After all, every worker knows that the £1 increase would in reality constitute a very small increase, but would in fact be merely restoring to him purchasing power that rising prices have deprived him of. It is an immediate demand and by no means the last word on wages. And because it is immediate, we must raise it insistently and organise the workers around it. We must endorse also the A.C.T.U. decision to incorporate in the basic wage the war and prosperity loadings and make them subject to adjustment to the cost of living. To do this therefore the Government must abolish those sections of the Regulations which are today being used to prevent wage increases.

So we must link the question of wage increases very closely to the campaign for the 40-hour week and impress upon the Government and the Court the determination of the workers to achieve both.

Powerful strike movements of the workers everywhere in the capitalist world are basing themselves on the demand for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions in the factories. And already they have registered great victories which have strengthened the Unions and the workers generally. Australia must prove no exception to this.

The right wing in the Labor Movement, sensing the movement of the workers, and afraid of it, is launching vicious attacks upon our Party and progressive Trade Union leaders. Clearly the struggle to win such demands as increased wages and the shorter working week has the support of the huge majority of the workers and in the campaign around them we can give real application to the slogan put forth by our Central Committee—"To the Masses." But we can do it too upon the basis of the widest united front of the workers and in the process deal powerful blows at the small group of reformist right wing gangsters who today are "sparring for time" in order to prevent the workers from developing struggle that will ensure the rapid success of the drive for higher wages and shorter hours.

AMERICAN COMMUNISTS EXPEL BROWDER

(Statement of the National Board on Earl Browder, adopted February 5, 1946.)

THE National Board, by unanimous action, has decided to recommend to the National Committee the expulsion of Earl Browder from the ranks of the Communist Party.

In the six months since the National Convention, which repudiated Browder's revisionism and reconstituted our Party on Marxist-Leninist foundations, Earl Browder has continuously resisted the programme and decisions of the Convention and has steadily turned from obstructive passivity to active opposition to the political line and leadership of the Party. He has violated his pledge to the National Convention to place himself at the disposal of the Party and, by refusing to accept any assignment from the Party, has violated Party discipline and deserted Communist duties and responsibilities. He has carried on factional activity and a campaign of unprincipled attacks against the leadership of our Party and of our brother French Party. Finally, in violation of elementary discipline and responsibility consonant with membership in the Party, he has established a journal of "economic analyses" which serves him as a political organ to expound his revisionist policy and to combat the general line of the Party.

The decision of the National Board to recommend the expulsion of Browder is based on the following considerations:

(1) Earl Browder's conduct from the time of the Convention to the National Committee meeting of November. At that meeting, in the report of the National Board submitted by Comrade Eugene Dennis, Browder's conduct was thus characterised:

> "Unfortunately, after the Convention, Comrade Browder repudiated his pledge to the National Convention; he did not and does not accept the programme or decisions of the Convention; he remains aloof from all or any Party responsibility; and, further, at the hearings of the House un-American Committee, Browder adopted an equivocal attitude, assumed the role of a 'private citizen' and failed to utilize various opportunities actively to defend the policies and the line of the Party. Browder's position compromises the Party; it acts as a millstone on the Party; it has fostered passivity, has confused and demobilized certain comrades and has impaired the unity of our Party. It is clear that Browder's persistence in this position will be incompatible with his further membership in our party."

(2) Browder's anti-Party conduct from the National Committee meeting to date. In the space of these three months Browder refused to heed the repeated warnings of the National Board and National Committee. Instead he has passed over from being a passive oppositionist to an active opponent of the Party. This is evident, among other things, by the following facts:

(a) After the National Committee meeting in November, 1945, and without the Party's approval, Browder embarked on a "business" undertaking, the publication of **Distributors Guide, Inc.** This is an organ of expression in which he acts as an advisor to Big Business, along a political line that coincides with the interests of the employers and of American imperialism. In this publication, Browder presents a political platform in which he has developed his revisionism of Marxism to an open defence of American imperialism and unreserved support for the entire policy of the Truman Administration, including its imperialist course in foreign affairs. Through this publication, which is a weapon of struggle with which he opposes and attacks the political line of the Party, Browder is working to establish contact, not only with various members in the Party and with trade union leaders in this country, but also with leaders of brother Parties in this hemisphere.

(b) During the past two weeks it has been called to the attention of the National Board that Browder has further violated Party principles and discipline. He has endeavored to broaden his contacts with individual members and sympathizers of the Party; and in these conversations Browder arrogantly defends his anti-Marxist position and views, attacks the political line and decisions of the Party, slanders Comrade Foster and the entire national leadership, and attempts to involve certain comrades in his anti-Party conspiracy.

(c) Browder refused to meet with the National Secretariat on January 29 to answer questions of fact relevant to the above. However, he did meet subsequently with the executive committee of the Yonkers Communist Club and submitted a letter addressed to all members of the Communist Party. In this letter he again slanders and misrepresents the line and actions of the Party and advances a new document as a basis for waging a factional struggle within the Party.

(d) Further, at the meeting of the National Board on February 5, where Browder was given a hearing to reply to the specific charges preferred against him for his expulsion — Browder cynically refused to reply to the charges or to answer any questions. He challenged the authority of the Board to ask him oral questions. Indifferent to his membership in the Party, and confronted with concrete evidence of his disloyalty to the Party, of his violation of Party principles and discipline — Browder resorted to the cheap trick of a petti-fogging lawyer. He tried to stall for time and stated that he would only reply to questions which were submitted to him in writing and after he had extended time to prepare a written document that obviously would be used to serve his factional and anti-Party purposes. Browder did not have the forthrightness and honesty to answer the questions concerning irrefutable and damaging facts which were directed to him.

For these and related acts detrimental to the interests and welfare of the Party, Browder has placed himself outside the ranks of the Communist Party and the working class movement. He has forsaken the right to belong to the Party and must be expelled forthwith.

All members of our Party will understand that the struggle against Browder and Browderism has entered a new stage. It is no longer a struggle against a member of, or a trend in the Party and in the labor movement. It is now a struggle against an active opponent of the Party, against an enemy-class ideology and platform. Browder's desertion and his political warfare against our Party, against Marxism-Leninism, will be answered by the unity of the entire Party and of all advanced workers to drive his ideology and influence out of the working class movement.

Our Party and its leadership have resolutely and honestly worked to rectify our previous mistakes and our former erroneous political line. Our Party has been reorganized and strengthened by the action of the National Convention and by the subsequent development of the Party's political line in the November meeting of the National Committee. It is today in the process of consolidation after passing through the great crisis precipitated under the leadership of Browder. In breaking with Browder's revisionist and liquidationist policies which were destroying the moral-political fibre of our Communist organization, the Party, revitalized with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is today increasingly coming forward with deepened power and clarity to bring the principles of Marxism-Leninism to guide the working class in the course of the epic struggles it is now waging.

By carrying on with strengthened determination an uncompromising fight against Browderism,

against opportunism as well as Left sectarianism, and all traces of enemy class ideology, the Communist Party as well as the entire working class movement will equip itself to meet the great tasks of today and tomorrow.

NATIONAL BOARD: William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson, Robert Thompson, Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Josh Lawrence, Steve Nelson, Irving Potash, Jack Stachel, Louis Weinstock.

METHOD OF SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM

Science Committee, ACP.

SINCE the publication of John O'Donnell's article "Recent Events in Science" in the December "Communist Review," a number of criticisms both of statements made in it, and of the method of treatment of the subject, have come before the Australian Communist Party Science Committee. A careful study of these, and of the article under discussion, reveals considerable weaknesses on both sides.

There is no disagreement with Comrade O'Donnell's conclusions that if the use of science for progress is to be assured, science and the scientist must become an integral part of the labor movement; and that the continued control of science by the capitalist class presents a growing menace to the world. It is also true that recent scientific developments make more urgent the recognition of these facts.

The main grounds on which the article has been criticised are that the content is confused, the presentation anarchic, that jargon and irrelevant quotations replace adequate explanation, and that in consequence the article " . . . can only result in Marxism being held in contempt by students and scientists."

We consider that the criticism on the ground of confusion of content is justified. The first portion of the article, which finishes near the end of the second page, deals with one aspect of radioactivity, the atomic bomb; the second part deals with an unrelated aspect of radioactivity, namely its use in biochemical research. There is no apparent reason why these two, and not some quite different aspects of the subject, should have been combined in one article. Secondly, Comrade O'Donnell speaks of certain "critical questions for science and philosophy," but neither formulates these questions clearly nor offers a solution.

In his attempt to discuss subjects which are admittedly difficult of popular presentation, the author has been forced into considerable oversimplification. Thus his account of the development of the atomic bomb involves so arbitrary a selection of data that it is neither accurate nor connected. In a theoretical article of this kind, it is more important that the development of the bomb is seen arising from the general problems of nuclear research, than as the product of the work of a few "great men." Critical advances have indeed been made by the workers cited by Comrade O'Donnell, as well as by other workers not cited. The co-operative nature of the research which resulted in the production of the bomb is not emphasised. Yet it is a striking example of the effectiveness of planned science, and flatly contradicts the reactionary arguments that this branch of human activity cannot be effectively planned.

Furthermore, he has allowed a number of errors to creep in—barium, a product of nuclear disruption, is a powerful poison, and is confused with bismuth as the basis of digestive powders; the processes of nuclear transformation are also inaccurately described; the neutron is dealt with in a mechanical, undialectical manner.

The atomic bomb is certainly one of the greatest scientific achievements of man. However, we consider that the political problems which it raises are far more important than any philosophical ones. The inability of capitalism to use its discoveries for the benefit of mankind becomes in this instance a direct and increasing threat to the lives of a considerable fraction of the earth's population. This crisis can only be resolved by the world victory of socialism. The production of the bomb certainly provides many new and startling illustrations of dialectical processes in nature, adding further evidence for the correctness of Marxist views. It also deals a profound blow at the idealist philosophers, scientific and otherwise, who denied the reality of matter on the ground that sub-atomic particles were mere mathematical conventions.

Ill-defined discussion of the existence of this or that crisis in science, and other branches of culture, is unfortunately too frequent. The day-to-day progress of science is made up of a series of minor crises, which arise whenever a new fact overturns a current hypothesis. Occasionally, unexplained facts accumulate over a long period; the theory with which they conflict is deeply entrenched in a number of branches of science. The conflict then attracts much more attention, and its resolution may have far-reaching consequences. As examples of such nodal points in modern science we might take the theory of relativity, the quantum theory, the development of nuclear physics, and the recognition of the mechanism of biological inheritance.

The prevailing ideology of the epoch, as it affects both scientist and layman, is a powerful factor in the ease with which such revolutions in theory are accepted. On the philosophical level, Marxism can facilitate the understanding and acceptance of new theories, just as in the struggle for socialism, the Communist Party becomes a "midwife for history." A profound "crisis" for bourgeois philosophy may present no difficulties for the Marxist, while Marxism may recognise nodal points in the progress of science which are ignored by bourgeois philosophy. The relationship of any branch of culture to the mode of production of the epoch is a problem which calls for better treatment from Marxists than the mere assertion that "the crisis in science is an aspect of the crisis of capitalism."

In the light of these remarks, we do not consider that the production of the atomic bomb raises critical questions for either Marxist philosophy or for the bourgeois sciences, but that it is the anticipated outcome of the development of theoretical physics over the past two decades.

In his account of the use of radioactive isotopes in biology, Comrade O'Donnell has indulged in considerable exaggeration. It is true that in some cases, these substances enable us to investigate chemical processes in the body more easily than before. But the technique (not really new, by the way) is only one example of the use of "labelled" trace substances, which has gone on for many years. It certainly does not supplant the earlier methods, nor the methods of conventional biochemistry, but is supplementary to them. It is doubtful whether it constitutes any more a "revolution" than many another new technique.

We must also uphold the criticism on the ground of anarchic presentation. There are many places in the article where consecutive sentences have no relationship to one another, and appear as mere notes having some bearing on the general topic under discussion. It is true that the collection of notes appearing in Engels' work **Dialectics of Nature** is in parts equally disjointed, but in this case publication took place after the author's death, and much of the material had never been completed. We suggest to Comrade O'Donnell that while this may be unavoidable in a posthumous work, it is certainly undesirable in an article in the "Communist Review."

Concerning jargon and quotations, we find the author guilty in part, but we cannot agree with some of the views expressed by the critics. There has grown up in the literature of Marxism a terminology which, if properly used, expresses the intended meaning clearly and succinctly. We see no reason for avoiding the use of such words, phrases, or methods of expression. The term "dialectical level" to which the critics object, is an example. It is true that to the Marxist, the term "level" would be sufficient; but to non-Marxists this word may have a variety of different meanings. It is therefore necessary to qualify it to indicate that it is being used in the particular sense required by dialetical materialism. The term refers to the stages of complexity and organisation which matter undergoes in its transition from the subatomic, through the atomic, molecular, colloidal, living and thinking, to the social condition. The term "integrative level" is used in a similar sense by some scientists.

However, simply to formulate a process in Marxist terminology does not lead us far. It merely provides a further illustration of dialectical processes in nature, which Engels showed long ago to be quite a general law. For dialectics to be the same powerful tool in science that it is in politics, it is necessary to recognise that its laws assume a specific form appropriate to the dialectical level concerned, and are in fact the correctly formulated "scientific" laws. The generalised laws of dialectics can therefore no more replace the specific analysis of a particular branch of science than they can render superfluous Marx's **Capital.**

The author should be criticised not so much for his use of certain expressions and quotations, as for his failure to use them **effectively.** The fact that to some readers, the quotations appeared "irrelevant" indicates that they were not properly woven into the argument. It is of course true that some phrases, such as changes occurring in a "real" manner, have no place in such an article, as they confuse rather than clarify the meaning.

It is imperative that what is written shall be fully comprehensible to everyone, but we believe in addition that the content is of greater importance than the form.

Finally, despite these criticisms, it is most important not to lose sight of what Comrade O'Donnell has set out to do, nor of his main conclusions. The task of examining the political and philosophical consequences of his own science is one which most Communist scientists have failed to undertake. Perhaps if they devote some attention to problems of this nature, they will be able to assist in preventing the type of errors which have been discussed.

NOTE ON ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA.

Trotsky's article on "Bolshevism," mentioned in the article, "Need to Revise Webster's Dictionary," in last month's issue, appeared in the 12th edition. In the latest edition, the 14th, the article is supplied by Prof. H. Laski, equally implacable, in his own way, in his opposition to the theory and practice of Bolshevism.

ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS

N. BALTIISKY.

(From "New Times," December 15, 1945).

PART II

CERTAIN extremely prominent public personages in Great Britain and America have lately been stressing the importance of free information for the promotion of international co-operation. Indeed, if information is truthful and free from editorial tendentiousness, it undoubtedly promotes the development of friendly relations between nations. But what if the information is false and tendentious? What if it is deliberately disseminated for the purpose of disrupting international co-operation?

How can one talk seriously about free information and fail to say anything about guarantees against the extremely pernicious practice of falsifying international information? And yet, there are men who by the very positions they occupy cannot but be aware that certain press representatives and news agencies resort to this pernicious practice, but who nevertheless pretend, in their public statements, that all these "informers" are solely engaged in a quest for the pure and unadulterated truth. They say, for example, that the common people in all countries need the independent information of journalists who possess "the necessary training" for this work. Training is, of course, necessary in every profession; but where is the guarantee that a professionally trained correspondent, knowing that his employer is expecting tendentious information from him, and that the actual facts do not warrant such information, will not manufacture the wanted information? Does not experience show that many newspapers and news agencies readily disseminate such deliberately false information without ever taking the trouble to verify the facts?

Why is it that to this day the British and American advocates of "international freedom of the press" stubbornly avoid discussing this aspect of the question? Can they count on the glaring instances of misleading and downright false information escaping public attention? Many such cases have occurred in recent times. We have already quoted concrete instances of fabrications published in the foreign press, all of a character that can be explained by no other motive than that of desiring to disrupt peaceful, harmonious co-operation among the United Nations. In view of the exceptional importance of this question, we deem it necessary to quote a number of other examples of the same type.

To begin: The New York **Daily Mirror** published the false assertion that the Franco-Soviet pact of mutual assistance contains a "secret clause" approving of French freedom of action in the West and of Soviet freedom of action in the East. It is not difficult to understand that the circulation of this falsehood could have had only one purpose: to rouse suspicion in America and Great Britain against the Soviet Union and France.

We may be told that it is no use expecting a truthful statement of facts from a newspaper like the **Daily Mirror,** one of the Hearst publications, because it is not a serious political organ. Well, then, we shall take another example—an important organ like the **New York Herald-Tribune.** In its issue of August 15, 1945, that newspaper published a report sent in by Murrow, the London correspondent of the Columbia Broadcasting Company, to the effect that Soviet official circles believe that a representative of the Red Army should be the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces of Occupation in Japan, and that the Soviet government had submitted a demand to this effect to the United States government. This was a sheer fabrication. Did not that correspondent understand that his fabrication was detrimental to friendly relations between the American and the Soviet people? Of course he did. He understood that perfectly well: does he not possess "the necessary training"? But how explain the fact that an important newspaper failed to understand it, or, if it did understand, deemed it necessary to release this poisoned arrow?

Take the next example. Recently, certain exceptionally astute crooks operating under the name of Agence d'Edition et de Presse, a French news agency, concocted sensational news about instructions alleged to have been received by A. A. Gromyko, the Soviet ambassador who is taking part in the work of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organisation in London. These "instructions" were said to require the following: to oppose the proposal for a meeting of the Big Three; to propose that the occupation of Germany be terminated no later than January 1, 1949; to insist on the setting up of a Control Commission for the Far East, similar to the Control Council operating in Germany. In all, there were eight points, all pure invention. It must be clear to everyone that the object of the news agency referred to in fabricating and distributing this forgery was to poison the international atmosphere and, in particular, to cause a rift among the Three Great Powers. But some French newspapers (**Paris Matin,** and others) are so enamoured of this sordid tendency that they published the obviously slanderous statement on November 13, 1945, without the slightest qualms of conscience.

On the Polish question the reactionary newspapers had already circulated such a multitude of fabrications during the war that they now find it difficult to think up anything new. But necessity is the mother of invention for the slanderer, too, and so, on October 17, 1945, Larry Allen, Warsaw Correspondent of the Associated Press, reported a "second occupation of Poland by the Red Army." Mr. Cooper's agency circulated this malicious lie all over the world. It was caught up with particular zest and inflated by certain Paris newspapers. In **L'Aurore** of October 18, Dominique Prado wrote:

> "Yesterday, Poland, which has been a fictitious state up to now, actually became a Soviet Socialist Republic. Yesterday, the Red Flag was hoisted over Warsaw, Cracow and fifteen other cities . . ."

He was seconded by Charles Dumas in the central organ of the Socialist Party of France with the statement that "it is a matter of the occupation by the Red Army of all the principal cities of Poland . . ."

Several days later the slanderers tacitly dropped this whopper about a "second occupation of Poland" and went back to their routine petty fabrications, such as that the Soviet Union is confiscating UNRRA goods in Poland, plundering her farmers, driving off her cattle, and so forth. Brant, the **Chicago Sun's** correspondent in Poland, got so fed up with this ceaseless mendacity that on November 17 he openly confessed:—

> "These accusations are heard solely outside of Poland. Even the Soviet Union's bitterest critics in Poland do not indulge in such accusations. This falsehood is particularly cruel and dangerous because it will cause the Poles to starve to death if UNRRA supplies to Poland cease, or are reduced."

The apprehensions Brant here expresses are quite legitimate, particularly in the light of the well-known decision of the United States House of Representatives to prohibit the use of UNRRA funds in countries where representatives of the American press do not enjoy unlimited freedom of action.

Our readers will probably remember that Mr. Cooper, Associate Executive Director of the Associated Press, is fond of talking about the specifically American conception of freedom of the press as distinct from the Soviet conception. It is difficult to believe, however, that the American conception allows freedom to slander; and we absolutely refuse to believe that Americans really advocate such an abuse of freedom of the press. Probably only Mr. Cooper and those who think like him adopt such an attitude. It was they who demanded uncontrolled freedom of action in Poland; and when their representatives arrived there we got the following specimen of journalism:—

On October 22nd, 1945, the Associated Press circulated a false report from its Sofia correspondent about big Soviet troop manoeuvres, alleged to be taking place along the Bulgarian-Turkish frontier. There were no manoeuvres, of course; but the Associated Press piece of slick trickery was disseminated as "reliable news" among millions of newspaper readers in Europe, America and Australia, and gave numerous newspapers the pretext for expressing alarm at the alleged danger of "Soviet aggression" against Turkey.

Is it not obvious that mendacity and calumniation of this kind may be more effective and dangerous means of poisoning the international atmosphere than open calls for a "new war"? To-day, the peoples, more opposed to war than they have ever been before, react very sharply against such criminal calls when they appear in the pro-fascist press of American and certain Catholic newspapers in Great Britain. And when a fellow like Yalcin in Turkey calls upon the Anglo-Saxons to drop atomic bombs on the heads of the Balkan peoples, or when that British general-fascist Fuller writes that "war is essential to the health of civilisation" and, therefore, "should an enemy not exist, he will have to be created," the broad public undoubtedly turns away from them as from people possessed by the devil. Consequently, the shrewder of those who pursue an imperialist policy now refrain from speaking as openly as that; they try to shatter the unity of the peace-loving nations that was established during the war in round-about ways, and step by step to prepare the ground for unleashing international conflicts.

We must not lose sight of this if we want to understand the hidden political significance of the cunningly fabricated "news" with which the saboteurs of stable peace are operating to-day. They are not attacking the idea of peace. Perish the thought! They are "impartial observers." They do not incite anybody against anybody. They merely provide the public with "News." But a definite part of the "news" they distribute is false; not stupidly false, but impregnated with political calumny, which has a far more potent effect upon the credulous public than any open incitement.

The more adroit of the hawkers of false news always endeavour to link up their calumnies with topics of the day in which the public is displaying a lively interest. Characteristic in this respect is the appearance lately of a species of political calumny which might be called atomic calumny. For example, in the beginning of September the **Washington Post** published a fabricated statement to the effect that three years ago, by order of the Soviet government, shares were bought in the uranium mines in Canada, as a consequence of which the Canadian government nationalised these

mines. On November 16 the French newspaper **Epoque** published a repoit to the effect that Joliot-Curie, the celebrated French scientist, who is investigating nuclear energy, "went to Moscow in a Russian aeroplane on the invitation of the Russian government." "This journey," the newspaper went on to say insinuatingly, "is being closely watched in London and in Washington . . ." The French Ministry of Education was obliged to issue a public statement that, in spite of the information published in Epoque, alleged to have been received "from an absolutely reliable source," Joliot-Curie had not gone anywhere.

On the basis of the above-enumerated facts it can be taken as proved that some newspapermen and representatives of large news agencies which supply international information engage in the dissemination of criminal slander directed against the security of states and nations on the one hand, and against world peace on the other. This is precisely the gravamen of the charge against the international political slanders.

If we note the countries which most often come under the fire of the international calumniators we shall observe a significant coincidence; they are the same countries against which the newspaper campaign conducted in the guise of advocacy of "international freedom of the press" is directed. They are not countries with reactionary or fascist regimes, like Spain, Portugal, and others where the activities of foreign correspondents are strictly controlled by the authorities. For some reason the reactionary press in Great Britain and America does not demand official intervention in these countries for the purpose of securing special privileges for British and American newspaper correspondents. The entire campaign of the Anglo-American capitalist newspaper kings is concentrated upon the Soviet Union and those democratic countries which were liberated from the Hitler yoke by the Soviet troops. It is against them that are hurled the bombs of political calumny which are disrupting the joint efforts of the peoples to secure lasting peace and international security.

Is such "freedom of action" for press pirates who have no consideration for the fate of the nations to be tolerated by the democratic public? Is it not high time to demand legislative guarantees that will curb miscreant pressmen who are wielding the poisoned weapon of political calumny against other nations, and against international co-operation among the peace-loving nations?

After all, in this sphere too we must learn the bitter lesson of the recent past, and particularly of the period when the fascist aggressors were intensively engaged in their preparations for launching the Second World War. Did they not, in their political struggle against the formation of a united front of collective security, constantly obtain the assistance of the reactionary press of Great Britain, France, the United States and a number of other countries? It is not enough to recall the responsibility of the Chamberlain and Daladier governments for conniving at the plans and encouragements for the successes of the fascist aggressors. For it is not to be denied that in moulding public opinion in Great Britain, France, and America in the spirit of the Munich plot, the principal role was played by the reactionary representatives of the press and the big news agencies. They misled the public by reassuring reports, such as: "Hitler says he is in favour of peace." It was they who kept circulating endless versions of the slander about "Russia's aggressive plans." And these calumniators denounced all attempts to resist Hitler Germany's pretensions — for example, the attempt of the People's Front in France — as "fomenting war."

To a considerable degree, this tendentious moulding of public opinion by the professional purveyors of false news paralysed the efforts of the democratic forces in Western Europe to maintain peace. The peoples of Europe have paid too high a price to permit a repetition of this sordid business. Since the evil has become intolerable, effective means must be found to remedy it.

What measures can be taken to scotch the criminal utterances of certain organs of the press and news agencies of certain countries?

Lord Cecil once said at a meeting of the League of Nations that the **co-operation** of the press was desirable "both positively in support of measures of peace and negatively in the suppression of false and pernicious news"; but he did not say how to secure the co-operation of those newspapers which have no desire whatever to co-operate for such objects. It is not surprising. It is as impossible to secure such co-operation as to tie two bald men together by the hair. Evidently, that is why nobody took Lord Cecil's naive suggestion seriously. What was the use of indulging in self-deception?

Another remedy now being advertised in America is the drawing up of **"a code of journalistic ethics."** For example, R. Valeur, head of the French Press Service in the United States, suggested during the war that the American Association of Newspaper Publishers draw up such a code. But was he not aware that gentlemen of leisure in the United States have drawn up more than one code of this kind and that all were received with a smile? It is hardly likely that even Hearst or McCormick have ever refused to swear faithfulness to any "code of ethics." And it is this very circumstance that proves that in practice codes of honour are soon transformed from a means of self-deception into a means of deceiving others.

A third possible remedy is **censorship.** Can this be regarded as a suitable means of combating the criminal attacks of the international misinformers? No. Why? Because it would be impossible to establish a uniform censorship among the diverse types of states. The censorship is an evil

even within the boundaries of single states when those states are under reactionary or conservative regimes.

It would be wrong, however, from the point of view of real democracy, to condemn all censorship. This is done only by pseudo-democrats who wish to obscure the fundamental political difference between the two main forms of censorship. Censorship under a reactionary regime is one thing; it is used against the democratic aspirations of the people and should therefore be condemned. Censorship under a progressive, democratic regime is another thing; it is used against the mendacious propaganda of the fascist enemies of the people. Under certain circumstances it is an essential and useful weapon for the protection of democracy. In condemning "all" government control of the press, the news purveyors take good care to hush up the fact that they themselves — the newspaper publishers and their representatives in editorial offices — exercise over their publications all-round private control, which, as a rule, is no better than the control of reactionary governments.

The best possible form of control over the press in capitalist countries would, undoubtedly, be well-organised control exercised by democratic public organisations. But since the progressive, democratic organisations in the greater part of the world still exert little influence over the press, and since the influential privately-owned newspapers still take the liberty of spreading poisonous slander detrimental to the cause of peace and the co-operation of nations, all progressive and democratic countries, and our Soviet country in particular, have every right and reason to install a censorship filter to protect their drinking water reservoirs from being polluted by such filth.

But since a democratic international censorship cannot be established, is there no other means of suppressing at least the grossest violations by the international misinformers of the interests of world peace and the security of the peace-loving nations? In my opinion, making such violators liable to criminal prosecution would be an effective means. To prevent unnecessary complications, I think it would be best to single out for prosecution a limited class of newspaper crimes which are internationally dangerous — say, only the following two:

(a) systematic fomentation of war;
(b) political slander against any peace-loving state, i.e. knowingly distributing false information about the actions of such a state.

A beginning has already been made, by agreement between the Great Powers, in the prosecution of instigators of the war. This raises some hope that it will be possible to take legal proceedings against the unbridled organs of the pro-fascist press for systematic incitement to war. Such incitement with the help of the press has always been one of the principal methods employed by instigators of war in preparing the ground for aggression.

In most countries, as we know, libel and defamation of character of any one person are crimes punishable by law. Is it not a thousand times more important to suppress libel against a peace-loving nation or state? Such suppression is dictated by the honour and security of an entire nation and at the same time by the common interests of all nations, by the desire to bring about and consolidate international peace.

It goes without saying that as for the time being we are discussing this merely as a matter of principle, there is no need to go into an analysis of the legal problems this progressive development of international law and justice may give rise to. At any rate, this would imply that such cases would come under the jurisdiction of an international court functioning on the basis of a special international convention. We must bear in mind the possibility that many states will not find it easy to agree to the compulsory trial of such cases by an international court owing to the powerful opposition the influential press may be expected to put up, and it may therefore be necessary, at first, to limit the jurisdiction of the international court to cases brought against press men who demand the right to operate in other countries uncontrolled.

What can be urged on principle against attaching criminal liability to anyone guilty of gross abuses of international freedom of the press? There is not a hint in this of restricting the freedom of political criticism. Mr. Cummings, who in the London **News Chronicle** vehemently insists on the "right in the press and on the platform to criticise any government" may rest assured about that. Criticise, by all means, gentlemen, but beware of malicious slander, i.e., knowingly spreading false information about other countries and governments. It is only such slander — not criticism — that we wish to subject to legal prosecution. As for Mr. Cummings' proud statement that "in Western democracies we do not permit the government to decide what is mischievous and what is not," we of the Eastern democracies can, with our habitual meekness, answer: Very well, gentlemen, let a most impartial international court decide whether your actions were mischievous or well-meaning.

Mr. Kent Cooper of the Associated Press demanded the conclusion of international agreements to accord foreign correspondents diplomatic privileges and complete freedom of action, the right everywhere to use all means of communication at low rates, etc. Even Mr. Bailey, the Director of the United Press, is opposed to such far-reaching demands and believes that Mr. Cooper has lost his sense of reality. While not desiring to intervene in this American controversy, we would like, however, to ask Mr. Cooper whether he is prepared, in exchange for guarantees of freedom of information in European countries, to submit to the juris-

diction of an international court if a substantiated charge of maliciously slandering any peace-loving country is brought against his agency. Yes or no? If he is, then we hope the court will be just and sufficiently stern.

I am very much afraid, however, that Mr. Cooper will not voluntarily admit the necessity of making the political slanderer liable to prosecution before an international court of law, and that he will describe this proposal as a "menace to freedom of the press." Only very recently he asserted that the United States government, which instituted proceedings against the Associated Press on the charge of unlawfully monopolising the distribution of news, was "threatening the freedom of the press." Evidently Mr. Cooper belongs to the category of businessmen who want to pocket all the profits of business, but refuse to shoulder any responsibility.

This is a wrong attitude to take. In the newspaper and news distributing business particularly is it appropriate to insist on the profoundly just principles of no privileges without responsibilities. If you want freedom, then accept responsibility! And, of course, not only the correspondents must answer; the owners and directors of newspapers and newsagencies must be the first to be called to account. Let them have low rates if they are willing to bear high responsibility for political slander and systematic incitement to war.

As for Mr. Chancellor's statement that Reuters, of which he is the General Manager, "are not purveyors of British news" but of an "international commodity," we will take the liberty of saying that in our opinion there is no need for him to repudiate his nation in this offhand way. It would be far better if Mr. Chancellor came out openly as the well-known purveyor of a British commodity, only let it not be of the quality of the sensational report about "expulsion of a million Germans from the Soviet zone of occupation." After all, a man can be a good Englishman and at the same time respect other people's noble striving for what the Declaration of the Crimea Conference so correctly described as "the highest aspiration of humanity," namely, for lasting and durable peace.

PARTY AND MASS EDUCATION

ERIC AARONS, Secretary, Marx School.

SOME three years ago, the Party began to tackle in a systematic and organised way the problem of educating members in the science of Marxism-Leninism. For this purpose uniform study courses (1, 2, and 3) were prepared for use in the branches, and Marx School established to aid in more advanced education.

Much progress has been made. That is undoubted. However, a great deal more must yet be done. Attendances at Marx School classes are not increasing; we still find many branches without classes, many more that lack permanent, regular, classes, and in which no sustained effort is made to interest new members in Party theory. We need a continued political campaign throughout the whole Party, as well as struggle to overcome the practical difficulties associated with the work.

Many members recruited during the People's War had a rather one-sided view of the Party traditions, tactics, and methods of struggle, springing to a large extent from the nature of that period itself. If the whole of the Party is to be mobilised for the sharp class struggles of to-day and to-morrow, these "old" new members must receive theoretical training.

Workers joining our Party to-day will know they are taking on no easy job. They will come in fighting, and they will come in in order to fight, and it is the responsibility of the Party to see that they are provided with the necessary ideological weapons to wage the struggle, to supplement and sharpen their enthusiasm for fighting monopoly capitalism.

Our Party will continue to advance, will win new and bigger victories than in the past. But it would be foolish to think that developments will be along an evenly ascending line, without temporary checks and setbacks. For those firmly grounded in theory, such occasions serve only to sharpen the determination to struggle still more intensively and effectively. Those "without theory," however, tend to waver, or even to drop out of the struggle.

We cannot take it for granted, either, that circumstances will at all times in the future permit the Party to provide the present quite extensive facilities to assist comrades to acquire a sound theoretical knowledge.

So we must improve and extend our education in the Party. But at the same time we must push out our circle, we have to begin the education of the masses in revoluntionary theory. In one or two instances a start has already been made, but by and large mass education, for us, is virgin soil. Well, it must be upturned.

Undoubtedly many practical problems will arise in endeavouring to put any program of mass education into effect. But experience shows that if the Party as a whole is convinced politically, if trade union and other forms of narrowness are eradicated, and the task seen as an essential part of the fight for socialism, the difficulties will be tackled with enthusiasm and determination, and will be overcome.

Comrade Sharkey has clearly outlined our task.

> "Our Party today has a similar task, to raise the political understanding of the masses to the level of a Communist understanding of society and the consequent tasks of the labor movement. Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, have given us an understanding of the historical tasks of the working class in regard to the revolutionary change-over from Capitalism to Socialism. The advance guard of the proletariat have been able to grasp these theories, to master Marxism-Leninism; it has to be taken to the masses who, unaided, are unable to raise themselves to the level of a theoretical understanding, are unable to advance beyond the immediate practical tasks of wages, conditions, strikes." (**The Trade Unions**, p.9).

We must, therefore, on a wide scale, introduce the workers, and first of all the organised workers, to the revolutionary theory of our Party. This does not mean that the Party should be a purely educational, a propaganda, institution; that propaganda alone will win the workers to the side of Communism.

> " . . . in order that actually the whole class, that actually the broad masses of toilers and those oppressed by capital may take up such a proposition, (i.e., of direct support of, or benevolent neutrality to, the vanguard—E.A.) propaganda and agitation alone are not sufficient. For this the masses must have their own political experience. Such is the fundamental law of all great revolutions. . . ." (**Left Wing Communism**, p. 72.)

These fundamental teachings are expressed in another form in a slogan which was once current in the Party, to the effect that "the basis of Communist education is struggle."

However, the basis is not the building. The masses have had extremely rich experiences in the past fifteen years and will undergo many more in the future. Under the leadership of the Party the masses have, and will, acquire these experiences most quickly, in the sharpest form, and with the least losses and suffering. It will help them to draw lessons and become politically active, if their experiences are pinpointed in theoretical form—in the shape of ideas.

On every ideological front, from art to political economy, from the family to philosophy, a struggle must be waged against the bourgeosie. We must not underestimate the revolutionary role of revolutionary ideas.

> "Arising out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, the new social ideas and theories force their way through, become the possession of the masses, mobilize and organize them against the moribund forces of society, and thus facilitate the overthrow of these forces which hamper the development of the material life of society." (**History of the C.P.S.U.**, p. 117.)

It is our task—for there is no-one else to perform it—to bring these mobilising, organising theories to the masses as part of the preparation for the defeat of capitalism.

Mao Tse-Tung, that great Marxist, has this to says in his **China's New Democracy** (p. 55):

> "Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon of the people. Before the outbreak of the revolution, culture paves the way for it by spreading revolutionary thoughts. During the revolution, it is a necessary and important front in the general revolutionary front, and revolutionary cultural workers are commanders of various grades on this cultural front."

This should be enough to convince us of the great importance of the tasks we are confronted with in the sphere of mass education. We should also recall Engels' estimate of the great advantage the German working class of his day had because of its "sense of theory," over that of Britain, with its indifference to theoretical questions.

In the same writing Engels has something to say about Party education—

> "It is the specific duty of the leaders (i.e., all members of the vanguard Party—E.A.) to gain an ever-clearer insight into all theoretical questions, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old conception of the world, and constantly to keep in mind that Socialism, having become a science, must be pursued as a science, i.e., it must be studied. **The task will be to spread with increased enthusiasm, among the masses of the workers, the ever-clearer insight thus acquired.** . . ." (Quoted in **What is to be Done**, p. 50.) (My emphasis—E.A.)

So one side of the struggle for education is to improve our own understanding. The other is to take practical steps to bring theory to the workers. With ideology it is either . . . or—either bourgeois ideology or socialist ideology; and the latter will not be victorious spontaneously, either in the Party or among the masses. It must be fought for.

PHILIPPINE PANORAMA

STAFF-SERGEANT A. KEESING.

Part II

THESE three men, Soriano, Roxas and MacArthur form the spearhead of the most reactionary section of American finance capital, which is interested in maintaining the Philippines as a source of raw materials for American industry, as a market for commodities, as a suitable area for the investment of surplus finance capital, and as a base for the economic invasion and penetration of the islands and countries of the Pacific.

Why do these interests prefer Roxas to Osmena, who has a good record as a flunkey of capital? Osmena has been at some pains in recent months to establish himself as a comforter of collaborators, whom he has appointed judges of the Supreme Court, governors of the provinces, and town mayors. Nor, in the light of his unconcern for the sufferings of the people, his inattention to the problems of relief, housing, jobs, food rations, etc., has he recommended himself as a tribune of the people.

However, it is no longer possible for the reactionaries to manoeuvre rejection of independence owing to the pressure of the democratic forces both in the United States and in the Philippines. Their problem now is: how to maintain the dominance of finance capital. To achieve this they are endeavouring to capture every key position in the government and they are determined to get tried and dependable tools. That is why Roxas has been selected to lead the spearhead of reaction. He has proved his loyalty to imperialism under both Japanese and American masters. Osmena is regarded as unsuitable. He is vacillating and not aggressive enough to suit their requirements. In the past he has carried out their wishes but with plenty of reservations. And he is not a member of the innermost financial circles, being a relatively poor man.

Against this concentration of forces directed towards the maintenance of the colonial status of the Philippines, a progressive movement of the people is maturing, strengthened and steeled in the struggles and guerrilla warfare against the Japanese invaders. When Bataan was about to surrender a group of patriots, led by Luis Taruc and Caste Alejandrino, began to organise people from all strata of society for a guerrilla war against the Japs. They set up an organisation called Hukbong Bayan Labap sa Hapon (The People's anti-Japanese Army) a name which in its abbreviated form of Hukbalahap or the Huk has become famous as one of the fighting guerrilla movements which played such a big part in the defeat of fascism.

The Huk's programme was simple and acceptable to all honest patriots, calling for struggle on two issues: to eliminate the Japanese military fascists and work for independence; and to improve living standards. Organising and arming themselves on the same principles as China's Red Armies (Snow's **Red Star Over China** was an important textbook), they rapidly gained the support of peasants, landlords, and townspeople in all of the central provinces of Luzon, recruiting on the widest possible basis. As a people's movement, the Huk outlawed pillage and forcible seizure, organised assistance to the people and imposed a rigid discipline on themselves. To make their aims clear and increase their military efficiency regular lectures and classes were organised on all political and military topics.

Gradually, as they eased the Japs out of one provincial town after another, local and municipal governments were set up on the basis of a popular adult franchise from which only the collaborators and sympathisers of the Japanese were excluded. Although designated by Roxas as a bandit organisation attempting to bring the Soviet Union into the Philippines, leading American officers acknowledged that the rapid pace of the advance of U.S. troops from Lingayen to Manila, well ahead of schedule, was entirely due to the work of the Hukbalahap in eliminating Jap strength in the provinces. Major-General Doherty, Chief of Staff of the 6th Army, said: "The Hukbalahap is one of the best fighting units I have ever known."

Other guerrilla organisations also made their appearance, mostly on a small scale, but these were either U.S. Army espionage groups or bodies formed to protect their own immediate interests, controlled by the landowners. Often they were rival organisations, formed to combat the influence of the Huk, which they feared as a revolutionary movement. Consequently the Huk was forced to launch a campaign attacking the "awaitism" policy of these units, a policy which would have effectively ended all active opposition to the Japs. There were also "phoney" organisations whose sole purpose was to gain victory bonuses from the U.S. Army. Some of these groups proved useful to MacArthur when he was engaged in attacking the Huk and putting forward Roxas as the spiritual leader.

But facts are difficult things. The Hukbalahap had a fighting strength of more than 40,000 and is estimated to have killed more than 25,000 Japs. Attempts by reaction to smear the Huk were only partly successful, because the Huk was able to produce rescued American airmen who had fought with them for a period of many months. Nevertheless, MacArthur had both Taruc and Alejandrino jailed and their release was not accomplished until late in September, when popular demonstrations and deputations forced the hand of the Government. It is believed that approximately 500 Huk leaders are still held incommunicado.

In March of this year the leaders of six progressive organisations, including the Hukbalahap and the National Confederation of Peasants, met together and formed the Democratic Alliance, a body which, while permitting each participating group to retain its organisation and platform, united them all on a generally acceptable programme. Membership is individual and the Alliance is today the strongest single grouping numerically in the Philippines.

Early in July a manifesto setting out in some detail its programme and demands was widely distributed. The main points were:

1. Speedy victory over Japanese fascism.
2. Immediate relief for the needy.
3. Strengthened national unity against fascism; for the preservation and extension of democracy and for the assurance of national independence; arrest, removal from public office, trial and punishment of all collaborators.
4. Rehabilitation and improvement of national economy.
5. Guaranteed social and economic security.
6. Improved education and sanitation.
7. Development of friendly relations with the United Nations.

This programme was published over the signatures of the delegates representing the six participating organisations. The Alliance, recognising that there was no section of the Nacionalista Party able or willing to champion the needs of the mass of the people, immediately put itself forward as an alternative party. "In common with liberated and free peoples all over the world, Filipinos are no longer contented to live under the domination of the fascist or reactionary landlords and finance capitalists. More than three years of suffering under Japanese fascist rule have taught us the meaning of fascism in action, they exposed to us the naked truth about our former national leaders who, almost to a man, preferred to collaborate with the enemy rather than to fight for our national liberation. They also exposed to us the reactionary big landlords and vested interests which dominated the Nacionalista Party, who either trafficked with the enemy or profiteered at the people's expense."

There followed a declaration of principles calling for national independence, national unity against fascism and reaction, the defence and extension of democracy, and a clean, progressive government.

It is already evident that this new Alliance is exactly what the people needed. It has grown with amazing rapidity and has carried out several mass demonstrations, including the one mentioned above, 35,000 strong, which secured the release of the guerrilla leaders and an undertaking from Osmena to investigate their accusations against collaborators. This procession carried placards naming the collaborators and demanding their removal. The Alliance has already become a powerful factor in political life and is seriously threatening the positions of the representatives of vested interests.

* * *

The immediate task of the progressive movement in the Philippines today is to secure not merely political independence, but also economic independence as its indispensable corollary.

The pre-war economy was predominantly agricultural, yet insufficient rice was produced for the people's needs because the production of commercial crops was far more profitable. Thus, although the islands contain some of the best rice country in the world, it was still necessary to import two million bushels a year. One-third of the cultivated area was — and still is — devoted to raising money crops for export to the U.S.A. Further, the accumulation of lands in the hands of the sugar barons meant a rapid increase in the use of agricultural labor, which, because of the absence of industrialisation, meant extremely low wages and living standards. At the same time a very large proportion of lands immediately cultivable or suitable for cultivation under irrigation, remain idle and unproductive.

The mining industry expanded rapidly during the decade 1930-40, with practically the whole product exported in the form of raw material. The chief emphasis was on gold production, but the output of iron and non-ferrous metals also increased substantially:—

	1934 Tons	1940 Tons
Iron	7,000	1,200,000 (to Japan!)
Chromite	1,300	194,000
Manganese . . .	500	48,000
Copper Concentrates . . .	5	8,000

There are also deposits of asbestos, molybdenum, lead, zinc and platinum practically untouched, and some oil in Cebu, but little high quality coal.

It will be seen that the Filipino economy has the one-sided character of all colonial regimes, depending on the large scale export of a few agricultural and mineral products to pay for imports of food and manufactured commodities. Most of this trade was dependent on the U.S.A., which took 80% of the products and supplied 70% of the imports. Yet the principal exports were competitive with, not supplementary to, American production, a fact which has resulted in widespread support by influential sections of U.S. interests for the demand for independence, with a rider that tariff barriers should be erected to exclude Philippine imports.

The popular progressive movement in the Philippines is fully aware of these facts and understands that the only real prospect of economic as well as political independence lies with the development of natural resources in the islands to the fullest possible extent, establishment of modern

industries based on domestic resources, the modernisation of the backward and oppressive systems of agrarian relations, and the establishment of a well-rounded and self-sufficient economy. Private capital refuses to take the risks involved in such development, i.e., the almost certain absence of profits for some years. Consequently the Democratic Alliance and all its affiliated organisations are campaigning for the government to establish publicly owned industries and services, for a planned economy which will enable the Philippines to take their rightful place among modern nations.

However, the economic development of the Philippines will not take place in a vacuum — it must necessarily be affected by conditions prevailing in the neighbouring countries of Indonesia and Asia. If South-East Asia as a whole remains backward and impoverished it will be extremely difficult for the Philippines to achieve economic prosperity, or protect their infant industries against the products of low wage labor. Therefore Filipino democrats are no less interested in the struggles of the peoples of Indonesia, India, Indo-China, and China than in their own problems.

LENIN AND YOUTH

"YOUTH WORKER."

IT is no accident that the greatest figures in the modern struggle for the emancipation of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, all commenced their revolutionary activity as youths. Lenin understood the reason for this: "When people see how their fathers and mothers live under the yoke of the landlords and capitalists, when they themselves experience the sufferings that befall those who start the struggle against the exploiters, when they see what sacrifices the continuation of this struggle entails in order to defend what has been won, and when they see what frenzied foes the landlords and capitalists are—they are trained in this environment to become Communists." **(Lenin and Stalin on Youth, p. 30).**

Lenin grew with the movement and very early became known as "the Old Man" but he never forgot or lost interest in the youth. Throughout his life he gave the greatest attention to youth, for he realised better than any that the future belongs to the youth and it is the duty of the elders to train and fit youth for its high obligations.

Lenin's attention to youth is shown in the fact that while in Switzerland, he found time to deliver a special lecture to the Swiss revolutionary youth organisations on the 1905 Russian revolution, explaining in simple language its world significance and bringing home the importance of youth by showing the particular part that was played by the Polish student youth in the tremendous National movement directed against Tsardom. Lenin realised very well the significance of the youth movement in the general revolutionary movement. For example, in estimating the development of the 1905 October political strike, Lenin analysed the cause and effect of the student movement, and three years after the defeat of the revolution, during the period of blackest reaction, he gave a report to Party organisations on "The Student Movement and the Present Political Situation."

Lenin was an uncompromising opponent of reformist theories and the opportunism of the Second International and made clear that if reactionary theory and practice is to be defeated, then youth has an important role to play. Criticising the Chauvinism and opportunism of the Social Democratic and Labor Parties of Europe, he wrote, in the **"Review of the Youth International":** " . . . . In the circumstances thus prevailing in Europe, on the League of Socialist Youth organisations falls the tremendous, grateful, but difficult task of fighting for revolutionary internationalism, for true socialism and against the prevailing opportunism which has deserted to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie."

Understanding the importance of youth, what then did Lenin teach the youth? Lenin taught the youth first, the importance of theory, the need to learn; second, the need for organisation; and third, the need for character based on Communist morality.

Lenin's teachings of the youth are models of simplicity in language and exposition, e.g., his speech "Task of the Youth Leagues" made to the 3rd All Russian Congress of the Young Communist League in 1920. Although presented simply, Lenin's speech was based on the fundamental principles of Marxism—explaining the nature of class society and the nature of capitalist exploitation so that the only correct political conclusions can be drawn by the youth.

Lenin not only showed youth the need to understand the science of Socialism, but the need for organisation and the kind of organisation needed by the youth: " . . . . The Y.C.L. should be a shock group, helping in every job and displaying initiative and enterprise. The League should be such that any worker may see that it consists of people whose doctrines he may not understand, whose doctrines, he, perhaps, may not immediately believe, but whose practical work and activity prove to him that they are really the people who are showing him the right road." **(Lenin and Stalin on Youth, p. 33).** Lenin emphasised that the youth leagues must not be pocket editions of the Communist Party, but broad Socialist youth organisations.

Having tremendous faith in the creative initiative of the masses and particularly of the youth, Lenin pointed to Socialist competition as the means for harnessing this latent energy to the cause of the working class and of Socialism:

" . . . To the extent that the youth prove that they can unite their labour, to that extent will the success of Communist construction be assured." **(Lenin and Stalin on Youth, p. 33).** He shows the difference between Socialist competition and Capitalist competition: " . . . . Sometimes Socialist competition is confused with Capitalist competition This is a great mistake. Socialist competition and capitalist competition represent two entirely different principles. The principle of capitalist competition spells defeat and death for the one, victory and domination for the other. The principle of Socialist competition is that those who are more advanced should render comradely assistance to the backward in order to achieve general progress." ("Basis of Shock Brigades," from "Lenin on Socialist Competition.")

Lenin recognised the special difficulties which beset youth—that not having the background of experience of adults they fall prey to the reactionary influence of bourgeois ideas—hence he directed special attention to the question of character building, showing the difference between Capitalist and Communist morality. He teaches the youth that morality has an economic foundation—bourgeois economy gives rise to bourgeois morality, for example, the traders proverb: "If you don't cheat you don't sell." Private property gives rise to selfishness, individualism, cheating and treachery. Communist morality is based on training to fight exploitation and the profit system. "Morality serves the purpose of helping human society to rise to a higher level and to get rid of the exploitation of labour." **(Lenin and Stalin on Youth, p. 30).** In this lies the sublime heroism and sacrifice of the people of Stalingrad, who knew what they fought for and how to die for it. History has shown that if youth is deceived and won by fascist reaction, it is converted into ravaging wild beasts, but if it is given a high ideal and something to fight for, if it is won by the Socialist and anti-fascist forces, then it gives us the heroes of the Russian Civil War; the heroes of Labor who built Dneiprestir, Kuznetz and the Siberian city of Young Communists, Komsomolsk; the heroes of the 8th Route Army of China and the Republican Army of Spain, the airmen of Britain and the "Rats of Tobruk" and the uncounted heroes of the mighty Red Army.

Lenin pointed out that the main task in winning the youth to Socialism is: " . . . criticism of the bourgeoisie and arouse hatred of the bourgeoisie among the masses, develop class consciousness and ability to unite their forces." **(Lenin and Stalin on Youth, p. 25).** Applied in the conditions of the People's War against Fascism, this meant: (1) Exposing the real character and class nature of fascism and arousing the hatred of youth against its mortal enemy; (2) making the youth class-conscious and the custodian of the great traditions of struggle of the Australian people for democracy and a better life—imbuing youth with the spirit of Australian Trade Unionism and militant struggle, and (3) Developing that knowledge and experience of tactics which can make possible the achievement of youth unity.

The care, attention and comradely assistance given by Lenin to the youth movement must be an example to all Communists. We must heed Lenin's advice, the youth are a store of energy and initiative, but we must be tolerant of the weaknesses associated with youthfulness. We must help them to learn, organise, unite and struggle for Socialism.

TURKEY GUESSED WRONG

S. BELINKOV.

(From "New Masses," January 8, 1946.)

TURKEY'S position in World War II was a continual subject of world comment. In contradistinction to World War I when Turkey was an avowed ally of German imperialism, in the recent war Turkish policy was very ambiguous. While Ankara maintained allied relations with Great Britain, it did everything to demonstrate its friendship for Hitler Germany. Aside from Germany's direct vassals, Turkey was the country which, more than any other, overrated the strength of Nazi Germany and her chances of victory.

In the autumn of 1939 Turkey proclaimed herself a "non-belligerent." Then she adopted a policy of neutrality which from the very start was favorable to Germany, inasmuch as it protected Germany's Balkan front. However, in the early period of the war, when Hitler seized western Europe and launched his African adventure, Turkey's neutrality was of some positive value to the Allies as well, since it prevented a swift advance of Hitler's hordes to the Suez and the Nile valley.

After Hitler Germany attacked the Soviet Union and concentrated the bulk of her armed forces on the Eastern Front, the value of Turkish neutrality to the Germans was considerably enhanced. It favored the Germans inasmuch as it protected their south-eastern flank and made it unnecessary for Hitler to split his reserves. The Dardanelles were open only to Axis navies. Turkey permitted German and Italian warships free access to the Black Sea, which facilitated the military operations of the invaders in the southern regions of the U.S.S.R. The flattering compliments the Germans paid

Ankara spoke eloquently of the value they attached to Turkey's services to them.

As the military and political situation in Germany deteriorated, Turkish neutrality became increasingly important to the Nazis. It is obvious that if Turkey had entered the war even at the end of 1943, the military collapse of Hitler Germany would have been expedited. But even after the Teheran Conference Turkey ignored her treaty of alliance with Great Britain and deferred renouncing her neutrality on one pretext or another.

Far from assisting the Allies, Turkey continued to render substantial aid to the Germans. Turkey, Spain, Switzerland and Sweden were the chief suppliers of scarce strategical raw materials to Germany's war industry. According to the well-informed Turkish publication, **L'Economiste d'Orient** (Jan. 10, 1944), ninety per cent. of Turkey's total exports went to Germany. Public opinion in Allied countries was incensed by the fact that Turkey was supplying Germany with chromium ore. British and American newspapers repeatedly declared that without Turkish chromium a large part of Germany's high-grade steel industry would have been brought to a standstill. Economic assistance rendered by Turkey, as by other "neutrals," made it possible for the Nazis to continue their resistance to the Allies.

Right down to the final stage of the war the Turkish press spoke approvingly of the assistance the Turks were rendering to Germany and of their friendliness toward German aggression. "We have demonstrated our friendship for the Germans all through this war and have done so in their moment of greatest need," **Anadolu** wrote on May 7th, 1944. "We shall remain friends of Germany to the last," **Son Posta** frankly admitted on April 22 1944.

On the other hand, Turkey lost no opportunity in manifesting her unfriendliness toward the Soviet Union. We have only to recall the trial of the absolutely innocent Soviet citizens, Pavlov and Kornilov, staged by Turkish authorities at the instigation of Hitler's ambassador, Von Papen; the repeated crossing of Soviet frontiers by German aircraft from the Turkish side; attempts of Nazi spies to enter the Soviet Union through Turkey and the like. An Englishman who returned from Ankara in 1943, writing in the **Asiatic Review**, described his impression of Turkey's attitude toward the U.S.S.R. as follows: "The Turks are displeased not that Russia is at war, but that in spite of her losses she is still a formidable power."

As late as the summer of 1944, many of Von Papen's directives were carried out by Turkey as punctiliously as in 1942, when Hitler considered himself master of Europe. From the very first day of the war, large sections of the Turkish press, which, as we know, is wholly dependent upon official quarters, adopted a violently hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union.

The Red Army's victories in the summer of 1944 and the opening of the second front in Europe could not but have a sobering effect upon Ankara. But while it realised that its expectations of German victory proved groundless, it now just as erroneously banked upon a split in the camp of the Allies.

Turkey's formal rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany was so belated that it evoked caustic comment all over the world. But even after that it was six months before Ankara could make up its mind to declare even symbolic war on Germany. It only did so when Hitler's hordes had been driven way back by the Red Army from Turkey's borders. Turkey could then, of course, commit herself without any risk. It was the unanimous opinion of the world press that Ankara's underlying motive was the fear of forfeiting the right to representation at the San Francisco Conference.

Turkey hoped to make a good thing out of the war by trading with Germany and her satellites. "It cannot be denied that the Germans did pay good prices for our goods," the Turkish newspaper, **Ulus**, recalled regretfully on September 21, 1944, after the break in Turko-German relations. Having plundered nearly all of Europe, the Nazis, interested as they were both in obtaining strategic raw materials and in the continuation of Turkish neutrality, could afford to pay five or six times above world prices for certain kinds of goods.

But this one-sided policy of serving Germany and her satellites was fraught with the most disastrous consequences to Turkey's economy. She began to experience increasing shortage of raw materials as well as foodstuffs and consumer goods. Scarcity and high prices of coal and oil caused acute transport difficulties. Turkey's national income has always been one of the lowest in the world. "Profitable" trade with the Nazis enriched only a handful of speculators. Treasury receipts declined. Paper currency became generally inflated. Today, the cost of living has risen severalfold. Agriculture, unable to stand the strain of "neutrality" so favorable to the Germans, has fallen into decline. Strong relics of feudalism have made themselves acutely felt. Although an agrarian country, Turkey is unable to supply even her minimum food requirements. At the end of last year, the newspaper **Yeni Sabah** lifted the curtain which conceals the state of affairs in the Turkish countryside. It bitterly complained that the farming methods of the Turkish peasant go back to the time of Adam and Noah.

"We are told," wrote the journalist Uluney, "that Turkish peasants no longer plough holding the ox by the tail and that they have tractors, reapers, threshing machines and so on. But I must frankly confess that I have never seen a tractor even in the environs of Istanbul. In our district of Cartal you won't find a single agricultural machine." Large numbers of the rural population are hopelessly enmeshed in the toils of the usurer Etaga (a large landowner) and lead a most wretched existence.

Adaptation of Turkish economy to the needs of the German war machine reacted disastrously on foreign trade, which is the important item in the country's economy. Encouragement was given to the cultivation of crops which the Germans needed Industries which produced goods the Germans required were expanded. No thought was given to the cost of production. The result was an artificial and widening gap between prices in Turkey and prices in the world market, with the consequent curtailment of export possibilities and loss of customers. During the war, Turkey's imports came chiefly from Germany and German-occupied countries. Turkey gets nothing from these countries now and in order to purchase elsewhere she needs foreign currency which she doesn't have.

The dislocation of agriculture, the stagnation of industry and the breakdown of foreign trade resulted in still further impoverishment of the masses. The cost of maintaining an army of over a million men is obviously too heavy a burden on the country. A Reuter's commentator recently (Sept. 14, 1945) expressed the opinion that if the Turkish Government failed to cope with economic difficulties, domestic political changes which might gravely affect Turkey's position in foreign affairs were bound to occur.

Democratic processes now at work in a number of European countries are having certain repercussions in Turkey. As in other non-belligerent countries, the political forces in Turkey were divided in their attitude towards the warring camps. Even as late as last year, certain influential circles demanded unreserved adherence to the Axis powers. On the other hand, progressive elements severely criticised Ankara's orientation in foreign policy on the grounds that it ran directly counter to the country's fundamental interests and was highly detrimental to its political and economic relations with the democratic states. The progressive elements were opposed to rendering assistance to Nazi Germany and favored adherence to the United Nations. However, the political regime in Turkey, on which friendship with Nazi Germany left a deep impress, makes it impossible for the progressive forces to exercise effective influence on the country's policy.

A section of the Turkish press has of late been praising the alleged "democratic" character of the regime. But this is intended mainly for foreign consumption. It is noteworthy that while some newspapers are boosting Turkish "democracy," others affirm that even the most elementary principles of political democracy are impracticable in Turkey owing to the peculiarity of her development. The facts compel admission that Turkey is one of the few countries which have so far remained impermeable to the processes of democratisation of social and political life. Turkish workers have virtually no rights. "In all countries," Yeni Sabah wrote, "workers are able to stand up for the right to wages and social security. They have labor arbitration courts, which we have not. Unhappy women have nowhere to turn for redress when their rights are trampled upon. As to men, they can only obtain their wages by force. Here, too, we find no support from law and justice."

Although Turkey was not involved in the war in Europe, the authorities used the war as an excuse to remove practically every restriction on employment of female and child labor, to increase the working day sometimes to as many as fourteen hours. Kemal's labor laws were thus virtually abrogated. As early as 1940, the last remnants of labor organisations—the Kemal trade unions—were suppressed. Even handicraftsmen's associations are being suppressed. On the other hand, various pro-fascist organisations continued to operate openly.

The press presents an equally ugly picture. According to the Turkish newspaper, **Tan:** "The Turkish press is subjected to such tyrannical pressure as to be met with only in Iran. The government carried its interference so far as to dictate to us the kind of type to use for display heads. We have been unable to breathe, let alone talk, discuss and express our opinions." Last year a bill was passed imposing additional restrictions and frankly directed against the progressive newspapers. Its effects were not long in forthcoming. All of the democratic newspapers and periodicals, including **Tan,** were suppressed. Only in the spring of 1945 was a certain let-up to be observed. **Tan** again appeared. But, adhering to their balance of power policy even with regard to the press, authorities simultaneously sanctioned the publication of **Tasvir,** a pro-Axis newspaper.

During the war, the reactionary Turkish newspapers gave every support to Nazi Germany and acted as advocates of Hitler and his gang. These newspapers too usually lead the hue and cry against the progressive elements and against those who call for sincere co-operation with the democratic world. Judges who are involved in the violence of fascists and the intrigues of Pan-Turkish conspirators met out rigorous punishment to progressive and democratic leaders.

Turkey's prolonged friendship with Germany has affected her foreign policy as well. As early as 1940 Turkey virtually disassociated herself from the Balkans. She renounced her obligations towards her Balkan allies. "Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia mutually guarantee the security of all their Balkan frontiers"—this underlying principle of the Balkan Pact of 1934 proved an empty phrase as far as Turkey was concerned. In defiance of the provisions of the pact, she remained impassive when Yugoslavia and Greece were attacked by Germany. This facilitated the occupation of the entire Balkan peninsula by the Germans. During the period of the German sway in the Balkans Turkey

did not even hint that she was a Balkan country. The Balkan people's struggle for national liberation from the Nazi invaders, which evoked the admiration and gratitude of the progressive men and women all over the world, was characterised by the Turkish reactionary press as "mutiny" and "anarchy." And it was not until the whole Balkan peninsula was liberated from the Nazis, thanks to the victory of the Red Army and the efforts of the Balkan peoples themselves, that Turkey began to talk of the "solidarity" of the Balkan countries and the "invaluable assistance" she supposedly rendered them.

Certain elements in Turkey claim that it is she that should exercise leadership in the Balkans. Obviously these calculations are built on sand. The situation in the Balkans today is fundamentally different from what it was before the war. Not only have the peoples of the much-suffering peninsula rid themselves of the German invaders; they have irrevocably put an end to their reactionary regimes. They need nobody's tutelage, Turkey's least of all. That is probably the reason for the unconcealed animosity which the democratic resurrection of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania arouses in Ankara. The democratic governments of these countries are viciously attacked in the Turkish reactionary press and their social reforms are represented as chaos and anarchy. Venal journalists openly call for armed intervention with the purpose of restoring pro-fascist regimes in the Balkans. Many Turkish newspapers echo Goebbel's lie that the non-Slav people of the Balkans are menaced by a "Slav peril."

Turkey's policy during World War II. seriously undermined her prestige in international affairs and in Balkan affairs in particular. This evidently is realised in Ankara and attempts are being made to recoup the loss in other directions. In the latter part of September, in connection with a visit of the Regent of Iraq to Ankara, the idea of a new bloc headed by Turkey—this time a Turko-Arab bloc—was loudly advertised. The suggestion made by Nuri Said that Turkey should join the Arab League was hailed with delight by Turkish reactionaries.

When one examines Turkey's foreign policy during the war and in the initial period of peace, one is struck by her studied disregard of profound changes which have taken place in the international arena. To disregard realities in this way can lead to no good.

THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871

R. HUMPHREYS

ON March 18, 1871, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was overthrown and replaced with the dictatorship of the proletariat for the first time in history. On that day the masses of Paris, through the Central Committee of their National Guard, assumed control.

Eight months before, France had declared war on Prussia. Napoleon III was endeavouring to save his dynasty from extinction. By military conquest and victories he hoped to show the bourgeoisie of France that he should continue to lead their state machine, despite its obvious degeneration. For France this war was not a war of national liberation but a dynastic war. Corrupt and ill-equipped, an army of 80,000 French soldiers was thrown against Bismarck's well-trained machine which, four years earlier, had defeated Austria in 15 days. Bismarck's treacherous and dynastic policy placed Germany in a position against which she had to defend herself. The war forced the final unification of the Germanic states (excluding German Austria) under the hegemony of Prussia. It was necessary, if the proletarian movement was to develop and grow, that Germany should finally unite and become one nation. It was therefore to the ultimate advantage of the working class that German borders should remain intact.

Bismarck, however, was not content with defence. Quickly he plunged forward over the bodies of the French army, this product of the Empire's decadence and corruption, and swept on to Paris. For German working men the war was no longer one of national defence but a predatory invasion of France. August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were imprisoned for refusing to vote for war credits in the North German Reichstag to carry on this war of plunder.

Soon the Prussians had Paris in a state of siege and Paris, the cultural capital of the world, starved. The masses of Paris organised the National Guard whose weapons were purchased by public subscription. In the armed masses of Paris, short of essential commodities and having suffered through the years of Napoleonic oppression, the wealthy sections saw a danger to their continued existence as capitalists. They surrendered France's Paris to the Prussians and then tried to disarm the masses of the arms which they had purchased. They marched their ill-fed provincial troops straight to the working class suburb of Montmartre. The National Guard was called out and resisted this attempt to abscond with their arms. The soldiers fraternised and the cause of Thiers was lost. He then signed an order exacuating Paris, shifting the government to Versailles. Paris was thus left in the hesitating yet working class hands of the Central Committee of the National Guard.

The hesitation and lack of determination of the Central Committee of the National Guard arose from the fact that the French proletariat was immature. Many were still historically, socially and ideologically close to the petit bourgeoisie and followed Proudhon. Others showed a petit bourgeois lack of faith in the ability of the proletarian masses to organise together for the revolution and followed Blanqui. There was thus no truly revolutionary party, conscious of the historical role of its class—no party capable of consciously directing the struggle.

It was in this situation that the Central Committee of the National Guard made some of the most fateful errors of the commune. The soldiers who had fraternised with the people were allowed to leave Paris with the reactionary Thiers. This reactionary Thiers government itself, together with the rich, was allowed to go and stay unmolested in Versailles, there to plot, with the help of the Prussians, the bloodthirsty counter-revolution. Fear of being accused of illegally capturing power caused the central committee to waste valuable days organising elections which could have taken place when the situation was more settled. Paris was divided into districts (arrondissements) from which the members of the Commune's assembly were elected. Paris elected workers, intellectuals, and a few leading revolutionaries from other countries to administer their new state. There was a majority of Jacobins-Blanquists and a minority of Proudhonists. A few anti-communards were elected from the richer districts in the first place. However, when they saw their position was hopeless they refused to take their seats.

The commune separated the church from the state, abolished the standing army and replaced it with the armed people, abolished night baking, industrial fines against workers, back rent which had accumulated during the siege, reopened abandoned factories, publicly destroyed the guillotine. All officials were elected and subject to recall. Attempts were made to contact the peasantry but Paris was surrounded by the enemy. In addition not one of the parties of the commune had firm organisational ties with the village. However, appeals were made. One of them was this:

> "At last Paris has won—bear this in mind you worker of the land, you who are propertyless, wage workers, small property owners, you who are being devoured by usurers, by rich landlords—all of you who sow, harvest and toil with the sweat of your brow only that the best part of the fruits of your labour should fall into the hands of some idlers—in the final analysis Paris wants land for the peasants, the means of production for the workers—work for all."

The strong party leadership of the first International, badly needed by the Communards, was absent because of the isolation of Paris and because of the weakness of the Paris section. However, "Marx was a participant in the mass struggle of the Commune." He did all that was possible to let the world know the truth about this "storming of the heavens." His defence of the Commune earned for him the bitterest enmity of the bourgeoisie. He became the centre of a vilification campaign in the press after his brilliant report to the general council of the International on this "Civil War in France." Delivered by Marx as the end was approaching, it outlined for the world proletariat those lessons which were the commune's invaluable contribution to the problem of taking power. Without these lessons conjecture could exert its disruptive influence. With these lessons it was and is quite clear that "the working class cannot simply take hold of the ready-made state machine and wield it for its own purposes." This machine must be smashed and not just captured. It must be purged of its capitalist bureaucracy and institutions. A new proletarian machine must take its place. "The commune showed in what concrete forms the organisation of the proletariat as the ruling class will be expressed and how the organisation will be combined with the most complete and consistent battle for democracy."

While the Commune was feeling its sometimes uncertain steps towards Socialism, the capitalist world was feverishly organising against this threat to their existence. Bismarck forgot his 'national' hatred and offered Thiers his help. He released from captivity the officers and soldiers of the old Imperial army. Degenerate products of the Third Empire, they were willing helpers of Mammon.

Inside the Commune itself differences developed between the Jacobin-Blanquist majority and the Proudhonists. These latter, failing to see the methods which must be used in a state of civil war, protested against the use of 'dictatorship' by the committee of public safety. The masses forced these people to forget their foolish prattling. However, this splitting activity of the minority led to a weakening of the Commune, fighting for its existence in the face of the enemy.

The bourgeoisie used to advantage the weakness displayed in the relationship of the Commune towards the Bank of France. They received 257,000,000 francs from this institution compared with the Communards' 16,000,000, and thus financed their plans to drown the Commune in blood. This weakness flowed from the immature nature of the proletariat of Paris. It was socially, economically and historically close to the petit bourgeoisie. Its fetishism towards money is therefore not altogether unexpected.

The bourgeoisie who remained in Paris opened the gates to the attacking Versailles forces. On May 21st there started one of the bloodiest street battles in history. The streets of Paris flowed with the proletarian blood of the men, women and children of the Commune, defending to the last their freedom — their beloved Commune. Overwhelming masses of arms and men killed and slaughtered all in their path. A callousness and

disregard for life not previously seen in history exterminated the Commune. This white terror herded together thousands of Communards and shot them; 40,000 died in this way in a week. Those who escaped death were exiled to France's tropical colonies. There they died of starvation, fever and overwork. A few escaped through the Prussian lines to other countries. All this because the proletariat of Paris had dared to challenge the authority of the bourgeoisie to rule.

The wheels of history move inevitably forward. The power of the bourgeoisie occasionally swells to stimulated proportions and they manage to momentarily turn the wheels backwards. But the very development of their society strengthens the already mighty arm of the proletariat so that their edifice crashes in one part of the world after another. In its scarred and chaotic place the symmetry and order of scientific socialism, the proletarian state, is built and mankind goes forward henceforth consciously unfolding and developing the laws of nature and making his own history.

"Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of the new society; its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. History has already nailed its exterminators to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not redeem them."

RAISING FUNDS FOR THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

PROFESSOR S. TURETSKY (Moscow)

THE devastating effects on Russia of the First World War and of succeeding foreign armed intervention and the Civil War were such that in 1920 industrial output dropped to only 14 per cent. of the 1913 level.

Rehabilitation demanded enormous funds. When this task had eventually been accomplished and the 1913 level of industrial output recovered, the Soviet Government set out to build up a heavy industry which would be capable of providing machinery for the reconstruction of every branch of economy, with the ideas:

First, of mechanising and lightening labor to the utmost and raising the standard of living of the people;

Second, of strengthening the economic basis of national defence;

Third, of rendering the Soviet Union economically independent.

This, of course, necessitated the investment of incomparably greater funds than were required for rehabilitation.

The methods by which the Soviet Union obtained funds for these purposes differed radically from the methods of capital accumulation known in the history of capitalist countries, where heavy industry was built up with the help of big foreign loans or by means of indemnities extorted from weaker countries, as in the case of Germany, whose industrial development was based on five billion marks indemnity which she exacted from France after the Franco-Prussian War.

The latter method is abhorrent to the very character of the Soviet system. As to foreign loans, these were not available to the Soviet Union, as the capitalist countries were virtually subjecting it to a financial blockade. Under these circumstances, the country could rely only upon its own resources for the funds it needed.

The chief methods employed were the systematic increase of the productivity of labor and stringent retrenchment of all expenditures. In this way, without the help of foreign loans, and at the same time preserving the economic independence of the country, the Soviet Government was able to find the enormous funds needed for reconstruction and for building up heavy industry.

In the years 1925 and 1926, it was able, merely by reducing costs of production in industry, to find an additional two billion rubles, an immense sum for that period; and in the succeeding three years —1927 to 1929—to secure another seven billion rubles by the same means. In the fiscal year of 1929-1930, five billion rubles were invested in industry, as compared with one billion rubles in the year 1926-27.

In the period of the First Five-Year Plan, 1928-1932, sixty billion rubles were invested in building factories, mines, power plants, collective and State farms, housing and the like. More than 1,500 new mills and factories were put into operation during this period, while many thousands of old plants were expanded and enlarged.

Economic development in the period of the Second Five Year Plan, 1933 to 1937, was considerably greater than during the period of the first Plan. Technical reconstruction of the entire economy of the country was completed. This had necessitated gigantic funds. Capital investments during this period totalled 137.5 billion rubles, or more than double the total in the First Five-Year Plan. About half this sum was expended on industrial development.

By 1937, industrial output was 2.2 times greater than in 1932, and eight times greater than in 1913. Aggregate agricultural output increased half as much again in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Third Five-Year Plan, 1938 to 1942, envisaged a total capital investment of 181 billion rubles, or more than three times the investment under the First Five-Year Plan. These investments were designed still further to strengthen the economic might and the defences of the Soviet Union and further to raise the material and cultural standard of the people.

How effectively this was being accomplished is indicated by the results of the first three years of the Plan, 1938-1940, prior to the outbreak of the war. During this period 108 billion rubles were invested in industrial expansion and 2,900 new mills, factories, mines, power stations and other plants were put into operation.

The average annual increase in industrial output in these three years was equivalent to 14 billion rubles, as compared with an average of 10.5 billion rubles in the Second Five-Year Plan, and five billion rubles in the first. Agriculture, transport, trade and other branches of the national economy developed with like rapidity. The increase of the national outcome in the period of 1937-1940 was more than equivalent to the total national income of Russia in 1913.

The third Five-Year Plan, whose fulfilment was proceeding so successfully, was interrupted in June, 1941, by the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. But the sums invested under the Five-Year Plans had now converted the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power which was not only able to withstand the assault of Hitler's armored hordes, but to play a major role in the defeat of Nazi Germany. When the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan, the Red Army's mighty blows in the Far East accelerated the defeat of that aggressor and the termination of the Second World War.

The people of the Soviet Union have now returned to their peaceful constructive labors. By decision of the government, the Fourth Five-Year Plan is being compiled. In the five-year period beginning with 1946, regions devastated by German occupation are to be completely rehabilitated and the national economy is to be reconstructed, so that by 1950 output will considerably exceed that of the last pre-war year.

ALEXEI TOLSTOI, GREAT RUSSIAN WRITER

HENRY ROVICH

(From "Moscow News")

ALEXEI TOLSTOI lived the greater part of his life in old Russia. The first decade of his literary career, too, coincided with the last 10 years of pre-revolutionary Russia. Yet he became a Soviet writer to the last fibre of his being, a master of Soviet letters, a zealous Soviet patriot—not by virtue of the times nor of circumstance, but by the very spirit of his work.

Memorable on this score is what V. M. Molotov had to say about him at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets in 1936. "The previous speaker was Alexei Tolstoi, whom we all know as a writer," Molotov said. "Who does not know that he used to be a count? And what is he now? One of the best and the most popular writers of the Soviet land, Comrade Alexei Nikolayevich Tolstoi."

Alexei Tolstoi was born on January 10, 1883, in Nikolayevsk, Samara province on the Volga, and received his university education in old St. Petersburg. His first published work was a small book of verse which made its appearance at a time when reaction was rampant in the country and the Russian intelligentsia was still groping for an answer in the backwash of the 1905 revolution.

It is not surprising that the young writer, who had been brought up in an aristocratic environment and had been under the influence of various and sundry literary trends divorced from life, should have fixed his gaze on the past to the exclusion of everything else. The spiritual poverty of an order to which culture was alien, the cruelty of the landlord class, the degeneration of the aristocracy in the capital and the empty existence and brutal moral code of the provincial middle classes were the subject matter of his short stories. Critical realism, the summits of which were the works of Maxim Gorky, became his guiding principle.

The desire to keep in step with the march of events and feel the pulse of life directly impelled Tolstoi at the beginning of the first World War to go to the Russian-German front as a war correspondent.

Then came 1917 and the revolution that swept away old Russia. Life broke through its age-old barriers and swirled around the writer who tried hard to probe the inner meaning of these events. He fathomed their full significance, but not without vacillations.

The Soviet revolution deprived Alexei Tolstoi of the old soil in which he had struck root. It destroyed the long doomed old order he had depicted; but at the same time it opened new prospects for him, supplied him with great themes and tapped creative powers in him of which he himself had not been aware. Tolstoi's work grew in stature and variety.

A few years after the revolution he wrote the first part of this trilogy **Tormentous Path (Road to Calvary)**, dealing with the destinies of the Russian intelligentsia in the revolution and the birth of the new social order. Completed in 1941 when the Soviet-German war was already on, this trilogy is the best work of Soviet belles-lettres about the revolution of 1917 and the Civil War. As the successive volumes of this sweeping canvas of Russian society unquestionably reflecting the author's own experience in life appeared, one could trace his ideological growth and see how his understanding of the historical progressive purport of

events became more profound and how his affinity with the people building a new world grew greater and greater.

In his search for the historical roots of things happening now, Tolstoi turned to a study of the past. The publication of the first part of his **Peter I,** which earned him world fame, coincided with the first years of the great transformation of his country. The subsequent years of his life the author devoted to depicting two great figures in Russian history, Peter I and Ivan IV (the Terrible). In both **Peter I** and **Ivan the Terrible,** a dramatic tale in two parts, Tolstoi portrays great nation-builders who realized where lay the interests of their people and called the latter to the struggle to raise their country to a place of honor worthy of it among the nations of the world. Only an understanding — and it came with the Soviet revolution — of the grandeur and difficulty of the tasks confronting the country could have armed the writer to create a work as significant as **Peter I.**

The Soviet epoch, which transformed old backward Russia into a modern, advanced country and won it a place among the great world powers, provided the new soil that nourished the writer and from year to year insured the growth of his talent. In this process his ties with the people, who are the principal characters in everything he wrote in Soviet times, grew stronger. In **Grain,** for instance, a historical novel, based on a vast quantity of documentary material, he ably conveys a picture of the people as builders and victors. Depicting the early years of the revolution, Tolstoi in this work portrays the arduous struggle of the people for their land and freedom and against the traitors to the revolution. Here he for the first time in Soviet belles-lettres introduced the images of Lenin and Stalin as the leitmotif of the great conception of the struggle for a new life.

Understanding that truth can lie only on the side of the people, Alexei Tolstoi devoted his talent to their service. In doing so he did not limit himself to writing alone. He took the platform before the intelligentsia of all Europe to explain the humanism of the very being and aspirations of the Soviet Union. His voice could be heard in Paris at a time when the upbuilding of a united anti-fascist front could still have saved Europe from the plague of Hitlerism.

"I have not come here empty-handed," he said in his address to the congress of peace and friendship with the USSR held in London in 1937. "I have brought to you the young culture of our equal peoples who do not want to be alone in their struggle for the triumph of humanism in the radiant but contradictory torrent of human history. We are searching for friends to serve the cause of humanism. . ."

With the outbreak of the Patriotic War, Alexei Tolstoi devoted much of his time to political writing. He spoke over the radio and wrote for the press, wrote leaflets for the front, urged his people to unity and staunchness and to hate the enemy. The patriotic feeling, sincerity and consummate skill he invested in his articles could not but stir the reader. Throughout he raised his warning voice against the inherent goodnaturedness of the Russian, calling upon his people never to allow the German invader "to wipe his bloody hands on his trousers and again promenade on the sidewalks of Berlin."

BOOK REVIEW

Creative Labour and Culture — Maxim Gorky

R. H.

CREATIVE **Labour and Culture** takes its name from the first of a collection of essays, newspaper articles and letters by Maxim Gorky, published by Current Book Distributors. All of them were written during the last ten years of his life when he was vigorously engaged in publicist work, and many of these writings appeared in **Pravda** and **Izvestia.**

There is a long and interesting introduction by Katherine Susannah Prichard which reveals the author as a man of deep sincerity, sensitivity and open friendliness: a man to whom the new Russia and the world owe much for his tireless help to the young self-conscious writer and for his unrelenting attacks on bourgeois intellectuals who scoffed at the true culture slowly emerging from Tsarist degradation.

Gorky exhibited the fullness of life which belongs only to those who ally themselves completely and actively with the cause of human progress. There is a freshness and life in these books, free from the taint of insularity and selfishness.

The three longer essays deal with the history of culture, with literature and philosophy. They are loosely constructed (only four of the fourteen pages of **Russian Literature of the XIXth Century** are devoted to a discussion of that subject) but lose none of their interest because of this. So many things crowd in: every turn reveals a new facet of what has yet to be done, or a patent example of the "decline of the West."

Gorky stresses the duties of the critic, condemns the tendency to adopt an omniscient attitude, to point to chapter and verse of Marx rather than to

the facts of reality, the living proof of Marx's teachings.

In the essay which gives the book its title, he traces the development of the "hero" from the ancient myth—"religious thinking did not arise from the contemplation of the phenomena of nature but arose on the basis of the social struggle": "Hercules, the 'hero of labor' and 'master of all trades,' was eventually raised to Olympus among the gods"—to the best-sellers of today "the heroes of which are swindlers, thieves, murderers and detectives."

"On the 'Good Life'" deals with "fairly intelligent people who thought that ruminating on death made them more intelligent." He is ruthless in his appraisal of the contradictions of philosophy which seeks to reconcile people to a system which is the negation of humanism.

Much of the interest of the book lies, not only in its record of the ringing challenge flung out to the world and the Soviet citizens themselves, but also in its application to the Australian scene. How many of these replies could be addressed to members of our own pseudo-intellectual coteries!

The other essays and letters are concerned with the "little old men" who jump for joy when they read of self-confessed errors and shortcomings in the Soviet press; the dwarfed emaciated Russian under the Romanovs and the Soviet man with his face shining in the new day; the successful struggle against well-equipped counter-revolutionary armies; the Red Army itself; the cinema; and finally, a letter in reply to an old woman textile worker who said she was "striving her utmost to 'stamp out my ignorance and become a still more useful person to our society.'"

There is a chronology of Gorky's life terminating with the trial in 1938 which revealed the manner in which his death two years before was hastened as part of a plot to remove leading Soviet citizens. This is dealt with in detail by Miss Prichard in the introduction.

Quite unintentionally, Maxim Gorky infused into his work his own vital personality. These essays, coupled with the intimate personal letters included in the Introduction, reveal him as a sensitive artist with a robust sense of humour, acutely aware of his early mistakes but completely unafraid to own them. He is in this book in firmer outline than in many an autobiography of a lesser figure.

"CREATIVE LABOUR AND CULTURE," by Maxim Gorky—1/6 copy, Current Book Distributors.

MIXED BREEDS AND PROGRESS

Professor J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

WE take sex for granted, because most of the animals which we know best have two separate sexes. But a number of quite familiar animals, such as the snail and earthworm, are hermaphrodites, combining the two sexes. So, of course, are most plants. A few animal species, such as stick insects and some woodlice, consist of females only.

Why are two sexes needed? It is perfectly true that in most animal species, including our own, the female cannot normally breed without the help of a male. But it is quite easy to get several species of insects, such as the silkworm moth, to breed without males. And it is fairly easy to get unfertilised frog's eggs to develop by chemical or mechanical means, while one author claims to have produced young from virgin rabbits, though there is a case for suspending judgment till his work has been repeated.

Anyway, in the course of evolution many species have done away with the male sex, or with the separation of the sexes; so one may fairly ask what is their value, and why are there generally two sexes in animals.

There are probably two different reasons. Inbreeding seems to be harmful to a great many kinds of living things. Darwin was the first to do accurate experiments on this matter. He compared the vigour of plants produced by cross fertilisation and self-fertilisation, and found that the former were generally larger and healthier. This has been confirmed in a great many animals and plants. Sometimes inbreeding—whether by self-fertilisation or the union of close relatives—produces abnormality, slow growth, and sterility. This would be the case with human beings, if incestuous unions were allowed.

It is generally said that the ancient Egyptian kings married their sisters. Actually they usually had several wives, some being unrelated and one being a half-sister, that is to say, a daughter of their father by a different mother. This was a far less serious matter than a union with a whole sister, since new "blood" was constantly brought into the royal family.

With some animals, such as mice and guinea pigs, mating of whole brothers and sisters can go on for 30 or more generations without any great harm. But even here there is almost always a great increase in vigour and fertility once an outcross is made.

Prolonged inbreeding of this sort always leads to a very uniform population. For example, if one

member of a line of inbred mice has brown hair with a white belt, all of them will resemble it in a high degree. So inbreeding can be and is used to fix any character in domestic animals which the breeder desires.

Outbreeding has also the great advantage that it allows the re-combination of different desirable characters. For example, if one race of wheat is resistant to frost, and another to the mould called rust, the first cross between them will probably not combine these characters; but they will be combined in some of the progeny in the next generation.

Thus occasional outcrossing speeds up either artificial or natural selection. The American biologist, Wright, believes that evolution occurs most quickly when a species is divided up into a number of small groups, each usually breeding with itself, but occasionally crossing with another group. This enables many different combinations of characters to be tried, but gives a chance for exchange of characters between those types which succeed. Thus the division of a species into two sexes is useful because it allows re-combination of this kind.

I have recently read several Nazi books on biology. They all appear to assume that racial mixture is a bad thing, and many of them state that the Germans should aim at becoming uniformly fair-haired, blue-eyed, tall, narrow-headed, and alike in all other respects. Such an ideal would, I think, be fatal to any people which realised it.

The importance of inborn characters has been greatly exaggerated. However, they do exist. I do not think that any amount of training would have made me a musician or a sprinter, though I have some inborn aptitude for mathematics and weight-lifting.

To meet the many different calls of life, it is surely desirable that a people should have a fair diversity of natural talents. If it had been the destiny of the Germans to order the rest of mankind about, as Hitler thought, there might have been some point in having them all alike. But — fortunately — they are not going to be a master race. They are going to have to work at a great many different jobs, and it will be a good thing if they are born with different aptitudes.

It may well be that different races, especially those whose ancestors have lived in one spot for ages, differ in their inborn abilities to a slight extent, each being adapted to its own way of life. This has been used as an argument against unions between different races. It is a bad argument, because modern men and women live in utterly new environments, and have to face new tasks. If the people of India are better capable than the British of standing great heat, a little Indian ancestry might be very useful for a British coalminer in any of our deeper pits.

No race has ever lived in an environment like a modern city, and perhaps different races may contribute different qualities needed in city dwellers. We do not know enough about ourselves to answer such questions with anything like certainty, even on the biological, let alone the social, level.

So far as concerns culture it certainly seems desirable that small nations, such as the Scottish, Irish and Welsh, and even groups which cannot be called national, such as the Cornish, Manxmen and Scottish Highlanders, should preserve their own traditions and ways of life, so far as they are compatible with modern methods of production. But it is also undesirable that any nation should shut itself off from the world, and inevitable and right that in a great city like London or Glasgow, men and women of many nations should mix. So far as can be seen at present, the same thing is desirable from a biological point of view.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

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THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH LABOR GOVT.

L. L. SHARKEY

STUDENTS of working-class history will draw lessons for application in the present from the revolutionary period following the close of the First World War and the role then played by Social-Democracy. Lenin carefully analysed the position that arose in Germany and Austria, in particular, and showed that it was Social-Democracy that saved German capitalism at the moment when the bourgeoisie was broken, discredited and powerless. In close collaboration with the military caste, the leaders of Social-Democracy, Scheidemann, Ebert and the "bloodhound" Noske crushed the rising forces of the German Socialist Revolution, slaying thousands of revolutionary workers and murdering Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, the leaders of German Communism.

British Social-Democracy, in the person of its leaders, Bevin, Laski, Morrison and Attlee, today essays the reactionary role of saving British imperialism in particular, and capitalism everywhere from the advancing tide of the people's democratic movement and Socialist revolution. Allying themselves with resurgent American imperialism, the strongest section of the world bourgeoisie, the "Labor Leaders," in the name of the British working-class movement, head the anti-Soviet crusade of monopoly capitalism. They have restored monarcho-fascism in Greece, attempted to reimpose brutal Dutch imperialism on the Indonesian people by force, attacked liberation movements in Indo-China, Malava and Burma, and slain hundreds of demonstrating Indian nationalists socialists and democrats.

The fact that 1,000,000 Azerbaijanian peasants have been liberated from landlord exploitation and at last received the land for which they have struggled for centuries, that the Azerbaijanese, a different race from the Persians, have received autonomy, raises no enthusiasm in the breasts of the Bevins. Rather does it increase their anti-Soviet fury.

Bevin and Co., by every means in their power, have striven to obstruct the great nationalisation programmes of many of the new European governments, thereby acting in the interests of the landlords and capitalists, including the British and American financial lords, who had considerable investments in these industries.

A black, anti-working-class record indeed to establish in the course of a few months of governmental responsibility! It is clear that this is not the result of the machinations of imperialist bureaucrats in the Foreign Office, nor can it be rectified by removing bourgeois ideology from the mind of a Bevin; it is the settled, conscious policy of the imperialist Social-Democrats who head the British Labor Government.

In all essentials, the leaders of the British Labor Government are the heirs of counter-revolutionary German Social-Democracy, which, now shorn of most of its strength, is replaced by Bevinism as the centre of reaction within the world Labor movement. Just as the policy of German Social-Democracy paved the way for the growth of Fascism and World War 2, so will the policy of Bevin, unless it is corrected in time by the labor movement, pave the way for World War 3.

According to the A.B.C., Bevin is talking of the British Empire "as the basis of a world federation," because of its "genius" for co-operation and not destroying other people's independence. It is a crying shame that Bevin seemingly has never read the history of the American War of Independence, the war, lasting nearly a thousand years, of the Irish for freedom from British imperialism, the Boer War, the Sudan War, the innumerable colonial revolts, the conquest of India and the long and bloody struggle of the Indian peoples for liberty. Bevin knows only too well that India today is ready for one of the great revolutions of history and that the delegation of labor-imperialists now in India are seeking a compromise with the Indian bourgeoisie, a compromise at the expense of the Indian workers and peasants, based on the fear of the Indian bourgeoisie and aristocracy for the rising Indian labor movement and aiming at saving as much as possible of Britain's monopoly capitalists' exploitation of India.

Special note should be taken of the role of the psalmsinger of "democratic" and "socialist" phrases, Prof. Laski. While Bevin does the "tough" anti-Soviet work and the dirty work of suppressing colonial revolts, Laski, the pseudo-Socialist, tries to camouflage this real role of Bevinism with sentimental chatter reminiscent of the role of Kautsky and Bauer in the heyday of German Social-Democratic counter-revolution and anti-Sovietism.

There is a division of labor between Bevin and Laski, just as there was between Noske and Kautsky. Laski stumps Europe fighting working-class unity in the name of "democratic socialism," in reality striving to maintain the fatal split in the European labor movement which was the necessary condition for the temporary victory of fascism in Germany and throughout Europe. Bevin and Laski see in the surviving right-wingers of European Social-Democracy a handy tool of British imperialism, the proof of this being the refusal of the Anglo-American military occupation authorities to countenance the united party of Social-Democrats and

Communists, the German Socialist Union Party, in the areas of Germany controlled by them.

According to an A.B.C. broadcast (April 14), when asked in Italy what he considered to be the difference between British Tory and Labor Party policy, Laski answered that in Italy the Tories stood for the monarchy, the Labor Party favoured a Republic.

It does not matter to capitalism whether there is a monarchical or republican form of government, the fundamental question of modern politics is social ownership versus private ownership of the means of production. In any case, in Greece the Bevin-Laski policy leads directly to the restoration of the monarchy, just as in Spain the Anglo-American policy favours the return of the monarchy and retention of the essentials of the fascist-clerical dictatorship, with Franco the bloody peacefully accepting retirement.

In domestic policy, the British Labor Government is for the nationalisation of a number of key industries. Can this mean that the home policy of the British Labor Government presents a contradiction to its foreign policy, that it is advancing to Socialism at home while defending imperialism with Tory-like vigour abroad? Not at all. Nationalisation in Britain arises from the critical position of industry in the post-war world and the weakening effect of two world wars and the general crisis of capitalism (pre-war chronic depression) on the British bourgeoisie.

In Germany, the fusion of trustified capital with the State had proceeded further than in other capitalist States and was accentuated during the Hitler dictatorship, giving rise to the illusion in some quarters that there was "collectivised" industry under Nazism. This is State capitalism, which can mean, according to Lenin (and did mean in Germany) "a paradise for the capitalists" and "a hell for the workers." Nationalisation directed by genuine Socialists can be a stepping-stone to Socialism; in reactionary hands it is a means of reorganising declining capitalism.

Nationalisation in Britain demands a heavy struggle on the part of the workers for its democratisation, otherwise, in the hands of Bevin or Churchill, it means an attempt to revive imperialist strength and to fasten more securely capitalist exploitation on the working class, by means of enormous tribute, by means of compensation and interest payment to bondholders. This accentuates the parasitical, coupon-clipping character of the bourgeoisie. It is State capitalism, not Socialism. The British working class, therefore, is faced with great struggles to ensure that nationalisation is really democratic and progressive. It should work for the defeat of Bevin and his imperialist foreign policy which must be replaced by a policy of co-operation with the Soviet Union and the new people's democratic governments for peace and assistance to the colonial national movements to help secure their independence.

The reactionary policy of British Social-Democracy not only influences, in a reactionary direction, the European working-class movement, but we can expect it to exert a similar influence over the Australian and New Zealand labor movements as well, due to its encouragement to all reactionary, vacillating and class-collaborationist trends within these movements. The leaders of the A.L.P. today are vacillating between the traditional liberal-progressive policy of the A.L.P. and the imperialism and anti-Sovietism of Bevin. Their current policy is a weird mixture of both. They rejected, in the recent debate in the Federal Parliament, the thesis of the "inevitability" of war with the Soviet Union, yet their policy as expressed at the U.N.O. is often, objectively, at least, anti-Soviet, and the Australian vote, on most occasions, is cast in opposition to that of the Soviet and other democratic countries like Poland and Yugoslavia, i.e. in line with the basic anti-Soviet policies of the Anglo-American imperialists. Dr. Evatt is the U.N.O. champion of small (imperialistic) powers, but no word does he utter in disapproval of imperialist suppression in Greece, Indonesia, India and the colonies; rather he wishes to pursue the frame-up of the Soviet Union further than the Anglo-American representatives, supposedly in accordance with his lawyer's concept of U.N.O. as some sort of High Court.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Chifley, following on the repeated declarations on the issue by the late John Curtin, repudiates the A.L.P. platform of nationalisation ("socialisation") of basic industries, openly disavowing, now or in the future, any intention of nationalising either the mining industry or iron and steel (the B.H.P.).

The second most important Labor Government in Australia, that of McKell in N.S.W., has just caused considerable disappointment in the ranks of Labor Party supporters by refusing to nationalise the beer monopoly in this State, which sells inferior quality liquor at monopoly prices under the worst of conditions. His liquor reform bill has been described as the "brewers' gift bill." It is well known that, for a long period, a tie-up has existed in N.S.W. between the top leaders of the A.L.P. and the Tooth-Toohey brewing monopoly.

The divergence in policy on the nationalisation issue between the British and Australian Labor Governments reflects the different capitalist perspectives. Nationalisation in Britain arises as an urgent need in order to withstand American competition in the world market by overcoming the relative backwardness in industrial equipment, a task beyond the strength of much-boomed "private enterprise."

Australian capitalism, on the other hand, looks forward to a further period of growth, of industrial expansion with the aid of both British and American finance capital. Such capitalist giants as Ford, Nuffield, Courtaulds and others are developing or about to develop, with millions in capital investment, the motor, rayon, textile and other industries in Australia. These big industrial ventures, together with the Government's immigration plans, in the view of the liberal capitalist Australian Labor Party, indicate a further period of capitalist expansion, the completion of the process of the transformation of Australia from an agrarian to an industrial economy and the strengthening of its military potential also by a rapid increase in population through large-scale immigration. This is another phase of the policy of the A.L.P., described by Lenin, of building "an independent capitalist Australia." In these circumstances, the A.L.P. leadership renounces its 50-years-old espousal of nationalisation as an urgent measure. It still supports a number of reforms — the 40-hour week, certain social benefit schemes and the like, which are essential if it is to maintain its basis in the working class.

It is clear that there is grave danger that such a government will be drawn (especially as it sees itself militarily dependent on Britain and the United States) into the web of Bevin's anti-Soviet, imperialistic policies and intrigues. Messrs. Chifley and Evatt, the leaders of the A.L.P., are now in England. There they will discuss with Atlee and Bevin the problems of British imperialism and the role the bourgeoisie expects Australia to play in relation to British and U.S. imperialism and their anti-Soviet plans. This could well mark a decisive turning point for the A.L.P. For or against the final victory of the labor movement and Socialism, that is the question history inevitably poses for it. The working class will closely scrutinise the immediate activities of Chifley and Evatt in this connection during their sojourn abroad and the policy they enunciate when they return, to determine whether they have changed as Billy Hughes did during his 1916 English visit.

Australian Labor, too, is facing a crisis which will be accentuated both by world events and eventual economic depression. It is in danger of being influenced in a Rightist direction by the actions of the British Labor Government. It is a period in which the Labor Government is submitted to a test before the eyes of the workers, such a period as Lenin described in **Left-Wing Communism,** when the limitations of the Labor Party are becoming manifest, not only to the conscious vanguard, but to broad masses of the workers.

The Communist Party is aware of its increasing responsibility in the struggle against alien class influences within the fortress of labor and the need to conduct a determined struggle against them, thereby developing the political consciousness of the masses. The key to victory still remains the United Front in action with the masses and in support of whatever progressive measures the Labor Governments initiate, accompanied by criticism of the weaknesses and limitations of the latter. It goes without saying that the victory of Socialism depends primarily on the further building of the Communist Party and the strengthening of its independent role.

SOME THOUGHTS ON WAGES, PRICES AND PRICE CONTROL

E. A. LAURIE, L.L.M.

IT is quite a common contention today that an increase in the basic wage is not really of much use to the workers, because the capitalists would immediately increase the price of commodities and so offset any benefits to the workers arising from the wage increase.

In spite of the fact that this fallacy was dealt with by Marx as long ago as 1865 in a lecture to the Council of the First International (now published under the title **Value, Price and Profit),** it has proved very persistent, and has won some support, particularly as a result of the workers' experiences during the war, when every increase in the basic wage has been apparently followed almost automatically by an increase in prices. Because any acceptance of this idea among the ranks of the workers tends to weaken the struggle of the working class for increased wages, it deserves serious attention.

In a letter to Engels dated 20th May, 1865, Marx pointed out that "stupid as this (idea) is, since it only attaches itself to the most superficial external appearance, all the same it is not easy to explain. You can't compress a course of political economy into one hour." All that this present analysis therefore can hope to do is to draw attention to some aspects of the question arising from war experiences.

Market price at any given time is governed by the law of supply and demand. During the war the demand for consumers' goods became greater than ever, because full employment prevailed, and, in addition, many workers earned overtime; the mass of the people had more purchasing power in their pockets than ever before. Normally, such an increased demand would soon be satisfied by an increase in supply. There would be a steady increase in price at first, followed by a return to normal as the demand was satisfied. But, because of the switch to war production, the supply of consumers' goods not only did not expand, but was actually curtailed. A rise in prices naturally

took place, slowly at first but with greater speed as the tempo of war production increased, and the unsatisfied demand accumulated.

As prices rose, the move began to adjust wages to meet the increased cost of living. Demand again increased and so prices again rose. This so-called "vicious spiral" was used by the capitalists and their stooges as an argument for not increasing wages. But it is important to note that the spiral began, not with wages, but with prices. Wages followed prices upwards. This has been clearly demonstrated since 1942. In spite of wage-pegging regulations, prices have continued to rise, even in official calculations, and, periodically, wages have been adjusted upwards accordingly.

If the law of supply and demand had been left to operate unhindered, this condition of curtailed supply and a large, and continually increasing, unsatisfied demand would have resulted in a sky-rocketing of prices to inflationary levels. But Government machinery was set up, which aimed at pegging wages and controlling prices. And, with all its defects, it must be admitted that this machinery did succeed in keeping the prices of those commodities to which it applied much lower than they would have been, if the interaction of supply and demand had been allowed full play.

Under this system of price control, within certain limits the law of supply and demand was superseded by a new method, whereby prices were fixed by allowing the capitalist a fixed margin of profit on his costs of production. As costs increased the capitalist was allowed to pass them on in price. As any increase in wages appeared as a higher cost to the capitalist the price control authorities allowed this cost to be handed on to the consumer in prices. And so increased wages did result in increased prices. Thus under the abnormal wartime conditions it appeared that what determined price was the capitalists' costs, and that the capitalist was able to pass on any increase in wages to prices.

As consumer goods are still in short supply, the necessity for price control continues. Without price control any increase in the basic wage would certainly result in higher prices as a result of increased demand, and even without a higher basic wage, the price of many commodities would rise immediately (for example, land, building materials, men's clothing), if price control was lifted.

But even with price control as it has operated during the war, an increase in the basic wage would lead to higher prices, as the price control authorities would allow the employers to pass on any increased costs arising from increased wages. What is needed, therefore, is not merely a continuance of price control, but a more effective method of price fixing, so that no increase in prices will be permitted to follow from a rise in the basic wage. How can such a method of price fixing be applied?

The more obvious defects of the wartime price control machinery are, first, that it did not cover a sufficiently wide range of commodities; secondly, that the maximum tended to become the minimum, so that the poorest grades sold at the highest price, and the better goods, in many instances, disappeared from the market altogether, thus resulting in a general deterioration in quality; thirdly, that the regulations were too easily evaded and conviction of offences too difficult, slow, and costly; and fourthly, that failure to police and destroy the black market resulted in a diversion of huge quantities of price-controlled goods to the black market and so still further curtailed the supply for those who needed them most, by placing consumer goods beyond the power of the people to purchase.

The principles of price control adopted are also open to considerable criticism. Prices were fixed by allowing the capitalist a set margin of profit (generally his pre-war rate) on his costs. Many practices were introduced whereby costs were considerably inflated and so prices were increased. Apart from the more obvious method of increasing labor costs by excessive overtime or by employing more hands than necessary, total costs were inflated in many instances by increases in the non-productive factors of cost, for example, by exorbitant rentals, advertising, commissions, dummy subsidiaries, inflated reserves for depreciation and taxation, excessive managerial expenses and many other practices, most of which were only back-door methods of increasing the return to the capitalist class. Consequently, although prices have been prevented from rising as high as they would have if there had been no Government intervention, the price of commodities is on the whole considerably higher than their economic value.

The spokesmen of the capitalist class are continually pointing to the fact that costs are too high and must come down. But they argue that the only way this can be achieved is by "speed-up" and other methods of increasing the intensity of labor. They conveniently forget these other non-productive cost factors which are, in fact, one of the major causes of cost inflation at the present time. If price-fixing authorities were to direct their attention to these non-productive aspects of cost, then, not only would it be possible for increased wages to be won without any increase in prices, but in many cases an actual reduction in prices could be effected.

Price-pegging, instead of the more flexible and easily-manipulated price **control,** would compel the capitalists to pay some attention to cutting down their inflated costs, if they did not want their profit rate to suffer as a result of increased wages. Increased wages could then be won without being followed by increased prices.

Price control, however, can only operate within the narrow limits where there is an artificial scarcity, such as is created by war conditions. As reconversion proceeds and industries are turned over to civilian production, supply will overtake demand and prices of commodities will tend to find a level more in accord with their value. Price control could then be used by the monopolists to help maintain an artificially high price level. The freest possible operation of supply and demand will then be in the best interests of the workers.

In **Value, Price and Profit** Marx showed that under the conditions of a free market, the capitalists are unable to pass on increased costs in the form of increased price, because they do not control price.

The price of a commodity fluctuates in accordance with supply and demand and in the long run, as the fluctuations in price caused by the interaction of supply and demand cancel each other out, the price of a commodity is determined by its economic value. The economic value of a commodity is in turn determined by "the amount of socially necessary labor" contained therein. In a free market, therefore, price is determined independently of the whim of the capitalist or his costs.

When a general increase in wages takes place, the capitalists try to counteract any increase in costs which would result either by introducing new labor-saving machinery, or by more efficient organisation of plant, or by "speed-up" methods so that the labor cost per unit of production does not rise. For example, in the sugar industry the wages cost per ton of raw sugar fell from £3/15/4 to £1/11/7 between 1921 and 1939 in spite of increased wages and shorter hours.

The productivity of the worker is increasing continually, as the capitalist endeavours all the time to cheapen the cost of his product. In Australia the index of real production per person engaged in industry (corrected to allow for changes in money value) has risen from 100 in 1911 to 146 in 1942-43—an increase of 46 per cent. It is to this increased productivity that Marx points as the first source which makes a general increase in real wages possible. Over the same period the index of real wages (corrected to allow for changes in money value), including all margins for skill, increased by 1,000 to 1,196, an increase of only 19 per cent. Therefore, increased productivity has been such that a substantial increase in real wages is possible in Australia today.

But even if production remained static, Marx maintained that an increase in real wages could be won at the expense of profit. "If I have a given number," he said, "say eight, the absolute limits of this number do not prevent its parts from changing their RELATIVE limits. If profits were six and wages two, wages might increase to six and profits decrease to two, and still the total amount remain at eight." In this case the capitalist has not been able to lower his cost and increased wages have had to be met out of profit.

But in neither case can he pass on his increased costs by increasing prices. If he cannot produce at a profit at the prevailing price he may decide not to produce at all and this will affect supply and so alter the price. But price is affected only indirectly. But another law of capitalist production is that capital will flow to the field of greatest profit. Soon an increase in supply will take place which will force prices down again.

Marx concluded, therefore, that workers can win an increase in real wages either as a result of increased productivity or at the expense of profit, and that that increase will not be taken from them in increased prices. The relative shares of the worker's product which will be taken by the worker as wages and the capitalist as profit will depend in the last resort upon the bargaining strength of the parties at any given time.

But Marx was dealing with the conditions that operate in a free market. To what extent have these principles been modified by the development of imperialism and the growth of monopoly since Marx wrote?

The growth of monopoly has certainly interfered with the free operation of the market both by the restriction of supply and by interference with the movement of capital. Consequently the monopolists have been able to maintain the price of commodities at artificially high levels for long periods. Professor Varga has pointed out that although during the 1914-18 war "the rising productivity of labor lowered the value of products of the same quality, the strength of monopoly, and the fact that war resulted in a piling up of overheads on production, maintained market prices at a far higher level than before the war."

At the same time the period of the decay of capitalism has been one of continuing currency inflation, so that there has been a steady rise in price levels expressed in terms of money, as the value of money has fallen. In Australia, for example, the sovereign, which was worth £1 (Aust.) in 1907, is today worth £2/8/-. Therefore, even with price expressing the true value of commodities, prices in terms of money over a period would have risen considerably. The two factors operating together resulted in an extremely high level of money prices in the 1920's compared with 1910.

But the monopolists were unable to maintain an artificially high price level indefinitely. In the crisis of 1929-33 the law of value manifested itself and prices fell in accordance with the fall in value that had occurred over the previous 15 years. The depth and sharpness of the crisis was aggravated by the previous artificially high level of prices maintained. In the long run, therefore, the principles set out by Marx asserted themselves, and all the more violently because of previous restrictions.

The conditions in Australia during the 1914-18 war, and since, bear out this general picture.

Due to the inflation of currency, the restrictive activities of monopoly, and to the instability of the market in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, there has been a steady increase in price level over the past 30 odd years. This has taken place apart from any increase in wages and would have occurred even if the basic wage had remained at £2/2/-.

But the practice of the Arbitration Court operating in a period of rising prices has made it appear that the rise in prices has followed and been caused by periodic wage increases. The Court has made regular upward adjustments to the money wage so that the level of real wages has been maintained, on the whole, about the same as in 1907. But they have steadfastly refused to allow any money wage increases which would result in an increase in real wages. As the process of rising prices has been a continuing one (except during the depression), each upward adjustment of the money wage has been followed by a further increase in prices, so that, to external appearances, the rise in prices has apparently been caused by the increase in wages.

The practice of the Arbitration Court has, thus, crystallised the belief that increased wages lead to increased prices which nullify the wage increase, and, therefore, that no increase in real wages is possible under capitalism.

That the real position is that wages are chasing prices, and not prices chasing wages, was clearly shown during the depression. Prices kept falling. Although the Arbitration Court tried to anticipate them by a drastic reduction in wages, prices actually fell even lower than wages and the worker who was in full time employment had a higher real wage than at any other time. Then prices again began to move upward and again the only adjustments of the basic wage allowed were those necessary to restore the old real wage level.

The position is that increases in real wages can be won, but not from the Arbitration Court as long as present wage-fixing principles are applied.

In the post-war period it can be anticipated that the general level of prices in terms of money will be higher than pre-war, owing to the further inflation of currency which has taken place during the war. Monopoly can again be expected to attempt to use its strength to maintain artificially high prices and to pass on increased costs to prices.

To enable workers to get the full benefit of wage increases and to bring the prices of commodities nearer to their economic value, the control of monopolies is essential. At the same time, by preventing the maintenance of artificially high prices, the control of monopolies would help to cushion the economic crisis when it comes.

MR. BEVIN AND BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

K. ZILLIACUS, M.P.

(Mr. K. Zilliacus, British Labor M.P., is the author of Why We Are Losing the Peace, The Mirror of the Past, and other books on international affairs.)

WHEREAS in home affairs the Labor Government are supported by a united and enthusiastic Party and are being bitterly fought by the Tories, in foreign affairs it is Tory roses, roses all the way for Mr. Bevin, while Labor back-benchers and the Party in the country are getting more and more puzzled and dismayed. It is important to understand just what is happening in our foreign policy, and why.

In 1938 Mr. Attlee wrote a book called **The Labor Party in Perspective,** in which he said that the chief fault of the Labor Party in foreign policy after the first world war was that it had been content to borrow its ideas from the Liberals instead of hammering out a Socialist foreign policy of its own. He added that

"there is a deep difference of opinion between the Labor Party and the Capitalist parties on foreign as well as on home policy, because the two cannot be separated. The foreign policy of a Government is the reflection of its internal policy. Imperialism is the form which capitalism takes in relation to other nations. A Capitalist Government in Britain . . . is nationalist, not internationalist in outlook. It may on particular occasions take action in foreign affairs with which the Labor Party agrees . . . but such particular instances of action which can be approved by Socialists do not affect the truth of the general proposition that there is no agreement on foreign policy between a Labor Opposition and a Capitalist Government."

In spite of these brave words, the Labor Government after the second world war have thrown overboard the Labor Party's statements on foreign affairs and are continuing, in national unity with the Tories, the foreign policy they inherited from their Conservative predecessors in the Coalition. The result is that whereas the world is changing and our position in the world has changed, our foreign policy remains unchanged.

Anglo-Russian relations have generally been the acid test of British foreign policy. Let us take them as the starting-point of this analysis. To give the necessary perspective, let us begin with the Russian Revolution.

"Hate of the revolution and fear of its consequences in England were the dominant reactions of Conservatives. . . I found the same fears among the Labor patriots," wrote Bruce Lockhart in **Memoirs of a British Agent.** "The Allies greeted the revolution first with feigned enthusiasm and then with increasing alarm. They wanted—and on the part of the military advisers the wish was natural—things to be put back where they were before."

The Tories are still in the state of mind that these quotations reveal. Between the wars they lost the peace because they first fought the social revolution in Russia and Europe, then boycotted the Soviet Union, and finally appeased the fascist aggressors. They view the second wave of the social revolution, released by the second world war in Europe and the Far East (where the French and Russian Revolutions have arrived hand in hand) with the same hysterical hatred and dread that they fought the first wave in 1918-21. The ex-appeasers of yesterday still sitting on the Tory benches have turned into the frustrated interventionists of today. Their view of what ought to be done now is still that of Lord D'Abernon in his book, **An Ambassador of Peace,** when he wrote, defending the Locarno Treaties (the Western bloc of those days):

"It was apparent to those who took a world view that Western civilisation was menaced by an external danger which, coming into being during the war, threatened a cataclysm equalled only by the fall of the Roman Empire. This danger arose from the sweeping success in 1917 of the revolution against the Czarist regime and the establishment in Russia of a fanatical Communist Government animated by hatred of all political organisations which stood in the way of a world victory of the Soviet creed. . .

"Resistance to communistic propaganda, the maintenance of peace in Europe, the avoidance of another Great War, the establishment of security for respective frontiers, the preservation of society on existing lines, were capital objects of British policy. But there was more than this. England's stupendous and vital interests in Asia were menaced by a danger graver than any which existed in the time of the old Imperialistic regime in Russia. Hostility to England or jealousy of the intrusion of British civilisation into Asia were indeed of old standing. For the last seventy years of the nineteenth century, rivalry between England and Russia had been a dominant fact in history. But the Bolsheviks disposed of two weapons which Imperial Russia lacked—class revolt propaganda, appealing to the proletariat of the world, and the quasi-religious fanaticism of Lenin, which infused a vigour and zeal unknown to the officials and emissaries of the Czar."

"Resistance to communistic propaganda," "the preservation of society on existing lines," and the determination to defend Britain's "stupendous and vital" interests in Asia by excluding the U.S.S.R. from the Middle East, are the operative parts of this statement. They were the "capital objects" pursued above all others by British foreign policy between the wars. That is why our foreign policy played a big part in bringing about the second world war.

The Tories are so enthusiastic about Mr. Bevin's foreign policy, because they see it apparently pursuing the same traditional aims and animated by the same 19th century motives as those so ably summarised by Lord D'Abernon twenty years ago. Mr. Bevin's speeches in the House and in the Security Council pour balm on the suffering souls of the frustrated interventionists on the Tory benches.

Mr. Bevin's outburst on February 1st in the Security Council against the Communist Parties of the world aroused the utmost enthusiasm in the press of Franco Spain and Fascist Argentine, not to mention the Greek Royalists, General Anders' Polish Army in Italy, the Hearst press and the **Chicago Tribune** in the U.S.A., the Kemsley and Rothermere papers here and the whole rag-tail and bobtail of the fascist and reactionary down and outers throughout Europe. For they all dream of another war of intervention that will put them back where they were before. And did not Mr. Bevin say that "it has been the incessant propaganda of Moscow and the incessant propaganda of the Communist Party in every country in the world to attack the British people and the British Government as if there has been no friendship between us. That is the danger to the peace of the world. It sets us against one another, causes suspicion and misunderstanding, and makes one wonder what the motive is."

On the same occasion Mr. Bevin admitted that British troops had gone into Greece, not to liberate the country from the Germans, but in order to prevent the resistance movement, E.A.M. (then a broadly-based coalition including nearly all democratic elements) from taking charge of the country. Instead, we put into power a pack of reactionaries, Royalists and ex-collaborators, who instituted a reign of terror against the Left.

In December, 1944, Mr. Bevin told the Labor Conference that Greece had been invaded because "the British Empire cannot abandon its position in the Mediterranean." That is a return to the Imperial strategy of the last century, which was directed to keeping Russia out of the Balkans and Middle East and bottled up in the Black Sea. The same strategic conception appeared in Mr. Bevin's remark when, speaking to the House on November 7th about the Soviet desire to be made trustee of an Italian colony, he said, "one cannot help being a little suspicious if a great Power wants to come right across, shall I say, the throat of the British Commonwealth. . . One is driven to ask oneself the motive."

Again, when on November 21st, Brigadier Maclean asked for an assurance that "it is the intention of H.M. Government in all circumstances to safeguard our imperial interests in South Persia and the Persian Gulf," Mr. Bevin answered grandly that "it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to safeguard British interests in whatever part of the world they may be found." The Brigadier then asked how the Government proposed "to carry out this assurance in this particular case." Mr. Bevin replied: "I cannot divulge to the hon. and gallant member, in answer to a question, all the strategy of the Chiefs of Staffs and

everybody else concerned." Even the Brigadier felt bound to protest the next day that "That was not at all the answer that I expected or desired. Strategy and Chiefs of Staff are brought into play, not in keeping order in our outlying part of Asia, but in a major war, and that is exactly what we are out to avoid."

Mr. Bevin's outlook on Europe, the Middle East and the Soviet Union, it will be observed, does not differ by a hair's breadth from that of Lord D'Abernon twenty years ago, in the day when we lost the last peace. Our Foreign Secretary stands with one foot in the Crimean Conference and the other in the Crimean War.

The truth is that the War Office, the Admiralty and the Foreign Office are running our foreign policy, not the Labor Government. And in Europe, the Middle East, the Far East (Indonesia) alike, they are pursuing the traditional social and Imperial aims of the old governing class, who may have lost the election, but are still overwhelmingly represented in the Foreign and Colonial Offices and the fighting services.

But the world has changed, and our position in the world, including the things for which the British people are prepared to fight, has changed.

The Soviet Union has emerged from the second world war as a first class world power. There is a tremendous ferment and stir among the peoples of the East where the demand for national independence and political democracy, and the desire for social change, are working together powerfully in men's minds.

The Communists of today are not the Communists of 1919. They are incomparably more mature and powerful. They are the leaders of most or all of the working-class in nearly every country in Europe except the old democracies of the North-West fringe, Switzerland and Austria. They represent the mighty Soviet Union and nearly all the forces of democracy and progress in that vast country, China, where they rule over whole provinces. They lead most of the organised workers in Latin America. They played a heroic and central part in the underground resistance movements, and have emerged in leading positions in the progressive coalitions that alone are capable of reconstructing the war-shattered countries where democracy has been destroyed or never existed, and where the old social order has broken down beyond repair. They are working hand in hand with the Socialist parties in most countries.

This country, at the present rate of demobilisation, will still have over 2,000,000 men under arms next June—a higher figure than the United States. We cannot afford to maintain much more than a quarter of that figure for any length of time. Let the fate of France serve as a warning. General de Gaulle's policy of prestige and megalomania brought that country to the verge of economic collapse, and has necessitated drastic cuts in France's military establishment and armaments.

If we are not to wreck our economic reconstruction we must cut out commitments, armaments and military establishments ruthlessly. We are not physically able to fight the Soviet Union and the British people would make short work of any Government insane enough to go to war about oil or strategic or any other of the "vital interests" in the Middle East so dear to the Foreign Office and the War Office and Admiralty, but about which British workers know nothing and care less.

Mr. Attlee said on January 29th that our vast military commitments were necessary to world peace. Let the United Nations Security Council be the judge of that. Offer to share with our fellow-members of the Security Council all our commitments to maintain peace, including such matters as Indonesia; Greece; Palestine; control of oil resources and irrigation and development schemes in the Middle East; control of the inlets and outlets of the Mediterranean and Black Sea and the demilitarisation of the Straits (Dardanelles) the Dodecanese and Cyprus.

In the conditions of power-politics and international anarchy, it is the pleasant habit of War Offices, Admiralties and Air Ministries (under some such body as the Imperial Defence Committee) to prepare plans ceaselessly for war against States with whom we might be at war. Our fighting services no longer go through that routine against the United States. War between the English-speaking nations is regarded as unthinkable and is left out of our defence calculations. That is also true of France.

The Labor Government should instruct the Imperial Defence Committee and the fighting services to cease preparing plans for possible war between any or all of the permanent Security Council members, since they cannot under the Charter declare each other aggressors and are jointly charged with the maintenance of world peace. That means no more preparations for war or disposal of forces according to strategic calculations against the Soviet Union. That would enable us to bring most of our soldiers home from the Near and Middle East in double-quick time.

Nearer home, we should apply Labor's declared policy of co-operating with the governing coalitions that have issued from the resistance movements, in order to unite, reconstruct and pacify Europe through a sweeping advance to Socialism and on the basis of the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet Alliances.

On those lines we could make peace. On present lines we are drifting to disaster.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

(Written for the Communist Review by an expert on housing.)

IT is a popular fallacy that the present housing shortage is due entirely to the cessation of building during the war and that its slow relief is entirely due to the mishandling of the problem by Labor governments. This misconception is being carefully fostered by the capitalist press throughout Australia, who see in the entry of Government into the housing field a trespass upon a province of private enterprise which has reaped handsome profits for property owners in the past at the expense of tremendous misery for thousands of Australians, who have been forced to live in foul, squalid, unhealthy, airless dwellings and have paid rents sufficient to replace their living quarters over and over again.

The Commonwealth Housing Commission proved conclusively in the 328 pages of their Final Report to the Commonwealth Government that there were approximately 120,000 houses short before World War II started. The main reason for this shortage was the failure of private enterprise to build sufficient homes for the lower-income group at a rental which they could afford. Attempts had been made by reactionary Governments to solve the problem without interfering with this well-established field of private enterprise. For example, the Stevens Government in N.S.W. in 1936 had boosted co-operative building societies by giving Government guarantee to portion of the capital invested in houses built through these agencies. But because a deposit was required and the loan repayment was high the terms were above the reach of the lower-income group. They do, however, provide a useful service for the lower-income groups.

It had been the policy of all Australian Governments between the two World Wars to avoid actively entering the housing field until forced to by public opinion and then to do as little as possible to interfere with the status quo. Although the 1914-18 war aggravated the housing shortage, and the return of ex-servicemen increased the demand still further, little was done to make provision for home building other than by the Commonwealth War Service Homes Commission, which met, to some extent, the needs of ex-servicemen.

The depression of the 1930's caused a very great reduction in all building and the housing shortage became so acute during the decade 1930-1940 that governments were forced to take further action. In 1936 a Housing Improvement Board was set up in N.S.W. which did no more than build 56 flats at Erskineville. In the same year the South Australian Housing Trust was established and had built 1,030 dwellings up to 1941. These, by provision in the Act, let at extremely low rentals (as low as 12/6 per week) which, however, had the unfortunate effect of forcing down the size of the rooms and the standard of equipment. The building costs were most reasonable. The rentals were within the reach of the lower-income groups but the standards of space were below those demanded by the average Australian for the raising of a healthy family and for living conditions of common decency. This proved beyond doubt that Government assistance must be given in order that a reasonable standard of floor space and equipment be maintained. The high building costs at present prevailing aggravate the position even more.

In 1938 the Victorian Housing Commission was appointed. This Commission built the most satisfactory large-scale housing up to World War II. Their policy had been to take advantage of building economies by mass construction of large groups of houses under one contract on sizeable areas of land, which had been specially selected for its proximity to industry. Up to 1941, 1,586 slum houses were demolished and the rate of housing had reached 1,279 dwellings in two years. Even this was only a drop in the ocean of need. The other States did even less towards the erection of low cost homes.

With the cessation of building in 1941 the shortage of houses became critical and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security recommended that the Commonwealth Government should take action to solve a problem which was nation-wide. The Commonwealth Housing Commission was established in 1943 to report on the existing housing shortage in Australia and the housing requirements during the post-war period. The Commission underlined the failure of private enterprise to house the people and urged that Governments should co-operate in building a large volume of dwellings. The ability of Governments to build more cheaply and without profit was emphasised. Further, it was recommended that 1-6th of the tenant's family income was the maximum proportion payable for rent, and that as this would not pay for a decent home under present conditions a subsidy should be paid to make up the difference between the economic rental and 1-6th of the tenant's income. Programmes were proposed of 50,000 houses in the first post-war year, rising to 80,000 in the third post-war year and continuing at that level until the shortage was removed in 10 years time. Of this total half would be built by Governments and half by private enterprise, thus leaving an equivalent amount to private enterprise to the largest number of dwellings built in any pre-war year, that is, 40,000.

As the result of the Commission's report a

Commonwealth - State Housing Agreement was concluded in 1945, incorporating the following:—

1. The Housing Authority in each State shall allow to low-income tenants a rental rebate equal to the difference between economic rent and one-fifth of the family income when that income equals the basic wage. (As the family income falls below or rises above the basic wage the proportion shall vary.)
2. The Commonwealth Government shall bear three-fifths of any financial losses incurred by the Government-financed housing schemes and the balance shall be borne by the States.
3. Dwellings shall be allotted on the basis of need.

Apparently the pressure by Treasuries had forced an increase in the proportion of tenant's income payable for rent from one-sixth recommended by the Commission to one-fifth. (The ruling proportion in the U.S.S.R. is one-tenth.)

Now turn the page to the post-war picture and see what has been done by Governments under this Agreement. Of all Governments, N.S.W. has clearly made the biggest strides. With practically no pre-war organisation, a handful of executives retained during the war and no technical staff, the N.S.W. Housing Commission has advanced to the position now where more houses are being erected in this State in each quarter than in any other. Even so, they have been very slow in taking advantage of technical knowledge developed pre-war in other States; from Victoria in particular. Mass-production of concrete houses had been proceeding there for some years prior to the cessation of building. Full advantage had been taken by the Victorian Housing Commission of the latest architectural knowledge through a panel of architects appointed as a result of a competition. The N.S.W. Housing Commission and the Minister for Housing muddled with the problem and refused to seek the best experience and advice. Then came a re-organisation of the Commission in 1945 under public pressure, when the technical quality of the Commission was improved, but clearly there has been no demonstration that the Commission understands the social nature of the job they are doing. Expediency has outweighed considerations of equal moment, such as the proper relation of housing schemes to industry and the proper provision of community centres, shops, picture shows and so on. Flats, the most economical means of solving the housing problem quickly, have been thrust into the background. An enormous social problem is being tinkered with by small men with limited vision.

The major factor contributing to the slowness of the house-building programme is the slow production of building materials. Great energy and drive is necessary by Governments to overcome the shortage. But here again there is great reluctance to enter the field of production in competition with private enterprise. For example, in spite of the public clamour for more bricks and the exposure of the go-slow policy of the brick producing monopoly, the N.S.W. Government belatedly took over the State Brickyards only after the big builders through their mouthpiece, Mr. E. R. Bradshaw, complained that their building works were being held up. The fibrous plaster industry is also adopting a go-slow policy. Electric stoves are in short supply. Only when the Government takes bold steps by requisitioning munition factories, of which there are plenty available, will the position improve. Now that the principle of housing by Government has been established, and it will be difficult for the forces of reaction to reverse this and still retain any vestige of popular support, the next important step must be to secure the increasing flow of building materials. Only active participation by Government can secure this.

New technical methods will develop from the researches of the Commonwealth Experimental Building Station, established in 1944 for the purpose of investigating prefabrication of house units and other building components such as kitchen fittings. This station should be fully utilized by the various State Governments.

The State Government has recently announced the establishment of a prefabrication factory at Villawood and this, if pursued with real purpose, may grow in importance as its methods prove successful. The adoption of new building methods must take place side by side with the use of existing methods so that full use may be made of craftsmen trained in those methods. The new methods may eventually supersede the old entirely for large-scale housing work.

INDIA'S AGRARIAN CRISIS

G. ADHIKARI

Part I (Abridged)

THE rice famine of 1943-44 which devastated Bengal, seriously affected Orissa, Malabar and Rayalseema, is history's grim and final warning to India. . . .

India was not visited by a great natural calamity. Japanese aggression had cut off rice export from Burma. The total rice deficit for the year was not more than 12%. And yet 3,500,000 perished in one year in Bengal out of sheer lack of food; 1,200,000 died of epidemics in the next year; 10% of the total population of the famine-effected area was rendered destitute. . . . All rural life had collapsed in more than one-fourth of Bengal. . . .

Ninety per cent. of India's food producers are poor and middle peasants. Their methods of production are several thousand years old and primitive. Most of them work under horrible conditions — as rack-rented debt-slaves, or as serfs. The landlord and the usurer take more than half of what the peasant produces. . . . Through decades of imperialist rule, the peasant cultivator and the tenant have become poorer and more debt-ridden. His plot of land has become smaller. He has had less and less to put back in the land to improve it. . . .

And this rickety agriculture of impoverished serf villages has to support the ever-increasing army of landless laborers, which the strangulation of industries by British imperialists throws upon the village. It is not surprising that India under these conditions should be a land of chronic agrarian crisis. What is surprising is the immense patience of the Indian peasant, who has borne the ever-increasing load of parasitic classes, has gone on producing food under ever worsening conditions of exploitation and serfdom.

In the very year of famine, the Bengal peasant showed his amazing capacity to go on tilling the soil in spite of starvation, in spite of the want of bullocks. He raised the crop in every available acre even at the point of death. In 1944 the fields were overflowing, as it were, with a bumper crop of the golden grain. But it was not the peasant and the toiler who got the grain, but the landlords and the usurer **Mahajans,** who had now turned blackmarketeers and hoarders. The peasant faced further starvation, epidemics and ruin. . . .

The Bengal famine was neither a natural calamity nor a war accident. It was a danger signal. It has given us a glimpse of the ghastly end to which the Indian peasantry and Indian village society — the food base of our culture and civilisation — are inevitably going as a result of 200 years of imperialist rule and imperialist policy.

It is customary for the apologists of imperialism to talk of India's "over-population" as the cause of India's proverbial poverty. They talk of the "vicious circle" of growing population and declining standard of living of India. (Vaidyanathan. Indian Census Report, 1931.) In fact, the glaring feature of Indian life under the last 100 years or so of British rule is the growing pressure of population on land. But this is not a biological phenomenon nor need it be attributed to some mysterious law of the declining fertility of the soil.

It is a socio-political fact — a direct result of imperialist rule and exploitation. British imperialists conquered India as a huge monopolist market for their capitalist industries to buy raw materials and sell their finished goods. They destroyed India's old artisan industries and throttled the growth of new modern industries. Since 1891 the percentage of population dependent on agriculture has steadily increased. It rose from 61% in 1891 to 73% in 1921 and 75% in 1931.

Percentage of industrial workers to total population has steadily decreased:

Year.	% of Population Dependent on Agriculture.	% of Industrial Workers to Total Population.
1891	61.1	—
1911	66.5	5.5
1921	72.2	4.9
1931	73.0	4.3
1941	—	4.2

On the one hand, more and more people have to live off agriculture because of imperialism's throttling grip on India's industrial development. On the other hand, agriculture itself, in the hands of a starving, rack-rented and debt-ridden peasantry has been steadily stagnating and declining. This, and no other, is the real vicious circle which is at the root of the growing crisis of Indian agriculture. India, which was described once by the old Chinese travellers as the land of plenty, of highly developed agriculture and cattle breeding, has become a land of deficit food production, a land of chronic famine.

How total sown area and food grain production has actually dwindled while the population has increased can be seen from this table:

Declining Food Production in British India.

(Note: That part of India ruled by British Governors, which excludes the Native States.—Ed.)

Year	Population	Sown area (in million acres)	Food Grain (in million tons)
1911-12	231.6	150.6	—
1921-22	233.6	158.6	54.3
1931-32	256.8	156.9	50.1
1941-42	295.8	156.5	45.7

(Burns, **Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India — —1944.**)

For an all-India population of 388 million, the maximum available food grain production is 53 million tons. If the whole of India is to be rationed at the rate of 1lb a head per day we would need 63 million tons of food grains a year, i.e., 10 million tons more than Indians can grow under present conditions in a good year.

That this decline of food production is due to the growing impoverishment of the peasantry and the consequent deterioration in agriculture is shown by the fact that the average yield per acre of important food grains has also declined. W. Burns, a Government of India official, in the book quoted above gives the following figures for rice:

Declining Yield of Rice (lbs per acre)

	1909-13	1926-27 1930-31	1931-32 1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39
India (including Burma)	982	851	829	861	826	728
Burma	—	887	845	833	813	959
Japan	1,000	1,333	1,413	1,505	1,471	1,469
America	1,827	2,124	2,053	2,339	2,305	2,276

(Burns, **ibid**, p. 55.)

This decline in food production and yield naturally expresses itself in the chronic starvation of the Indian rural population. According to the well-known estimate of Sir John Megaw, in the whole of India only 39% of the population is well nourished; 41% is poorly nourished and 20% very badly nourished. This estimate was made in 1938. It is needless to say that starvation has immensely increased since the recent years of famine and high prices. . . .

Ancient and medieval agricultural society in India was based on the self-sufficient village community. The land was owned in common by the peasants who cultivated it in small plots. Every village community had its own hand-industry run by individual artisans. The weaver, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the shoemaker, etc., each got his share of grain from each peasant as fixed by the village community. The village community as a whole paid a part of the produce to the king or the overlord, who in return protected the village and looked after its irrigation works. This basic unit of old Indian life and society persisted through centuries and under changing dynasties right up to the British conquest. British imperialism was a conqueror of a new type. It wanted political domination over India for securing a monopolist grip over its economy and a cheap source for its raw materials and market for British manufactured goods.

It was the British imperialist who created the landlord who, as **Talukadar, Zemindar, Malguzar, Jagirdar,** or **Khot,** is in possession of some 49% of the cultivated land. He created them from petty chiefs and overlords — the tax-gatherers of the Mughal and Hindu emperors from the villages. He created them because they were a convenient reactionary social base from which he could force foreign rule over a rebellious peasantry and people. The landlords pay a permanently or a temporarily settled land revenue to the state. From their tenant-cultivators they can extract almost any rent they like without having any responsibility whatsoever to look after the irrigation or the improvement of land. In the parts of the country where the British introduced **Ryotwari,** the state itself acted as the landlord and extorted enormous sums as land revenue. In the 19th century the British bothered as little about irrigation and land improvement as did their own creatures, the landlords.

But the new feature of imperialist robbery of Indian agriculture was the introduction of capitalist exploitation on top of the feudal one. The introduction of money economy and the coming in of cheap manufactured goods (cloth and tools) soon disrupted the closed circle of the self-sufficient economy of the village communities. Land became a commodity. The artisan who was a village servant became a jobless laborer. The peasant cultivator himself, under the burden of extortionate rent and land revenue, became debt-ridden. Old irrigation fell into disuse and agriculture rapidly declined. . . .

The agrarian crisis of the end of the 19th century was mainly due to the excessive land revenue and rental demands on the one hand, and neglect of irrigation and destruction of handicrafts on the other. But all the other features of the general crisis of Indian agriculture under imperialism which have developed in the last 45 years were also there in more or less developed form: the tax-burdened tenant and peasant-cultivator was falling in debt: sub-infeudation was growing in **Zemindari** areas with the result that the burden of parasitic strata which lived off the labor of the tenant-cultivator was growing greater: the debt-ridden peasant-cultivator was losing land — with the result that the number of agricultural laborers was increasing and the size of holdings becoming smaller: the tenant-at-will on temporarily settled **Zemindari** areas was becoming a serf. . . .

The root cause of the strangulation of agriculture and the growing impoverishment of the peasantry is the grip of land monopoly. In the **Zemindari** areas, permanently settled as well as temporarily settled, it comes through the British-made feudal landlord. In the **Ryotwari** areas it comes through the all-powerful merchant-money-lender, who has the monopolist control over what the peasant produces and what he wants to buy and who supplies him loans at usurious rates. Forty-nine per cent. of the total land under plough is under **Zemindari** — permanently or temporarily settled. Nearly 30% of the rest, which is under **Ryotwari,** has already passed out of the hands of the peasant-cultivator into that of the absentee landlord, and of the rich peasant. Thus 60% of the land is tilled by tenants in small plots. The bulk of what they produce is expropriated by the parasitic landlord who allows the tenant to starve and puts back nothing in the land for its improvement.

The parasitic feudal **Zemindar,** or the absentee landlord, gets easy money out of the sweated labor of his tenant. Why should he bother about investing any money in improving the land? The money-lender who sucks the debt-ridden peasant-cultivator through his usurious rate of interest has of course no responsibility towards the peasant's land. It is this parasitic feudal land monopoly on the one hand and the usury of the merchant money-lender on the other which has been the root cause of the growing agrarian crisis and decline in production.

Imperialist reforms and measures never touched this root question. Irrigation schemes were extended (25% of the area is now irrigated). Land revenue was moderated (as compared to the excessive demands of the 19th century). Tenancy legislation was introduced to afford occupancy rights to sections of tenants of the **Zemindars.** There were debt laws and credit co-operatives to rationalise usury. Lastly, there was the Agricultural Department to make a show of research and of teaching the peasant new methods of agriculture. These measures made hardly any difference to the fate of the poor peasants, who formed the bulk of the tillers of the soil. The process of his falling into debt and losing land continued. General deterioration of agriculture as far as food grains were concerned was not arrested. The new feature was the cultivation by the peasants of cash crops such as cotton, oil seeds, jute, and later, sugarcane, which began to fetch a good price in the Indian and foreign markets after the turn of the century.

The growing of money crops became a source of good profit to the rich and well-to-do peasants. A very thin stratum of these rich farmers who employ labor and grow specialised crops has come into existence. But to the bulk of the middle peasants and a section of poor peasants, the growing of money crops in a small part of their plots was just a source of additional income to balance their bankrupt budgets. That the cultivation of simple money crops like groundnuts, cotton, etc., played an important part in the peasant economy is shown by the fact that their production has very rapidly increased during the last 30 years, while the production of food grains has almost remained stable.

The money crop cultivation did not, however, save the Indian peasant for long. It brought him under the influence of the world market, and made him the victim of the recurring crises of world capitalism. The prices of money crops collapsed in 1919-20 in the wake of the general post-war crisis of the first world war. Vast numbers of poor and middle peasants who had somehow stabilised their bankrupt economy by growing money crops were ruined. Peasant debt rose rapidly. Thousands lost their lands. The number of non-working landlords on the one hand, and that of the agricultural proletariat on the other, increased. In 1931-33, the Indian peasant was struck down by a still greater economic blizzard. The general world economic crisis and depression of the thirties led to a general collapse of the agrarian prices. The prices of food grains as well as of money crops fell suddenly to nearly half their level in 1928-29. Once again the poor and middle peasants sink deeper in debt. Peasants lose their lands. The army of the landless proletariat swells.

The changes and the deterioration that has taken place in the life of the peasantry as a result of these successive crises can be summarised in terms of the following well-known facts. Firstly, peasant indebtedness has grown to a colossal figure. . . . Secondly, there is an equally steep rise in the number of the agricultural proletariat the bulk of whom, of course, are peasants who have lost their lands. This is a direct result of the rising indebtedness expressing itself as expropriation of the land of the poor peasant by the usurious money-lender.

Number of Landless Laborers in Millions.

Year	1882	1921	1931
	7.5	21.5	33

In 1921 one-fifth of those engaged in agriculture were landless laborers. In 1931 one-third of those engaged in agriculture were classed as landless laborers. In 1938, in Bengal as well as in Madras, this proportion was about one-half.

The general picture is that the number of parasitic rent-receiving land-owners is increasing. So is the number of landless laborers, while the number of peasants and cultivators has diminished.

	1911	1931	(in millions)
Non-cultivating landlords	3.7	4.1	
Cultivators (owners and tenants)	74.6	65.5	28.4 cultivators 36.2 tenants
Agricultural laborers	21.7	33.5	

If 1941 figures were available they would only show a further worsening of the situation. However, let us see what these figures mean: 55% of the total number of cultivator families are tenant cultivators. And the bulk of these are tenants-at-will on small plots whose standard of living is hardly distinguishable from that of the landless laborers. The tenants-at-will, as well as the agricultural laborers, are today living in conditions which are no different from serfdom. They are serfs of their landlords. Out of the owner-cultivator peasant families more than 60% are working on holdings which are uneconomic. Those peasants who have very little or no grain and have to buy grain for a part of the year, are generally in debt and in the grip of the merchant money-lenders. Out of the 100 million families which live and work on land and produce our food: 34 millions

are landless laborer serfs; 25 millions are tenants-at-will serfs; 20 millions are poor peasant proprietors — mostly debt serfs.

That is, 70% of our peasants and land laborers live, work, produce food under conditions of serfdom. These are not imaginary statistics. They can be tested on the actual figures of different provinces. Take two typical provinces — Bengal and the Punjab. In Bengal 6,000,000 families are classed as cultivating-owners and tenants; 2,700,000 are land-laborers families. Out of the cultivator-owner and tenant families, about 75% have holdings which are less than 5 acres and which, according to the Floud Commission, are not enough to feed a family of four persons. It is the bulk of this section of the poor peasantry which lost its paddy to the hoarder and itself became destitute, together with the poor artisans and village laborers in the famine districts of Bengal in 1943-44. In the Punjab there are 3,400,000 peasant proprietor families, 1,200,000 **Muzara** (tenant) families and 600,000 agricultural laborers. Of the peasant-proprietors, 68% have holdings which are uneconomic. Of the **Muzaras,** 80 to 90% are tenants-at-will working under horrible conditions of serfdom and on uneconomic holdings. The lot of the land-laborers is no better than that of the **Muzaras.** Thus even in the Punjab — which is a surplus province — 70% of those who work on land and produce food are living a life of poverty and serfdom.

(To be continued)

CHURCHILL RATTLES HIS SWORD

(Pravda's Editorial on Churchill's Speech at Fulton)

THE British ex-Prime Minister Winston Churchill now in the United States, made a long speech in Fulton on March 5. Churchill's speech was preceded by an extraordinary lot of "hullabaloo" raised by the newspapers. American newspapers announced beforehand that the forthcoming speech would be "sensational." The Press spared no colour in building up loud publicity and Churchill himself, who mobilised the entire arsenal of his oratorical art, spared no colour either. Nevertheless his performance met with no success and most American, as well as British newspapers, frankly admit that the speech wasn't a success and that the speaker went too far.

While reading the speech of the British ex-Prime Minister one cannot help recalling Churchill in the period after World War I. At that time too he marched out of step with history. He lagged behind historical developments and made pitiable attempts to check or retard the progress of those developments. He was initiator of an anti-Soviet campaign and chief organiser of armed intervention against the Soviet Union. The British people paid a high price for this gamble on the part of British reactionaries who tried to impose their will upon the young Soviet Republic by force of arms. As is well known, that gamble failed miserably despite all efforts of Churchills and Chamberlains. Many years have passed since then and much water has flowed under the bridge, but Churchill has remained true to his old self. Evidently he forgot nothing and learned nothing. He is still in the grip of his old ideas and ambitions and again he is riding his old hobby-horse and coming out against the Soviet Union . . . coming out sharply, aggressively and flourishing the old bogey of "Bolshevik menace" and "Bolshevik expansion."

While war was on, while mortal danger threatened Britain and Europe, Churchill in his speeches more than once pointed to the outstanding role of the U.S.S.R. Then he pretended to be a friend of the Soviet people and swore loyalty to Anglo-Soviet friendship as well as the entire Anglo-Soviet-American coalition; but now the danger is past and the deadly menace of Hitlerite Germany which overhung Europe and Britain is gone forever, Churchill has become his own self. Now he can give free rein to his real sentiments which he has been hiding under a bushel throughout the war years, carefully concealing his intentions and hostile plans towards the Soviet people. Churchill is sufficiently experienced to know how to cover up those intentions and plans by high-flown phrases about democracy, peace and brotherhood of nations, but it is enough to read his speech to see beyond any doubt how false and hypocritical these phrases are on Churchill's lips when he makes use of words poisoned with venom and hatred of true democracy, when he speaks about "expansionist tendencies" of the Soviet Union, about "the iron curtain which descended upon the continent," about the shadow from the East which "fell on fields but recently lit up by Allied victory." What does Churchill put forward now? He puts forward old slander against the Soviet Union, trying in the old way as he did 20 odd years ago to intimidate the world by the horrors of the Soviet's "expansion" carrying a threat to "true democracy" in the West. With unconcealed malice he speaks about Warsaw, Prague, Belgrade, Bucharest, Budapest, Sofia, which to Churchill's horror are "in the Soviet sphere" and "are all subject in one form or another not only to Soviet influence but also to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow." He brands all of them as Police States where, with the exception of Czechoslovakia to which Churchill makes however none too courteous a bow there allegedly exists no "true democracy." He bears down upon the Polish Government, accusing it of "making enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany," he breathes fury against "all these Eastern States of Europe" and against totalitarian control which allegedly is being established there. "This certainly doesn't constitute the liberated Europe we fought to build up . . . neither is it one which contains essentials of a permanent peace" Churchill exclaims, and warns at once that at present war can overtake any country wherever it is between sunset and sunrise. He sees the only consolation in Athens. In Churchill's view it is the model for "liberated Europe" — in Greece where under the wing of British troops the Fascist Royalist Reaction is doing its work, where Greek Chitos — these Hitlerite leftovers — massacre Greek Patriots with impunity. But just as one swallow doesn't make a summer, "democratic" Greece alone cannot divert Churchill's wrath from the entire Eastern Europe. Now after World War 2, as was the case after World War 1, Churchill imagines himself the saviour of Europe from Communism which threatens to flood, if not the whole of the world, then at least the whole of Europe, and Churchill is ready to assume the role of saviour.

Churchill stated in his speech at Fulton College: "I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable, still more that it is imminent. It is because I am so sure that our fortunes are in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future that I feel it my duty to speak out." Here too Churchill is true to his old self — he says not what he thinks but in reality he tries to impress the idea of inevitability of a new war. More, he instigates this war, which is precisely a war against the Soviet Union, which he slanders by saying that "Soviet Russia desires the fruits of war, and indefinite expansion of her power and doctrines"; when he demands "not waiting to see what happens" and "not to be relieved by the policy of appeasement" but to act without relying upon "narrow margins offering temptation to the trial of strength" and do everything to increase their own forces. Such is the "overall strategic concept" which Churchill proclaimed in his Fulton speech and proceeding from which he expounded his new plan for saving mankind from Soviet "expansion." Churchill himself in his speech called this plan the crux of everything, but it proved to be nothing but a plan for the creation of Anglo-American military alliance which, according to him, calls for special relations between Britain and the United States of America.

Regarding these relations Churchill said literally the following: "British association requires not only growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society, but a continuance of intimate relationship between our military advisers, common study of potential dangers, similarity of weapons and manuals of instruction and interchange of officers and cadets at colleges. This should carry with it a continuance of present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all naval and air force bases in the possession of either country all over the world."

Thus Churchill proposes the creation of an Anglo-American military alliance, stating frankly that this military alliance must be directed against the U.S.S.R., against a Power which shouldered the brunt of the struggle and played a decisive part in routing Hitlerite Germany. But military alliance of two members of a coalition against a third member means the liquidation of the coalition of three great Powers formed during the course of World War 2, and thus with one stroke Churchill obliterates everything he preached as immutable truth during the war. "Our old doctrine of balance of power," Churchill continues, "is unsound. We cannot afford to work on narrow margins." He urges the unification of the "Western Democracies" under the hegemony of an Anglo-American Military Alliance. Churchill believes that the front of the "Western Democracies" under Anglo-American domination must be opposed to "Eastern Communism." He openly proclaims the policy of force which must be carried out by the Anglo-American military alliance, but who will fail to see that actually all this means nothing but liquidation of the United Nations Organisation! Thus with another stroke he makes short work of an organisation of which he was once an ardent champion. Is this anything but total renunciation by Churchill of a goal repeatedly proclaimed in a declaration of the Three Powers — to assist in every way the democratisation of the liberated European States after Hitler's defeat?

What is the gist of Churchill's proposals? To create an Anglo-American Military Alliance which would ensure their domination all over the world, to liquidate the Three Power Coalition together with the United Nations Organisation and to make the policy of force the dominating factor in world development. The only thing lacking to make the picture complete is the frank formula about "Cordon Sanitaire" against the U.S.S.R. Needless to argue, Churchill swings wide indeed, but will his puny strength suffice? His plans aim far but they plainly are out of tune with real possibilities and real conditions. He himself realises that he lacks the means for carrying out the plans conceived by his impetuous imagination and he frankly clutches at Uncle Sam's coat-tails in the hope that an Anglo-American Military Alliance will enable the British Empire, at least as a junior partner, to continue the policy of imperialist expansion.

Churchill's speech met with a reserved reception both in the United States and in Britain. Commenting on the speech the **New York Herald Tribune** writes: "Those who shout about moral crusades against the

Soviet Union must right now think about what such crusades must lead to in practice." The Chicago **Sun** writes that: "Churchill's goal is false and fraught with countless dangers." Member of the United States House of Representatives Patterson stated: "Great Britain for 1,000 years has been pursuing a policy of continuous militarism. We don't want unhindered militarism on the part of any State." The U.N.O., Patterson added, "will function despite the fact that Churchill made this speech asserting that the world would return to the old struggle." Senator Brewster stressed that "the United States cannot accept the legacy of the British Colonial Policy." In Britain too, various public groups critically regard Churchill's speech and the London **Times** advises "not to rely exclusively on America's assistance," and emphasises "the major importance of solving the problem of Anglo-Soviet relations." Labor M.P. Joseph Reeves commented thus on Churchill's speech: "It must be made clear that Churchill spoke only on his own behalf."

The idea of an Anglo-American Bloc against the Soviet Union is hateful to the masses of the working people of our country. It is very characteristic that Churchill came out with his plan not in Britain but in the United States. Evidently Churchill remembers that his first post-war experience in speculating upon the "Red Peril," during the Parliamentary elections in Britain, brought him crushing defeat. Having suffered political fiasco in Britain, Churchill decided to try his luck in the United States hoping evidently for support of certain American circles, but the reaction of American public opinion brought him fresh disillusionment.

Churchill has not been recognised as a prophet in his own country or beyond its borders . . . his plans are old songs sung to a new tune . . . his new concepts are doomed to as hopeless a failure as were his old concepts which were so mercilessly overthrown by history. He is obstinately pulling backward while life goes forward. He plainly overestimates the forces of reaction and underestimates the influence and might of democratic forces. Churchill forgets that in wartime freedom-loving nations acquired enormous political experience and know how to distinguish between real champions of peace and imperialists who, under the false flag of "Defence of Peace," are drawing up plans for unleasing new imperialist wars. No amount of false speech about democracy and freedom will enable inveterate reactionaries like Churchill and his American friends from Vandenberg's camp to entice the nations on to the path of new wars they are preparing.

["Pravda" is the organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).]

ARGENTINA, FASCIST SPRINGBOARD FOR WORLD WAR III

NORMAN FREEHILL

ARGENTINA, freed for a brief forty-eight hours from the open terrorism of the near-Fascist regime, cast its vote in the national elections of February 23 and 24.

That "the elections would be effected with absolute freedom," as declared in a Press statement (Sydney **Sun,** 28/2/46), issued by the Consul-General for Argentina in Australia (Senor F. Remonda da Mingrand) may reasonably be doubted. Note that, after 16 years of power, the dictatorship itself granted the two-day freedom. The gangster says to his victim: Come for a ride, I'll be with you!

Consul-General da Mingrand said his official information was that 90 per cent. of the people voted in the big centres. But what of the millions of illiterate ranch and farm workers, influenced by fanatical, Fascist-minded priests, who voted under the cold eyes of their arrogant, semi-feudal landowners? What of these votes? Did the feudal lords who sire the Colonels of the Officers Group see that the votes were cast for their opponent? Does the leopard change its spots!

Remember that Peron's supporters said frankly: "Vote for Peron or else!" And: "If you vote against Peron, that will be a pity, because you'll still get Peron!"

It is to play fools with logic to think that the Fascists granted the freedom to vote unless they had everything fixed to ensure the return of their puppets.

What is the explanation of the present and past situation in Argentina? It arises out of the contradictions in the economic set-up in the country; contradictions which, evident a century ago, are still present.

Let us look at the historical background.

In the second half of last century, although Argentina was a capitalist country, with a bourgeois democratic political constitution, its finance and its steadily expanding secondary industry were not native. England financed most of the railways and tramways and much of the freezing and meat processing, and supplied loans to the government. America was interested to a lesser degree. Native capital was in the huge cattle runs and sheep stations; in the wheat, corn, rye and linseed fields. The employees were ill-paid, poorly treated, little more than serfs.

The absentee character of the banking and industrial capital left economic power largely in the hands of the semi-feudal landowners. The young bourgeois democratic Parliament had no roots in the working masses.

In this period Argentina experienced its first brutal dictator, one Rosas, chosen by the semi-feudal landowners. Rosas faked a national ballot in a manner to make the average A.W.U. official grind his teeth with envy. Rosas organised his vote so well — he did not even bother with sliding panels! — that he registered 300,000 votes for, and only two against.

Parliament was reduced to puppet status.

Murder and terror being less important than bond interest and trade, England, through Lord Palmerston, appeased Rosas just as, almost a century later, Chamberlain appeased Adolph Schicklgruber Hitler, loud mouthpiece of German finance capital. When, after 23 years' rule, Rosas was deposed, England did what England has done to dictators over the years; it took him aboard a British warship and let him spend the last 25 years of his life as a country squire. Rosas died at Swaytheling, near Southampton, in 1877.

Rosas maintained a close relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. Rosas tortured his opponents: murdered them: made their organisations illegal. He murdered his associates when they displeased him. The Press was censored, the university bullied to spinelessness. Peron has also done those things.

Rosas sent Argentina to war with Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil, Peru and Chile. Peron, Rosas' 20th century replica, has not repeated that record — yet. But he has placed his agents in his border countries, armed the Chilean border, and tried to woo Brazil.

The wartime democratic fever of 1916 made a break with a long succession of reactionaries and swept a radical bourgeois party, Union Civica Radical, into office.

But the sharp contradictions in the economic set-up had become sharper with the years. The semi-feudal landowners had become more powerful. They had widened their activities into industry — industry concerned chiefly with their products — meat and other foodstuffs.

The Radical Party had no close contact with the masses. Nor did it utilise the political power given it by the electors. Its moves to modify the semi-feudal economy of the republic were reduced to futility, often with the co-operation of elements in the UCR itself.

Under the corrupting influence of the landowners and reactionary capitalists, Parliament deteriorated. The landowners and the reactionary industrialists, with British backing, maintained the pretence of Parliamentary Government, but manoeuvred their agents into power and kept them there by corrupt elections, fraudulent ballots, suppression of public liberty. So was the political machinery kept ineffective until the world war against Fascism stirred the Argentine people again to democratic activity.

We come to the elections of June, 1943.

In the meantime however, the seeds of Fascism had found fertile ground in the Republic. Argentina's Fascist-minded ruling class and its almost completely Catholic populace were viewed with greedy eyes, no less by atheist and pantheist Nazi gas-chamber specialists than by bloody-fingered, devout thugs of Spain and Italy, as material easily moulded to their wishes.

Seeing the end as the Red Army smashed the Nazi war machine at Stalingrad, German capital, capitalists and technicians poured into Argentina. These Nazis saw in Argentina the ideal area to which to transplant the framework of the Nazi machine: the ideal area in which to mould a new Imperialism and gather strength for next attempt at world domination. This emigrant political scum — Fascist gangsters from Italy, Iron Cross torturers from Rumania, Vichy traitors, Francoist thugs, Nazi murderers — were given an eager welcome. The number of Axis firms in Argentina by October, 1944, was stated at 2500.

Having espoused Fascism, the local lads used Hitler's "promises" technique. They promised to abolish profiteering and to re-establish constitutional government. Instead, corruption increased. The State and its finances were used to further the interests of the Colonels Group or Officers Group (Groupos Officiales Unidos — GOU) and the Fascist-Imperialist interests and ambitions which it represents.

The democratic forces were goaded into activity. But, as always in periods of crisis, the Social-Democrats (Labor) rushed eagerly to the defence of Capital. They sabotaged the Popular Front. The result was to give the Officers Group an open road to dictatorship. The Officers Group made no pretence, now, of submitting to Parliament. Its actions were blatantly corrupt; its aid to Nazi and Falangist agents insolent; its terrorism undisguised.

The Atlantic gives a graphic picture of the terror: "For more than a year, to Montevideo, capital of Uruguay, 125 miles across the estuary from Buenos Aires, have come young men; by steamer or plane; by yacht or humble fishing boat. They were often swollen, bruised, limping; sometimes still bleeding from beatings by Colonel Peron's national police — known as the Argentine Gestapo.

"In mid-October the stream thickened; the wounds were more serious. Young men came on crutches, with their ribs smashed, or with their faces beaten to a pulp. Sometimes women arrived. . . .

"Some escapees were unknown political workers; others had had villas at Uruguay's fashionable beaches.

"Montevideans know, from their frequent business and social visits, of the tanks in Buenos Aires streets, and tommy guns in the hands of police; of police-paid slum thugs — brass-knuckled, toting knives and guns.

"They know, too, how the police force of Buenos Aires has grown since June, 1943, from 4,000 to 35,000. They know its ugly elements: Half-Indian Gauchos lured in from Corrientes, the last "Wild West" province in Argentina; and Guarani Indians hired straight out of the Paraguayan Army, as ready to shoot into a political meeting in Buenos Aires as to massacre a file of war prisoners in the Chaco."

In September more than a thousand political figures were thrown into jail.

Argentina's wealth still lies chiefly in its rich plains with their cattle and grain. Its oil, mineral and metal resources thus far exploited are modest. Its light industries prospered during the war, but that prosperity has passed. It lacks too many essential raw materials to give its new war industries sound foundation. It needs more to consolidate and strengthen its heavy industries. But it is balancing up what it lacks. Funds stolen from Europe's subject countries, gold torn from the fingers of murder-camp victims, profits won from Fascist-controlled Treasuries in Europe, these have been poured into Argentina to build up secondary industries — not for peace and prosperity, but for war.

Today tanks, guns and aeroplanes are rolling off the assembly lines from Nazi blueprints — and the Officers Group knows that the raw materials Argentina lacks are in the weak, neighbouring republics, while to the north is Brazil, one of the potentially richest areas in the world.

Intoxicated with their home successes, the Colonels cast ambitious eyes around them. They planned the world's newest Imperialism. They believe that with their well-disciplined Army; their new war industries; Nazi tutoring; R.C. regimenting of the oppressed masses, and the covert economic assistance of monopoly capital and of the reactionary elements in other countries — they believe that, with all these, the way to a South American clerico-Fascist Empire will be easy.

The Officers Group visualises no serious opposition from the countries it plans to absorb. The small Republics would be quickly overrun and Chile and Brazil could not withstand Argentina's military might. This plan was disclosed in a secret document exposed in June, 1944. After stating the plans of infiltration and conquest, the document ended: "With Brazil fallen, the South American continent will be ours."

The Officers Group counts, too, as Hitler counted, on the Fascist elements in every land assisting Argentina by keeping assistance away from its victims!

They have something on which to build these hopes. On November 4, 1945, at the Conference of the International Labor Organisations, the Mexican delegate, Lombardo Toledano, protested, amidst unanimous applause, against the presence of Argentine delegates.

But the dirty work had already been done in the higher body — the United Nations Organisation. As Argentina was a member of UNO, its delegates could not be excluded from the ILO Conference. A month earlier at the UNO Conference in San Francisco, anti-Russian forces (which means, stripped of all pretence, pro-Fascist forces) had engineered to get Argentina admitted. Australia's Dr. Evatt voted with the anti-British American Isolationists and the anti-Russian British delegates.

What the ambitious Officers Government underestimates in its Imperialist dreams is that an established Imperialist Power, the United States of America, already has interests in the South American Republics. The secret document just mentioned opened with "In North America, the controlling nation will be, for a time, the United States."

American policy has been tolerant of the Fascists within its own borders and in France, Italy, Germany, Bulgaria, the Philippines, China. But American Imperialism will not tolerate poaching on its preserves. And it will have noted the "for a time" of the secret document! Already it has issued the first warning to the young Imperialist braggarts. Early in February of this year, the U.S. State Department published a 40,000-word Blue Book denouncing successive Argentine Governments for aiding the Axis. It charged the Argentine with Fascist intentions, consistent relationship during the war with the Axis powers, and making a mockery of its pledge to the United Nations.

[It was the American delegates who worked hardest for the admission of Argentina at San Francisco.]

The Blue Book says the Germans in Argentina have now constructed a complete duplicate of the economic war structure they had in Germany.

Sunday Telegraph's New York correspondent, J. B. Davies, said (17/2/46):

"A sinister, new, totalitarian plan for eventual world conquest is being hatched in Argentina. . . . The Nazis have a cache of £219,000,000 hidden or invested in Argentina to establish the nucleus of a Fascist State in the New World. Returning Americans say 120 factories in Argentina today are producing weapons from German blue-prints.

"Colonel Juan D. Peron is the key man behind the movement. Peron is providing a safe haven for a band of international bankers, munitions makers, cartel directors, and warmongers, who have transferred their headquarters from former Axis capitals to Buenos Aires, together with their fortunes, formulas and blue-prints.

"At home Peron is supported by an armored police force of 40,000, as powerful as the army controlled by the Catholic Church, whose political caudillos (leaders) for the past 16 years have counted votes their own way or not at all.

"In 1939, the Argentine Government attached Peron to the German Army for two years, and he goose-stepped over Europe and into Paris with the conquering Nazis. Then he returned home to plan the seizure of his own Government, and lay the basis for a group of Nazi-dominated Governments in Latin-America."

Calls to overthrow the Colonels Group (GOU) were made last year by the Patria Libre (Free Fatherland) movement; the legitimate trade unions in the Comanda Obrero Unificado (United Workers' Leadership) the Union of Argentine Youth, democratic parties and organisations, and those members of the armed forces, including many officers, belonging to the National Liberation Movement.

The Argentine Communist Party, forced underground, submitted a programme acceptable to the Popular Front. It called for:—

- Restoration of Constitutional Government.
- Freeing of all anti-Fascist prisoners.
- Freedom of action and expression of all anti-Fascist bodies.
- Freedom of religion.
- Reduction of prices and rent.
- Improvement of workers' wages and conditions.
- Suppression of all Fascist organisations.
- Confiscation of their property and imprisonment of Fascist leaders.
- Alignment with the United Nations.

The election result will force a more determined effort by the democratic forces. The inevitable progress of the Fascist dictatorship will open the eyes of those who voted blindly; will give courage to the intimidated; will disillusion those misled by the treacherous Social Democrats; will make the honest Catholic workers realise that the fanatical Clerics were interested parties when they took the hustings for Peron.

The nations have been forced by world mass opinion to go through the motions of protest against the oppressive and murderous Francoist regime in Spain. World mass opinion may yet force action against Argentina — Fascist-Nazi-Falangist springboard for World War III.

INCOMES OF AUSTRALIAN FARMERS

G.P.

BY knowing farmers' incomes, some idea can be gained of the poverty of the countryside. This information can be obtained in two ways:

(a) By studying a number of individual cases.
(b) By using statistics available in year books and production bulletins.

Very little has been done in Australia by the first method, but an expert economist of the New South Wales Department of Agriculture has used the second method to obtain some interesting facts about farm incomes. These have been published in the April, May, June and July, 1945, issues of the "Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics," published by the Division of Marketing and Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, New South Wales. This article aims to set out the most interesting facts from these papers.

It is not sufficient to know merely the total value of farm products because farmers have to meet many expenses. The immediate expenses are cost of fertiliser, seed, etc., marketing and depreciation. This leaves a net income for the farmer, but the expenses are not finished, for interest payments, debts, mortgages and wages of employees have to be paid. When these have been paid, an income actually available is left out of the net income. It is this available income which determines the standard of living of the farmer and his family. The economist in the above-mentioned papers has first of all examined gross incomes, then net incomes, available incomes and finally wages of rural workers.

GROSS INCOME is the market value of crops and livestock products coming off Australian farms.

Nearly half the total wealth produced by the land comes from the pastoral industries. The pastoral industry has always occupied first place in the production of wealth, although dairying and poultry industry are producing more returns during recent years.

Out of every £100 of wealth produced the following industries gave these proportions:

	1907-1914	Last 5 years
Pastoral	£49 0 0	£41 0 0
Dairying and Poultry	£17 0 0	£23 0 0
Agriculture	£34 0 0	£36 0 0

The gross value of production of all rural industries since the depression has averaged nearly

£250,000,000 per annum. The farmers did not receive all this money. Where did it go? Let us examine figures for 1940-41.

		£
GROSS	£226,000,000	
COSTS	Marketing	24,000,000
	Feed and Seed	22,000,000
	Miscellaneous-Raw Materials	12,000,000
	Depreciation	5,000,000
		£63,000,000

leaving £163,000,000 for farmers as net income from which to pay interest, mortgage, wages, etc. Thus in 1940-41 out of every £100 of wealth produced, £28 was eaten up by immediate costs and £72 left to farmers as net income. What was the position in the other years from 1928-29 to 1942-43 out of every £100 wealth produced?

	1930-31	1942-43
Immediate Costs	£40 (Highest)	£24 (Lowest)
Net Income	£60	£76

These figures do not give any idea of actual amounts received by farmers, but they do give an idea of the proportion absorbed by costs. The total net income has fluctuated considerably, being as low as £103,000,000 during the depression and as high as £226,000,000 during 1942-43.

The above figures giving net income and immediate costs are for all rural industries and they give no information regarding individual sections of farming. How do costs vary in each industry?

For 1940-41, out of every £100 of wealth produced, the costs were as follows:

	Costs	Net Income
Agriculture	£46½	£53½
Dairying	£22½	£77½
Pastoral	£14½	£85½
Poultry	£51	£49

These costs do not include wages and interest charges to be paid by the farmer.

These figures show that immediate costs are greatest in poultry industry (over ½), least in pastoral industry (about 3-20th). How are these costs allocated in each industry? Again taking every £100 of wealth produced, costs were as follows:

Year 1940-41.

	Marketing Costs	Feed & Seed	Miscellaneous Raw Materials	Depreciation
Agriculture	£15	£13	£12½	£6
Dairying	£6	£14	£2	10/-
Pastoral	£9	£3	£2	10/-
Poultry	£9	£38	£2½	£1½

These figures bring out the great cost of feed in the poultry industry and the high cost of marketing agricultural products (including fruit and vegetables).

The pastoral industry is much more stable than any other section. If the gross value of production is cut by ¼ then the net income of the pastoral industry will drop by 1-3rd, but agricultural net income will be halved.

AVAILABLE INCOMES to the farmer and his employees. Out of the net income the farmer has to pay such costs as wages, mortgages, interest, etc. What amounts go in paying these costs?

CASUAL WORKERS. It is very difficult to obtain accurate figures as no suitable statistics have been kept. It has been approximately calculated that about 11% of the net income goes to casual workers and contractors.

INTEREST PAYMENTS. This can be found indirectly by calculations. The average capitalisation per farm in New South Wales in 1939 was approximately £6,500. There are about 250,000 farms in Australia, therefore the capital invested in Australian farms is about £1,600,000,000. Interest on this at the rate of £5 would be £80,000,000 per year.

If £80,000,000 per year is taken out of net income, making allowances for casual workers, what is left after? The residue ranges from £13,000,000 in 1930-31 to £122 in 1942-43. Divide this amongst those permanently engaged on the land (includes farmers owning property and landless workers). The income per person permanently employed works out at £46 per man during the worst three years of the depression, i.e. less than £1 per week. The average over thirteen years would be £117 per annum or £2/5/- per week. (These figures do not include value of dwelling place.) These figures are only averages for the whole group and those worst off would have even less than the average. The important part played by interest in lowering incomes of farmers and their employees can be seen by fixing the interest rate at 2½% and then working out the residue. After interest is deducted at 2½%, the residue would allow £5 a week (£4 and rental value of house) per person permanently engaged in farming, i.e. farm operators and employees.

SHAREFARMERS. Payments to sharefarmers are considered to be about the same as for wage workers.

RELATIVES working without wages are considered to receive about half the income of wage workers. This amount includes food and keep.

After all these deductions have been made, some idea can be gained of the income actually received by farmers. The figures have to be confined to New South Wales as statistics are only complete for New South Wales. However, values given for income would be relatively higher for New South Wales as this State possesses 40% of pastoral industry, a wealthier section of rural industries. Figures for other States would be even lower.

New South Wales Yearly Income per Head in £

Years	Available Income Farmers	Dependent Groups	Permanent Employees
1928-9	670	149	186
1929-30	387	140	180
1930-31	251	124	161
1931-32	298	119	154
1932-33	350	114	144
1933-34	509	112	142
1934-35	358	114	139
1935-36	536	118	141
1936-37	740	124	146
1937-38	592	131	154
1938-39	368	131	154
1939-40	640	131	157
1940-41	545	135	161
1941-42	629	146	176

Column (2) includes permanent employees, payments to sharefarmers and allowances to working relatives.

Wages of the rural sections have been low, much lower than industrial wages. The value of output per rural worker generally falls below the output per factory worker. However, on the whole the difference is not so great in Australia over the last fifteen years. The difference has been £330 as compared with £362 for a factory worker. The relatively small difference between labor productivity in rural and secondary industries is a feature of Australian economy which is in marked contrast to the position in other countries, e.g. U.S.A.

CONCLUSIONS

FARMERS' INCOMES on the average are higher than one would expect. However, this is the average and does not give a picture of true income, for there are rich and poor farmers. A few farmers receive very high returns while many farmers remain poor. Farmers' incomes fluctuate violently from year to year, especially the available income which takes full stock of changes in the gross income. The rates of the best to the worst year from 1928-29 to present was 1½ to 1 for gross value but the rates for available income was 3 to 1.

THE VOLUME OF PRODUCTION has increased considerably over the last thirty years, but farmers' available income has not increased. Farmers' available income in 1941-42 was not as high as in 1928-29. Production grew most rapidly in the early depression when prices were falling. Costs due to marketing, raw materials, feed and seed, take some time to adjust themselves to the prevailing price levels. During early depression costs remained high and did not fall till 1931-32. When prices rose again, costs remained low for some time and did not rise till later. Incomes and costs vary for different industries.

The pastoral industry is wealthier and more stable than other sections. Average incomes are higher and costs are lower. Over a period of thirteen years the average incomes per person permanently working in industry have been:

Dairying	£233
Agriculture	£214
Pastoral	£580

In both agriculture and dairying, £300 per person per year marks the upper limit and during the depression it was below £200. In the pastoral industry, however, £700 is the upper limit and during the depression the average was still over £400.

LANDLESS WORKERS are much worse off than the farmers. Generally speaking, this group includes permanent working employees, relatives and sharefarmers. Over fourteen years from 1928-29 to 1941-42 the estimated income of this group averaged £128 (£2/9/- a week) compared with the farmer's average available income of £491. Even in the best years, remuneration for this group did not exceed £3 per week and in the worst years fell to just over £2.*

INTEREST CHARGES are a great factor in lowering living standards of the countryside. Rates will have to be lowered before living conditions can be improved. Interest absorbed from rural incomes has remained constant in spite of boom and depression. For instance, in New South Wales interest payments and crown revenue collection have been between £8½ and £9 million each year.

EXPLOITATION OF RURAL WORKERS.— The figures given in the papers published by New South Wales Department of Agriculture are only averages and do not give any information of the class differences between farmers. However, it is quite evident that, although rural industries produce great wealth, much of this goes to merchant capitalists, manufacturers of farm machinery and materials, bank interest, etc. Again it is evident that those who labor in producing this great wealth receive very little, especially relatives working without wages. It may be argued that these relatives would share in the farmers' property and social amenities. But how many farmers really own their own properties or have any amenities?

Rural workers on lower incomes are worse off than other sections of the Australian community except perhaps the unemployed. This exploited section must be drawn into progressive organisation so that the struggle against capitalism can be strengthened and the rural workers protected.

HARD FACTS ABOUT EDUCATION

H. ROSS, B.A.

TO say that civilisation is in ruins because of the accumulated greed and folly of mankind over the last decades of the industrial age and that its rehabilitation depends on education, would be to repeat a truism that has been dinned into our ears with pathetic regularity since the beginning of the war. There is something craven and hypocritical in this lip service to education; it sounds suspiciously like the moral snobbery of a reformed rake testifying on a street corner, or the despairing lament of a Cardinal Wolsey in eclipse, "Had I but served my God with half the zeal ——."

The sudden revelation of the power of popular education in a totalitarian State was accompanied, however, by a slight feeling of uneasiness, a feeling that there must be something wrong with education in the democracies, since the mass of the people had been so smugly complacent while assisting, directly or indirectly, in the nurture of this State. There was no escaping the disturbing thought that the shoddy diplomacy of pre-war years, the "peace in our time" mentality of the electors, and the ease with which they became stooges of the sensational propaganda of a press always hunting witches in the wrong places, were the food on which Nazism flourished. This thought, which kept on intruding itself into all-out self-satisfied contemplation of the perfection of life in a democracy, had to be silenced somehow as it only troubled the mind.

Thus the blame for all the pre-war ineptitude and mental and moral torpidity was placed on education: the schools and the teachers had not done their job. All manner of vague-minded reformers set out immediately to expound, with self-righteous conviction, just what ought to be taught and how, and their nebulous, untried hypotheses are still being advanced with all the weight of established theories, for education has always been the patch where every goose could have a scratch. But educational innovations must always be tested in the properly-equipped laboratory of the classroom, by fully qualified, well-trained educational workers, the teachers, and the effect on future generations of their application to practical pedagogy watched carefully for purposes of modification and extension. And only under a system which is interested in the real mental and physical growth of the people's children, will full scope be given to these innovations.

The passing of the Public Instruction Act, the Public Schools Act and later on the Bursary Endowment Act exhausted educational zeal in this State; after them people and Parliaments forgot the schools, and left educationists to carry on the task of State education on a lamentably inadequate education vote. The results have been badly-ventilated, badly-equipped, badly-lit classrooms, over-large classes, playgrounds that resemble the exercise yard of a prison and toilet, dining and recreational facilities for staff and pupils that would have made a factory owner liable under the Factories Act. If the people of this Commonwealth allow this state of things to continue it will be useless to run around in frantic impotency wondering what is wrong with education when World War 3 begins.

The people must not shelve this task any longer; they must have a long-range plan for educational reform, and must see that it is implemented. And this implementation implies a ceaseless barrage against the indifference of the men who make the laws and hold the purse-strings of the nation; when education is made an election issue, then and only then will it come into its own and become the focal point of regeneration. We must produce men and women who can subordinate self-interest in order to strive for an ideal, who are fearless and mentally honest and who are humanitarian in the broad sense, but we won't get them unless we do something about it.

The Teachers' Federation, the Parents and Citizens' Federation and the Australian Council of Trade Unions have a joint platform. This platform envisages the school as a Community Centre, the pivot of child and adult life in the district, where aesthetic, academic and athletic pursuits can be fostered in the workroom, the laboratory, the library and the playing fields by specially trained enthusiasts in each branch. These schools must be surrounded by broad acres with space for gymnasia, swimming pools, rest rooms, drying and changing rooms, and above all trees and lawns and gardens. Existing accommodation must be reorganised and buildings erected in accordance with modern educational standards on suitable sites away from the centre of the city and equipped with audio-visual and radio facilities.

Classes must be reduced to thirty and the school leaving age raised to sixteen, with proper supervision for all types and levels of intelligence by means of adequate classroom space, equipment, staffing and vocational guidance. Radical changes in curricula and the examination system and the methods of training teachers will be needed to meet the demands of the improved order, these to include exchange of lecturers, teachers and inspectors within Australia and overseas.

The plan provides for complete free medical and dental inspection of each child twice a year throughout the State, and free treatment where necessary, and for free milk and suitable mid-day meals. Education is to be free at all stages from pre-school training to the university, including the provision of allowances on a liberal scale for students in all forms of post-primary and tertiary educational institutions, and free travelling facilities for children attending State schools. Educational facilities for continued adult education — civic, cultural and vocational — are to be extended to include provision for free library systems and daylight training of apprentices.

The originators of this platform of educational reform insist that education must come prominently within the province of the Commonwealth Government, and have provided in the plan for the establishment of a Commonwealth Board of Education on which the Australian Teachers' Federation and the Parents and Citizens' Federations shall have direct representation, and which shall be directly responsible to a Federal Cabinet Minister, the Commonwealth Government to make annual appropriations for Australian education. Under such control, the Commonwealth Board of Education shall act as a co-ordinating and liberalising authority and a check upon the local education authorities, which shall be State Governments, which shall directly control the educational activities of their respective States, the Commonwealth Board of Education to exercise supervision over the education provided by the various States. The Federal and State Governments are called upon to allocate a sum of not less than £25,000,000 for the purposes of carrying into effect the educational platform as set down above.

These are the hard facts of education, the facts that cannot be overlooked if we are to give to airy nothing local habitation and a name and make of education the effective weapon it should be in the advancement of the Australian people to a real and great democracy.

TRIESTE : YUGOSLAVIA NEEDS THIS PORT

FRANK PITCAIRN
(From "Daily Worker," London)

LOOK at the map and you will see the territory in which Trieste stands bisected by a line — the Morgan Line. That line is as arbitrary as it looks on the map.

It was the line drawn by Field-Marshal Alexander's Chief of Staff at the beginning of June, when the British and Americans insisted that the Yugoslav forces which had liberated Trieste from the Italian Fascists should withdraw to the eastward of that line. Probably nobody at the time supposed the line could be accepted as a permanency.

It did, however, serve to expose in the crudest fashion the designs of powerful reactionary elements in Britain and the United States. It was their intention — and it is still their lingering hope — so to divide this Yugoslav peninsula as to deprive Yugoslavia of its greatest port, and to make of that port a kind of economic "bridgehead" against the new Yugoslav State and, indeed, against the whole community of new democratic States in the Balkans and Central Europe.

For to begin with, Trieste is potentially one of the greatest ports of the whole Mediterranean. It stands at the southern end of trans-European trade routes which have served the Continent for centuries. And it is a key factor in the whole economic development of the Balkan countries and of Central Europe, too.

Just because of its crucial position, Trieste has been a bone of international contention since long before the first World War.

It was a vital part of the whole machinery of Austro-Hungarian imperialism. And when the Austro-Hungarian Empire was knocked to pieces,



instead of Trieste falling, as it should have done to the "Succession State" of Yugoslavia, Italian diplomacy and Italian blackmail secured its transference instead to Italy.

Nobody could seriously pretend that this division of the great port from its natural "hinterland" was economically sound or politically just. Trieste was the bribe with which, in the secret Treaty of London of 1915, the Western Allies induced the Italian

Government of the day to betray her former ally Austria, and enter the war against the Central Powers.

Furthermore, with the growth of Italian imperialism under Mussolini, Trieste became something more than a political and economic monstrosity. It became, in addition, one of the "springboards" for Italian imperialist aggression — first political and then military — against the Balkan countries.

Around the question of the "true nationality" of the City of Trieste a storm of propagandist controversy has raged for years.

Even Italian propagandists have hardly been able to conceal the fact that not merely the whole surrounding territory of Trieste, but the suburbs of the city itself are predominantly Slovene.

They have, however, made great play with the predominance of the Italian language in the central city and in the port.

The argument is not a strong one. For, on the one hand, Italian was for generations the common language — the lingua franca — of the Central Mediterranean and Adriatic ports. On the other hand, under Italian rule, the whole city was subjected to a furious Fascist process of "Italianisation" — conducted with the precise object of being able to demonstrate to the world the "truly Italian" character of the city.

Therefore, although nobody denies the presence of a considerable genuinely Italian population in the city, it is entirely mistaken to assume that every Italian-speaking person can be classed as a "true Italian." There is a large section which is merely Italian-speaking because for so long Italian has been the language of business there, and — under Fascist rule — was virtually a necessity for anyone engaged in trade or professional life in Trieste. It is only in the extreme west of the Istrian peninsula that communities are found which can be unequivocally described as predominantly Italian.

It is partly because the "ethnic" or "racial" arguments are known to be too weak to stand serious examination that there has been so much recent emphasis on "internationalisation" as the "solution" of the Trieste problem.

If Yugoslavia cannot be deprived of Trieste on other grounds then, it has been supposed, a vague appeal to internationalisation might be the best way of opening, for the British and American capitalists, and for their Italian subsidiaries, a sort of political entrance to the Balkans.

The real and dangerous character of those proposals has been steadily exposed by the Yugoslavs. In fact, by maintaining the separation of the great port from its national hinterland, "internationalisation" would perpetuate all the evils produced by that separation during the period of Italian rule. The effect upon the economic development of the Balkans and of Central Europe would be severe.

Secondly, to "internationalise" Trieste in the sense suggested would provide non-Yugoslav interests with a perilous stranglehold on the economic life of the young, democratic Yugoslav State. Indeed, some of the advocates of internationalisation have hardly troubled to conceal their intentions and objectives in this respect.

Naturally, if "internationalisation" is meant in a quite different sense there is a respectable field in which it can be applied. There is certainly something to be said for the establishment at the earliest date of an international agreement regarding the conditions under which ships and traders of all nations would be enabled to benefit from the facilities of the port.

The Yugoslav Government has itself suggested that free customs zones might be established in the port, and once Yugoslav sovereignty is assured it is clear that, if only in their own interests, the Yugoslavs will be willing, and indeed anxious, to ensure the maximum development of trade through Trieste. If that can be achieved by means of a general international convention regulating the conditions of traffic there, so much the better. But to pretend that the flow of trade in Trieste can be "liberated" by once again cutting off the port from its natural communications is both dishonest and absurd.

A PROGRAMME FOR DIVORCE REFORM

(Prepared on behalf of the Women's Committee)

"THAT the present state of the English law of divorce and separation is not satisfactory can hardly be doubted. The law is full of inconsistencies, anomalies and inequalities amounting almost to absurdities." This opinion was expressed in 1906 by Sir Gorell Barnes, President of the Divorce Jurisdiction in England. The same general statement applies to the divorce law in N.S.W. at the present time, and it is the purpose of this article to point out the more important directions in which reforms are required.

Any proposal to facilitate divorce immediately arouses protests from religious sources. Yet there can be no doubt that, subject to proper safeguards, divorce by mutual consent will eventually be recognised. Where the marriage relationship has completely broken down, where conciliation has failed, and where satisfactory arrangements have been made for the care of the children, it is absurd that society should insist on maintaining a legal relationship against the wishes of the parties most affected. The attempt to do so inevitably results either in the use of one of the deceptions or subterfuges which are commonly practised as methods of evading the law, or in separation without divorce. New Zealand recognises as a ground for divorce the fact that the parties have been separated for three years. This is a step in the right direction, but a much shorter period than three years, especially if there has been a genuine attempt to effect a reconciliation, would be adequate to insure that a divorce is not too hastily sought.

Domicile

Under British law jurisdiction in divorce depends on domicile, which means the state or country considered to be the person's permanent home. A domicile is acquired at birth and is retained until, in the case of a man or unmarried woman, a new domicile is acquired by living in another country with the intention of remaining there permanently. A married woman takes the domicile of her husband even though she may never have been to that country; and she retains his domicile while the marriage lasts even though they separate.

The type of difficulty that most frequently arises is that a woman domiciled in N.S.W. marries a man domiciled in a foreign country, who, although he may have lived here for years as an employee or representative of a foreign firm, always intends to return eventually to his own country. If he subsequently deserts her or commits any other matrimonial offence she cannot get a divorce here. Theoretically, of course, neither could he, if the wife were at fault. But as the domicile of both depends on the husband's future intentions, and as these are known only to himself, the difficulty is not likely to be of much practical importance if he is the petitioner.

Cases of the foregoing type arose so frequently during the war that a special Federal Act was passed to deal with them. However, the act only has a temporary operation, and there are also other difficulties not covered by it. The most satisfactory solution would be to regard a married woman as having a domicile independently of her husband, at all events for the purpose of divorce proceedings. A provision to this effect has already been enacted in New Zealand.

Incurable Insanity

Incurable insanity should be recognised as a ground for divorce in N.S.W., as it is in the other States and in England. The period of insanity required to justify a petition in divorce is usually five years out of the six years preceding the petition. There is no particular reason to adhere to this period, however, if independent medical evidence satisfies the court in less than five years that there is no reasonable prospect of recovery. If it is the wife who is insane her right to reasonable alimony for her support should be preserved.

As the other states recognise insanity as a ground for divorce, the husband of an insane wife will eventually be able to get relief if he moves to another state and intends to remain there permanently. This course is not open to the wife of an insane husband domiciled in N.S.W.

Judicial Separation

This form of relief should be abolished. It is a survival from the days when matrimonial causes were dealt with by the ecclesiastical courts, which did not grant dissolution of marriage. The decree had the effect of putting the wife in the same position as to rights of property and contract as if she were unmarried. As she now has such rights there is no object in retaining the anomalous status of being neither married nor unmarried. Usually judicial separation rather than divorce is only asked for where the petitioner is actuated by malice, although there are some petitioners who claim that their religious scruples justify them in adopting this vindictive course.

Judicial separation has been adversely commented on by divorce judges on many occasions, and as far back as the reign of Queen Elizabeth a Royal Commission recommended that a right of divorce should be granted and judicial separation abolished as productive of great abuses and scandal in the married state. The grounds upon which judicial separation and divorce can be granted are the same apart from some relatively unimportant exceptions.

Damages

The right to recover damages from a co-respondent should be abolished. It was pointed out in a leading English case that the right to recover damages in respect of a wife's adultery goes back to the time when she was regarded by the common law as the husband's property. "The benefits of her fortune went to him at common law upon marriage. His power of personal control was great. Even her earnings could be seized by him. She was viewed as a child, and was therefore subject to physical punishment at his hands, provided it was moderate in extent." The damages included not only her value in money to the husband, but also compensation for his wounded feelings and injured pride. Presumably the wife is not supposed to have similar feelings regarding her husband, as she cannot recover damages from the woman with whom he commits adultery. The present position is not consistent with the equal status of husband and wife.

Enforcement of Orders

At present the payment of money due under a decree of the divorce court is enforceable by a writ of attachment for the imprisonment of the person liable. This applies to alimony, damages and costs. Damages should be abolished altogether, and in any case neither damages nor costs should be enforceable by imprisonment. Under the present social system, where a destitute wife with young children to support is not adequately provided for by the state, it may be necessary to retain this remedy for non-payment of alimony. It should only be available, however, as a last resort. If the law as to garnisheeing wages or salary were simplified it would not often be necessary to make use of the more drastic threat of imprisonment.

THE NEW BULGARIA

G. M. DIMITROV

(From his speech in the Bulgarian National Assembly on December 26, 1945, which expresses the meaning of the new democracies arising in Easter Europe.)

IT is necessary to express profound gratitude to all men, women, youth and girls who carried on heroic struggle for two decades for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, to valiant partisans and the Bulgarian Patriotic Army who secured victory for the people's uprising on September 9, 1944. This date opened a new era for Bulgaria—the era of democracy, the era of the Fatherland Front.

The new State power is a true people's power. Its foremost tasks consist in defending the rights and freedom of our people, in ensuring work, bread and clothing for all, in creating the necessary conditions for development of our national economy on a democratic basis. The creation of necessary conditions for the conclusion of a lasting peace is also just as important a task.

It is clear that the Royalist-Fascist Bulgaria is divided from the new Bulgaria of the Fatherland Front by a deep abyss.

Since September 9, 1944, basic alterations have taken place in our country's social and economic life. Other national factors predominate in our State. Our country is moving along a new road, along the road of democracy—not a false and lying one, but a truly people's democracy. The two public creative strata in our country—the workers and peasants—represent the strong bulwark of our democracy. There can be no room for reactionary and fascist elements in the Government's rule.

The Fatherland Front, which has been in power for only 16 months, has established order in the country, restored the people's rights and their freedom, saved the country from economic catastrophe and inflation, saving the Bulgarian leva from devaluation.

The elections of November 18, 1945, were conducted in complete order. Our political history has never known such free elections. By a tremendous majority the Bulgarian people approved the cause of September 9.

It is essential to continue with our country's further democratic development in the economic, social and cultural-poltical spheres, as well as in that of international relations.

For this end it is necessary to convoke the Great National Assembly in order to alter the existing Constitution in according with the newly-created sets of circumstances in our country.

Doubtless it is simultaneously essential to abolish the institution of Royalty which has always been a rallying centre of reaction. The Coburg dynasty's policy, as is well known, corresponded to the interests of German imperialism.

All anti-fascist forces within the Fatherland Front must be still further mobilised. These forces are the only public power able to defend our State's destiny.

It is necessary to carry out such an economic policy as will attract our patriotic industrialists to the cause of raising up our national economy; an economic policy which will further the development of the State and co-operative sectors in our economy; an economic policy which will lead to the speediest improvement of the working people's material situation and which will serve as an impetus for individual initiative.

Exceptional attention must be paid to a planned system in our national economy. The State must not only play the role of controller and regulator, but must also further develop its economic functions. All large enterprises which have nation-wide importance, and the administration of which is beyond the capacity of private merchants and industrialists, must pass into the hands of the State.

The State must render assistance to our hard-working peasants. But particular attention must be paid to the development of working co-operation in tilling the soil.

Political education of the broad masses and of the young generation must be carried out.

It is essential to purge the State apparatus, to eliminate unnecessary posts, to wage a determined struggle against bureaucracy.

The Bulgaria of the Fatherland Front is in need of engineers, technicians, doctors, agronomists and other specialists. It is the task of our universities to train such cadres, and to educate in them a democratic spirit and the will of men who are devoted to their people.

The new People's Army must serve the interests of the people and the people only. It must become a faithful guard for the freedom and independence of our Motherland.

The Fatherland Front is carrying out a foreign policy corresponding to the Bulgarian people's interests. The Fatherland Front does not adhere to the foreign policy carried out by Great Bulgarian chauvinists towards Macedonia—this eternal bone of contention in the Balkans. The Fatherland Front Government recognises Macedonia as a federal unit of the Federative Yugoslav People's Republic. Relations between Fatherland Front Bulgaria and the new Yugoslavia are most cordial and fraternal. As to the Soviet Union, the Fatherland Front Government is carrying out a policy of eternal friendship with its liberator. The Fatherland Front Government aspires in its foreign policy to attain friendly relations with all freedom-loving democratic nations.

REPLY TO A READER

[Comrade B.M., of Melbourne, suggests that space should be allowed in the "Communist Review" for answering questions from readers arising from previous articles. We shall be pleased to answer any such questions.—Editor.]

Dear Comrade B.M.,

We are very pleased to reply to the query you raise.

The question arises from Stalin's statement on the Party and non-Party bloc at the Soviet elections last February.

"The Communist Party does not march alone in the election struggle. It goes to the elections in a bloc with the non-Party people. In past times the Communists treated non-Party people and being non-Party with a certain distrust. This was due to the fact that the non-Party banner not infrequently was used as a cover by various bourgeois groups which found it to their disadvantage to appear before the electors without a mask.

"Thus it was in the past. But now we are living in different times. Non-Party people are now separated from the bourgeoisie by a barrier called the Soviet social system. The same barrier has united non-Party people with Communists in one common team of Soviet citizens. Living in a common team, they struggled together to enhance the might of our country, they fought and shed blood together at the fronts in the name of the freedom and greatness of our country, they were forging and forged together victory over the enemies of our country. The only difference between them is that some belong to the Party while others do not. But this is a formal difference. What is important is that both are working for the same common cause. Therefore, the bloc of Communists and non-Party people is a natural and vital thing." (C.R., April, p. 104).

"What does Com. Stalin mean by 'formal difference'" you ask, "merely a membership card? . . . .

"Could not the whole socialist conscious Soviet people TOGETHER AS ONE TEAM push forward, be the advance TEAM, guard, towards Communism?"

The Party and non-party bloc was also established in the previous, the 1937 elections so no fundamental change between 1937-46 is indicated. Again Zhdanov in his speech on the amendment to the rules of the C.P.S.U. (B) (1939) says:

"A numerous body of non-Party Bolsheviks has grown up around the Party, consisting of advanced workers, peasants and intellectuals, active and conscious fighters in the cause of the Party and vehicles of its policy among the masses."

This also points to the great changes that took place before 1939, when the MAJOR differences between the Party and non-Party people were undoubtedly disappearing. This was already expressed in the new Soviet Constitution of 1936 as well as the Bloc and the amendments to the Party rules. Although this process was facilitated in the years of the Patriotic War (1941-45), it would be wrong to conclude that there is now no difference between the Party and the non-Party masses. The Communist Party as long as it exists remains the most advanced section of the working-class. At all times, however, it has "to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent if you like to merge with the broadest masses of the toilers" (Lenin). While achieving this it raises more and more workers to its level.

Stalin in the speech under discussion outlines "the plans for the work of the Communist Party in the near future" showing that the Party still has a very real function. So well have the Bolsheviks carried out their tasks that the Party is now intimately bound to the masses, inseparable from them, based on an ocean of advanced Soviet people.

Stalin does not, I think, envisage a change in the near future, because the necessary new economic developments "will require three new Five-Year Plans if not more."

We must not assume, however, even then, that the Party would go out of existence. In the "Foundations of Leninism" Stalin says "The Party is the instrument of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat . . . . from this it follows that when . . . . the dictatorship of the proletariat dies out, the Party will also die out."

The Soviet State today is the dictatorship of the working-class (a new kind of working-class) and this idea is still valid.

Stalin emphasises in a number of his speeches that while capitalist encirclement exists the Soviet State will have to strengthen its apparatus of defence against external enemies, (see "Some Questions of Theory, Answer to Cde. Ivanov," etc.

There can be no question but that while powerful imperialist states remain the working-class state is not free either from the threat of attack, or of the operations of enemy agents.

We must see that these conditions presuppose a powerful Bolshevik Party able to fulfil all its tasks in welding the unity of the socialist people behind the economy and the armed forces of the Soviet State. Not only this, but Stalin also counts on the support of the progressive people outside the Soviet Union.

"I do not know whether Mr. Churchill and his friends will succeed in organising after the 2nd World War a new military campaign against Eastern Europe, but if they succeed in doing so—WHICH

IS HARDLY PROBABLE BECAUSE MILLIONS OF SIMPLE FOLK STAND ON GUARD IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE—(my emphasis, S.M.) one can say with certainty, that they will be beaten just as they were beaten when they previously intervened in Russia 26 years ago." (Stalin, 14.3.46.)

We hope that these remarks will clarify the matter for you, and congratulate you on your interest which we value highly.

BOOK REVIEW

S. MOSTON

History of the Australian Labor Movement. (E. W. Campbell)

MR. E. W. CAMPBELL has, by interpreting Australian experience in the light of Marxism, i.e., of Dialectical Materialism, again carried out a most useful task for progressive people in this country. The author of the **Historical Background of the World Labor Movement,** and co-author of **The Story of Government Enterprise** has written another work that will fulfil the high expectations of his readers, created deservedly by their previous acquaintance.

The main paths followed by the Australian Labor Movement from its origin in the 1850's to the present day are clearly revealed, and many stages of the journey which were forgotten or only vaguely recalled are sharply defined by Mr. Campbell, reminding us of many important lessons for our struggle today.

This is the first time the real significance of our historic landmarks, as the Eureka Stockade, the struggles of the 1890's, the formation of the Australian Labor Party and others, has been clarified.

The work demonstrates, from beginning to end, that the progressive traditions of our country are built on struggle. Without the Eureka rebellion, the land monopolists and colonial bureaucrats in the Victorian Government would have remained very loth to grant concessions to popular feeling; the eight-hour day, employers' recognition of the unions, legality of the Communist Party, and many other achievements were obtained not through compromise and legalism, but through struggle by the masses of the workers; and so with every step forward in Trade Union and political democracy.

William Lane, the Utopian Socialist who led a band of visionaries to his "New Australia" colony in Paraguay, is now almost a legendary figure to Australian workers. It is, therefore, very refreshing to learn the actual role and significance of Lane as the organiser of the Australian Labor Federation, one of the most important developments in our Labor Movement before the 1890's. Mr. Campbell is able to discard sentiment and explain the real strength and weakness of William Lane.

"To William Lane belongs the credit for launching the first serious attempt in Australia to effect this combination (i.e., process of combining of socialism with the mass Labor movement). . . . Lane's socialism was much more utopian than scientific. . . The objective conditions prevailing in Australia at the time Lane commenced his activities tended to reinforce rather than to help overcome his utopian views." (**History of the Australian Labor Movement,** pps. 20-21.)

More important than the analysis of William Lane is the investigation of the formation and history of the Australian Labor Party. The defeat of the unions in the great struggles of 1890-91 taught the advanced workers the weakness of purely trade union organisation and led to the formation of the A.L.P.

A whole chapter in the work is devoted to the bourgeois liberal character of the Australian Labor Party. Undoubtedly, this will prove to be one of the most valuable sections of an extremely useful work. The real character of the Labor Party, from its original programmatic weakness to its compromising and hesitant policy of the present day, is shown in a most objective, unprejudiced manner. In spite of its trade union basis, the A.L.P. came under the leadership of the petit-bourgeoisie and so earned the description of Lenin, "a liberal bourgeois party."

The experience of compulsory arbitration for a time strengthened the influence of the Labor Party in the trade union movement. Through a policy of class collaboration, of legalism, the capitalist class more firmly welded its shackles on the minds and bodies of the workers. Anyone interested in the dangers of compulsory arbitration and the story of the basic wage will find a wealth of useful material here.

The conflicts that periodically break out within the Labor Party are mostly a direct result of the underlying differences between the workers, who constitute the bulk of its support, and the compromising middle-class outlook that many of its leaders, unfortunately, impose on the party.

The experiences of World War I not only showed the futility of reformism (the A.L.P.) but also gave Australian workers the experience of anarcho-syndicalist bankruptcy. This trend was represented by the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.). The I.W.W. failed to understand the role of the State or the real character of political struggle, it rejected all parliamentary activity under any condition and its organisational structure was unsound. All these shortcomings arose from its extremely narrow approach to Marxist theory, and inevitably led to the decay of the I.W.W., in spite of some good work in the trade unions and against the conscription plans of the imperialist war mongers.

A new, decisive stage in the Australian Labor Movement was opened with the formation of the Communist Party (October, 1920). Even those of us who are familiar with Mr. Sharkey's **Outline History of the Communist Party** will still find a considerable amount of fresh information about vital periods and struggles in our Party's history. The Party's early struggles for unity, and theoretical clarity, the story of the A.L.P.'s socialisation objective, the decision by the 1923 Easter Conference of the A.L.P. to accept Communist affiliation and the subsequent sabotage by Lang and Loughlin, are but a few of the features which are explained more fully than was possible in the brief earlier work.

To many young students of Australian Labor history, the experience of the Militant Minority movement will be something new, but very interesting. This organisation undoubtedly facilitated the turn towards militant trade unionism that is now manifested.

The lessons of the struggle against opportunism (in particular liquidationism) in the Party are greatly clarified by the added detail in the work under review.

The Party fought energetically and heroically throughout the crisis years. The Premiers' Plan which sought to impose the burden on the workers was determinedly opposed, and some important concessions were gained. Labor Governments in the Federal, Victorian, N.S.W., South Australian and Tasmanian parliaments savagely carried out the capitalist plans with the result that "there were more workers sent to prison for political offences under the Lang Labor government than at any time in the past history of New South Wales. Labor Governments in other states acted in the same brutal manner towards the workers." The N.S.W. Government achieved this distinction while J. T. Lang was Premier and was putting up a pretence at opposition to the Premiers' Plan.

With the easing of the crisis and the resort by the imperialists to Fascist methods of government, "Working-class unity against Fascism and War" became the main slogan of the Communist Parties. The Party fought against reaction at home and abroad, arousing struggle around the immediate economic and political interests of the workers.

The Communist Party was the only political party in this country consistently opposed to the policy of appeasement that culminated in Munich and World War II. From 1939-41 the Party sought to prevent the spread of the war and to change the character of the reactionary governments waging it.

Mr. Campbell gives a valuable summary of the attacks on the democratic rights of the workers through the Communist Party, culminating in the Menzies ban, June 1940.

The Party continued its struggles to maintain the wages, conditions and liberties of the workers throughout the war years.

A new chapter has now opened in the history of the Australian working-class and progressive people, a chapter of renewed struggle against reaction and the war mongers. The peace-loving folk cannot win this struggle without a careful study of the past, and an understanding of its lesson. Mr. E. W. Campbell's new work, the **History of the Australian Labor Movement,** reveals these lessons in a way that makes their understanding as a "guide to action," easier.

HISTORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT by E. W. Campbell, 3/-. Published by Current Book Distributors.

ARE THINGS WHAT THEY SEEM?

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

DURING a discussion arising from my article on the late Sir Arthur Eddington a comrade remarked that things are not what they seem. There is, of course, some truth in this statement; but I believe it would be a good deal truer to say that things are what they seem and a great deal more as well.

Everyone knows that one can be deceived by appearances. One reason why, even in these days of personal rationing, smash-and-grab thieves do not raid the windows of sweet shops is that the objects in them which look like chocolates are often dummies made of sealing wax. Our ears can deceive us, as when we take a rattling window for a distant bomb, our tongues when we take saccharine for sugar, and so on.

Some writers on physics suggest that we are being deceived in this kind of way all the time. What we take for a solid iron bar, they say, is not solid at all, but consists almost wholly of empty space, of which only a very tiny fraction is occupied by rapidly moving particles, mostly electrons. They very often go on to say that if two such utterly contradictory accounts of the same thing can be given, this proves that we can know nothing at all about matter. It is important to be able to meet this argument.

We only know about things through our senses. These senses include not only sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste, with minor senses such as that of temperature, but the very important muscular sense. This tells us, for example, that it is harder to lift a chair than a feather; and a great deal of our knowledge of matter comes through it.

Each sense gives us a different kind of information about matter. What kind of information it will give depends on the structure of the sense organ.

Thus our ears respond to vibrations in the air with frequencies from about 30 to 30,000 per second, and each frequency gives its own sensation. Our eyes respond to electromagnetic vibrations with frequencies of 15 to 30 thousand million per second. We do not feel these as vibrations, but as tones or colours. At first sight this seems to prove that our senses deceive us. We see a vibrating string, and hear a steady musical note. How can both senses give us correct information? In the nineteenth century there was no answer.

In the twentieth physicists, notably Planck and Einstein, found that radiant energy was taken up and given out by matter, not continuously, but in packets called quanta, whose size is proportional to the frequency of the vibration.

So long as it is travelling, light behaves as a train of electro-magnetic wages; but it is emitted and absorbed as units called photons, and those of violet light are twice as big as those of red light. As the Soviet physicist Frenkel pointed out, the same is true for sound.

Physicists who have no knowledge of dialectics are troubled by this contradiction in the properties of matter. But the contradiction is not really a new one. It is already there when we see a piano string vibrating and hear a steady note. It is as intelligible that energy packets of different sizes should have different properties as that pennies should differ from half-pennies, though of course we do not yet know why they have the particular qualities which we perceive.

We can only perceive one octave of electro-magnetic vibrations directly. The wavelength of the reddest light we can see is only twice that of the deepest violet.

We have to use apparatus to translate the others into forms of energy which our senses can pick up. For example, we translate X-rays, which have a higher vibration frequency, into light, with a fluorescent screen or a photographic plate. We translate radio waves with a lower frequency than visible light into sound with a radio-receiving set or into light with the apparatus used by bombers for bombing through cloud. If we had a more complete set of sense organs we should perceive X-rays and radio waves directly, and they would give us sensations of a kind which, of course, we cannot imagine.

Other animals certainly perceive things which we cannot. For example, bees can distinguish colours in the ultraviolet, and bats guide themselves by using sound waves too short for us to hear, which are reflected from objects around them like the light from a car's headlamps.

Probably no animal has a much bigger range of senses than ourselves. For example, dogs can distinguish more smells than men, but are colour-blind. But if we had all the senses of other animals, we should perceive directly a great many things and processes which we only know indirectly through special apparatus. In fact, we only appreciate a tiny fraction of the qualities which there must be in the world.

Physicists learn about the existence of radio waves as a blind man, by doing experiments in which the heating effect of light was used, could discover that something came from the sun which was reflected by a polished surface and concentrated by a lens. But, of course, they do not know what quality they would find in these waves if they perceived them directly.

A baby gradually learns to fit its various sensations together. They tell it a rather contradictory story. There are things that one can see but not touch, like the sun or an image in a mirror. There are others that one can feel but not see, like the heat in a hot plate. Adults take these contradictions for granted, and build up a picture of the world which works fairly well.

But further study shows new contradictions. Eddington did not believe in the reality of solid objects because, when investigated by physicists, they turned out to consist mainly of empty space of which only a tiny fraction was occupied by rapidly moving particles. If he had possessed an ultra-microscopic eye with which he had perceived these particles ever since he was a baby, this contradiction would have affected him less. The universe is certainly queer. There are doubtless more things in it than are dreamt of in any philosophy. But that does not mean that it is not real, or that the scientific account of it is not true as far as it goes, and is not in fact the nearest approach to truth which we can make at the present time.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

An index of the 1945 issues of the Communist Review is now available. Copies may be obtained by sending a stamped and addressed envelope to Review Management, 695 George Street, Sydney.

100 bound copies of the Communist Review for 1946 will be available early next year. Orders for these will be accepted now and should be sent to the above address.

REFORMISM AND THE FIGHT FOR THE UNITED FRONT

R. DIXON

CONFRONTED with the sharpening struggle against the capitalist class and growing resistance from the Right Wing Reformists, the fight for working class unity must be more fully developed than ever, as this is the condition for victory of the working class over the forces of reaction.

In Europe, which is the great testing ground of working class theories and tactics today, the fight for unity, in many countries, is well on the way to being won. In the struggle to defeat Hitlerism, and, when that was accomplished, to win the peace, the working class found they could not afford the luxury of division as preached and practised by the Social Democratic leaders, as that meant disaster. They rejected the splitters and united their ranks for the struggle and, as a consequence, the labor movements in many parts of Europe have succeeded in exercising a major influence on the national life of their respective countries. New vistas have opened up before them, they have taken the path of united working class advance to socialism.

But while the cause of working class unity has been advanced so much in Europe, in the Anglo-American countries the fight for the united front is in its initial stages. The Right Wing opponents of unity are still strong enough, still have enough influence in the Labor Parties, to prevent those parties meeting with the Communist Parties to discuss a basis for united action. More than that, the L.P. of Britain has undertaken to lead the fight against unity on an international scale, as well as in Britain, and the Dominion Labor Parties are backing them in this outrageous anti-working class decision.

Wherever discussions on working class unity were arranged between Communist Parties and the Social Democratic Parties in European countries, Professor Laski, Chairman of the British Labor Party, was sent, to throw his weight behind the opponents of unity in the hope of preventing agreement being reached. The British Foreign Minister, Bevin, not only opposed the uniting of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties of Germany, he forbade the Social Democratic representatives from the British Zone who had been elected onto the governing body of the united party from taking their seats and urged more assistance to the Social Democratic Party and restrictions and limits on the activities of the Communists. The British L.P. is also organising a special conference of representatives from Social Democratic Parties of Europe to decide upon measures to combat the Communist Parties and the advance to working class unity. Within Britain, Labor's Right Wing are waging a bitter fight against the growing Trade Union support for the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labor Party.

Thus, the British Labor leaders are using all their influence, and the power of British imperialism, to prevent working class unity being achieved and this policy coincides with the efforts of Bevin and the Labor Government to create a world capitalist front against the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism.

Such is the criminal anti-working class policy being pursued by the British Labor Party.

What bearing does this have on Australia and upon the policy of the A.L.P. and the Labor Governments?

The trend of British Labor policy has not left Australia untouched. For some time now discussions, which culminated in the recent Empire Conference, have been going on between British and Dominion Governments, the object of which was to bring about a greater co-ordination of foreign policy and defence plans. The weakened positions of British Imperialism resulting from the war made it necessary for the British Government to get stronger backing from the Dominions on major questions of foreign policy, with the object of strengthening its hand in the negotiations with Soviet Russia and the United States.

The discussions with the Dominions proceeded not on the old basis of foreign policy being determined almost solely by the British Government, but on the basis of the active participation of Dominion representatives in the formulation of foreign policy, and with major responsibility for particular spheres for the various parts of the Empire. For example, Australia will play a major role in the Pacific.

In a broadcast dealing with the results of the Empire Conference in London, Mr. Chifley said that Australia will "shoulder the responsibility of playing a major part in ensuring Australian and British Commonwealth interests in the Pacific."

In view of the looming Anglo-U.S. trade war, the fight of the colonial peoples for their independence and the preparations for war on the Soviet Union, that statement is very significant. The Conference will result in Australia's war potential being enlarged and in a closer linking of powerful British monopolies with Australian capitalist interests. The policy Bevin advocated at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Paris was supported by the Empire Conference, much to the satisfaction of reactionary anti-Soviet circles.

It cannot be assumed that no differences remain between the British and Australian Governments, or that differences will not develop in the

future. Conflicting economic interests make this inevitable. This much is certain, however: the Empire Conference resulted in a considerable success for Bevin and the Australian Labor movement must be on the alert for changes in the foreign policy of the Chifley Government. We can also be sure that the British Labor leaders discussed their campaign against communism with the Australian delegates, Chifley and Evatt.

Indications also point to a strengthening of Right Wing influences in the internal policy of the Labor Governments. The statement of the Tasmanian Labor Premier, Mr. Cosgrove, urging speed-up in industry, more production and cessation of strikes is symptomatic. Dealing with the all-important question of wages, Mr. Cosgrove said: "Whereas Labor for the whole of its history has been engaged in a struggle for decent wages and conditions, it must now regard this task as completed." ("Sun," 7/5/46.)

Labor Party members and supporters will be amazed to learn that the struggle for higher wages and conditions has been completed. The rise in prices during the war, as everyone knows, was not accompanied by a corresponding rise in wages and as a result the real wage of the worker today is lower than for very many years. At the very moment, therefore, when Labor should be exerting itself to the utmost to get decent wages and conditions and when the Labor Governments should be helping forward this movement, Labor Party leaders are blocking the path, opposing increases in the living standards of the workers. Mr. Cosgrove had nothing to say about the huge profits of the big monopolies, the increased cost of living, nor about the rise in productivity over the last two decades, and especially during the war.

What Mr. Cosgrove said openly and frankly Mr. Chifley has been hinting for some time in private. The trade union movement, therefore, must face up to the fact that improvement in wages and conditions, for which there is such pressing need, will not come from Governments or Arbitration courts, but only from the organised struggles of the workers.

On other issues, the 40-hour week and nationalisation of the coal and certain other industries, Labor's policy shows the same trend to the Right.

These developments make it obvious that the fight for working class unity is taking place under more difficult conditions. Right Wing Labor leaders and Trade Union officials are energetically campaigning against the Communist Party and working class unity.

Should we assume from this that the united front is now further off than ever? No such conclusion can be drawn. Over these last months the cause of working class unity has been advanced considerably, in spite of the attitude of the Right Wing Labor leaders. Their efforts to betray the big steel, coal and shipping strike at the end of last year failed because of the solidarity of the Communist and Labor Party members and supporters engaged in the struggle. Hundreds of examples can be quoted showing the growth of working class unity in the factories and the rising hostility of Labor Party members and supporters to the policy of the Right Wing. In addition, there is a process of differentiation taking place in the Labor Party leadership and not a few reformist T.U. officials and leading members of the Labor Party are dissociating themselves from the extreme Right Wing and their treacherous policies.

The realisation of the united front has, therefore, not been set back, but advanced by recent developments. Here we can learn a lesson from the experiences in European countries where, also, a strong Right Wing had to be overcome before unity was achieved. In France, Czechoslovakia and other European countries it was the powerful united front organised in the factories, unions and localities in the course of the struggle against fascism that was the deciding factor in the fight for unity. The Right Wing Social Democrats were compelled to cease their disruptive attacks on the Communist Party and their opposition to the united front.

We cannot achieve the united front by capitulating to the Labor Party, or by weakening and smoothing over the struggle against the Right Wing. On the contrary, we need the widest mobilisation of the workers to fight for progressive internal and foreign policies, combined with the most vigorous exposure of the Right Wing. The fight for the united front goes hand in hand with the fight against and the exposure of the Right Wing of the Labor Party.

The existence of Labor Governments must be taken fully into account when considering the organisation of the United Front with the Labor Party. Labor ministers oppose mass pressure on the Labor Governments on the grounds that it is embarrassing to them. We can only regard this as a paltry excuse for the evasion by the Labor Government of their responsibility to the labor movement, and the failure to carry out their election promises and the platform of the Labor Party. We support the Labor Governments as against Governments of the Liberal and Country Parties, but not without qualification. By failing to respond to the demands of the working class, the farmers and middle classes, by their bungling of the reconstruction programme they themselves outlined, the Labor Governments are frittering away the support of sections of the people and creating confusion and division in the labor movement. All this is grist to the mills of reaction. These tendencies will increase if the Right Wing strengthens its hold on the Labor Party. Hence the need for intensifying the campaign against the reactionaries in the labor movement, to concretely and effectively expose them.

Labor Party members and supporters have to be organised to join with the Communists in a united demand that the Labor Governments adhere to the programme of the labor movement, that they cap the fight for "decent wages and conditions" with a substantial rise in the Basic Wage and the 40-hour week, that the problems of reconstruction be met with better planning and organisation which entails the nationalisation of the coal industry and of the big monopolies, and that the anti-Soviet trend in foreign policy give way to a policy of friendly and peaceful relations with the Soviet Union and with all other peoples, including those in the colonies now fighting for their independence.

The fight for working class unity means that pressure on the Labor Governments must be increased, not relaxed.

COAL CONTROL URGENT!

EDGAR ROSS (Editor, "Common Cause").

IN a cartoon in a recent issue of "Common Cause" we depicted the Australian coal owners seeking to hide from public view a chaos of smoking mines, with the caption, "Hands Off! Everything's O.K."

Recent heavy rains in Northern New South Wales threw ten pits idle for several days, and had as a sequel three severe fires, several roof "falls" and "heating up", and flooded mines. It was spectacular confirmation of the charges made over a period of years of wilful neglect, wasteful and careless methods of coal extraction, and a criminal lack of foresight, on the part of the present owners of the industry. . . .

Thus dramatically found guilty of negligence, the coal owners could only plead inanely "We could not help it," while their willing propagandists sought to divert attention from the wreckage with talk of miners and strikes, and their directors audaciously agitated for increased subsidies from a Government they would not hear of having any say in the industry!

Coal mines on fire . . . coal mines flooded . . . coal mines collapsing!

Coal mines without underground transport . . . coal mines lacking bath rooms . . . coal mines without system or method.

An industry which cannot "hold" its employees, let alone attract new labor . . . an industry which cannot guarantee work from day to day . . . an industry which cannot meet requirements.

That is the background for the reaching of the "showdown" stage on the paramount issue of Coal Control.

The coal mining industry is in a mess! Having haphazardly extracted the coal most easily obtained in accordance with the slogan of "speedy returns", the owners now face accumulating serious problems —how to extract the pillars left standing in the first working, how to keep air circulating and transport moving, while the "shells" their chaotic methods have created tend to cave in, causing falls, "creeps", fires and floods. Their failure to handle the "dust" menace has led to a mounting burden of workmen's compensation. And profits must still be won!

To cap it all, the declining industry—unorganised, anarchistic, technically backward — is being asked to produce millions of tons of coal more than pre-war, in order to provide the "fuel" basis for the extensive industrial expansion planned by the Federal Government. There is no hope of it doing so unless it is drastically reorganised under national control.

This is not the first time we have warned that the coal industry, unless reorganised and re-equipped, would fail to meet the requirements of an extending economy. In the "first and second round" campaigns of the Miners' Federation, 1937-1940, we not only agitated for improved working conditions, but called for Government control to fix prices, regulate production, systematise distribution, and modernise the industry. When mineworkers were breaking all production records during the war period, we warned that it could not last unless the whole set-up of the industry were altered.

The National Convention of the Federation in September last year called for the nationalisation of the industry, to make possible its modernising under conditions which would not mean merely intensified competition by private owners, but would increase output while safeguarding the health, safety and security of the workers. The Federal Government's answer was to announce that it was "getting out of coal" completely, to declare that it would not nationalise the mines under any circumstances . . . then, after further consideration, that it was determined to "keep in coal" at the distribution end but would leave "production" to the States . . . with the New South Wales Government countering with propaganda that it could do nothing about the coal controls because the Federal Government would not vacate the field.

And so, the seemingly endless discussions and "passing the buck", with promises made and as regularly broken, while the disproportion between the coal being produced and the coal needed grew until yet another of the ever-recurring stocks crises intervened, and the familiar scare-headlines of the press appeared to threaten housewives with rationing. Press propagandists, as usual, blamed miners'

strikes, but the real story was told by the ten pits idle in New South Wales as a result of the rains, and, then, the aftermath. . . North Wallarah was filled with water to the tunnel mouth. A big fall of ground in Bellbird had blocked the haulage road. Cessnock No. 2 was on fire, threatening to set other adjacent mines ablaze. As the mine managers replied "exaggeration" to the miners charges, flames 100 feet high leapt from the Ayrfield colliery, and fires were reported from Muswellbrook.

Northern miners' president, W. Crook, declared that any part of the whole coal seam from Maitland to Cessnock could "go off any tick of the clock", making inevitable the permanent loss of millions of tons of coal. The story is being re-told of the flooding and firing of the Ayrfield-Greta pits some years back, with the loss of some of the most valuable coal in the world, owing to the failure of the owners to take the necessary precautions.

These are merely spectacular manifestations of the routine employment by the mining companies of methods of coal extraction which sacrifice everything to the winning of big and speedy profits. The fires and floods and collapses were predicted years ago.

In layman's language, the customary "bord and pillar" method of coal extraction simply means that you carve out the seam of coal as dictated by maximum and speedy profits, leave holes underground, then go back and "rob" as many of the pillars left standing as you can, leaving behind a shell which collapses on the slightest "provocation", with serious consequences when the "excavation" is close to the surface, as at Cessnock No. 2. The known—and quite "established"—method which ensures that all the coal seam will be "worked out" systematically (instead of 30 per cent as often is the case today), while the workers are protected, and the surface "safeguarded", is that of replacing the coal as it is extracted with some other material . . . hydraulic or pneumatic stowage. But it costs money, and there's the rub! And so, the "shells" are collapsing, and the nation is being robbed of more and more coal.

True, some strikes continue, as an inevitable corollary of the whole chaotic set-up, but it is significant that since the end of the war the overwhelming percentage of them have been due not to any concerted move for real advances for the workers, but to a determination to "hold what we have" in the face of attacks on seniority principles, wage rates, and conditions generally . . . with an increasing number of stoppages due to mechanical breakdowns and safety issues.

Scientific advancement has largely by-passed the coal mines under private control! A method of injecting water into the coal face to mitigate the "dust" menace, recommended by Royal Commission as far back as 1938, was applied—under State control—at one mine, Coalcliff, in 1944 with a success hailed by experts everywhere; but no private company has attempted to adopt it, while increasing cases of permanent incapacity from dust disease reach the total of 120 a year from one small district—Southern New South Wales!

So, too, accidents increase, with fatalities occurring at a rate double that of pre-war. Working conditions grow worse, with the sorry story of poor ventilation, inadequate bath rooms, no eating facilities, and generally primitive methods repeated year after year. And this in the industry which must form the backbone of post-war industrial expansion!

Its chronic instability, all-pervading atmosphere of insecurity, and bad working conditions, have had the inevitable result of young men shunning the industry, while others leave it for better jobs, creating a labor problem that threatens its very existence in the years to come.

Now well on the defensive, the coal owners nevertheless maintain their dogmatic rejection of any form of control, and seek the lifting of even those minor restrictions imposed upon them during the war period. They want carte-blanche to carry on with the methods that have brought the industry to the brink of disaster!

In the words of Judge Drake Brockman, "The disequilibrium between capacity and production and the absence of any sane co-operation among coal owners is the real cause of the sickness of the industry in recent years." How can such a situation be corrected except by planning and enforced "co-operation" under national control?

It is significant that in their fanatical resistance to any form of national control, the coal owners even rejected a proposal that the Federal Government should acquire all coal produced in New South Wales at a fixed price and arrange for its distribution . . . a rejection categorised by the former Coal Commissioner, Mr. N. G. Mighell, as the most absurd attitude within his knowledge. As pointed out by Mighell, in the absence of some control over distribution, there would simply be terrific competition among coal users for the best coal, with the lower grades left unexploited, the perspective of permanent loss to the country, and demand still unsatisfied.

But, be it noted, while the coal owners reject all forms of control, either at the production or distribution end, they regard it as "quite the thing" for the Federal Government to pay them thousands of pounds in subsidies (with virtually no say as to how the money is spent), and for the public to pay for the cost of putting out the many fires, etc., their negligence causes!

To the problem of coal, the owners have but one answer — that they shall be given the unfettered opportunity to embark upon a fierce competitive drive, to be fought with the latest coal cutting and loading machines, with the weaker going to the wall, and the workers accepting the toll in wrecked and diseased bodies, lost lives and loss of jobs, as more "distressed areas" follow in the wake of mines ruined and closed down, and the industry drifts into inevitable "depression". At the recent Royal Commission, the coal owners announced their plans for the full mechanisation of selected mines, with others presumably to be shut down—and "devil take the hindmost".

The attitude of the Miners' Federation to mechanisation is quite clear. It will co-operate in the modernising of the mines, including the introduction of more machines, provided that it is regulated in accordance with real requirements and the safety, health and security of the workers are safeguarded . . . and that can only be done under a system of control by the nation. It is not surprising, then, that one of the burning issues of the moment is the question of using machines in pillars, which has been opposed by the union on the ground that machines aggravate the "dust" hazard and generally add to the dangers of coal extraction . . . but back of it all is the issue of control. Pillar extraction under private control has already wreaked havoc!

Indeed, most of the "sticky" issues this year have been linked closely with the bad set-up prevailing in the industry generally, and the issue of control. The labor shortage, for instance, forced to the forefront the question of compensatory payments for miners directed to leave the coal face to do the work of wheelers and others, which led to a clash with the Government, through its veto of the favorable decisions of the Central Industrial Authority, its own Authority.

The miners are tired of being pilloried by propagandists because the owners have made such a mess of the industry that it is unable to meet requirements . . . and sick of Labor Party Governments which tend to join in the chorus of condemnation as they pass the buck to each other in dodging their responsibilities to the workers, the Labor movement, and the nation.

When in Opposition the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. F. Forde, warned U.A.P.-U.C.P. that when Labor was returned it would nationalise the industry, and other Ministers, too, have from time to time emphasised the need for national control, and promised the workers security, with a "new deal" in the post-war period. Now, the Central Executive of the Miners' Federation have found it necessary to assert publicly that the Federal Government has not the courage to take over the mines, and have indicted that Government for seeking refuge in the purely destructive report of Mr. Justice Davidson, with his repudiation of his own earlier recommendation for controls, and his nauseating propagandising against the mineworkers, from political and sectarian angles of approach.

Throughout the protracted negotiations between the Union and the Governments, the N.S.W. Minister for Mines, Mr. J. M. Baddeley, has insisted, "I will take control of the mines in New South Wales, if the Federal Government will get out of the picture." Now, Mr. Baddeley is to have his chance to make good! He has written and spoken often of the necessity for State control over production and distribution. He has indicted the coal owners for their wasteful methods, and advocated hydraulic stowage, scientific methods of dust prevention, and guaranteed full employment for the workers. Other N.S.W. parliamentarians, too, have been outspoken in their support of State control, declared that if present trends continue the industry will be in a state of collapse in 12 years, and have supported the miners with bold words for refusing to work in "dusty" and dangerous conditions.

The time has arrived for the State Labor Government to show its mettle!

The Baddeley draft Bill proposes the setting up of a Commission with power to regulate production (including the introduction of machines), to control the development of mines, to fix wages, conditions and prices, to limit profits, and to organise distribution. It provides for a guarantee of security for the workers, and for the introduction of social amenities and insurances.

The Federation's attitude is still that nationalisation is required in the coal mining industry, but it has been forced by circumstances as outlined to take a "detour", and work through the various States, starting with New South Wales, for State control.

Our Party's position is still that as expressed in the resolution of the last National Congress, with its call for nationalisation of the coal mines, and the membership must be mobilised to carry that campaign to ever higher levels, while backing the efforts of the Miners' Federation to force the implementation of the Baddeley Bill, with similar legislation in other States.

We are in step with world trends! The British Government is nationalising the mines because private coal companies have brought the industry to a state of collapse. The French Government has nationalised the mines. The Polish Government has nationalised the mines. The Czech Government has nationalised the mines. Sooner or later, every Government in the world will be forced to wrest coal from private controllers and place it under the control of the State.

The situation is rotten ripe for that action in Australia, where recurring stocks crises in a set-up of mines collapsing through fires and floods and earth subsidences indict the industry's capitalist controllers, and cry "Out of the way, you wreckers! Give the National Authority a try!"

RESOLUTIONS OF THE BRITISH COMMUNIST CONGRESS

The following resolutions were unanimously passed by the National Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, held in London on November 25, 1945 :—

Resolution On Colonies

THIS Congress welcomes the growth and strengthening of the national liberation movement in the Colonies during wartime. The Colonial peoples played an important and far-reaching part in the war against fascism, sacrificing many of their best sons in the struggle and undergoing serious economic privations. Especially we note with pride the glorious part played by our comrades in Burma, Malaya and the Far East Colonial countries, whose heroic armed resistance to the armies of Japanese occupation, in close collaboration with the Allied Armies, materially helped to bring about the speedy defeat of the Japanese without great loss of lives to the Allied forces.

The wartime experiences of all Colonial peoples had strengthened their confidence in their ability to determine their own future and their conviction of the justness of their demand for the right of self-determination.

This Congress re-affirms its belief in the equality of all peoples, the right of all nations to choose their own form of government and the necessity to end the exploitation of one nation by another. We therefore call upon the Labor Government, in accordance with the traditions of the Labor movement, to extend to all peoples the rights of equality and freedom which were promised in the Atlantic Charter and at Teheran. We call upon the Labor Government to break sharply and decisively with Tory policies of imperialist exploitation which have impoverished the colonial territories and denied them their elementary civil liberties.

Congress places on record its dissatisfaction at the use of British armed forces in an attempt to suppress the national movements in Indo-China and Indonesia, and at the refusal of the Governor of Burma to recognise the right of the Burmese Resistance Movement to speak for the Burmese people. Further, the constitutional changes now proposed for Colonies such as Nigeria and Ceylon in no way meet with the clearly expressed wishes of the people of those countries.

We ask the Labor Government, therefore, to outline a clear policy for the achievement by the Colonial peoples of equal and free status amongst the nations of the world. And, in addition and as an immediate step:—

(a) to secure the repeal of all laws restricting freedom of speech, movement and assembly.

(b) to repeal all laws that discriminate politically or economically against the population, or sections of the population, in the Colonies.

(c) to work out and immediately put into effect plans for a vast development of all social services in the Colonies.

(d) to grant every facility and assistance to the Colonial peoples in forming their trade unions and co-operative organisations.

(e) to draw up, co-ordinate and put into effect plans for the economic and industrial development of the backward colonial economics which will have the effect of stimulating world trade and lessening the threat of unemployment. It is essential that all such industrial development should be controlled by, and in the interest of, the indigenous populations and not for the benefit of foreign combines and monopoly interests.

A great responsibility rests upon the Communist Party to arouse the Labor movement, by its clear socialist presentation of the colonial issue, to an understanding of the community of interest that exists between the British people and the subject Colonial peoples in the fight against imperialism and for a world in which all nations shall be free and equal.

Resolution On India

The new world situation brought about by the military defeat of German and Japanese fascist-imperialism, in the attainment of which the Indian peoples played a vital part, opens up new perspectives and new possibilities for the Indian peoples.

The newly-elected Labor Government in this country is now faced with fresh opportunities and responsibilities to fulfill its pledges to negotiate the settlement of India's future on the basis of the recognition of India's right to freedom.

This Congress expresses dissatisfaction with the proposals made by Mr. Attlee on behalf of the Labor Government on September 19, 1945, because they do not constitute a decisive step towards such a settlement. Congress declares that it is necessary to break entirely with the policies for India inherited from previous Governments, and in particular to abandon as a basis for negotiation the "Cripps" offer of 1942.

An essential condition for giving practical effort to Labor's desire to give Indians the right to frame their own democratic constitution lies in the calling of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise.

Unlike the "constitution-making body" proposed by the British Government the Constituent Assembly must be created by direct election and not through the existing Provincial Assemblies, and it must include democratically elected representatives from the Indian States and not nominees of the Princes. Such a Constituent Assembly, being truly a reflection of the national aspirations of the Indian peoples would not only make a practical reality of Indian independence but would ensure that the full fruits of that independence would be enjoyed by the working masses of India and not solely by the privileged vested interests. The Constituent Assembly must, of course, be a sovereign body whose decisions would be unchallengeable by any other authority.

To make possible the calling together of such a Constituent Assembly, Congress urges the Labor Government to arrange immediately for the preparation of electoral lists based on adult franchise for the whole of India, to release without delay all political prisoners, and to withdraw all bans and orders restricting freedom of movement, speech and association.

To deal with the immediate and urgent social and economic problems which are now causing tremendous distress in India, Congress urges that interim representative governments be established in the Provinces to function until the results of the Provincial election are known; and that immediately after the Central Assembly elections, a responsible Government at the Centre, composed of representatives of the leading political parties and minorities, be set up.

Independence for India will mean India taking her place alongside all those other countries throughout the world which are advancing along the road to freedom and democracy. A subject India will make impossible the achievement of lasting peace, prosperity and happiness in the world. It is in the interests of all peoples, and of the British people in particular, that India should become a free and sovereign country.

The Communist Party pledges itself to do all in its power to ensure the carrying out of this policy

Emergency Resolution On Indonesia

The Communist Party strongly protests against the use of British and Indian troops in the interests of the great Anglo-Dutch monopoly concerns to re-impose colonial slavery on the people of South East Asia, in defiance of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations Organisation.

We owe a duty to the armed forces of Britain in the Far East, who joined up to defeat Japanese fascism, and not in order to be used alongside Japanese forces to suppress the struggle of other nations for freedom. Their demobilisation is being prolonged by the Labor Government's policy in South-East Asia.

We owe a duty to those British seamen of the "Moreton Bay" who have helped to save the honor of the British Labor movement by opposing the transport of troops and war materials to Indonesia. It is an action in line with the traditions of the immortal "Jolly George" and is an example to be followed by all British workers who are asked to produce or transport war materials to Indonesia. We demand that neither they nor their dependents shall suffer financial loss or victimisation because of their splendid action.

We demand an immediate cessation of hostilities, and negotiations with the Indonesian Republican Government on the basis of full recognition of the right of the Indonesian people to self-determination and independence.

The Communist Party calls for a reversal of the policy of the Labor Government in Indonesia and Indo-China, and for all Labor and progressive organisations to exert their strongest possible pressure upon the Government to secure this.

WHY THE REFERENDUM MUST BE WON

H. B. CHANDLER

THE issues to be decided at the Referendum to be held concurrently with the Federal Elections are simple but important.

On this occasion, electors will be given the opportunity of voting "Yes" or "No" separately to each of three questions having, as their aim, the alteration of the Constitution to give the Federal Parliament power to legislate for social services, terms and conditions of industrial employment and organised marketing of primary products.

The presentation of the questions in this form and provision for voting for or against each one of them separately removes the basis of the main objections raised during the 1944 Referendum. It will be possible for the electors to reject one and carry the others but, as some of the issues are to be treated as non-party issues, there should not be a concentrated, organised campaign against the proposals.

Although the new powers asked for by the Commonwealth Parliament do not overcome all the weaknesses of the "horse and buggy" Constitution are not revolutionary and, in fact, are no greater than powers already held by each of the State Governments, they are necessary to enable the Federal authority to carry on many of the tasks it embarked upon under the Defence Powers of the Constitution during the war.

The Social Service powers which the electors are asked to give the Commonwealth Parliament concern almost every individual. According to "eminent legal authorities," there is some doubt about the security of social services already provided by the Federal Government. By this, it is meant that Maternity Allowances, Child Endowment, Widow's Pensions, Unemployment and Sickness Benefits (as provided for in the 1944 Act), and Hospital Benefits could all be declared invalid should somebody like to challenge the validity of these measures in the High Court and the Court feel disposed to rule that "within the meaning of the Constitution" the Commonwealth has no power to give these services. The fact is that all too frequently, the High Court does feel disposed to give such retrogressive decisions.

Dr. H. V. Evatt, when introducing the Bill to Parliament, submitted the opinion of five leading legal authorities who upheld this view, after considering the effect upon other Commonwealth Acts of the principles laid down by the High Court in the Pharmaceutical Benefits case. Dr. Evatt said:

> "After considering these legal opinions and those furnished by its own advisers, the Government has decided that the only amendment to the Constitution which is urgently necessary as a result of the High Court's decision is an amendment to authorise the continuance of acts providing benefits in the nature of social services, and to authorise the Parliament in the future to confer benefits of a similar character."

This is the object of the power sought. Therefore, the alteration is absolutely necessary to ensure continuity of existing services, as well as to provide for extended services, such as medical and dental services, benefits to students and family allowances.

In 1944, there were 319,979 people receiving Old Age and Invalid Pensions at a total cost of £21,699,100 for the year. In the same year, 143,795 claims for Maternity Allowances were paid, the amount being £2,258,838, and 503,140 families received payments of Child Endowment at a total cost of £12,256,976. The total number of children for whom Endowment was paid was 921,973. In addition, there was an amount of £2,800,702 paid out for 42,220 claims for Widows' Pensions. Who, then, will vote "No" to this question?

There was a division of opinion in the ranks of the Opposition over the question of organised marketing. The Liberal Party favoured the proposal, whilst the Country Party, which is the big graziers' party, voted against the Commonwealth having power to organise the marketing of the farmers' products.

The alteration seeking Federal power to organise the marketing of primary production is only common sense. The inability of each State Government to efficiently organise such marketing was forcibly brought before the people during the war. Under its Defence Powers, the Commonwealth was compelled to take over this task and did a relatively good job. When this power ceases to exist, which it does with the ending of the war period, we must revert back to the pre-war chaos. This would mean that, while the Federal Parliament has power to make laws with respect to trade and commerce with other countries and among the States, it cannot make laws with respect to trade and commerce within a single State. Another difficulty which this alteration will overcome, if carried, is in respect to Section 92 of the Constitution, which laid down "that trade, commerce and intercourse among the States shall be absolutely free." This limitation constitutes a serious difficulty and does make all marketing plans to some extent uncertain. If the power is granted the Commonwealth will be able to deal with the marketing of primary products in the best interests of the producers and the people.

The third question, industrial employment, is the most vital and has given rise to the sharpest conflict. At the last Referendum, the Opposition raised their greatest objection to the employment and unemployment power sought. They declared that to give such power to the Commonwealth Government meant industrial conscription. They demanded a modification of this clause to guarantee against industrial conscription.

On this occasion, Dr. Evatt has cut the ground from under their feet. He has inserted a guarantee against industrial conscription in the Constitution Alteration Bill dealing with the powers sought on terms and conditions of industrial employment. The most important aspect of this power is that it will enable the Federal Parliament to fix standard hours in any industry, though this will not apply in occupations that are not industrial in character; it will enable the Federal Parliament to fix the basic wage in accordance with present day requirements or to fix the principle upon which the basic wage is determined; it will enable the Federal Parliament to carry on with the important work of the Women's Employment Board and the maintenance of the conditions obtained for women in industry during the war; it will enable the Federal Parliament to maintain, modify and improve existing machinery for conciliation and arbitration.

Here, then, is the real reason for the attacks by the leaders of reaction. If the Referendum is carried, there will no longer be any excuse for the Federal Government to postpone the introduction of the 40-hour week, £1 increase in the basic wage, fortnight's holiday for all workers, improved industrial working conditions—and all this on a uniform scale throughout the Commonwealth.

Although the Liberal Party has decided to allow its members to determine their own individual attitude to the Referendum and have declared for a "non-party" issue, they traditionally repudiate their own decisions and undertakings, and a very big campaign against this alteration can be expected from the nefarious groups established by the reactionaries. Big Business will fight tenaciously against any constitutional alteration calculated to overcome the division created in the industrial field by the operation of different conditions in each State and which will remove all legal obstacles to the introduction of the 40-hour week, the fixing of wages by the Federal authority, regulating conditions of employment, holidays and industrial amenities. This is what big business does not want.

Shorter hours, higher pay, full employment are inimical to the interests of the capitalist class. They want a reserve army of unemployed to restrain the efforts of the workers in forcing wage increases and to break strikes. They want low wages and longer hours and will fight with all their capital, all their sinister intrigues and all their lies and misrepresentation to hold back changes which will lead to full employment and some measure of Federal Government control likely to interfere with their freedom to exploit, profiteer, victimise and suppress the working class.

So the real issue at the Referendum will be a class issue. On the one hand we will have arrayed all the power of the capitalist class, fighting to preserve the out-dated Constitution which was drafted in 1900, a Constitution aimed at protecting the principle of private enterprise and based on the narrow concept of State rights, which has proved a barrier to progress and the general well-being of the working people. This group will be led by Menzies, the discarded leader of the disgraced and demoralised U.A.P., now masquerading under the name of "Liberal." He will be supported by Cameron, Fadden and many of the appeasers of fascism, the opponents of democracy, freedom and security.

On the other hand will be arrayed all sections of the working class—the people most vitally concerned with hours of labor and who are continuously struggling for the right to work, for better working and living conditions, adequate social services and for security, work, homes and a greater degree of the leisure and culture that rightly are theirs. They will be supported by the struggling farmers—the dairyman, the wheatgrower, the orchardist, the poultry breeder—all those producers who have struggled for years against the heavy burden of debt and have toiled for a meagre existence in an unorganised system in which the individual marketing of essential primary production has accentuated their poverty, whilst bankers, insurance companies, racketeering middlemen and capitalists of the worst kind have waxed fat at their expense.

"Yes" advocates will also come from the ranks of the skilled workers, the professional workers, small business men and the typical democratic middle-class liberal who is really anxious to set back depressions, avoid dole queues and provide decent homes and living amenities for his fellow human beings. In fact, the campaign for "Yes" can be a weapon in the hands of the working people that will build unity in struggle for progress.

Although "Yes" Committees representing all points of view as was experienced in the last Referendum are not likely to develop owing to the concentration on the election campaigns by the respective Parties, there can and must be widespread united action for a "Yes" vote.

What, then, are the tasks of the Party? Our tasks must be to develop the widest understanding of the constitutional alterations, to win into struggle for a "Yes" vote the great masses of the working people whose interests will be in jeopardy unless the Referendum is carried; to unite all who want jobs, homes and security behind the drive for a substantial "Yes" vote on each of the three questions. All candidates must give prominence to the "Vote—Yes" campaign, all propagandists must place clearly before the people the reasons why the Australian Communist Party calls for a "Yes" vote.

Both the Labor Party and the Communist Party will be campaigning for "Yes" on all questions. Both Parties will also contest seats at the elections and whilst we will strive for the utmost unity in action, exchange of preferences and the mobilisation of the working class for a gigantic struggle for the defeat of reaction, the election of Communists and the return of the Labor Government, we will also campaign vigorously for a majority "Yes" vote in each State and throughout the Commonwealth. Such action must bring the most active section of the working class parties together, laying the basis for a wider unity of all progressive people and opening up the opportunity for greater victories for the people.

U.S. RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER (From "Political Affairs", March, 1946).

(Address delivered in Havana on January 28, 1946, at the government-owned Sports Arena, before a capacity gathering of 15,000 people, with some 35,000 more in the great overflow meeting. The enormous gathering was held under the auspices of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, at the conclusion of its Third National Assembly.)

THE collaboration, politically, economically, and culturally, of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere is indispensable for the well-being of these peoples. It is also one of the basic conditions for a powerful United Nations and for maintaining world peace. In order that such all-American co-operation may exist to the fullest extent, each of the nations of North, Central and South America

must enjoy full national independence, become broadly industrialised, and exercise the right to develop its internal democracy entirely without reactionary outside interference. However, the powerful imperialist interests of the United States reject these necessary bases of all-American co-operation. These exploiters of the peoples consider the Latin-American countries as their special imperialist preserve, and they are following policies which seriously infringe upon the national freedom, industrialisation, and democracy of the Latin American peoples.

This interference by United States imperialism in the lives of the 140,000,000 Latin Americans must cease. It is a grave injury to the peoples south of the Rio Grande. Moreover, it works serious harm to the people of the United States by hampering the development of friendly economic and political relations with the many Latin American republics, and it is also a menace to world peace. Among the many changes in the policies of the United States toward Latin America that the Communist Party of the United States fights for, and in these matters it undoubtedly expresses the will of millions of our citizens, are the following:

First, a drastic change is necessary in the attitude of the United States towards the national independence of Latin American countries. To begin with, the United States must concede the full right of self-determination to Puerto Rico, without any "ifs", "ands", or "buts". In doing this, the United States must also grant the necessary funds to the Puerto Rican people as indemnification for the long colonial status, as well as make trade agreements of such a character that Puerto Rico may prosper economically. To do this is an obligation which the United States cannot evade, and which all of Latin America and the progressive movement in the United States should insist upon.

The United States should also turn over to the Latin American governments the various military bases it now holds in their respective countries, and promptly repatriate all the American soldiers, sailors and marines now in these lands. The war has long been over, and the continued holding of these bases can only serve to intimidate the various Latin American peoples. It is ridiculous to try to justify our maintaining these bases on the ground that they are necessary for the military security of the United States.

The United States must also refrain from interfering militarily in the life of Latin American peoples, either on its own initiative as in the Hoover days or jointly with Latin American governments, as proposed recently by Uruguay. Such military intervention could only result in United States domination of the country invaded. Should it become necessary to restrain by armed force any aggressor nation in the Western Hemisphere, this should be the responsibility of the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation, not of the United States or of any group of Latin American countries under United States leadership.

Another important necessity for strengthening Latin American independence is that in the General Assembly of the UNO there must be no pressure exerted by the United States upon the Latin American nations to compel them to form a bloc under control of the United States, as is now the case. The preservation of world peace and the stability of the UNO, as well as international collaboration throughout the Western Hemisphere, demand that in the UNO the Latin American nations should act as free and independent nations, and not as subordinate parts of an imperialist bloc under the domination of the United States.

Secondly, we must develop a helpful role on the part of the United States in the industrialisation of Latin America. It is an undeniable fact that the United States policy has long worked against the growth of a diversified industry in the Latin American countries. This policy harms every American nation, including the United States. For at least fifty years our economic policy in Latin America has been basically colonial. It has been directed, on the one hand, at monopolising the markets for the United States, and, on the other hand, at preventing the development of Latin American industries competitive with those in the United States. This policy was essentially continued with some modifications, under the liberal Roosevelt regime, and is even more emphasised under President Truman. To change these reactionary policies and to facilitate the industrialisation of Latin America, a number of major measures are necessary.

For one thing, the United States should at once extend large loans to the democratic nations of Latin America, where such loans have the sanction of the trade unions and other peoples' organisations in the Latin American countries concerned. These loans should be for long terms and should bear low interest rates, if any. The loans should also be free of reactionary political conditions and should be available for the broadest and most varied industrialisation.

The Latin American nations must also be recognised as having the fullest freedom to trade among themselves and abroad, by barter and otherwise, without United States interference. At present, however, the United States is treading heavily upon the right of the Latin American nations to trade with one another. Moreover, the young, new industries of Latin America should be protected through the necessary devices in trade agreements against what would otherwise be the fatal competition of the highly developed industries of the United States. The so-called "Economic Charter," adopted not long ago at Chapultepec, is an imperialist document which unduly favors United States trade and capital investment. It should, therefore, be radically amended to meet the needs of the Latin American peoples.

That the industrialisation of Latin America will benefit the United States greatly, by considerably increasing United States foreign trade with the countries to the south of us, is evidenced by the case of Canada. Canada, which is a highly industrialised country, has more trade with the United States than all of the Latin American countries combined, although it has less than one-tenth of their population.

In the United States, we Communists will do everything in our power to make our whole nation understand that in the interest of its own liberty and well-being it must bring our government to follow a policy of treating Cuba, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Panama and all of the Latin American countries as countries equal in independence and rights with the United States, and that the United States must aid them in their economic development.

We Communists of the United States will not limit ourselves to general declarations. We will support the aspirations of Cuba to have guarantees for her sugar crop, corresponding to the help Cuba gives to the United States by selling it almost her entire production of sugar at a reduced price. We will support militantly every progressive demand of every Latin American country that advances the welfare and economy of its people.

It is important, in working for Latin American trade and industrialisation, that every Latin American nation should concern itself with all the economic agreements entered into between the United States and individual Latin American countries. They should do this both within and without the Pan-American Union. This collaboration is necessary because the Latin American peoples are not strong enough to bargain individually on an equal basis with the much more powerful United States. Experience has long demonstrated that, when they engage in such individual bargaining as they now practise, they fall easy victims to imperialist-minded United States monopolists. The more the Latin American countries co-operate together in economic and political affairs, the more favorable terms they will arrive at with the United States, and the better it will be for all the peoples concerned.

In the post-war period, with peace prevailing, the most potent imperialist weapon possessed by the United States is not its Army, Navy or Air Force, and, likewise, not its atom bomb; it is its vast financial and economic power. With huge resources at its command, it can and does compel borrowing nations to grant it important political concessions. The United States, therefore, cannot expect to be permitted, in a world wrecked by war, to use recklessly this powerful economic strength on an international scale, any more than it would be permitted to employ its military force as it sees fit. Therefore, all the Latin American countries must especially concern themselves with the character of their general economic relations with the United States. The regulation of the way in which the United States uses its economic power is a major question that should also interest the UNO itself. It will be difficult for the people of the United States to understand the need for such regulation, but it is one of the lessons we must learn in the difficult international situation now confronting us.

Thirdly, it is vital to fight for a change in the attitude of the United States towards democracy in Latin American countries. The rapidly growing democratic forces of Latin America have many enemies to fight — among others, landowners, big capitalists, fascists and reactionary clericals. And not the least of their enemies are the imperialists of the United States and Great Britain, exploiters who are uniformly to be found on the side of reaction. Have we not recently seen Berle's insolent interference in the Brazilian elections, the importation of arms into Mexico from the United States by Sinarquistas, and similar reactionary incidents throughout Latin America? And just now Carlos Prestes has warned us that reactionary forces in the United States, to save their own interests, are trying to provoke a war between Brazil and Argentina. While taking advantage of all contradictions between rival imperialist powers, the Argentine peoples must understand that the present hostile attitude of the United States Department of State toward the notoriously reactionary and pro-fascist Peron Government of Argentina is primarily designed to break the power of its strong rival in that country, British imperialism. The United States is not fighting for Argentinian democracy as such, but for its own reactionary imperialist interests.

Obviously, United States opposition to Latin American democracy, and its reactionary interference in the life of the various countries, constitute a danger to all the peoples of this hemisphere. The Latin American nations are quite qualified to establish their own democracy without the more than dubious interference of United States imperialism, and to this end they should be supported by the labor movement, and by the progressives generally, in the United States.

An especially dangerous form of imperialist attack against Latin American democracy is the persistent attempt of the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor to split the Latin American trade union movement. During the past dozen years the workers of Latin America, in the face of fascist terror and extreme reaction, have built splendid trade union organisations, in many countries, totalling several millions of members. These unions, in their mutual interest, have combined themselves into the Latin American Confed-

eration of Labor, headed by Lombardo Toledano. But the leaders of the A.F. of L. are arrogantly trying to wreck this great new labor movement. The workers of Latin America, therefore, should understand and deal with such disrupting efforts for what they are — manoeuvres of United States imperialism. Men like Matthew Woll, the A.F. of L. specialist on Latin America, are as much imperialist in their outlook as the big monopolists themselves, and they should be treated as such. The project of the A.F. of L. leaders to split the labor movement of Latin America is the labor phase of the attempt by the imperialists of the United States to strengthen their grip on Latin America. In this sense, the A.F. of L.'s splitting programme should be fought both by the workers of Latin America and the United States.

The above-mentioned measures are some of the major changes in the policy of the United States, which must be fought for to eliminate interference with the national independence, industrialisation, and democratisation of the countries of Latin America. For the most part, changes in the policy of the United States along the lines here suggested would have the general support of millions of workers and other progressive forces in the United States, and they would also have the backing of the peoples of Latin America. They would help to create sound relations in general between the United States and Latin America. A free, industrialised, democratic Latin America will benefit the people of the United States, as well as the Latin American nations themselves.

One of the most progressive and hopeful developments in the world today is the growing struggle of the Latin American peoples for the complete national independence of their countries, for the development of an expanded industrialisation that will radically improve their living standards, and for an advanced democracy that will guarantee the civil liberties of their nations. In this great progressive struggle the Communist Parties throughout Latin America are playing a vital, leading role. The tremendous surge forward of the many Latin American nations, of which Brazil is at present such a striking example, also has the good wishes and the support of progressive-minded forces all over the world, including the vast majority of the people of the United States. This great advance of the Latin American peoples is invincible. It cannot be defeated by Latin American reactionaries, nor by the imperialists of the United States and their labor lackeys of the Matthew Woll type. Latin America is fast travelling the path of progress. The road upward is hard, but the victory will be yours. Irresistibly, Latin America is on the way to becoming one of the freest, most prosperous, and most democratic areas in the world, and, therewith, it will also become one of the basic foundations of world progress and peace.

THE PALESTINE INQUIRY COMMITTEE

S. MIKUNIS

(From "Kol-Haam," 3.1.46, No. 1.)

THE Anglo-American Inquiry Committee which started its activities after and upon the declaration of Mr. Bevin is to come to Palestine. British and American Government circles still continue in their endeavours to camouflage the true purpose of the Committee and to present it as the "final arbiter" in the Jewish-Arab conflict in Palestine and the Middle East. However, not only in London and in Washington, but also in Jerusalem and Cairo, there are people who are working hard to subscribe to this committee entirely humanitarian and altruistic aims and to blur its real character.

Co-operation has existed between America and Britain in the Middle East since the beginning of the Second World War. The large supplies from America to Britain's armies in this part of the world, the common M.E.S.C. (Middle East Supply Centre) which controlled the economic life of all the countries of the Middle East, and British and American agencies to inquire into the economic problems of these countries, all these are sign-posts on this path of co-operation. The consequence of this was that American influence penetrated more and more into the Middle East and became a constant factor in the general policy of these territories.

However, simultaneously with this co-operation there arose also contradictions and clashes between the interests of the ruling classes in England and America, along with the additional complication of the political and economic problems of the Middle East; contradictions and clashes having as background the oil-concessions, pipe lines and in what direction they should be laid, the endeavours to win over political supporters in the Arab countries, and so forth. Hence the "sympathies" of British imperialists towards reactionary ruling circles in the Arab countries, along with a demonstration of a "cooling off" of relations towards the Jewish Agency leaders, on the one side, and the expression by American imperialists of "ardent feelings of love" towards Jews and Arabs alike in changing turns.

At the beginning with soft voices, and eventually with more frankness and aggressiveness, big American oil bosses and capitalists commenced to talk and to announce the holiness of their interests in the Middle East, their readiness to defend these interests even by force, all the while spicing this with some kind of "care" for the poor fellah and for the raising of the economic standard of the Arab countries.

The shaken position of Britain after the war, her dependence upon American credit and her need for a strong ally to protect the colonial Empire and to build up lines of defence against the movements of national liberation and Soviet influence, "softened" the British imperialist groups and forced them to certain concessions. Thus America increased her penetration into the Middle East and achieved the well-known oil agreement. Thus she achieved as well her legal recognition by Britain as a real factor in the Middle East when Britain agreed to her co-operation in the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission.

The imperialist groups in Britain and America have their own deliberations. The declaration of Mr. Bevin and the establishment of the Inquiry Commission had as first object to create a state of expectation as to the future, to "freeze" the public activity among the Jewish and Arab masses and engage the latter with "prospects" for a settlement of their problems. The declaration as well as the authority vested in the Committee were presented in such a light as to make it easy for the agents of imperialism among Jews and Arabs to reduce the masses to despair and to allay their fears at the same time. All this was deemed necessary in order to gain time and to conquer comfortable positions for the concentrated and concerted attack of Anglo-Saxon imperialism on the freedom movements of the peoples of the Middle East and on the increasing influence of the Soviet Union and the democratic movements in the world.

The object is and was to determine the areas of their respective economic domination and the boundaries of their respective financial subjugation for each of the imperialist powers, just as the Anglo-French agreement in the Levant serves the same ends.

The political activity in London and Washington as to the Middle East in general and Palestine in particular, which is accompanied by proclamations, votings and discussions in parliaments and in public, intends to assist in the classification of the pro-imperialist forces among Jews and Arabs to the sides of Britain and America alike. It is an activity which has as object to divert the Arab countries from their vital interests towards the "Jewish danger" in Palestine, at the same time as it is intended to divert the minds of the Jews in the world and in Palestine from their political progressive and real fight towards the "Arab danger."

"I'll hit your Jew and you'll hit my Arab," this is the way the colonial system common to Britain and America works in our country and in the Middle East. This way is supported by big landlords and big moneyed trading capitalists, by the big pro-imperialist bourgeoisie among Jews and Arabs and by the dynastic circles of the Arab countries, who all together are more afraid of the liberation movements of their peoples than of imperialism whichever it be. The way is: By means of camouflage, by relating decisive importance to secondary points, and by erection of racial bogeys, to strengthen further the oppressive colonial rule, to hinder and weaken the democratic movement, to build positions against the Soviet Union and to prepare the soil for a third world war.

The Anglo-American Inquiry Commission is an unclean merger created for unclean purposes. This Committee was born in an "atomic twilight" when the reactionary groups in London and Washington plotted to cancel the achievements of the peoples derived from the great victory over fascism. This Committee is one of the illegal creatures of the ruling classes in Britain and America, born as a foreign substance, an unnatural offspring, on the body of a renovating world. The establishment of the Anglo-American Committee stands in strict contradiction to the United Nations' decisions at San Francisco, where the initiators of the above-mentioned Committee promised to assist in the advance of the Mandated Territories and colonial countries "towards self-government, or independence, in accordance with the concrete conditions of every territory and its population." Therefore the Committee is illegal not only de facto, not only on account of its character and tendencies, but also de jure from the legal point of view of the United Nations' constitution.

The Anglo-American collaboration sets out from the supposition that the Mediterranean is "Mare Nostrum" of imperialism, and the peoples who live on its shores are destined to be "tributaries" and objects of exploitation for the groups of capitalists in the Metropoly. This collaboration ignores the great Soviet power and the other United Nations, as if they were not existent at all . . . This is an intrigue to create the most favourable conditions for reaction in this part of the world, under the leadership of the darkest forces all over the world, last not least in order to build up an anti-Soviet bloc and to threaten therewith the peace and security of the peoples.

The very attempt to remove the Soviet Union from discussion and decision on the questions of our country and the neighbouring countries proves that this committee is neither capable nor interested, from its very nature and composition, in helping Jews and Arabs. It is a new camouflage to an old policy, but under such new conditions as, we hope, will not help to make this "job" an easy one at all.

The Committee will concentrate mainly on the question of Jewish Immigration, thereby ignoring all other principal issues of Palestine. And not in vain did they choose this question in particular

which over and again served in the hands of imperialism as a means to whip up the chauvinistic instincts of Palestine, and to oppose one national camp against the other. The Committee will deal with some tens of thousands of Jewish refugees who remained in the camps and whom all reaction ary forces are profiteering with for their own ends, and whom they try to use to press for concessions from each other. Both these empires, the American and the British, want to make the world believe that they don't know what to do with this small number of Jews, small in comparison to the tremendous dimensions of the settlement of millions and the financial arrangements imposed by the war and after-victory period. They want us to believe that they cannot open the gates of their own countries to Jews who want to immigrate there and that a common democratic basis for Jews and Arabs cannot be found to render possible the immigration into Palestine of those Jews who want to do so.

Neither for investigations, nor for solution of the problem of the political and economic system of our country has this committee been constituted, but to complicate things and to arouse one people against the other, and thus to strengthen the power of imperialism.

It is quite natural that the Jewish and Arab masses are disgusted by this new inquiry. In consequence of the vast experience gained from former committees and inquiries which our country has seen too often in the past, the masses regard this committee as well with doubts; suspicion, and a good deal of cynicism. Not so the official "national" leaders. These, Jews and Arab leaders alike, accept "a little" and reject "a little," praise "a little" and rage "a little" and finally try to go on misleading the masses; they remember gratefully the benevolence of imperialism in its and their "good old times." Out of the excited voices of the big talkers, the following cry is audible: "I loved thee, my Lord!" . . . . And thus we learn from an editorial of "Davar" on 31/12/45 under the headline "Not because of us" :

1. "Not because of their intention to attack the Soviet Union were British Forces concentrated in Palestine . . . . "
2. "Not on account of the Jewish Yishuv were British Forces concentrated in Palestine . . . . "
3. "The large force which was brought to Palestine has been concentrated here out of pure British interests. We recognise the justness of these interests and are ready to take them into consideration and to support them as we did many times."

No further comments are needed. These gentlemen have felt insulted in the past and feel insulted in particular to-day, when they are called "agents of imperialism." Therefore, there is nothing more convincing than the confession of the "convict" himself and the frankness he demonstrates in public. These gentlemen, responsible for the Jewish Agency policy, are ready to go to any imperialist "Canossa," to any reactionary adventure. May the Yishuv be on his guard with them !

VICTORIAN LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE, 1946

E. F. HILL

A MOST significant feature of the Victorian Easter Labor Party conference was the evidence of a new spirit of radicalism amongst the Labor Party rank and file. The agenda paper, which contained over 400 resolutions, showed the increasing concern of the Labor Party branches and affiliated unions with the hours and wages demands of the workers. Over 30 resolutions dealt with these all-important questions and the Conference adopted resolutions calling for the 40-hour week and endorsing the A.C.T.U.'s policy on the basic wage. A.C.T.U. Secretary Monk, who was a delegate to the Conference, expressed the determination of the labor movement to secure the 40-hour week — if not through the Arbitration Court then "by other means."

The impatience of the A.L.P. basic organisations with the passivity of the leadership expressed itself in numerous resolutions which sought a more expeditious handling of the agenda, more frequent conferences and various other measures of a similar nature.

For many years it has been obvious that the A.L.P. leadership has been an impasse beyond which branch rank and file activity could not get. This was a situation, assiduously fostered by the handful of extreme right wingers, headed by the late H. M. Cremean and ably assisted by the renegade Lovegrove. Their most ardent desire was to prevent the A.L.P. from carrying out any militant progressive activity, to split the Labor movement and render it immobile in the struggle against the enemies of the working class. Just how successful this policy was can be measured by the almost entire absence of official Labor Party campaigning against the Liberal Party. In short, this was precisely the policy of the bourgeoisie, carried into the A.L.P. by gentlemen of this kind.

The report of the Catholic Action "Movement" spoke of the late H. M. Cremean, M.L.A., as a man who would be "impossible to replace" in the work of the fascist policy of that body. It was well known that Mr. Cremean spent a great deal of his time (he "died literally because he was worn out by this work") in combating socialist views, in steering the Labor Party into the united front with the Menzies and Francos so ardently desired by the "Movement." The "Movement" claimed great victories in the Victorian section of the A.L.P. in 1945 — "it was represented by more than 70 delegates from A.L.P. branches and unions" and, so it claimed, succeeded in imposing its policy on the Conference. A bureaucratic form of organisation, the lower organs of which accepted the infallibility of the Central Executive with the right wing in dominant positions, could be the only form acceptable to the reaction.

The 1946 Conference, however, reflecting rank and file stirrings, introduced radical departures from the old organisational forms. It adopted the report of a committee set up to investigate "the workings of the A.L.P. office." The report covered far more than the workings of the A.L.P. office. Summarised, the report recognised that for 20 years there had been no change in Labor Party methods, that the Labor Party's propaganda methods were outmoded, that the leading executives were immersed in routine and that there had been ineffective use of the "devotion and enthusiasm" of the A.L.P. members. Numerous specific instances of serious shortcomings were listed. Proposals were made to retire male officials at the age of 65 and female at the age of 60, and the whole system of leadership was to be reorganised to enable it to function more efficiently. The report, with the exception of the retirement provisions (with which we will deal later) was adopted in its entirety. On paper, at least, this sweeps away much of the dead wood and bureaucracy, upon which the extreme right wing has battened and thrived for so long. It is a clear victory for those A.L.P. members who sincerely desire action by the A.L.P. in the interests of the working class and who were revolted by the sabotage and passivity of the right wing. But there is no doubt that the surviving right wingers, whose days are numbered, will attempt to prevent the Party from taking advantage of these new proposals and to return to the good old days. The new scheme can be made to live only by the activity and vigilance of Labor Party members.

Great significance attaches to the decision of the Central Executive that Communist candidates in the last State election had to be given second preferences. That decision was taken on the initiative of the more realistic members of the Central Executive, headed by Messrs. Cain and Kennelly. But it called down the wrath of the "Movement" which organised resolutions of protest that called for more bans and witchhunts and placing Communists last on the ballot paper. (J. M. Cremean: "If there were 1000 on the ballot paper I would give the Communists my 1000th preference.") Those resolutions did not see the light of day at the Conference and thereby the "Movement" failed to secure one of its dearest objectives.

No doubt, however, the Catholic Action Movement regards as a good victory the decision of Conference to set up A.L.P. groups in the factories. It will be remembered that it was precisely this policy that was advocated in the secret report of the Movement. The report of the Movement said: "Most important . . . . was the formation of Labor Party discussion groups within the factories . . . . It is impossible for us to exaggerate the importance of this chance for our activists . . . . Today they have the cover of the Labor Party." The speeches made by Messrs. Cousland, Peters, Maxwell and Tobin, who introduced the motion, made it clear that their conception of these groups was as bodies from which to organise anti-communism. Their speeches express no concern for the interests of the workers. The carrying of the resolution means that the policy of the infamous band of conspirators, who have the audacity to call themselves "The Movement," has been carried into the Labor Party. The experience of New South Wales with so-called industrial Labor groups, shows that this is not any academic question with which we are dealing, but that in fact these groups are to be centres of disruption. Inside the Labor movement, they carry out the policy of which Menzies is the centre and which has as its component parts the Catholic Action Movement, the Trotskyists and similar agencies of reaction.

It is clear, and always has been clear, that the Communists willingly co-operate with all who sincerely work for the realisation of the workers' aims. Equally clearly, the Communists are prepared still to do that. Insofar as Labor Party members are prepared (as the great majority of them are) to act in unity with other sections of the Labor movement they will receive as ever the willing support of the Communists. Insofar as these groups become centres of reaction they will be fought by the Communists just as ruthlessly as are the Menzies and other open enemies of the working class. Those anonymous fascist figures, who skulk under the cloak of the Labor Party and under the cloak of religion, will be assuredly unmasked and driven right out of the Labor movement.

Perhaps, too, attention should be drawn to the fact that none of the really influential people in the A.L.P. was too keen to soil his hands on the filth of the Movement. It was left to the Cousland and the Maxwells and the Tobins and the Peters to handle this delicate subject. Even Lovegrove and the egregious Stout played no part in it.

These same people took the initiative in maintaining the exclusion of the Railways Union, in excluding the Clerks' Union and keeping outside the A.L.P. such a veteran Labor Party stalwart as H. J. Oke. The policy of these people, which captured the headlines in Sir Keith Murdoch's press and earned its plaudits, will inevitably result in smashing the Labor Party to pieces in blind hatred of the Communists. Their anxiety to serve the

same masters as those served by the Menzies and Faddens expresses itself under cover of pious phrases of "saving the Labor Party" and "maintaining its independence." But their saving of the Labor Party consists of saving it from working class politics and ensuring its dependence upon the capitalists. It is noteworthy that the energy of these people was not directed against the common enemy of all workers — the Liberal Party. Indeed, much more attention might have been paid by the Conference as a whole to working out the campaign against the Liberal Party. But that is what strong reactionary influence causes : a paralysis of the Labor movement in face of the main threat.

This fatal policy has accentuated differences and divisions in the leadership itself. On the one hand, Mr. J. V. Stout, backed by the Catholic Action Movement and assisted by Mr. R. Broadby, recently promoted by the Movement, continues to lead and direct this policy. Its logical results, thrown clearly into relief in the Henty by-election, are dead Labor Party branches and disgruntled members. Such a situation threatens the Labor Party with the disaster so passionately desired by the Liberals. On the other hand, Mr. Kennelly and Mr. Cain understand where the policy of Mr. Stout and his Movement colleagues is leading. Whilst they are not prepared openly and actively to struggle against it, and whilst they still resort to backstairs manoeuvres, their stand is far more in accord with the working class interests. Their timidity and failure boldly to base themselves on the mass movement commencing inside the Labor Party can only lead to disaster. History shows that those who attempt to reconcile the right and the left end up on the right and betray the interests of the workers.

Signs of the division between these groups, and the differences of opinion even within the groups, were clearly apparent in the manoeuvring that went on over the full-time jobs of General Secretary and Organising Secretary. Mr. Stout was selected as the candidate of the extreme right to oppose the logical successor, Mr. Kennelly. Lovegrove, who is rapidly losing the influence he once had in the A.L.P., and is desperately clutching at straws to regain it, was an aspirant for the organising secretary's job. It is abundantly clear that neither of these individuals is in any way acceptable to the rank and file of the A.L.P. and the affiliated unionists. Mr. Stout has left no doubt where he stands: the "Movement" has obligingly confirmed it. (See **Catholic Action at Work**, p. 31). An uneasy truce was reached when the question of the retirement of the officials was referred back to the Executive.

The important thing from all this is that there must be redoubled efforts to expose the machinations of the right wing. Labor Party branches and affiliated unions must see that their party does not fall into the hands of the Lovegroves and Stouts. They must drive forward to the exclusion from the Labor Party for ever of the Lovegroves and Stouts.

In this regard, special mention should be made of the need for affiliated unions to recognise their decisive position in the Labor Party structure. They send the overwhelming majority of delegates to Conference, but because of apathy and sectarianism their influence in determining upon progressive issues and cleaning up the A.L.P. is not nearly what it should be. The Trade Unions must continuously exert much more pressure on the Labor Party leadership.

Despite these features of the Conference and despite the absence of decisions on major questions of world politics, the important decisions on matters common to the whole Labor movement provide a better basis than ever upon which to build united action. Demands of the Labor Party Conference and of the Communist Party merge in the 40-hour week campaign, and basic wage increase. On such important issues as gas nationalisation, workers' compensation, housing, etc., Communist organisations and Labor Party organisations must necessarily take similar action. The signs of awakening activity in the A.L.P. will be welcomed by every progressive. Every Communist must do everything to assist Labor Party members and affiliated unions to play their full and rightful part in the campaigns of the workers — a part so long denied them by the bans and prejudices of the right wing. The old dead branches, the inactivity, the passive submission to the Stouts and Lovegroves can no longer stand. The world and national situation are far too serious. Likewise every honest member of the Labor Party has a responsibility to the working class — he must see that in unity with the Communists lie the next steps forward. The forthcoming Federal elections underline and emphasise the urgent necessity of this. Only by acceptance in full measure of this responsibility and the working out in detail of the positive steps to realise it can the legacy of the past be overcome and the full harvest of the victory over fascism be reaped.

INDIA'S AGRARIAN CRISIS

G. ADHIKARI

Part II (Abridged)

THE impact of the four years of war on this bankrupt agrarian system and the impoverished peasantry, culminating as it did in the Bengal famine, poses before the Indian people two alternatives: Shall our villages—once self-sufficient village communes—be converted into serf villages completely in the grip of the parastic landlord and the hoarder-merchant? Shall we allow them to destroy the very basis of our agriculture and society and leave India a victim of frequent famines and permanent poverty of her peoples? Or shall we make a clean sweep of out-dated parasitic landlordism, usurious money-lenders, and the greedy hoarder-merchant and liberate the peasants and the villages from their grip? . . . .

What did the Bengal famine show? It showed that India—once the land of plenty—is today deficient in food. It has grown deficient in rice—the main food grain on which the bulk of our people live. Production of rice has decreased during the last 30 years while the population has grown:

YEAR.	AREA SOWN (in million acres)	PRODUCTION (in million tons)
	In British India	
1911-12	66.7	28.2
1921-22	68.8	27.8
1931-32	68.6	27.8
1941-42	69.6	24.3

The deficiency in rice was being made good by importing about 1.5 million tons of rice from Burma. As India's population increases at the present rate, our food needs in 1951 would be increased by about 8 million pounds on the basis of 1 lb. per head a day. No plan of reconstructing India can have any meaning unless it simultaneously contains practical measures for increasing food production.

In the war period, and especially in its latter part, the imperialist government was faced with the problem of rapidly raising the industrial and agricultural production of India. India had to be organised as an industrial base for beating back the threatened Jap invasion and to support the counter-offensive operations. India had to supply the food needs of the civilian population and of the defence forces, with food grain imports, which made up our deficit, cut out.

Imperialists, anxious to keep their monopolist hold over the Indian market, did not expand the industrial base of India but got their needs supplied by importing lend-lease goods and setting up auxiliary repair workshops here. They secured the co-operation of the Indian capitalists by appeasing them with contracts, high prices and freedom to profiteer. This parasitic policy of high prices and inflation meant high profits for big business and a drastic lowering of the standard of life and cloth crisis for the people. The imperialists did not succeed in increasing food production despite their much-boosted "Grow More Food" campaign. The only possible plan to organise it in a big way was by relying upon the peasants, by giving substantial concessions and fallow land to the peasants. But they could not throw overboard their traditional allies—the landlords—and rely on the peasants. Their way to procure food stocks for defence and civil needs was relv upon the hoarders. The result was that when Burma rice imports were cut off, it was the hoarders who ran away with the rice, made fortunes for themselves and manufactured famine for the Bengal peasantry. Even later when rationing was stabilised in the main cities and towns, the poor peasants and toilers in the rural area remained entirely at the mercy of the hoarders.

The legacy of imperialist war-time economic policy is that landlords and Mahajans have learned to be hoarders and profiteers and obtained a stranglehold over what the peasant produces and needs for his production. They have amassed vast fortunes and economic power, while the bulk of the poor peasants and toilers have been impoverished beyond measure. What has happened in the famine-stricken districts of Bengal is the last stage of what is happening to the poor peasants and village toilers all over India.

As a result of high prices, only a thin stratum of middle-peasants has been able to wipe off part of their debts. But the bulk of the poor peasants sank still deeper into debt and the process of their losing their land was accelerated. They and their cultivation have suffered because of the rising prices of bullocks, seed, manure, iron, cement and cloth. They have also suffered from the high prices of food grains, which they have to buy for a part of the year. In Bengal 5% of the peasants were forced to sell all their land in 1944 while 11% sold off a part. The percentage of peasant families in debt increased from 43 in 1943 to 66 in 1944. The number of landless laborers must have rapidly increased though the figure is not known. A few millions of them got jobs in the auxiliary Labor Corps attached to the army. But the great majority remained behind and their standard of living went down because their wages did not keep pace with rocketing prices.

The prospects which face us in the immediate future in the period of transition from war to peace are still more alarming. First we will be faced with the unemployment question. About a million

agricultural laborers who were working in auxiliary Labor Corps will be returning back to the land. This will immediately lead to the fall of wage rates of the agricultural laborers at present employed. Secondly, when the colossal expenditure which the government was making on defence ceases, there will be a deflation and the food grain prices will be the first to register a lowering. The industrial prices may continue high. This will immediately create a difficult position for the poor and even for the middle peasant. The cycle of debt bankruptcies and loss of land will again begin for the poor peasants. Thirdly, the landlords may begin throwing out tenants-at-will and may begin getting their land cultivated by cheap agricultural labor, the chief reason for this being the fear of new land legislation from the new ministries and the declining wage rate of the agricultural laborers. Fourthly, the deficient nature of India's food economy will continue in the immediate future. Production will not have increased and the deficit will not yet be made up by imports from Burma and America. Burma will not be in a position to supply—her present rice production, due to destruction of cattle and devastation, being 40% of the pre-war. America will be sending her surplus to starving Europe . . . .

The situation which the popular governments formed after the elections will be faced with, will be one of a new crisis precipitated as the aftermath of the bankrupt war policy of imperialism. Its main features will be vast urban and rural unemployment and falling prices first of the agrarian produce. The rapacious landlord and rich peasant will react to this by reducing the wage of the land laborers and by screwing the tenants still more. The profiteering capitalist will attack the wage standards of the workers but try to keep up the prices of his manufactured goods. This disparity in the prices of food grains and manufactured goods will in its turn impoverish the poor and middle peasants and send them again into the grip of the money-lender. The immediate prospect is war of the vested interests and the war-rich of the city and the countryside, against the toilers and the people, in defence of their privileges and profits. . . . The Communist Party is therefore putting forward a plan to arrest this crisis, to smash the shackles of outmoded feudal exploitation and serfdom which strangles agricultural production. . . .

The first prerequisite of rebuilding agriculture is to abolish statutory landlordism — which is known in different parts of the country by different names like **Zemindari, Taluqdari, Jagirdari, Malguzari, or Khoti.** The entire land held by them reverts to the State and is made over in permanence to the present tiller-tenant as the peasant-cultivator. The landlord may be allowed for tillage up to one hundred acres of his **Khas** lands provided he cultivates himself or by employing labor. The land of the absentee non-cultivating landlord of the **Ryotwari** areas, who owns more than 100 acres, reverts to the State and is made over in permanence for tillage to the present tenant-cultivator. The land-holder owning land up to 100 acres retains it for tillage provided he does the same himself or by employing labor. **Thus the entire land whether in Zemindari or in Ryotwari areas, is nationalised.**

This would be a great act of longstanding justice to save 40 million tenant-cultivators, the bulk of whom are tenants-at-will of big feudal or absentee landlords. They are living and working under conditions of practical serfdom. They would thus be freed from the load of rent, serf services and the insecurity of tenure. . . .

After nationalisation, land redistribution takes place through the village committees and under the authority of the district or provincial state organs, with a view to secure to the cultivating peasants with small and scattered plots a consolidated economic holding. For this purpose the entire current fallows of the local landlords, which have been nationalised, would be used. After nationalisation all sale and purchase of land will be prohibited. The debts which peasants with uneconomic holdings owe to **Mahajans** would be cancelled outright, while the debts of other cultivators would be liquidated and scaled down through debt liquidation boards. All usury would be banned and cheap credit would be made available to the peasant-cultivators through a network of co-operative banks. All this does not solve the problem of some 30-40 million landless peasants and laborers. A portion of these unemployed on land will have to be absorbed by the new plan of industrial expansion. But a good portion of them could be settled on new land, reclaimed and made available for cultivation from cultivatable waste land other than fallow. There is about 100 million acres of such land in British India alone. This is about one half the present total acreage under major food crops.

This land can be made available for cultivation by various measures which will differ according to the state of the land, such as initial deep-ploughing by tractors, drainage, anti-erosion measures, damming of streams, and irrigation. The plan of settling millions of landless laborers as peasants on newly reclaimed land would also include supplying the settlers with agricultural implements, seed, material for housing, cash credit and expert guidance in cultivation. This will require an investment of several thousand million rupees, but the money can be found. The expenditure would be productive. It would not only find work for millions of landless laborers, but also increase the food grain production of India by at least 20% in the immediate future. Apart from bringing new land under cultivation,

the food production and yield can be increased on land already under cultivation. This can be done by taking in hand immediately new irrigation and drainage schemes (many of which are already projected in different provinces), repair and desilting of old canals, wells and tanks. At present (1937-38 figures) only 63 million acres, out of a total sown area of 280 million acres in the whole of India, are irrigated, i.e., only about over ¼ of the year's crops get the benefit of extra water. Extension of irrigation facilities, distribution of canal water through the co-operation of peasant committees, reduction of water rates for peasants, will undoubtedly lead to a further improvement in yield and in food production.

These land reforms will immediately lift the poor peasants and land-laborers out of conditions of starvation and poverty. But it is the middle, well-to-do and rich peasants who would be able to prosper more because their plots would be bigger and they would have more resources. To help to prosperity the poor peasants who would still be the vast majority of tillers cultivating the bulk of the land, they would have to be drawn into a movement for building co-operative farming based on large scale mechanisation methods. The people's state would of course have to help in the establishment of these farms by supplying them with machinery and technical assistance. An immediate beginning can be made in the newly-colonised lands. To inspire the peasants by practical demonstration, the state should organise state-owned model large-scale mechanised farms run by agricultural labor.

The great vision of transformation of the whole of Indian agriculture which the Communist Party places before the people is to convert millions of small holdings into large-scale co-operative farms run by mechanised methods. This transformation alone would rescue the poor peasant finally from the grip of poverty and place the agriculture of our country on secure foundations. It would create the modern village community based on the co-operative effort of peasants, artisans and workers, working in a single farm and sharing equitably the fruits of their labor. But the basis for the realisation of this vision will be laid only when we have a people's state which will have the boldness to go ahead simultaneously with the plan for a thorough-going industrialisation of the country based on nationalisation of key industries, transport and mines, and with the plan of agricultural development by abolishing landlordism, nationalising the land, and by settling the landless on newly-reclaimed and fallow lands.

An essential part of our programme for liberating the peasant from the triple grip of landlord-moneylender-hoarder is to take away food grain distribution out of the hands of hoarders and profiteers. The people's state should organise a network of sale-purchase co-operatives in every village with branch centres in **Taluka,** district and provincial towns. This co-operative network produces **all** surplus food grain which the peasant offers for sale at a fair fixed price. It organises village food pools and also sells grain to village artisans at reasonable fixed rates. It supplies surplus grainstocks to district and provincial central granaries so that food grain is available in towns at reasonable control rates. These sale-purchase societies will also supply the peasant with essential commodities such as tools, manure, cloth, kerosene, and sugar at fixed control rates.

This plan of taking the food grain trade and distribution entirely out of the hands of private traders will not hit the small merchants and retailers. Already, they have largely become the agents of big hoarders and profiteers and can only function as such. They would get a chance to put their skill at the service of the people and earn a decent wage as officials and technical hands in the co-operative network. As functionaries in the co-operatives they would be able to earn about as much through honest labor in the people's interests as they did as honest merchants. Only the monopolist trader who turned hoarder and caused all the havoc in 1943-44 will be eliminated. The peasant will profit by this because he would get a fair price for his produce. The village and town consumer will get his food at reasonable rates. The surplus grain stocks would be safely and scientifically stored in concrete granaries in the districts and **Talukas** to be made available wherever there was a shortage.

Before the people's governments of free India are in a position to pass the new land law and undertake the far-reaching agrarian reconstruction programme outlined above, the Communist Party will demand that popular ministries formed immediately after the elections should undertake at once the following measures:

We want the popular ministries to make all the fallow land in the province, whether of the big landlords or of the government, at once available to settle landless laborers for food grain cultivation. The new settlers must be supplied by the state with implements, seed, manure and cash credit to begin with. A ban to be imposed on the ejection of tenants-at-will. Substantial reduction of the rental of the poor peasant with uneconomic holdings and the cancellation of the debts of all cultivators with uneconomic holdings to the Mahajans — serfdom, illegal cesses and services extracted from tenants-at-will by landlords to be made illegal and the infringement of the same to be made punishable. Big landlords to pay over and above the land revenue a steeply graded tax so as not to leave an annual surplus of more than six thousand a year out of the total rental collected by them. Provincial governments to procure the food grains directly

from the peasants by monopoly purchase system, through the co-operation of the peasant committees. Guarantee fair price to the peasant, continue rationing in the cities and extend control price grain shops throughout the rural areas. Make essential commodities available to the peasants in the countryside village co-operative shops.

These immediate measures are calculated to grant immediate relief to the poor peasant-cultivator, tenant and the land-laborers, who form the bulk of the poverty-stricken food producers and who will be the first to face the onslaught of the new agrarian crisis in the change-over from war to peace. It remedies at least partially the question of the rising unemployment of the landless laborers released from auxiliary labor services and the question of the fall in their wages. Settling hundreds of thousands of them on fallow lands would relieve unemployment and also check the tendency to cut down their wages. By stopping ejection of tenants-at-will, by giving the poor tenants and cultivators relief in rent and from debt, the bulk of the poor peasants would be saved from starvation and food production itself would be ensured. The first blow against serfdom would be struck by rendering all the serf practices illegal

By universalising the food grain procurement through monopoly purchase system and through the co-operation of the peasant committees, the peasant would be ensured a fair price for his produce. By making essential commodities available to the peasant through co-operative shops he would be saved from the effects of the disparity of the prices of food grains and manufactured goods which is likely to grow in the immediate future. By the graduated income tax on big landlords a part of their inflated wealth amassed at the expense of the starvation of tenants during the war period can be secured for reconstruction of agriculture and rehabilitation of the peasantry.

These changes can be carried out only when they are backed by a widespread and powerful peasant movement embracing all sections of the peasants — the middle and well-to-do peasant, the poor peasant and the agricultural laborer, and all communities and nationalities. The Communist Party is pledged to rouse the entire peasantry and unite them in their Kisan Sabhas (the All-India Kisan Sabha, or peasants' Union, is today 800,000 strong.—Ed.) to fight for the realisation of this programme and for getting the popular ministries to implement the immediate measures. . . .

THE FASCIST MENTALITY IN AUSTRALIAN ART AND CRITICISM

"GOYA"

THE seventh chapter of Bernard Smith's **Place, Taste and Tradition** traces the growth of the art for art's sake theory, so far as its local history in Australia is concerned, from the depression period of the nineties in Melbourne and Sydney, through the period of increasing mysticism associated with the approach to landscape painting, during the early years of the twentieth century, to the chauvinism expressed in the writings of J. S. MacDonald. It is to be regretted, however, that the writer did not pursue the logical development of this chauvinistic development in Australian art criticism to its maturity in an attitude possessing many of the attributes of the Fascist mentality.

Both aestheticism and the sentiment of nationalism in art comment in Australia took on, between 1910 and 1940, the characteristics of pre-fascist mentality. These characteristics, as with others already mentioned, arose partly from the existing social conditions in Australia and partly from the influence of overseas developments. Melvin Rader, of the Department of Philosophy, Washington University, whose **No Compromise** is one of the best analyses of its ideological features, cites the social origin of Fascism in these terms: "Financed by rich capitalists, it attacked chiefly trade unions and workers' organisations. Its development accordingly, cannot be understood apart from the crisis of capitalism. The post-war chaos and world depression meant a rising tide of popular resentment and radicalism. Fascism has been promoted as a counter-movement to crush the insurgency of the masses. It had been growing within the womb of the old order for more than a century, but the world crisis nourished its growth and brought it quickly to maturity." The features mentioned by Rader—support of rich industrialists, post-war chaos, world depression, rising resentment and radicalism, capitalist crisis—were present in Australia as in other countries. They provided the social basis for an indigenous fascist development in Australia. But, in addition to these local factors, there were overseas influence—the writings of Nietzsche, Spengler and others—who gave a measure of theoretical credence, and the sanction of "authorities" to the local developments, particularly in the realm of art comment.

It will be possible to deal only with those attributes of pre-fascist mentality that are in some way connected with art comment and criticism. What are these attributes? Rader has analysed a large number with great care. Some of those which are relevant to our purpose here, include: the doctrine of racial supremacy, the belief in society as an organism, a hatred of democracy, the Fascist praise of rural life, the identification of modern art with Bolshevism and "Jewish" exploitation. Have these

attributes revealed themselves in the "culture climate" of Australia?

Nationalism in its heightened forms is usually identified with the dominant "race" of the nation. In this way, nationalism tends to transform itself into racism. We have already noted symptoms of this transposition in the phrases of J. S. MacDonald, "the racial expression of others will not be ours," the supremacy of "British-blooded stock," and similar statements. The same writer gives concrete evidence of his belief in the possible development of an Australian racial elite when, in dealing with the art of Arthur Streeton, he writes: "If we so choose, we can yet be the elect of the world, the last of the pastoralists, the thoroughbred Aryans in all their nobility." Such a statement combines the fascist "love" of rural life, emphasises the Aryan myth of racial supremacy, and champions racial "purity."

The Caesar-worship and pessimism of Fascism owes a great deal to the writings of Oswald Spengler, who maintained that "cultures" were organisms and, as such, had pre-determined lifespans. This view has been embraced by P. R. Stephenson, who adapts it to Australian conditions when he writes: "The only Spenglerian point worth considering for us is whether Australia is going to decline with Europe, or whether there is some force in us which will enable Australians to enter into the "Spring" phase of an entirely new Pacifico-centric culture. Alas, the overwhelming majority of Australians appear to be mentally Europo-centric, not Pacifico-centric. More, they are Euro-decadents. They prefer, for example, to fall with Britain in the Atlantic than to rise with Japan in the Pacific. Save us Great Bunyip, save Thy little ones!" This is little more than a poor attempt to turn the argument of **The Decline of the West** to Australia's "benefit." But the argument has weathered very badly in the light of recent history. The exclamation at the end, "Great Bunyip, save Thy little ones!" is to be considered presumably, as an invocation to a new Australian paganism to become an official religion in a Pro-Fascist Australian state. It may seem a far-cry back to the Bunyip worship of the Australian aboriginal. But here we have another instance of that archaism which has affected many social institutions in recent years, although they were considered previously quite immune from such illogical developments. Rather than be sceptical of such a possibility, it would be well to read Professor Toynbee's warning written after a detailed analysis of the development of archaism in contemporary society, in connection with Hauer's neo-paganism in Nazi Germany: "Haurism is evidence that Western souls were no longer proof against being captivated by a religious archaism even when this offered itself in an elaborate fancy dress."

But many years before either J. S. MacDonald or P. R. Stephenson wrote these statements advocating racial supremacy, the poet, William Baylebridge, had written his **National Notes**, which were printed and circulated privately, "largely to members of Parliament." That an obscure Australian poet writing before the 1914-18 war was able to advocate a "philosophy" that was almost completely identical with the "philosophy" of Hitler and Mussolini, is further evidence that Fascism is a phenomenon growing out of specific social conditions; that the nationalism which it brandishes is, in fact, a symptom of international capitalism in decay.

In his **National Notes**, Baylebridge states that: "When the mind of a nation is set free and a direction of research given to it, all the explanatory and hunting instincts are awakened." The "hunting instincts" of the nation so aroused, it will then be possible to embark upon an imperial domination of the earth. "Man's principle in creation we must now posit in himself. Our present goal (to be supplanted when reaped by one of larger touch) shall be the overrunning of earth by Australians, strong-necked, natural men." These supermen, Baylebridge maintains, can only be bred from Australian women who must help to populate the country with great rapidity, and must eschew any activities that will militate against their sole mission of "motherhood." "When we shall have bred this higher human activity, it is not possible that it will allow itself to be chained up in any particular stall—it will devour the earth." It may be objected that the idea of a race of super-man Australians "devouring the earth" is so ridiculous as not to be worth serious consideration. But the stupidity of such "philosophy" is not here in question. We are concerned here solely with the existence of these ideas and their relation to the Australian milieu.

It may, of course, be objected that this obscure poet has little relation to Australian thought in general. And this is undoubtedly true. Yet we must not underestimate the spread of "irrationalism" in the intellectual circles of Australia, as of elsewhere. T. Inglis Moore—who was awarded a prize in the Australian celebrations of her 150th Anniversary, and whose book **Six Australian Poets** was published by the Australian Literary Fund, and, therefore, can be taken as fairly representative of Australian critical thought—selects Baylebridge as one of his six best Australian poets. We are not concerned here with the aesthetic merits or otherwise of Baylebridge's work, but the selection by Moore at least indicates that Baylebridge is not merely an unknown thymester, but a man with a following and influence. Speaking, not of Baylebridge's poetic ability, but of his thought, Moore insists that, in his poem **The New Life**, "the poet stands out as a thinker in advance of his time, whose ideas, formulated twenty years ago, are only now winning acceptance." It may be remarked at this stage that at the time when Moore's book was published, 1942, the "ideas" of Baylebridge were not finding acceptance, though, in their cause, Europe was being turned into a concentration camp, as "blood and soil" rode on its triumphant way.

The "ideas" were finding a grave. For **The New Life** of Baylebridge is an amazing anticipation of the ideas presented in the "dawn ceremony" of the Nazi Storm Troopers, entitled, "Men, Fighters and Soldiers." Rader describes the ceremony: "The participants are a band of music, a male speaking choir and three principal speakers, namely the 'Believer,' the 'Doubter,' and the 'Caller.' The Doubter records the defeats in German history; he is eventually silenced with the dates of victories." This should be compared with the titles of the early poems in **The New Life,** which include "Our Task," "The Mean," "The Executors," "The Call," "The Rejected."

It must be stressed here that T. Inglis Moore states explicitly in his essay upon Baylebridge, after noting the Fascist nature of his ideas: "His creed is not mine, for I hold that the State was made for man, not man for the State." And this is borne out in Moore's own war poems, particularly his fine "Festival of Freedom." But when a critic writes of the illogical melange of quack-theorising that makes up the great body of Baylebridge's "thinking"—"It is not only the statement of a metaphysic; it is also the hymning of a faith held with religious passion, or rather, perhaps, of a vision attained through the mystic mood"—then he certainly prejudices his claim to critical integrity. A collection of ideas about birth, love, death, race, war, and so on, may make a "metaphysic," but before we talk about a poet's "thought," it should also make sense.

(Continued next issue)

ARMY MEDICINE SHOWED THE WAY!

CAPT. JOHN COUANI, A.A.M.C.

IN recent years there has been much discussion on the merits of a salaried medical service. It is timely, therefore, to make an analysis of the advantages of a "salaried medical service" as seen in the Army Medical Corps and to compare it with civilian medical practice.

The basic idea of Army medical practice is primarily to keep its men fit, and secondly to get a fit man back to his job as soon as possible. In other words, the emphasis is first on prevention of disease and then on efficient treatment when a soldier has become ill. Without a comprehensive organised medical service an army in the field would quickly cease to exist. This has been demonstrated by the work on malaria by the Medical Research Unit at Cairns, which reduced the incidence of malaria from alarming to practically negligible proportions, and so made the campaigns in the South and West Pacific Area militarily feasible. If the same energy and thoroughness were exhibited in other malarious areas in civil life, malaria, which claims the largest mortality of any single disease on a world scale (millions die from malaria each year in India alone), would not be the menace it is. What has been done for war can also be done for peace.

Army medicine is organised and comprehensive—this is its great advantage over civilian practice. Prophylaxis and treatment are recognised as a national responsibility. Every disease becomes a notifiable disease and thus investigation into any disease or the efficacy of preventive measures and treatment can be assessed on a national scale. Civilian medicine on the other hand is haphazard and disorganised, lacking national direction. Our medical personnel is not used economically but wasted by overlapping of work.

From the point of view of preventive medicine, the Army recognises the well-being of the community (that is, the army as a whole) as against the individual soldier. Preventive measures are enforced and must be observed by all personnel, irrespective of rank. In the Boer War, typhoid fever claimed many thousands, but with the introduction of hygiene measures and the T.A.B. vaccine, this menace was overcome. Thus to-day all army personnel are given the T.A.B. vaccine, with a negligible incidence of typhoid fever. By comparison we know that at least 75% of susceptible children must be immunised against diphtheria before it is effective, but since the community as a whole is not regarded as of paramount importance and since our methods are hopelessly inadequate only a tiny percentage of susceptible children receive this immunisation.

All soldiers too receive vaccination against small-pox, immunisation against tetanus, and, if service in particular areas is contemplated, also against cholera.

On enlistment all recruits had chest X-rays. Modern medicine realises that mass radiography is the most important factor in the early diagnosis of tuberculosis and that when this disease becomes clinically recognisable the chances of recovery of the patient decline steeply. Where this procedure was not carried out, as in the Royal Navy, the incidence of pulmonary tuberculosis was much higher, a position analogous to that of civilians.

The Army too does not neglect the education of the soldier. By lectures, demonstrations, talkie health and dental films, attempts are made to instruct soldiers in hygiene, the avoidance of particular diseases, and the preventive aspects of medicine in general. For the civilian, on the other hand, medical and dental education is sadly neglected. The occasional health department bulletins have a narrow circulation. Radio health sessions are few and unattractive. The film is never used. The daily press realises the thirst of the general public for medical knowledge and does feature health articles; but the public health bodies have not correctly evaluated and taken advantage of this interest.

The Army dental service conducts a continuous oral hygiene propaganda campaign, and each member of the forces has a dental card on which is recorded the dental condition and treatment. All are made dentally fit on enlistment and by repeated routine examination and treatment efforts are made to maintain dental fitness. This comprehensive dental service is free, financial considerations do not prevent the soldier from reporting any dental disease in its early stages, i.e., at the optimum time for treatment. The success of this dental service has been noted in the R.A.A.F. Dental examinations prior to enlistment revealed incredibly filthy mouths while examination in North Queensland of personnel who had been through the dental routine showed what can be done in this field of public health.

A doctor is available to every serviceman and woman at any time of the day or night at the Regimental Aid Post. Depending on the patient's ailment, the regimental M.O. may transfer the patient to better-equipped medical centres for further observation and treatment. All investigations and treatment are free, the attending M.O. being relieved of all financial interest in the patient. The medical condition of the patient is the only consideration for any action taken. At the discretion of the attending M.O. the patient can be referred for specialist opinion and treatment. In the A.G.H., specialists in all branches are available on the spot. Medicines, operations, orthopaedic appliances, specialist consultations, special pathology tests, X-rays, medical transport, etc., impose no financial burden on the sick or disabled soldier. Quantity and quality of treatment are not determined by the patients' ability to pay; the soldier therefore is encouraged to report for treatment earlier than would a civilian.

The convalescent period is provided for and on discharge from the Convalescent Depot, the soldier is fit to return to his occupation. For the entire period of incapacity to work, there is no loss of pay, no loss of employment, and no lowering of status. Dependents, too, still draw their allotment. These benefits are available irrespective of the type of illness or disability, without any consideration of its duration, and are non-contributory. Also, the discharged serviceman has pension rights according to the degree of disability. For the basic wage and middle income groups illness represents a financial disaster to the patient and to his dependents. Convalescence must be as short as possible even though it means an unfit man returning to work, to prevent any further expense and to avoid losing his job.

The service provided by civilian medicine is determined to a great extent by the patient's ability to pay. Medical practitioners of necessity have a vested interest in disease. If specialist opinion and treatment are required the general medical practitioner must decide whether he is to refer the patient to a specialist or a better-equipped medical centre, and risk losing the patient, or attempt to treat the patient himself. Inevitably the medical practitioner must become a business man, and although the importance of preventive medicine is appreciated, without a planned national effort little is achieved. Doctors work primarily as isolated units, resulting in much overlapping.

In recent years there has been a tendency towards group practice where several doctors work together as a co-operative team. This is a movement towards a higher stage in medical organisation, brought about by the increase in medical knowledge, and the tendency this produces is to specialise in the various branches of medicine. From group practice in small areas, a national organisation resembling that seen in Army medicine should be the logical outcome.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this comparison is that Army experience has shown that the best and most effective way yet devised to keep large masses of men fit and active, is a free and comprehensive, non-contributory, fully-staffed salaried medical service. It is not a far call from the Army Medical Service to a National Medical Service. It is no novelty; we have been using it as our best weapon of defence in the maintenance of a physically intact military force. Such a National Service should logically be controlled and directed by medical men themselves, just as it has been found that the Army Medical Service was best controlled by senior medical personnel.

The policy of the Australian Communist Party embodies such a full and comprehensive National Salaried Medical Service. The Army men themselves, on their return to civil life, must inevitably realise many of the drawbacks of the present form of medical practice, especially if they have had no previous experience of it, and are confronted with the necessity of establishing a practice among the dozens of similar young men with similarly limited opportunities. It would take little to convince most of these young men where the remedy lies. The British Medical Association fears that Army doctors will more readily join a Salaried Medical Service, and has endeavoured to depict the present form of practice in its rosiest light, and to relieve the present shortage of practices by advocating partnerships and assistantships.

Our task is to show the fallacies of our present service and to point out the manner in which these fallacies were necessarily overcome in the Army, and would be overcome to an even greater extent in the service advocated by our Party.

SCIENCE IN EDUCATION

C. A. SHORT, B.Sc.

THE frustration of science under capitalism is a commonplace. The bachelor of science and of engineering selling cigarettes on a street corner to get a bare existence during the depression was an example the most conservative could not fail to appreciate. One talked, at the university, of "graduating onto the dole." The greatest advance in technique since the discovery of the wheel was ushered in with the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of human beings, to the horror of scientists responsible for its invention.

But these are very obvious examples. The concentration on short term, "payable" research because of the anarchy of capitalism, the inventions we never hear of because they are suppressed, the thousands of "might have been" scientists, the failure to apply science to agriculture, the failure to treat history and, above all, political economy, scientifically are the not so obvious but more important aspects of the frustration of science.

Is the frustration of science in capitalist society reflected in education? I do not propose to deal with primary or tertiary education in this article. In primary education scientific methods in the teaching process are probably more important than scientific content at least in all but the highest classes. I am not competent to speak on tertiary education save to venture the opinion that University science is divorced to a large extent from production. But if science is to become the foremost activity of our life, as Professor Ashby says it is of Soviet life, the foundations will be laid in the secondary schools.

High schools were established in the 1840's to serve as training grounds for the universities. Today, with the school leaving age raised to 15 years, virtually all children have two years of secondary education and the majority have three years. It is during these years that a child should adopt a scientific attitude not only in physics and chemistry, but toward all problems.

The experimental sciences illustrate the scientific attitude in the most direct way. About one-ninth of the school week is devoted, in all secondary schools, to the experimental sciences, generally combined physics and chemistry, but often botany for girls. On the credit side it can be said that practically all Australian children are receiving some background of scientific knowledge. This in itself is a tremendous advance on the position twenty years ago.

But the debit side is very heavy. A rigid curriculum of study is laid down leading to the Intermediate Certificate Examination. Much of the work is unsuitable for the majority who have no intention of continuing their studies beyond the third year. For example, the value of the ability to measure and calculate the density and relative density of solids and liquids is very doubtful. These abilities do not imply a knowledge of scientific principles. The curriculum and the examination set on it in the past have laid emphasis on the acquisition of a body of knowledge of physics and chemistry rather than the development of a scientific attitude — the rejection of authority and the submission of questions to the test of experiment.

Another weakness is the failure to include any experiments of even the simplest kind dealing with living things. Yet children who will probably be leaving school in a few months, are expected to take an interest in the equations of uniformly accelerated motion. One of the greatest difficulties teachers have to face is lack of interest, but living things, which are the most vital and interesting to the living beings in the school, are excluded from the syllabus.

In the "experimental sciences" experiment should be the most important feature of the work. Before the children of New South Wales can do effective experimental work hundreds of thousands of pounds must be spent on laboratories and equipment. In some junior technical and central schools the children in first year hardly handle a piece of equipment. In at least one first-class high school the pupils are only able to use the laboratory once a fortnight. In general classes are halved for the teaching of woodwork and technical drawing, but it is assumed that classes of up to forty-five can be given experimental work in science as whole classes. Neither the appreciation of the scientific attitude nor ability to perform experiments bears any relation to position on the examination list. Perhaps these are difficult to measure. The substitution of memory work as a test is hardly satisfactory.

The courses and opportunities for experimental work in physics, chemistry or botany in senior classes have been fairly satisfactory in the past. The major weakness is that it is often impossible for a student to take both physics and chemistry. Many of our best students suffer under a severe handicap when they go to the university because they know little or nothing of one or the other subject and a knowledge of both is almost essential for first year medicine or science. It is always possible for students to follow a suitable classical course. It is possible, for example, to have classes of three students taking latin, but it is necessary to have a class of about 15 before a separate physics or chemistry class can be taken. The very classification of some schools is dependent on their classical courses, a hangover from the classical tradition.

It is a great advantage for a scientific worker to be able to read scientific works in one or two foreign languages. Little effort is made in either secondary schools or universities to meet this need.

The frustration of science is reflected in the schools in lack of space and equipment and in large classes. The curriculum is unsatisfactory because its primary aim is the acquisition of a body of knowledge rather than the development of the scientific attitude. The curriculum is too rigid and does not allow for variation in ability and interest. It contains a lot of work of doubtful value and excludes the study of living things.

If wars are to be outlawed, if we are going to not only refrain from destroying each other with atomic fission but use it to free our lives from hunger and drudgery, our children must be taught to challenge fearlessly every authority, every prejudice, and turn to experiment and evidence. It is essential that the scientific attitude should permeate not only the teaching of the experimental sciences but the teaching of ALL subjects.

A COMMENTARY ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY WHEAT PROGRAMME

By a Member of the Agrarian Committee.

REVOLUTIONARY enthusiasts have complained, "Why does the Communist Party bother about a programme like this? You know that such reforms as you advocate are not possible under capitalism. You are only doping the people into believing they can obtain them. Why not preach Socialism straight out to the people?"

Yes, it may be quite true that many of the changes advocated will only occur under Socialism, but the average farmer is not ready to have Socialism preached at him. He has been nurtured in the lap of Mother Capitalism and the rights of private property. Even the smallest farmer imagines he has a freedom greater than that of the industrial proletariat; the freedom of owning his own means of production. He does not realise that in reality his property and tools are mostly owned by the moneylender, and his produce really is owned by the agent and market racketeers.

Thus we must approach the farmer by pointing out ways in which agriculture could be regulated even under a modified capitalism, to bring a definite improvement to his position. In being enlightened thus far, and in working for such improvement, he will come face to face with the monopolists and realise the part they play in the exploitation of the farmer, as well as discovering that the proposals outlined are only truly possible when the power of monopoly is broken. This is half the battle on the road to Socialism. We are out to break the ideological control of capitalists over the small farmers and we cannot do it by preaching Socialism at them or forcing it down their throats.

The "Liberals" have propagated the idea that Communists are out to create industrial upheaval, unemployment, misery and degradation, with the set purpose of making the masses dissatisfied with capitalism, causing capitalism to cease to function properly and so facilitating a revolution.

The Communist policy is quite the contrary. As the wheat programme states, "The struggle for the improvement of the wheatgrower helps in the movement towards Socialism." Communists see that capitalism does **not** function properly, and farmers, in working for such necessary reforms, will soon have a practical demonstration of this. Experience will rouse the farmers, but understanding will direct their efforts along the right lines.

Let us first consider the question of organized production. The false idea held by many farmers is that organized production is dictatorial restriction—a body of academic dictatorial "experts" is set up in Canberra without knowledge of local farming conditions or even of the needs of industrial workers. In contrast, the Australian Communist Party advocates the setting up of Local and District Committees (in place of the War Agricultural Committees), democratically elected, having majority producer representation, which will send recommendations for the amount and type of production necessary to suit the particular local conditions, such data based on the suitability of soil and climate for wheat, as contrasted with other crops, the soil erosion control necessary, etc., to State and Commonwealth Committees. These latter, having collected all data from the various localities, will consider it and arrange it in relation to the market requirements of the State or Commonwealth as a whole. The co-ordinated plan will then be submitted to the various Local Committees for suggestions and alterations and accepted only with their approval.

Again, we must emphasize, this organized production does not necessarily mean restriction. First, areas unsuitable for wheat will change to more suitable methods of farming and the farmers must be helped financially in this changeover period. **Secondly,** the diversion of wheat (in the form grain and/or hay) to indirect nourishment of the people, i.e., per medium of such livestock as pigs, poultry and cattle. Such a programme will benefit the farmer in that he has an additional source of income, as well as experiencing all the other benefits of mixed farming such as cheap supply of farmyard manure, and enabling a better system of crop rotation. This naturally will lead to an increase in

livestock production, the products from which are urgently needed to raise the standard of Australian nutrition and directly brings the farmers into unity with the workers in their struggle for £1 increase in the basic wage. **Thirdly,** a tremendously increased world wheat production is needed if the millions of highly populated Asiatic countries, such as China, Japan, India and Indonesia, are to be relieved from periodic famine. The nations of the world are under moral and treaty obligations to raise the standards of living of such countries if they are members of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, and Australia is a member. There seems but little chance of raising the standard of living of these Asiatic peoples unless they are freed from imperialist extortions and enabled to reconstruct their own national life. We can all, working in unity, bring pressure to bear on our Government to support their great independence movements.

Organized marketing will naturally be facilitated by, and follow from, organized production. A fixed price related to the costs of production will bring a measure of security, and costs of production will be stabilized by the strengthening of the Wheat Board, a Board on which producer representatives are really responsible for its management, to cover the sale of farm equipment, fertilizers, etc., to the farmer.

The next step could then follow—the nationalization of machinery, and this would further stabilize and lower costs of production. The more the cost of production is stabilized, the greater possibility there is of having a stabilized price truly based on the costs of production.

Growers' co-operatives operating for the removal of produce from the farms, will also break the control of the private agencies.

Although the Wheat Programme deals with many other matters, I propose finally to comment on only two other important items. These are debt melioration and wheat research.

Lifting the debt burden should be one of the main planks in the Communist platform. The interest burden is by far the biggest factor in keeping the farmers on the breadline. It is estimated that, allowing a 5 per cent. increase, the average net income of the farmer would only be £117 per year —a miserable pittance. At an interest rate of 2½ per cent. it would be only £260 per year. Thus the attack on interest rates and the writing off of debts which sometimes have been paid off over and over again in interest, is of extreme importance. The Commonwealth Government with its new banking powers is adequately equipped to do something about it. It is our task and that of the farmers to bring pressure to bear on the Government. Without an attack on interest rates all our efforts at stabilized marketing and production will only mean a more stabilized return of interest payments for the moneylenders.

Thus the Communist Party recommends that the Commonwealth Mortgage Bank take over and adjust debts and mortgages and lower interest rates, thus competing favourably for the business of moneylending with the private banks, this leading to the nationalization of all land. It will be remembered by students of Lenin that Lenin did not recommend the nationalization of land in Tsarist Russia and thus differed radically in his Agrarian Programme from that of the Populists—another progressive Russian party in the days of the Tsar. Why, then, do we advocate it in capitalist Australia? Tsarist Russia was under autocratic control, and nationalization would not have lifted the burden of the poor peasants to any extent. It would have simply meant a transfer of payments from paying the landlord to paying the State. In Australia we at least have some form of democracy, even though it be capitalist. A transfer of land to State ownership would mean that the landlord's monopoly in land would be broken and absolute rent would no longer be valid.

The Communist Party advocates more expenditure on Wheat Research and the establishment of a Wheat Research Institute. Wheat is our largest agricultural product and wheat rust the greatest pest, and yet we have no Wheat Institute. In the U.S.A. there is a whole Research Institute set up to study wheat rust alone, yet wheat is not by any means the biggest agricultural industry in the U.S.A.

Further, the Communist Party reports an unsatisfactory baking quality of Australian wheat in comparison with British. But there is no wonder in this. It has not been found possible to combine the characters for high yield with the characters for high baking quality in any particular variety. Thus Bencubbin has a very high yield but rather poor quality, whereas Pusa III has a high quality but a low yield. Yet little encouragement is given to growers of high quality wheat such as Pusa III. The outworn system of grading wheat based on the Fair Average Quality (F.A.Q.) still has a firm hold in Australia. The average gluten content of the year's crop is ascertained on a pooled sample consisting of samples from the various wheat growing districts. Any farmer having a lower gluten content than the average is penalized, while those with gluten higher than the average receive no extra bonus. Thus the tendency is to grow the wheat with the highest yield and Bencubbin has been the most popular variety in N.S.W. in the last few years. The fact that limited bonuses have recently been introduced for growing Pusa III testifies to the desperate situation. The time has come for at least two grades of wheat, based on baking quality, or even three grades, High, Medium and Poor, with three different levels of prices. Such is not impossible, particularly with organized marketing. Canada has a satisfactory system of grading, so why not Australia?

Much more might be said about the Wheat Programme, but space is limited and I can only conclude by recommending a thorough reading, study and constructive criticism of this programme by all thinking citizens interested in the land.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

R.E. (Sydney), writes:

"In his attack on Soviet Russia, Mr. J. J. Maloney referred to 'privileged people' and 'the highest strata of Soviet Society'. Does this mean that class differences remain in Soviet Russia?"

Answer :

I AM afraid it is very hard to disentangle the grains of fact from the "malignant fables" of our ex-Minister to Moscow.

Your question would arise from the statement as reported in the "Sydney Morning Herald," 27.4.46. It seems that to Mr. Maloney "special workers, Red Army officials and their families, leading ballerinas and scientists" are in one privileged class, and then "the highest strata of Soviet society" which he omits to describe more fully (but we presume he means government officials) and finally there are the "common people."

In order to understand the political meaning of the word class and its application to the Soviet Union let us recall Lenin's definition: "classes are large groups of persons, differing according to their relations to the means of production."

"If one part of society owns the plants and factories, shares and capital, while the other part works for them, we have the classes of capitalists and proletarians." [The owning class no longer exists in the U.S.S.R., where the means of production are socialised.]

The position in Soviet Russia today is described by Molotov :

"Having eliminated the remnants of the exploiting classes [capitalists, landlords, kulaks : S.M.], we have established a society of two mutually friendly classes, the working class and the peasantry. This society has given rise to an intelligentsia of its own, which is no longer bourgeois or bourgeois-democratic, but is, in the main, a socialist intelligentsia. This intelligentsia, linked with ties of blood to the working people and to socialism, plays a great part in the work of directing the development and consolidation of the new society and state. The antagonism that used to exist between town and country has largely been uprooted, but a substantial difference between the above two classes still exists. This difference exists, primarily, because the workers are employed in establishments which are the possession of the whole people, are socialist-state in character, while the peasants work on the collective farms, which are socialist co-operative in character. Both of these classes, the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, are already classes of socialist society." This is the only correct approach to the problem.

The differences in income of the Soviet workers are in no way indicative of class differences. All Soviet citizens are paid "according to work performed" (Constitution U.S.S.R.), or, we might say, according to their usefulness in society as a whole. The "privileged" who receive more than others are not the parasites who own the means of production, but the "leading ballerinas, scientists," etc., who are regarded with special affection by the "common people." Peoples' ownership of the industries, mines, fields, etc., ensures that everyone receives a fair share of the means of livelihood that are available.

In the capitalist countries, however, the high incomes are received not by the useful people, the workers, but by the owners and directors of the B.H.P., C.S.R., the banks, the breweries and other monopolies.

The 1933 (the latest) Australian census showed that 78 out of every 100 Australian breadwinners got, on the average, less than £3 a week, 14 in 100 got £3 to £5, 8 in 100 got over £5. Not much room for inequality there, we might think, and there isn't for 92% of the population, but the other 8% of the population receive nearly as much as the 92%. For instance, it is estimated the Knox family alone received over £124,000 a year, about as much as 800 average workers received.

This sharply reminds us of the real meaning of class differences — the mass of the hard working people live in poverty, while an insignificant number live in idleness on the fat of the land, produced by others' labor. This is exploitation; and exploitation is the essence of class society. When the higher phase of Communism has been reached, the inequalities of income of the present Socialist stage will end and each will receive "according to his need."

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF THE U.S.S.R. IN 1937

(in per cent of total)

1. Workers and employees	35
2. Collective farmers and handicraftsmen organised in producers' co-operatives	55
3. Individual peasants, and handicraftsmen not organised in producers' co-operatives	6
4. Miscellaneous (students, the armed forces, pensioners, etc.)	4
Total	100

Read also Marx's **Critique of the Gotha Programme,** wherein he deals with inequality of income in the first phase of Communism.

BOOK REVIEW

PROGRESS

RAY OLDHAM

"THE next few years will see history continuing to march with its seven-league boots—in Australia, no less than elsewhere . . ." said Harry Pollitt, Secretary of the Communis Party of Britain, in a recent letter congratulating the Australian people on the advent of the new cultural magazine "Progress."

"Perhaps the most distinctive contribution Australia will make will be its strong, proud glorification of the common man, which not only shines through the works of Lawson, Patterson, Bernard O'Dowd and others, but also finds unmistakeable expression in the anger and quick action taken in Australia recently over the sacking of Cyril Fields, the chauffeur of Brigadier Schrieber.

"We feel sure that this young, live, energetic nation, Australia, will, with the help of "Progress," make a mark on world culture and science equal to that it has already made on world Trade Unionism."

This tribute to "Progress" by Britain's leading Communist brings home vividly to Australians the need to support this new monthly magazine. "Progress" deals with important scientific and artistic events from a Marxist viewpoint. All those interested in arts and sciences will keep themselves up-to-date by reading the articles contributed by prominent figures in the different spheres.

Art—and science—are a weapon. They are weapons that are used either for the benefit of a small and privileged minority of finance-capitalists or for the benefit of progressive humanity. When Communist leaders stated a few days after the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan, that "for us the atomic bomb is also a political question," many people—scientists among them—argued against this, maintaining that science must remain abstract, above politics. Events of the past few months have brought home the truth of the Marxists' assertion. Today most people recognise that science is a political weapon: and many, including such famous names as Joliot-Curie, J. B. S. Haldane and Julian Huxley, have taken their stand on the side of progressive humanity—against the use of science as a secret weapon of imperialist intrigue.

In the June issue of Progress, there is an interesting article, "Did Modern Man Originate in Australia?" This article is based on a theory of Dr. Alec Jolly (well-known to Review readers).

Of interest to music lovers, there is a brilliant analysis of the music of Tchaikovsky, written by the famous Soviet composer, Dmitri Shostakovich.

It is the responsibility of all progressive people to see that arts and sciences are a weapon used for the workers and against the exploiters. We can only do this if we know just what's going on in the field of arts and sciences. This is where the new "Progress" is important to you. In it many of the leading progressive scientists and artists deal with all current questions as they apply to the class struggle. In it is made evident the unity of interest between all useful workers whether these work predominantly with their hands, their muscles, or their brains.

June "Progress" now on sale at all bookstalls. Price 6d.

LABOR'S FOREIGN POLICY (G. D. H. COLE)

(From "World News & Views.")

EMILE BURNS

THE Labor Party Executive continues its raging, tearing campaign against unity at home and abroad. Professor Laski, fresh from writing his new pamphlet against the Communist Party in Britain, has rushed to Italy to try to stop Socialist-Communist unity there. Major Mayhew, Parliamentary Private Secretary to Herbert Morrison, has the same job in Bavaria. This attempt to maintain division in the working-class movement, characteristic of the outlook of the Labor Party leadership, is thought of—and often openly presented—as a weapon against the growing influence of the Soviet Union.

Professor G. D. H. Cole has just produced a pamphlet on **Labor's Foreign Policy** in which the essential theme is the defence of the "West European Way of Life," and with that, the need for "the unity of Western Europe"—a "Western **Bloc**." Now Cole is not at all anti-Soviet; he expressly says: "If I thought that Western unity on a basis of liberal Socialism would hurt the Soviet Union, I should not be advocating it." And yet against whom is the so-called "Western Way of Life" to be defended? True, there are some passages in the pamphlet which refer to Western Europe standing up against American imperialism; but the main weight of the argument is the need to defend the Western Way of Life against Communism. What does he mean by this Way of Life?

It is impossible to give in detail all his description of the Western Way of Life. But the following is, I think, a fair summary—respect for the individual, personal liberty, toleration of difference in habits and opinions, free speech, freedom of writing and association, free discussion to settle policies, free elections, social behaviour that is tolerant of differences; the pursuit of welfare and social security; education to help all to develop; legal safeguards for the individual; belief in morality as binding upon States as well as private persons. And, in Cole's view, all this requires "democratic Socialism," "liberal Socialism," to preserve it. But we get no nearer to what this means than "the Socialism that stands for carrying over into the new society whatever is good and fine in the tradition of the older society that is being displaced, and is also compatible with the new values of the society that is being born."

But if we regard "what is common to Western Europe" as something supremely important, what is the main common feature, dominating all the rest? That these countries are capitalist countries. If Cole had started from that standpoint, he might have reached very different conclusions. Take France, for example; Cole himself says: "France hovers, but with a plain predominance of leftish opinion, if only the forces of the left can act together." What lies behind that? Not any theoretical "Western Way of Life," which distinguishes the French people from the Soviet or the Czech people, but a class struggle for democracy, for liberty, for **Socialism**, in which the Communist Party is playing the leading part. And when Cole says: "if only the forces of the left can act together," he is putting the central issue not only for **France**, but for every other country in the world. The conception of a Western Way of Life that is somehow to preserve itself against an imaginary "Eastern Way of Life" is only a pale reflection of the underlying reality: capitalism which still exists in the West, against Socialism in the East. It is the Communists everywhere who try to show that this is the real issue; it is the Socialists who try to substitute "East versus West," or "liberal Socialism" versus Communism. And that is why, where the struggle for Socialism is so advanced that the people brush aside all substitutes, the Communist Party stands out as the leader of the people in that struggle, with the membership of the Socialist Party more and more realising that the alleged differences are unreal, and therefore more and more determined on unity.

And it is this situation which makes all the ideas of a "Western **Bloc**," or a division of Europe into two parts, one Communist, one "liberal Socialist," not only theoretically unsound, but unreal, as a practical policy. Cole abandons to the "Eastern Way of Life" quite a number of countries; those who are invited to the "Western Way" are Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Holland, France and Italy. But France and Italy, far the most important, are not dominated by Socialists, but by Socialist-Communists in unity, with the Communists more and more in the lead. The very first point that Cole makes about Labor foreign policy is that it must be realist. Yet the whole Western **Bloc** idea, as a grouping of countries dominated by "liberal Socialists," is completely unreal. And the serious danger is that, in pursuit of this unreal policy, the Labor Party is doing its best to prevent the growing unity of the Socialist and Communist Parties, and thereby trying to create conditions which would, in fact, lead, not to "liberal Socialism," but to the defeat of the Socialist movement and the victory of reaction. I am sure that Cole does not want this; the pity is that in this pamphlet he provides ammunition for those who do.

WAR ON WEEDS

Prof. J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

FOR ages it must have been known that plants kept in a shady corner often grew towards the light. If you believe in a life-force, or something equally ill-defined, you will regard such a tendency as natural, and not investigate it farther. If you think materialistically, you will want to know how this growth, which is obviously useful to the plant, is achieved.

In 1881 Charles Darwin, who was a great experimenter as well as a great theorist, wrote a book on "The Power of Movement in Plants," in which he stated that "when seedlings are exposed to lateral light, some influence is transmitted from the upper to the lower part, causing the latter to bend." He did not discover the nature of the influence.

In 1911 a Dane called Boysen-Jensen found that if he sliced off the top of a growing barley shoot, and put it back again with a fine film of gelatin between it and the rest of the shoot, the influence was still transmitted; while it would not pass through watertight films. Later Kogl, Erxleben and others, mostly in Germany, actually isolated chemical substances which, in extraordinarily small quantities, stimulate plant growth, and showed that they are formed in the growing point of a shoot, and pass down in the sap on the shaded side of it.

All this sounds interesting, but very remote from practical agriculture. To judge from a series of communications published in "Nature" on April 28, it may prove, though quite indirectly, the means

of making Britain much more self-sufficient as regards food supply.

The most easily prepared of these plant hormones is indolylacetic acid. This is such a powerful stimulant that if it is added in a concentration of under one part in ten million to a watery solution in which plants are growing, it will kill the majority of species. The roots cease to lengthen, the leaves curl up in a characteristic way, and so forth. Similarly, one can kill a man or an animal with an overdose of the hormone from the thyroid gland, of which a small amount is absolutely necessary for normal growth.

Nutman, Quastel, and Thornton, at Rothamsted Experimental Station started from the observation of a Chinese colleague, Chen, that the bacteria which fix atmospheric nitrogen in clover roots produce a hormone which makes them curl up. They found that though it is poisonous in water, it soon disappears from soil. But a chemically-related substance, sodium 4-chloro-2-methyl phenoxy-acetate, persists in soil for some weeks and has similar effects. Fortunately, it has much less effect on cereals and grass than on most other plants.

Slade, Templeman and Sexton, working for Imperial Chemical Industries, had been secretly testing this substance among others for some years, and Blackman, at the Imperial College, London, also experimented with it. No doubt it will soon be on the market under a trade name.

The amounts needed are extremely small. Slade used one pound per acre, Blackman as little as a quarter of a pound. This is dissolved in about a hundred gallons of water, and sprayed. In these quantities it does not harm cereals or meadow grass, nor peas, onions and leeks, although root crops such as the turnip and beet are very sensitive to it. But it completely wipes out a number of annual weeds, such as yellow and white charlock, and poppies. Some perennial weeds, including buttercups and horsetails, are killed; but unfortunately docks, stinging nettles, and bracken stand up to it.

Where weed infestation is serious, the effects may be enormous. Blackman obtained a ninety per cent. increase in one of his cereal crops.

It is still too early to suggest what effect it would have on the wheat, oats, and barley production of this country, but if it raised it by even five per cent. this would be of very great value. Heavier doses will kill off all kinds of plants, including grasses and clover, and this may be of great use in improving pastures. For the poison disappears from soil in a few weeks, and after this a new crop of meadow grass can be sown.

It is very important that the soil is not permanently poisoned. Some weed-killers contain copper and arsenic: and these may remain in the soil for many years, and may harm valuable plants, or even make them poisonous to men.

Incidentally, an ounce should be quite enough to eradicate the weeds on a fairly large lawn, including mouse-eared chickweed, which is not touched by iron ammonium sulphate, though this is very effective against plantains and dandelions. So this discovery may mean not only cheaper bread, porridge and beer, but better cricket, lawn tennis, golf and bowls. For I have no doubt that the turf of our sports grounds, even where they have not been dug up for victory, has deteriorated during the war.

It is probably only the first of a series of similar discoveries.

The other plant hormones, and the substances related to them, are a good deal harder to make in a laboratory, and cannot yet be made on a factory scale. But when they are made, it is likely that a different group of plants may prove specially sensitive to them. For example, one of them may prove to be harmless to beets and turnips, while active against their weeds. Or perhaps it may be very effective against bracken.

Once more the value of pure science—or, as I prefer to call it, long-term research—is demonstrated. When one discovers a fundamental fact, one rarely knows what will be its practical value, if any. Darwin and Boysen-Jensen may have thought that their work would produce straight trees. They would never have guessed that they were on the track of a super weed-killer. On the other hand, if agricultural research workers had realised the poisonous nature of an overdose of these hormones, the work would have been done earlier, and the lives of a number of merchant seamen who died to bring us wheat, would have been saved.

The gap between fundamental research and its application is far too wide. It will only be bridged when we have far more workers on fundamental research, and when they spend a part of their time in peace, as most of them have done in war, in the practical application of their special knowledge. The experience of the Soviet Union suggests that this will be far easier under Socialism. In England a professor who takes time off to work for a private firm is very properly censured, though he is allowed to do public service. In a Socialist country, all applied science is public service, and the gap between theory and practice is narrowed. That is one reason why more and more scientists are becoming Socialists.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

An index of the 1945 issues of the Communist Review is now available. Copies may be obtained by sending a stamped and addressed envelope to Review Management, 695 George Street, Sydney.

100 bound copies of the Communist Review for 1946 will be available early next year. Orders for these will be accepted now and should be sent to the above address.

THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS AND THE UNITED FRONT

R. DIXON

(Abridged from a report delivered to the Central Committee, 31st May, 1946)

THIS year the Federal elections will be held, and coinciding with them there will be a referendum to strengthen the powers of the Federal Government on three important issues, Social Services, Marketing and Industrial Powers. The year 1946 will, therefore, be most important for the labor movement.

Already this year has been marked by the big struggles waged by the working class, struggles that tend to increase in number and power rather than to decrease. Taking the figures of strike struggles over recent years we get the following:

In the year 1944, a complete war year, over one million working days were lost by strikes. In the first six months of 1945 the figures were about the same as for the first six months of 1944. But from then on, as we get into the months following the end of the war, a big change takes place.

For New South Wales alone we get the following figures for 1945:

	Number disputes	Working days lost
March quarter	217	153,872
June quarter	203	223,608
September quarter . .	256	289,105
December quarter . . .	419	1,256,415

Those figures indicate the growing struggles of the workers, the great rise in working class activity. It is in the light of the growing activities and struggles of the workers that we must consider the position of the Labor Party and the Communist Party.

In the first place, recent by-elections reveal a weakening of the position of the Labor Party, especially among the middle classes. The decline is not sufficient, it seems, to result in the defeat of the Labor Party at the Federal elections, but is serious enough to warrant special efforts on the part of the Labor Governments and the labor movement generally to, at least, arrest the decline. The Labor Governments, by failing to really face up to the needs of the present situation, had frittered away the goodwill and support of important sections of the people.

In the second place we must record the fact that, despite the growing struggles of the workers and the disillusionment with the Labor Party, there is no evidence of a substantial swing to the Communist Party. Interest in the Party is growing, as shown by the bigger attendances at public and factory meetings, but recruitment of new members and press sales and finance are unsatisfactory. As part of our Federal election campaign, therefore, we must develop a great mass activity, improve Party discipline and organisation and strengthen our connections with the people. We must become the organisers and leaders of the growing mass movement, of the struggles of the people.

A number of the recent strikes, those that affected supplies of gas, electricity, meat and so on, have been seized upon by the millionaire press and Liberal politicians to undermine the influence of the labor movement among the middle classes and farmers. They have been made the excuse to establish strike-breaking organisations such as the Citizens' Rights Committee. Most of these struggles could have been settled quickly had the Labor Governments intervened on the side of the workers instead of forcing them into the Arbitration Courts, which function so consistently in the interest of the employers. By failing to do this the Labor Governments played into the hands of reaction, have provided the capitalist press and the Liberal-Country Party politicians with the opportunity to try and alienate the support of some sections of the people from the labor movement.

An examination of many of the big strikes of these last few months will show that they had their origin in victimisation and other forms of employer provocation. The strikes at Port Kembla, Tooths Brewery and Riverstone Meat Works and also the Queensland Meat strike—all commenced with the victimisation of Union delegates.

The fact that the employers deliberately provoked these strikes, and prolonged them in order to dissipate Union strength and finances, and to arouse resentment against the Unions, is a serious matter for the Union movement. The Trade Unions must avoid, so far as is possible, being provoked by the employers. They must strive to limit the spread of strikes that are waged for only small issues. If large numbers of workers are to be drawn into struggle then it should be for big objectives, for wage increases, shorter hours and improvement in conditions.

Now that the Federal elections are approaching the workers can expect more provocation on the part of the employers, who will not hesitate to precipitate disputes and deprive the people of essential commodities and services if this will help swing support away from the Labor and Communist Party candidates in the elections. They were anxious to see another coal dispute arising from the recent campaign of the Miners' Federation for State or Federal Government control of the industry. For weeks the capitalist press has been trying to stir up public feeling against the miners and even to force the Government to introduce rationing of gas and electricity at a time when coal

was coming forward in sufficient quantity to meet requirements. The reaction wanted a coal strike.

We must take into account the tendency in this country to canalise all big Union campaigns for improvements into the Arbitration Courts, which usually results in killing the campaign. The 40-hour week is a case in point. It started off as a demand on the Government, and as the interest of the workers grew and the pressure increased, the Government shunted it into the Federal Arbitration Court. The Court is tackling this question not from the angle of the general needs of the people and the advance of industrial technique but as to whether the industrial magnates of Australia can afford it. Meanwhile the campaign in the factories is almost at an end. This is bad, because the Court will only grant the shorter working week under the strongest mass pressure.

The Queensland Shearers recently gave us a good example of what is needed. They decided to enforce the 40-hour week so that when the Queensland Court sat to consider shearers' hours they were faced with the fact that the forty-hour week was already in operation and they had no alternative but to grant it.

Because the Arbitration Court is dealing with this matter it is all the more necessary for the Trade Union movement to continue to campaign for the 40-hour week, where possible to enforce it as the Queensland Shearers did, and in each State to insist that the State Governments immediately legislate for it.

Since the end of the war the policy of the Federal Labor Government, both in its external and internal application, has gone more to the right. When the Labor Premier of Tasmania, Cosgrove, declared that the struggle for decent wages had ended and urged the workers to produce more goods at cheaper cost and to cease striking, he gave us the essence of Labor's policy today.

The Federal Government opposes the lifting of the wage-pegging regulations, does nothing about increasing the basic wage, referred the 40-hour week to Arbitration, and shows no signs of removing the burden of taxation from lower incomes. On the other hand, they urge the workers to produce more, to work harder.

If the Government wants an increase in production the first thing it must do is solve the immediate and pressing problems of the workers by lifting the burden of taxation from them, increasing wages and shortening hours. This is the starting point for increasing production.

Nationalisation of monopolies, and in particular in the present situation, of the coal industry, is also essential if problems of production are to be tackled and the living standards of the workers raised. For years the Miners' Federation and the Communist Party have insisted that a fundamental reorganisation of the coal industry is necessary in order that the growing needs of industry and transport could be met and that the starting point for this was the nationalisation of the industry. Recent undertakings by the Government suggest that they are moving in the direction of reorganising the coal industry, but only very slowly. The Government proposes to establish some control over the industry, to open new mines and improve the conditions of mine workers, but it still evades nationalisation.

Because of its liberal-bourgeois policy the Labor Government constantly finds itself in opposition to the legitimate demands of the workers, opposed to the struggles of the Trade Unions, and the inevitable outcome of this situation is a growing disillusionment with the Labor Governments and the loss of support for the Labor Party among the middle classes and farmers.

The Communist Party must sharpen its criticism of the Labor Governments and rally the workers to press forward for the realisation of their demands.

The programme of the Communist Party in the Federal elections will be based upon the decisions of the National Party Congress, linked with the various national, state and local problems that have arisen in the meantime. We will fight for a foreign policy aimed at strengthening the relations between the great powers, Soviet Russia, Britain and U.S.A., for their collaboration for peace which is essential to any long-term peace, for friendly relations with all peace-loving nations and the development of trade, and for the right of all oppressed peoples to their independence.

Our internal policy will aim at a strong and free Australia, in which the working class will play an increasingly important role. We stand for higher living standards for workers, farmers and middle class people, for the removal of taxation from all lower incomes, for shorter hours of labor, a housing programme that will meet the need of the nation, for irrigation projects, water conservation and national measures sufficiently big to combat soil erosion. We are for the nationalisation of the coal industry and big monopolies, for a better organisation of the Australian economy to ensure that jobs will be available to effectively rehabilitate ex-service men and women and to provide work for all.

At the Federal elections we aim to secure the election of Communists to Parliament, the defeat of the Liberal-Country Party candidates, and the return of the Labor Government. The election programme we submit to the people is a programme to be fought for and we must rally the working class for the struggle to realise this programme. We must strive for a great increase in votes for the Communist candidates and this calls for the most thorough campaigning.

With the object of uniting the working class to defeat the reactionary Liberal-Country Party candidates and to strengthen the fight for the people's needs, the Communist Party will make united front proposals to the Labor Party.

The growth of working class unity in the factories has been most noticeable over these last months, in spite of the efforts of Labor's right wing to create division. We are determined to strengthen this development.

Two statements of policy of considerable importance to the labor movement have been issued by Labor Party executives recently. The first was the decisions of the Federal Executive of the Labor Party on strikes, which declared that the discontent among the workers today was caused by low wages, heavy taxation, long hours and the persistence of the Federal Government with its wage-pegging policy; further, that employer provocation was also the cause of many strikes. The Labor Party Federal Executive urged the need for the introduction of the 40-hour week, an increase in the basic wage, removal of taxation from low incomes and the lifting of wage-pegging.

The second statement came from the N.S.W. Labor Party Executive and dealt with the problem of coal. It proposed effective Government control to permit of nationalisation of mines and the improvement in the conditions and lives of the miners.

The Communist Party is in basic agreement with most of the views expressed in these two Labor Party statements. Our letter to the Labor Party urging a united front covers these same questions, as well as some others, including the struggle for peace and for a national housing plan. A real basis does exist, therefore, for joint campaigning by the two parties to achieve those things and this we point out to the Labor Party.

The fight for working class unity is not just a matter for the Communist Party, but for the labor movement generally and, knowing of the growing desire for unity amongst the working class, we shall continue the fight for unity until it is achieved, irrespective of the attitude of Labor's right wing splitters.

In Europe today the working class, united against reaction, are reshaping their countries in the interest of the common people. The United Front between the Communist and Social Democratic parties, which is a feature of the European labor movement today, and which in some countries has already led, or is leading to a fusion and the formation of united working class parties—the united front has so enhanced the strength of the workers as to make them the decisive force in their countries. The right wing splitters who opposed the united front and slandered the Communist Party are being silenced or driven out of the labor movement. Reformism is being overcome.

The fight for the united front, which must be conducted both during and after the elections, does not imply a lessening of our criticism of the Labor Party, does not mean a weakening of our blows against the right wing. On the contrary it calls for the sharpening, the intensification of this fight, for a much more vigorous fight against those opposed to working class unity. During the big steel, coal and shipping strike at the end of the last year we waged the most determined and bitterest fight against the right wing betrayers in their history. What was the result? The strikers, Labor and Communist alike, became so hostile that the right wingers did not dare to face them, they were afraid to attend the mass meetings. The same thing happened among the factory workers generally, and when representatives of the right tried to speak in the Sydney Domain they were the object of a spontaneous demonstration started by Labor Party workers. The Labor Party workers associated with that struggle were, for the first time, seeing through the treachery of their leaders. In addition to this the attitude of the right led to division in their own ranks and various groups from among the reformists began to draw away from the extreme right.

The united front will be built only in struggle, in the struggle for the urgent demands of the working class and in the struggle against the reformist splitters.

SPEECHES TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

E. J. ROWE

In the first place I endorse all that has been said about the strikes that are developing in this country at the present time and the necessity for us to ensure a change in their character. The Australia bourgeoisie are engaged upon some economic bloodletting of the Unions under the guise of picking off workers here and there, and they are drawing powerful sections of the trade union movement into struggles for their reinstatement; struggles which leave the unions seriously weakened so far as finance is concerned. In this way they are attempting to break up the Unions so that their power will be lessened, their capacity and preparedness weakened.

We have to strive in the trade unions to bring about a change in the character of the struggles and, as Comrade Dixon has said, we must link the trade union movement with the questions of hours and wages and so on in the shortest possible time. We have to take up the question of wages and hours and develop campaigns for them in various industries. If we do that, and I am convinced that we have to, then there are certain tendencies developing amongst our own comrades in the Unions against which we must guard.

Alongside the general bourgeois offensive against the working class there is also going on a powerful concerted attack within the trade union movement by Social Democracy, Catholic Action groups and allies which they have won which are undoubtedly having some effect. There are already a number of lessons to be drawn from this before we move on to this wider task of carrying through economic struggles on wages and hours.

There are a whole number of examples here in Sydney that show that our comrades can carry through economic leadership of trade unions and yet lose in trade union elections. One particular incident I have in mind is the Wharfies. There have been some unprecedented victories gained for wharfies from the abolition of the gang system right down to the present argument about double-dumps, there has been a long line of developments in the Wharfies' Union where our comrades have been able to win around these trade union issues; yet in recent elections in Sydney and Melbourne the reactionaries were able to register some successes. I understand that there are some circumstances to explain this, but this does not break down the general conclusion that it is possible for our comrades in the trade union movement to link themselves up with progressive trade union officials. Our Party still lags, still fails to come to the front and lead. We must emphasise particularly that portion of Comrade Dixon's report where he said we must strengthen our discipline and organisation in the Unions, but alongside that must go the struggle by our comrades for the policy of our Party. In too many instances we are now translating work in the trade unions to mean economic demands and we are not leading our economic paigns against the anti-Party attacks in a political fashion. Down amongst the rank and file of the trade unionists on the job this battle is proceeding fiercely and there are instances where reaction has won victories.

We were faced with a position in the A.E.U. which was almost a parallel. We were forced into a corner by a complete unity of diverse interests opposed to us, where complete agreement and tight exchange of preference was necessary. The situation developed where there was no other alternative for the Communists but to fight their way out of it by a full explanation of the role of the Party and what it meant in the trade unions. The cratic peace—they want an imperialist peace. They attack by reaction.

There is a lesson in this too, because we have by no means won the economic demands for engineering workers that Comrade Healy can claim for Wharfies. We found, too, that to get in and trade punches with the right wing brought about a strengthening of discipline and morale so far as our comrades were concerned.

J. C. HENRY

I AM in agreement with the report delivered by Comrade Dixon on Friday night. The drive towards the 3rd World War is very serious, and the fight for peace is the major question confronting the people of the world and consequently confronting all the Communist Parties today.

I agree with the point made by Comrade Dixon about the fact that our Party is not as conscious of the need to fight for peace as it should be; the reason, of course, why the Party membership as a whole is not seized with the acuteness of the war danger arises from the problem we have been discussing for quite some time past, and that is that we really did not understand completely, fully the changes that have taken place in the sphere of international politics since the defeat of Germany and Japan. And practically every problem confronting our Party today arises on this very same point.

Recently I have been through the greater part of the Northern organisations of the Party in Queensland and there, at every point, you can see that the problem is that the comrades do not understand and do not give practical expression in their work to the changes that have taken place.

So we have been talking about this for quite a long time and it appears that clarity has not been conveyed to the lower organisations, particularly to the Branches, in the way we require it to be carried. It is essential that we speed up in every possible way the struggle for political clarity on the international and national situation that arises from these changes.

Comrades have shown already, Comrade Sharkey in particular has brought out very clearly, that in the conditions of today British and American Imperialism is the main enemy of progress in every part of the world. The Anglo-American imperialists wish to throw over the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam agreements, they do not want a democratic peace—they want an imperialistic peace. They are very annoyed with the Soviet Union because it fights to give effect to the aims for which the People's War against fascism was fought.

So that progressive struggle in any part of the world, whether it be in Europe, in Asia, in America or here in Australia for a forty hour week, increased wages and so on, everywhere, in broad general terms, we come up against the same problem, the power of what remains of imperialism.

In the conditions of today, comrades, the imperialists are undoubtedly on the defensive. That is the general world situation as I see it, and they are fighting very, very desperately; they are using armed violence in Greece, the Middle East, China, and America now is using violence against the working class of America. And the only reason why they are not using armed violence in a number

of other places in Europe, and to a greater extent in other places in Asia, is that they could not successfully do this at the present moment, because of the strength of the Soviet Union and the Red Army.

The anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign has the aim of isolating the Soviet Union and isolating the vanguard of the progressive struggle everywhere in preparation for war. The final aim of this can be nothing else than preparation for war so that every attack made by any capitalist press here in Australia and by Maloney and all the rest of them is just as much part of the general war preparations against the Soviet Union as are the acquisition of bases and other direct military preparations. The thing we have to face is that whether the struggle now raging will develop into full scale war or not depends upon the ability of the Communist Parties to expose the real character of the designs of imperialism and to engage, weaken and eventually destroy the power of the ruling class in each of the capitalist countries. And particularly must we strive to expose and isolate British and American imperialism.

In this struggle, viewing it in its historical setting, we must see that it is war to the death. We have reached the stage where it is going to be war to the death; there can be no shrinking from it, no holding back, it must be fought out to its final conclusion and the final conclusion must be the destruction of imperialism.

Our line, as the report stressed, must be for Big Three Unity to preserve peace, to slam every move which seeks to weaken that unity, seeks to stifle in any way a democratic peace, every move that slanders the Soviet Union; and to rally as much support as we can for the correct policy of the Soviet Union.

I am in agreement with what Comrade Sharkey had to say about aiming tremendous blows, the main blows, against American imperialism. Here a danger existed, previously at any rate; that is that in our country there has been a decided anti-Yank feeling which was quite unhealthy because it was directed against the American people, as it were, as American people. I think this action of Truman's, where he comes out against the labor movement of America, declares war on the labor movement of America, gives a very good situation to launch the attack against American imperialism, expose its attacks on the American labor movement and dissociate it from the American people in every way so that it will help to develop a real hatred against American Imperialism which is today the centre and spearhead of world reaction.

During this meeting it has been said, and I know from my own experiences, that there are far too many of our comrades who stand like stunned plovers and allow reactionaries to attack the Soviet Union and Communism without fighting back to the best of their ability. I think it was only recently at some Party gathering I remember hammering this particular point and drawing attention to the fact that our comrades are not fighting at all in the manner we fought prior to the war, right back to early in the 1930's, where if anyone said anything about the Soviet Union every Communist would bound up immediately, even if their tactics were bad, and I would much prefer to see them do this than to remain quiet.

I know in talking to some of the comrades in one of the centres in Queensland, a strong centre, one of the comrades told me he thought there was far too much material about the Soviet Union in the "Tribune." With this I disagreed very strongly because I thought it amounted to a capitulation to the capitalist attack against the Soviet Union. So these things certainly need to be attacked.

A word about the role of reformism in the conditions of today. Comrade Sharkey has already dealt with this fairly fully, but there are a few things I would like to say.

I do not think any of us here, at this meeting, should have any incorrect ideas about the role of reformism and we should not have illusions about the role of reformism in the developing situation. We know that when capitalism can afford concessions, then the reformists are prepared to fight, by legal methods, for reform, and when capitalism is sore beset the reformists fight by legal and violent methods to support capitalism. That is their role, this has all been dealt with for years by the World Communist Movement.

Today the capitalist class is sore beset and the crisis will not lessen but intensify, so the role of reformism will be to defend capitalism, to fight the masses, to preserve capitalism—that is the line of march that it must pursue.

NO THIRD WORLD WAR

R. PALME DUTT

(From "Labour Monthly," April, 1946)

MUCH loose talk is being spread about a third world war. It is necessary to make a cool, objective and realistic appraisal of the present world situation, of the factors which are driving, whether consciously or unconsciously, towards a third world war, whether near or at a longer distance of time, and of the possibilities and conditions for preventing such a third world war. The slogan of World War III was originally let loose by Nazism in the closing stages of the recent war. It is openly looked forward to with hope by all Nazi and fascist elements, by the Franco Falange, Anders' Poles, Yugoslav Royalists and similar dispossessed reactionaries over Europe, who eagerly speculate

on the supposed "inevitable" coming war between Anglo-America and the Soviet Union as the signal for a counter-revolutionary restoration. Such speculations have been encouraged by Churchill's Fulton speech, by many utterances in the British and American press, and by certain trends in foreign policy.

At the same time we should not allow this cacophonous witches' chorus of socially decadent elements to lead to an exaggerated conception of their power or to create a kind of neurotic hypnosis of the supposed inevitability of the third world war. These speculators forget that wars have to be fought by armies and sustained by munitions, and that the British workers will not be so easily drawn into their facile plans to fight or make munitions against the Soviet Union. The power of the democratic forces of the world after victory over fascism is amply sufficient to prevent a third world war, provided a correct policy is followed. The overwhelming mass of mankind view with horror the prospect of a third world war. Such instinctive repulsion, however, and subjective wish is not alone sufficient, as past experience has shown, unless it is translated into positive united action based on a clear political understanding of the indispensable conditions for maintaining unity, defeating the reactionary warmongers and preventing war in the present period of world history. It is our present decisions and actions in 1946, in the first formative year after the conclusion of the war and the defeat of fascism, especially with regard to the relations of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, that will govern the future for many years.

Lenin long ago pointed out, during the first world war, at a time when the myth of "the war to end war" and "permanent peace" within capitalism was widespread, that, if mankind did not learn the lesson from the first world war, then a second world war would follow: this remains absolutely true. It is absolutely true, and an elementary law, that the conditions of capitalism and imperialism, the insoluble contradictions of capitalism and imperialism inevitably breed war, and that any dream of permanent peace within capitalism, no matter by what machinery, is a dangerous and demoralising delusion. But Lenin was not thereby preaching a fatalistic doctrine of the inevitability of a series of world wars. On the contrary, he was pointing the path forward for the struggle of the working-class and the peoples against imperialist war and against imperialism. Marxism has always taught that the strength of the working-class and the peoples can check a particular menace of war, and by such success can be the stronger to check a further menace of war, and can in this struggle and by the time thus gained advance in strength to its final goal of ending capitalism and imperialism, which will alone finally remove the causes of war.

Before 1914 the old Socialist International sought to organise the working-class to prevent the first world war—with the most implicit clearness in the Basle Manifesto of 1912, which outlined in concrete detail the character of the impending war and the revolutionary consequences that would flow from it. There was not yet the necessary strength, unity and leadership to prevent the first world war. But the revolutionary consequences of the first world war were such that by the time of the approach of the second world war the conditions were vastly altered. It is universally recognised that the second world war could have been almost easily prevented. Had the policy of the Soviet Union and of the working-class and democratic forces in Western Europe for a combined Peace Front of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union been carried out, the second world war need never have taken place. This policy only just failed, owing to the role of the Munichites and the assistance given them by Western Social Democracy in opposing working-class unity and the popular front.

Today the balance of forces is still further changed, with the defeat of fascism, the increased world strength of the Soviet Union, the advance of working-class strength and organisation and of working-class unity, the new democratic governments in Europe, the progress of the colonial peoples towards independence and the organisation of the United Nations partially reflecting the new balance of forces. Thus the conditions are enormously more favourable for preventing the third world war. But in approaching this task, it is necessary to study very closely the experience of the concrete conditions leading to the second world war, in order not to repeat old errors, and in order to carry forward our policy in relation to the new conditions today.

Why was the first world war followed by the second? The general answer is sufficiently manifest in the conditions of imperialism, the intensified economic contradictions between the advance of productive power and the monopolist restrictions which found expression in the world economic crisis, and the sharpening conflict for the new division of the world, which found specific expression in the challenge of the expanding imperialist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan, against the possessing colonial powers. All this reflected the normal conflict of imperialism developing to war, and reproduced the patterns of the first imperialist world war at a higher stage. But there entered a new element into the second world war, and this new element was decisive for its character. This new element corresponded to the new period of world history which had opened with the general crisis of capitalism, the first victory of the socialist revolution and establishment of socialism in Russia, the advance of the working-class in conditions of growing social crisis and the desperate counter-offensive of the ruling class through fascism to destroy the working-class movement, democracy and the Soviet Union. And it was this new element which governed the historical process of events leading to the second world war and dominated its decisive character.

Thus the second world war differed decisively from the first world war in that, interpenetrating and dominating the familiar pattern of inter-imperialist conflict, the second world war developed from the outset as a war of liberation of the peoples, in unity with the Soviet Union, against fascism. This dominating character of the second world war was visible from the outset, from the earliest stages, from the war of the Chinese people against Japanese fascism, from the war of the Abyssinian people against Italian fascism and from the war of the Spanish Republic, supported by the International Brigade and the Soviet Union, against German and Japanese fascism.

All the counteracting efforts and policies of the imperialists could not defeat this decisive anti-fascist character of the war. Neither the policies of backing Japan and building up German fascism and its rearmament, nor Munich and its attempted bloc of Western imperialism with German and Italian fascism against the Soviet Union, nor the imperialist phase of the war launched by Chamberlain and Daladier, with the main weight directed against Communism and the Soviet Union, and with the "phony war" in relation to Hitler, could turn aside the current of history. These policies led to deadly consequences for the peoples of Britain, France and Europe. But these consequences led in turn to the necessity of the acceptance of the previously rejected British-Soviet alliance and the final establishment of the world alliance of the United Nations which led to the military downfall of fascism. It is the fruits and the gains from this victory in the war of liberation against fascism which now need to be maintained and extended, and no reversion permitted to the old fatal policies which led to the second world war.

The lessons of the fatal suicidal policies which led to the second world war need to be learned, remembered, driven home and acted upon today, if we are to prevent the third world war. Why did the victorious powers of the first world war, after defeating Germany, destroying its navy, air force, artillery and tanks, imposing the Versailles Treaty on Germany, and prohibiting its rearmament, proceed at once to rebuild the power of German militarism, tear up the clauses of Versailles, permit and even assist its rearmament until within twenty years German imperialism could threaten the world anew with an even more formidable armed power than in 1914? The answer is known to every one today. It was the anti-Soviet hostility of the Western Powers, the fear of Communism and popular revolutions, the division of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union which provided the basis for the revival of German militarism and imperialism, smoothed the path for fascist aggression, wrecked the League and brought on the second world war. It was the "Anti-Comintern" banner which provided the grand shibboleth and Open Sesame for the fascist bandits to cover up their aggression, lull, disorganise, bully and blackmail the Western imperialists, and let loose the second world war. Behind the "Anti-Comintern" banner gathered all the battalions of infamy and aggression. Would it be believed that voices could be heard today, after all these years of slaughter, endeavouring to raise this shameful banner anew?

Why die twice of the same poison? In the ordeal of war the fatal error of British ruling class policy during the inter-war years, under the deadly lure of the anti-Bolshevik bait, had to be recognised, nor merely by critics, but by the official representatives of the ruling class. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, R. K. Law, stated in Parliament in January, 1943:—

> During the twenty years between the last war and this, Germany played upon the fear of Bolshevism. That was why she was able to get away with murder for so long.

And **The Times** wrote in an editorial in August, 1943:—

> It has often been remarked that the survival of German militarism through the catastrophe of 1918 was one of the essential foundations on which Hitler built. But it is less often recalled that the Allies, by their reluctance to tolerate revolutionary movements in Germany in the winter of 1918-19, unwittingly connived at its survival, and that cunning propaganda of "the fear of Bolshevism" was the force which impelled them to this connivance.

"The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be." With the maniac cries of Hitler proclaiming the Communist Parties of the world the menace to civilisation and world peace still ringing in our ears, with the blood of the victims still soaking the earth, within nine months of the end of the war, the mantle of Goebbels is assumed by the victors, and we find a Churchill proclaiming that "the Communist Parties constitute a growing peril and challenge to Christian civilisation" or a Bevin announcing to UNO that "the danger to the peace of the world" arises from "the Communist Parties in every country." Where that path leads, history has shown.

Cardinal Griffin, in a recent address at Westminster Cathedral, solemnly proclaims that the present world situation is "worse than Munich"; "world affairs are in a more perilous position than before Munich." He and his kidney may well find it "worse than Munich." No longer the cosy agreement with Hitler and Mussolini, and hopes of the grand anti-Soviet crusade. Hitler and Mussolini in the dust; the Soviet Union stronger than ever; and the peoples of Europe rising to clear out the pro-fascist scum and take possession. No wonder he and his company lament. But this is not exactly what he intended to convey. He and a

thousand propagandists like him, including on the B.B.C., are trying to turn the shameful memories of "Munich" and "appeasement" inside out, and to suggest that a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union is "Munich" and agreement with the Soviet Union is "appeasement." This is double-dealing with a vengeance. The essence of Munich and the appeasement was the policy of hostility to the Soviet Union and support of fascism. And now these double-dealers try to utilise the popular fury against the memories of Munich and appeasement in order to repeat the same policies of hostility to the Soviet Union and support of pro-fascism. Such transparent double-dealing will take in few.

In the spring of 1939 Stalin gave warning of where this line of policy of the Western imperialists was leading, and his words are worth recalling, when attempts are being made to revive the same basic line in new conditions today. Speaking to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., he said:—

> It is a distinguishing feature of the new imperialist war that it has not yet become universal, a world war. The war is being waged by aggressor States, who in every way infringe upon the interests of the non-aggressive States, primarily England, France and the U.S.A., while the latter draw back and retreat, making concession after concession to the aggressors.
>
> To what are we to attribute this one-sided and strange character of the new imperialist war?

He answered by explaining the significance of the policy of "non-intervention."

> The policy of non-intervention reveals an eagerness, a desire not to hinder the aggressors in their nefarious work; not to hinder Japan, say, from embroiling herself in a war with China, or, better still, with the Soviet Union; not to hinder Germany, say, from enmeshing herself in European affairs, from embroiling herself in a war with the Soviet Union; to allow all the belligerents to sink deeply in the mire of war, to encourage them surreptitiously in this; to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another; and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear of course "in the interests of peace," and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents.

He concluded with the famous warning that "the big and dangerous game started by the supporters of the policy of non-intervention may end in a serious fiasco for them." This analysis is worth bearing in mind today, when certain similar tendencies are revealing themselves anew in altered conditions; for this analysis throws a sharp light on the role of the most reactionary sections of the Western imperialists in the second world war and today.

When the British ruling class found themselves faced with the fiasco which Stalin had predicted, with the consequent domination of the Continent of Europe by Hitler, and their own peril, they accepted in the moment of opportunity the policy of the British-Soviet Alliance which they had previously rejected, and which proved the turning point of the war and the corner stone of final victory over Hitler. The credit for this historic decision, which corresponded to the deepest interests of the British people, rests with Churchill. But this did not mean that Churchill (as he was himself at pains to make clear) or the British ruling class had changed their attitude to the Soviet Union and to Communism, or were fighting the war with the same anti-fascist conception which inspired the peoples.

British imperialism pursued a double objective in the war, which was thinly concealed in official expression, but which was patently visible, not only in unofficial expression, but in the practical strategy of the war and in the accompanying Anglo-American diplomatic conferences. On the one hand, the Western imperialists sought, in alliance with the Soviet Union, to ensure the defeat of Hitler. On the other hand, they were concerned that the downfall of fascism should not lead to the advance of Communism or popular anti-fascist revolutions in Europe endangering the old social order, or the strengthening of the Soviet Union. They calculated that the weight of the war would not only destroy Hitler, but either equally destroy or fatally weaken the Soviet Union, and that the Anglo-American forces would emerge as the main victors to police Europe and control the world.

This double strategy of Western imperialism in the war, which becomes of exceptional importance to analyse and recall today in the light of fuller facts now known, for the direct bearing that it has on present reactionary tendencies which have now come into the open, was exposed at the time in the **Labour Monthly** in October, 1941, in dealing with reactionary tendencies in ruling class policy:—

> Seeking to hold the British forces immune and inactive during the critical time when their action could most decisively help the common cause, they openly caluculate on intervening fresh, and at the peak of production, later, when both combatants in the East are exhausted, and thus ensuring the Anglo-American domination of Europe and preservation of the old order after the collapse of fascism. Such becomes the New Munichism.

This calculation received naive and open expression in the famous indiscretion of the Government Minister, Moore-Brabazon, when at a private meeting on July 31, 1941, speaking on an occasion when he declared he was "glad there were no reporters present," he expressed, according to the unchallenged summary of the chairman of the A.E.U. at the Trades Union Congress, the

> hope that the Russian and German armies will exterminate each other, and while this is taking place, we, the British Commonwealth of Nations, will so develop our Air Force and other armed forces that, if Russia and Germany do destroy each other, we shall have the dominating power in Europe.

The innocent Moore-Brabazon was only giving away the calculations of higher authorities. When the revelation was made, which cost him his seat in the Cabinet, official indignation was turned against those guilty of reporting a private meeting, and it was explained in mitigation that the Minister had been speaking without notes and only thinking aloud. As Gallacher said:—

> The Minister of Aircraft Production has given an explanation of his speech: it was extempore; he had not been thinking of what he was saying. But because he was not thinking of what he was saying, his inmost thoughts came out.

This double policy found practical expression in the strategy of the war. The strategy of the war was so conducted that the main brunt should fall upon the Soviet Union. It had originally been anticipated in all government circles that the Nazi offensive would wipe out the Soviet Union in a matter of weeks, or at most a few months. While the most terrific military onslaught in history was let loose on the Red Army, no British army was in action on any front. Churchill and Roosevelt met in mid-Atlantic and attended divine service with the appropriately chosen hymn, "Onward, Christian Soldiers" (while the Soviet and Chinese soldiers were battling against odds, only the Christian soldiers were not engaged) "Onward, Christian Soldiers, marching as to war" (the operative words being **"as to war."**)

When the Soviet Union, against all Western official expectation, withstood the onslaught ("unlooked for, undreamt of," as Churchill said), when the first Soviet counter-offensive was launched in the spring of 1942 with the expectation of parallel action in the West, when Molotov came to London, to demand parallel action in the West, the official pledge was given of the Second Front in the West in 1942. That pledge was dishonoured and subsequently explained to have been a bluff. For three years from the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, when all the pundits began with one accord to write about Hitler's fatal error in incurring the two-front war in Europe, the Second Front in the West was postponed and delayed until June, 1944. For three years the Soviet armies had to meet alone the main weight of the Nazi armies.

All the babblers and sycophants of official expression poured scorn upon the Communist campaign for the Second Front in the West and jeered at the "armchair strategists" who dared to intervene on matters of strategy when it was obvious that the military experts alone could judge and knew what was best. Those babblers look foolish enough today, when it has been revealed in the memoirs of Captain Butcher, the aide-de-camp of General Eisenhower, that General Eisenhower and his military experts favoured the Second Front in Europe in the summer of 1942, that the opposition came primarily, not from military, but from political sources, and that the decisive opposition which blocked and delayed the Second Front came—what could not be stated at the time—from Churchill. When Churchill's decision to ban the Second Front in 1942 was conveyed to General Eisenhower, General Eisenhower called it "the blackest day of the war."

That decision prolonged the war. As General Sir Gifford Martel has since written in his book, **Our Armoured Forces**:—

> The troops in England were ready a year before they were used, and were even becoming stale by 1944. Could we not have been ready sooner if we had settled on our main plan at an earlier date?

It threw upon the Soviet Union the main weight of the war, to confront alone for three years three-fourths of the Nazi forces, and at terrible cost to tear those forces to pieces before the Anglo-American forces intervened in the West at the last hour to share in the victory. The cost was revealed in the grim figure of war losses. The Soviet Union lost seven million dead. The total of Anglo-American losses has been compared by noble speakers in the House of Lords on traffic problems to peacetime road casualties.

The same twofold policy was revealed in the diplomatic conduct of the war. The Anglo-American diplomatic conferences preceded and were conducted apart from the meetings of the representatives of the three powers, and, as the war progressed, were more and more obviously preoccupied with post-war questions of maintaining the old order in Europe after the downfall of fascism. It is an ironic sidelight on the Canadian espionage trials that the greatest alarm is expressed because it is alleged that the secret talks and plans of Churchill and Roosevelt at Quebec in 1943 and 1944 may have become known to Stalin:—

> Interest in the Canadian spy-ring disclosures centred today on the realisation that details of the secret Churchill-Roosevelt discussions at the Quebec Conferences could have been transmitted to Moscow, owing to the leakages at Ottawa.
>
> Officials are perturbed when they recall that the first Quebec Conference in 1943 included delicate discussions on Second Front pressure from Marshal Stalin.
>
> The second conference in 1944 . . . dealt with post-war plans to assure democracy in the Western style in liberated Europe.
>
> —**Daily Telegraph**, 6th March, 1946.

It will be recalled that it was at the second Quebec Conference, as Churchill subsequently revealed, that the decision was reached to intervene in Greece after the departure of the Germans

in order to overthrow the National Liberation Movement.

When in the later stages of the war the unbreakable strength of the Soviet Union stood revealed to all, it was recognised that a shift would have to be made in policy, that the original calculations of a wrecked and prostrate Soviet Union at the end of the war had miscarried, that it was inexorably necessary to recognise the full status of the Soviet Union as an equal world power after the war and that a basis of Three Power collaboration would have to be maintained as the foundation of the post-war settlement. This found expression in the pledges of the Moscow, Teheran and Crimea Agreements for the Three Powers "to work together in war and in the peace that would follow," "to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible," and "to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism." These pledges and the accompanying concrete agreements of Moscow, Crimea and Potsdam laid down the plain and indispensable path for post-war peace and democratic settlement.

It is the violation and even repudiation of these pledges by the Western Powers, once the danger of war has passed, that underlies all the present difficulties. The Teheran and Crimea Agreements, solemnly signed on behalf of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, had laid down the basis of Three Power collaboration and leadership in the post-war world as the indispensable foundation of peace and condition of success of the United Nations, the only alternative to which would mean the renewal of rivalries and antagonism, two-Power combinations against a third, and all the instability of balance-of-power politics. Yet official British, and to a certain extent American Government declarations today shamelessly repudiate the basis of Three-Power politics. Thus Noel-Baker declared on behalf of the Government in the House of Commons on February 20:—

> The Government did not agree that we could get peace and co-operation between ourselves and Russia by withdrawing important questions out of the framework of the United Nations Organisation and by going back to Three-Power politics.

The same violation could be traced in detail in relation to the operation of the Potsdam Agreement and the pledge to "destroy the vestiges of Nazism and Fascism." It is this, and not any imaginary shift of policy of the Soviet Union, which has remained loyal to the Crimea and Potsdam Agreements, that is responsible for the present difficulties.

What led to this dangerous reversion of Anglo-American policy at the end of the war from the Three-Power basis to the old plans for Anglo-American domination and anti-Soviet manoeuvring? The evidence tends to indicate that the decisive shift came from the atom bomb, and the illusions of grandeur to which the new weapon gave rise in the heads of the Anglo-American strategists and reactionary statesmen that the monopolist possession of this weapon changed the entire balance of world forces and made possible the renewal of the plans for Anglo-American world domination against the Soviet Union and the rising democratic forces. As Churchill declared in his report to the House of Commons on August 16:—

> The decision to use the atomic bomb was taken by President Truman and myself at Potsdam . . . from that moment our outlook on the future was transformed.

The decision to maintain monopolist possession of the atom bomb broke the basis of strategic collaboration and confidence, and was accompanied by the launching of a wholesale anti-Soviet propaganda offensive. As the Observer declared on August 12, 1945:—

> The declaration that Britain and the United States will not reveal the secret of the atom bomb until means have been found to control the bomb is reassuring. But it means a great change in world-power relations . . . It binds Britain and America together as never before . . . It shifts the balance of power among the Big Three . . . The possession of the monopoly of the atom bomb makes American-British power preponderance for the time being a fact.

Such was the heady wine of strategic illusion which led to the renewal of the dreams of Anglo-American world domination and found reflection in the present worsening of the international situation. It was not until the anti-Soviet propaganda campaign from the West, launched since the summer of 1945, had reached extreme heights, that the Soviet Union abandoned its policy of loyal silence in public on the actions of its Western allies and began to reply in public on behalf of the democratic anti-fascist forces of the world.

At this point it is worth recalling the final speeches which Goebbels was making on behalf of Nazism only a year ago, on the eve of the Nazi collapse. Goebbels described how Europe and Germany would be divided between the Anglo-American and Soviet forces. He painted a picture of how Eastern Europe would be organised by the Soviet Union behind an "iron curtain" (it is worth recalling that that phrase, the "iron curtain," was first coined by Goebbels, which is so eagerly repeated today by all the Western reactionary publicists, including Churchill). He prophesied how this would lead to inevitable future conflict between the Anglo-American Powers and the Soviet Union in World War III. On this basis he foresaw the return of Nazism. This indication of Nazi post-war strategy is all-important to bear in mind today, if we are to understand the true significance of the reactionary campaign which is being conducted with such fidelity along the lines laid down by Nazi

strategy in so many countries today. This tendency already began to reveal itself in the shady episodes which made such a ragged and even disparate ending of the war in Europe, with the wholesale surrender of German armies without a struggle in the West alongside desperate fighting in the East, the affair of the Doenitz Government, the prolonged recognition of German Wehrmacht formations in defiance of Potsdam, etc.

It is against this background that we need to see the significance of Churchill's speech at Fulton and his continuing campaign. The fallen crime-soaked mantle of the Anti-Comintern Pact is picked up to be worn on new shoulders. The cracked clarion-call of the "crusade of Christian civilisation" against the "menace" of Communism and Soviet "expansion" is proclaimed from new lips. The time-worn spectre of Hitler and Ribbentrop and Goebbels, which had already done duty for so many years to cover every rascally and criminal project of world aggression, walks again; and Goebbels' sneering ghost may rub his hands over his new convert.

It is not difficult to understand the fury behind this last desperate crusade of the beaten Churchill, whose original attempts to crush in blood the infant Soviet Republic ended in a costly and inglorious fiasco, and whose pre-war eulogies of Japanese expansion, of Mussolini, of Hitler and of Franco helped to pave the way for the war. The post-war world has not turned out as he intended. The Soviet Union is not prostrate and submissive, begging for favours from the Anglo-American lords of the earth, but, despite all the terrible losses, striding forward along the path of reconstruction, and more bold and strong and confident in policy than ever, while it is British and American capitalism that are more and more clearly faced with gigantic economic problems. Europe has not obeyed the dictation of Anglo-American finance; even France, thanks to Communism, is eluding the snare of the Western bloc. The reactionary proteges are gone or going; Mihailovich, Badoglio, Darlan, Peter, Victor Emanuel, Leopold—where are they now? Churchill himself has been rejected by the British people; and, alone of the three war leaders, Stalin continued stronger than ever in the confidence of a united people. So the defeated gambler calls for the last stand—the military coalition of Anglo-American reaction (Europe is already despaired of as lost) against the world: 200 millions against 1,800 millions, with the one hope the devil's lure of the atom bomb.

The choice before the British people is plain. It is not surprising that Churchill and Tory reaction should embark upon this reckless defeatist adventurist course; their bolt is shot; their star is setting. But it is a matter for serious concern that a Labor Foreign Secretary should by his own actions and speeches have helped to pave the way for Churchill's speech, and, while formally disassociating himself from the responsibility for the speech, should do nothing to repudiate the policy set forward in the speech and blazoned to the world (especially to German Nazism, where the effect of the repeated B.B.C. broadcasts of the speech to Germany is stated to have been electric) with all the devices of British official publicity, and should in his own concrete policy so closely approximate to many of the main lines of Churchill. This is a state of affairs which needs to be put right; for the whole future of the British people and of the British labor movement is involved in this basic issue of foreign policy. We welcome the action of the 105 Labor M.P's. who have shown their understanding of the importance of this issue and the necessity for a public and practical repudiation of Churchill's policy and turn to democratic foreign policy.

The choice before the British people is clear. Either forward with the advance of the progressive peoples of the world, with the Soviet Union, the new democracies in Europe, the colonial peoples, world trade unionism and working-class unity. Or back to enslavement to American finance-capital and its British reactionary partners. The voice of Churchill is the voice of the most reactionary sections of Anglo-America finance, which fear the advance of the peoples and socialism over the world. His crusade is not merely directed against Communism and the Soviet Union, any more than was the crusade of Hitler, which used the same public device. It is directed not least against the advance of the labor movement and socialism in Britain. His policy is not merely anti-Soviet. It is anti-British. His policy would make Britain the pawn of the American millionaires, their strategic outpost against a socialist world, the cockpit and the victim of the planned third world war.

In vain Churchill speaks of "fifth columns," and seeks to conceal the fact that the Fifth Column is the classic engine of fascism. The British people want no Wall Street Fifth Column here. Their patriotism rises against enslavement to the American billionaires for the benefit of the reactionary moneybags, here. They seek the path of friendship and firm unity with the Soviet Union and all the progressive peoples of the world, to maintain peace, while they advance on the long overdue tasks of social change in Britain. That is the path which will defeat the reactionary plans for a third world war. And the first indispensable step along this path is the change-over to a democratic foreign policy and the establishment of working class unity in Britain.

THE VATICAN'S WAR ON PEACE

V. J. JEROME

(From "Political Affairs," April, 1946)

THE appointment of the 32 new cardinals and all the pomp and circumstance surrounding it need to be evaluated in relation to the closely connected, concerted drive of American and British imperialism to undermine the basis of the peace and to effect a complete break in the victory of the coalition of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain. The highly dramatised action of the Consistory must be seen in full context with this drive—whether expressed in the atomic-terror diplomacy; in the conspiratorial manoeuvres within the UNO; in the speeches of a Vandenberg, a Byrnes, a Bevin, or of visiting "vacationists" with a purpose; or in the feverish grooming of Iran as a new "little Finland."

Particularly, one must view the appointment of the new cardinals against the political background afforded by the Pope's Christmas Eve radio speech and his address of February 25 before the College of Cardinals and the diplomatic corps.

The speeches were both calls for mobilisation against the Soviet Union—first by innuendo, then blatantly. The Pope has signalised to the world that the Church Spiritual is not only the Church Militant, but also the Church Militarist.

It was in preparation for the task of mobilising a new "Holy Alliance" that the Pope put repeated stress on the "universality of the Church," on the "supra-national" character of the Church. This alliance is directed at the Soviet Union, at the peoples' democracies that have arisen in Europe out of the struggles against fascism, and at every advancing coalition of labor-democratic forces anywhere in the capitalist world.

We should, however, be deceived if we assessed the strength of the Vatican by its bluster. The drum-roll of the Romish reveille betrays desperation.

The Catholic Church is in crisis. This crisis of today is deeper than any other in its long history. The ravaging schisms of the past—even the Protestant Reformation — left the Church, though truncated, with a basis for further consolidation and a prospect for existence in "time without end." Today, such a basis is greatly undermined and such a prospect narrowed by the weakened state in which world capitalism as a whole came out of the war and by the general crisis of its system, which has been chronic since the First World War.

The waning influence of the Catholic Church in many European countries is paralleled by the rise of the democratic forces who, in their struggle against fascism, saw the collaborationist role of many Church leaders and especially the pro-fascist policies of the Vatican during and preceding the war.

The Church of Rome was greatly reduced in power during the Anti-Axis War, sustaining terrific losses on the European continent. Pius XI's plan for a Catholic union extending from the Adriatic to the Baltic is utterly shattered. Although still fighting to regain power, the Vatican has forfeited its most prized sphere of influence in Eastern Europe—Poland; it has lost its dominion over the millions of Catholics in Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Ruthenia, and Bessarabia. It has lost much of its power in Hungary; and the grand Papal plan nurtured during the war (with British support) is now blasted—the plan for a restored Austro-Hungarian monarchy, under Hapsburg rule, linked with Italy and Poland in an anti-Soviet combination.

In France, despite the strategic advantage it had in the presidency of General de Gaulle, and notwithstanding the rise of the Christian "Socialist" Mouvement Republicain Populaire (M.R.P.), the Vatican's position is critical. This is attested by the wide opposition to Catholic encroachment upon the French educational system, begun under the Vichy regime, and, most manifestly, by the anti-Franco stand of popular and official France.

In Spain, the existence of the fascist regime is precarious, and with it that of the Church which is wedded to it. We must face the likelihood that the British Social-imperialist government, together with American imperialism, will in Spain, as in Italy, Bavaria, and elsewhere, endeavour to protect the ideology and power of clerical fascism, even after the regime of fascism is ended. It is far from likely, however, that the Spanish people of '36-'39, once liberated from the Franco who was brought to power on foreign fascist bayonets, will remain subservient to his "spiritual" aides.

Alarmed at its diminishing base, the Vatican is seizing on the post-war situation in the hope of re-establishing its power. The Church Hierarchy knows well how to exploit for reactionary ends the post-war moods of disillusionment, distress and despair.

In doing so, it receives every support from monopoly capital, which, weakened on a world scale by the war, is more desperately than ever in need of the aid of the Vatican. With Social-Democracy, its main social buttress, now greatly diminished in strength as compared with the period following World War I, imperialism leans increasingly upon the Vatican. And more and more the Catholic Church functions as an open and direct political force. Today the Vatican shares with Social-Democracy the task of ideological mobilizer of the masses on the side of imperialism and its anti-Soviet crusade.

What franker admission of this Papal "Socialist" united front could one demand than the following statement in the Social-Democratic New Leader (March 2, 1946) by its editor, William E. Bohn:

. . . . Whereas I found the address of Stalin (to his constituents) alien and inhumane, I found that of the Pope (to the new College of Cardinals) humane and decent and close to the things which lie in the minds of Protestants and rationalists and other varieties of non-Catholic people of good will we have in this country.

And, continues this voice of Social-Democracy, "we find the Catholic Church, as officially represented by a solemn pronouncement of the Pope, lined up on our side!"

The Vatican is further aided by the dominant policies of the A.M.G., whose favorable disposition to the anti-democratic elements in the Allied zones of occupation is notorious.

Now that Truman has appointed Hoover to "survey Europe's hunger," we shall witness the second command performance of this Santa Claus of reaction. The role the G.O.P. chieftain played with such notorious success on the stage in Europe in the political crisis following World War I is not forgotten.

In Italy, France, Belgium, Austria, Bavaria, and in other countries on the continent, the Vatican has set up or strengthened its political parties. These are catch-all parties both for the most backward social strata and for the conscious reactionaries who cannot now band together in open fascist or pro-fascist formations. Sensitive to the popular hatred of fascism, the Hierarchy seeks to exploit the fact that some Churchmen (mostly lower priests close to their communities) served in the Underground.

Today, the broad masses of the peoples are moving forward in Europe, in the colonial and semi-colonial world; and in the United States, along with the rising struggles of labor, the people are evidencing (even though inadequately) their desire for peace and democracy. But the Vatican is striving to regain its position and to consolidate a world-wide imperialist-clerical alliance of reaction. Herein lies the political essence of the recent large-scale installation of new cardinals.

The 1946 additions to the College of Cardinals represent the largest single appointment of Princes of the Church in its long history. Thirty-two prelates were elevated to the College from nineteen countries and all the five continents.

For the first time in six hundred years the Italian cardinals become a minority, now constituting twenty-seven out of the almost completed traditional maximum of seventy (established by Sixtus V toward the end of the sixteenth century). And for the first time the United States component, including the previously appointed cardinal, Dennis J. Dougherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia, was raised to a total of five.

The national allocation of the new College of Cardinals is as follows:

	Newly Appointed	Previously Appointed
Argentine	1	1
Armenia	1	
Australia	1	
Austria		1
Belgium		1
Brazil	2	
Canada	1	1
Chile	1	
China	1	
Cuba	1	
England	1	
France	3	4
Germany	3	1
Hungary	1	
Italy	4	23
Netherlands	1	
Peru	1	
Poland	1	1
Portugal		1
Portuguese Moxambique	1	
Spain	3	1
Syria		1
U.S.A.	4	1
	32	37

TOTAL 69.

An analysis of the new appointments, at the outset, shows the Vatican to be stretching out its tentacles to every continent, closing in especially upon France, Spain, Germany, Poland and, with unprecedented force, upon the Western Hemisphere.

A closer view will reveal a direct correlation between the appointments and the main political task that the Vatican has set itself in the respective regions.

Thus, if France has the second largest number of Cardinals, this quota cannot be separated from the fact that in that country the Vatican's shares, so to speak, have fallen much below par. Vastly discredited among the masses for the backing it gave to Vichy and for its more than intimate relationship with Spanish fascism, the Vatican is naturally anxious to mend its French fences. The election outcome which gave the Communists the highest popular vote of any party threw the Catholic hierarchy into consternation. It would, however, be a mistake to underestimate the power of the Catholic Church in France. The fact that the clerical M.R.P., holding a close third place, has leaped forward to the position of a major party since its recent formation shows the Vatican's strength in postwar France to be far from insignificant. The 75 per cent increase in French cardinals is clearly designed to bolster the Vatican's political party, to influence French foreign policy, holding back the anti-Franco tide and sharpening French imperialist antagonism to the Soviet Union.

The choice for England, Archbishop Bernard Griffin of Westminster, fits in well with the anti-Soviet role which is the distinguishing feature of British imperialism's Labor Government. This worthy earned his promotion by a wartime cam-

paign of calumny against Britain's Soviet ally, waged traitorously even during the most trying stage of the struggle for the national life of his own country. Equally notorious is his support of General Anders' band of traitors to the Polish people.

The assignment of three additional cardinals to Germany is clearly a move to reinforce the pro-fascist Catholic groups in their attempt to hold together and reorganise the remnants of defeated Nazism on a new demagogic basis. In this, the Vatican is seeking to repeat, under new conditions, the role it played after the First World War, when Pope Benedict XV advanced his notorious peace terms designed to save reactionary Prussianism from destruction. The Vatican sought then to preserve a Germany that would be the linchpin to hold together a reactionary Europe. It sought to build up a postwar Germany that would carry through—as it did carry through—an assault upon the Soviet Union. That peace offensive, in which Apostolic Nuncio Pacelli—now Pope Pius XII—was greatly instrumental, brought State Secretary Lansing to write to President Wilson of the Vicar of Christ that he "has become the agent of Germany." When, six months after Hitler's accession to power, the Vatican concluded its concordat with Nazism, the Papal Chamberlain von Papen exulted: "The Third Reich is the first power in the world not only to recognize but to translate into practice the 'high principles' of the Papacy." In adherence to these high principles, the prelates of the Church in Germany, despite Catholic persecution under Hitler, declared in their pastoral letter of 1939:

"In this decisive hour we admonish our Catholic soldiers to do their duty in obedience to the Fuehrer and to be ready to sacrifice their whole individuality. We appeal to the Faithful to join in ardent prayers that Divine Providence may lead this war to blessed success." (1)

The new German cardinals may be counted on to work for the prevention of Germany's democratic reorientation. Cardinal Von Galen devoted his Rome sermon of February 18 to what was in essence a denial of the basis for carrying through the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, which call for the extirpation of Nazism and the economic and military disarmament of Germany. His whitewashing plea, "equal wrongs have been done to the Germans themselves," voiced similarly on repeated occasions by his fellow-cardinal, Konrad von Preysing, is an absolution given to Germany for her war guilt. Well, indeed, can the clerico-fascist weekly, the Brooklyn **Tablet**, comment on the appointment of these two cardinals: "Both will be worthy princes of the Church and both have a great role to play in the reconstitution of Germany."

The appointment of Archbishop Sapieha of Cracow as the second cardinal for Poland is doubtless a face-saving move designed to neutralise the discredit brought upon the Catholic Church by Cardinal Hlond's desertion of the Polish people in their heroic struggle against the German invaders. Sapieha remained in Poland during the occupation. But his dependability, from the Vatican's standpoint, is attested by the revelation in **Izvestia** of January 27, 1946, that he "stands behind clerical circles defending Polish reaction and opposing the democratization of Poland."

Troops of the fascist Polish General Anders, which are kept in Rome by British Government subsidy, accorded due homage to their new cardinal on the occasion of his elevation, although, as a dispatch to the **Tablet** reported, "he was greeted with affectionate but subdued salutes by Polish soldiers, who had evidently been warned not to make his return to Poland more difficult by a too-open display of fidelity."

Significant is the assignment of a cardinal to Armenia. The luxury of having a Prince of the Church is hardly warranted by the negligible number of Armenian Catholics, of whom there are scarcely any in Soviet Armenia and only a scattering in the Levant and Turkey. The appointment reveals itself as a move directed at Soviet Armenia. Cardinal Agagianian's assignment, one can well assume, includes the job of aiding to thwart Soviet Armenia's claim for the restoration of her former territories, now held by Turkey. Turkish anti-Sovietism, spurred on by British imperialism, will thus receive impetus to greater insolence. Implicit in the appointment, too, is a possible Anglo-Vatican attempt to foment an Armenian separatist movement to set up a buffer State in the Armenian provinces now under Turkish rule. Such a "State" would be useful only as a counterweight to Soviet Armenia and as a centre of agitation for Soviet Armenian secession from the U.S.S.R.

In view of the existing cardinalate in Syria, the Armenian assignment points, further, to the Vatican's attempt to strengthen its base in the Middle East by consolidating all the Catholic congregations in that region under a tighter reactionary sway. This would further its anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist operations. In addition, the calculation no doubt includes the hope of playing its well-tried game of manoeuvre and intrigue in the growing Anglo-American rivalry for oil resources, military bases, and trading advantages in that highly strategic zone.

The pattern becomes clearer when we note the Vatican's current concentration on the sphere of the Oriental Church. Revealing is the Rome despatch of February 22 to the **New York Times** by Herbert Matthews, which reported:

"In making the assignments of Congregations, Pope Pius XII gave one of the most striking evidences that this Consistory is among other things a strengthening of the Catholic Church against Communism, for eight of the twenty-eight Cardinals present were assigned to the Congregation for the Oriental Church. This congregation has exclusive ecclesiastical powers in the whole Middle East, the southern part of the Balkans, Egypt and Ethiopia.

"There are only sixteen Cardinals of previous creation in the Oriental Congregation which means that the Pontiff has enlarged it by 50 per cent."

The naming of Cardinal Spellman as a member of the Vatican Congregation of the Oriental Church is clearly not without significance for U.S. aspirations in the Middle East.

The "universality of the Church," requiring for its expansionist program new claims to the allegiance of Africa and Asia, has brought ecclesiastic princes to Portuguese Mozambique and China. As regards the former appointment, we have both a bow to the colonial world (although, significantly, a non-Negro was selected) and a helpful tribute to Portuguese fascism. With the appointment of Chinese Bishop Tien, the Vatican seeks to round out its embrace of the globe, hoping with its spiritual arm to help strangle the people's anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces on the Asiatic continent.

(To be continued)

(1) See Heinz Pol, "Pius XII and World War II," *The Protestant*, May 1945.

RUSSIA'S FINANCIAL STRUCTURE

NORMAN FREEHILL

RUSSIA alone of the Great Nations is giving adequate attention to post-war reconstruction. More, to post-war reconstruction it is adding industrial expansion that will lift it to the foremost place among the nations of the world.

Russia is planning and doing even while World Reaction strives to rally forces for its destruction. The murder furnaces are hardly cold; the mass graves are still giving up their dead; millions still mourn for the millions murdered, masses of rubble mark what once were cities and towns, but the Fascists in every land are clamoring for another war—war against Russia.

In this unfavorable atmosphere, its efforts hampered by the necessity of maintaining expenditure on defence, Russia goes on with its plans to lift the living and cultural standard of its people to the highest position in the world. New Five Year Plans are being formulated, plans of industrialisation on a scale to make the world gasp. These plans involve finance; finance of a volume unknown to Governments of capitalist countries.

What is the financial machinery which will handle these new Plans? It is the same financial system which handled the problem of Russia's rise from a backward, agrarian economy at the time of the November Revolution to an industrial nation that could face and smash Germany, mightiest military power in history.

"Financial questions constitute one of the most important parts of the general problem of wartime economics, and, as such, have become the subject of intensive attention and study." Professor M. I. Bogolepov opens his latest work, **The Soviet Financial System**, with that statement. Bogolepov, one of Russia's older economists, is Director of the Financial Division of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. Today he would add: "And equally important in the post-war problems."

Obviously the Russian financial system differs from the system which operates in all other countries. Equally evident is its superiority in operation. That superiority is derived from the economic system which makes the financial system possible.

The latter did not come ready made, but was built up through the early years of struggle, famine, fighting, sabotage, foreign intervention. As late as 1925, small-scale private enterprise (44.7 per cent.) and capitalist remnants (6.5 per cent.) accounted for 51.2 per cent. of Russia's productive machinery. Progress from 1925, however, was rapid.

Soviet finance runs smoothly and to plan because, in a Socialist State, there can be no conflict between the component parts of the national productive structure. And, in a Socialist State, with production organised for use and not for profit, economic crises do not bring industry periodically to tragic idleness.

The Soviet financial system comprises six sections:

Primarily there is the State budget.

Secondly, short-term credit controlled by the State Bank.

Thirdly, financing of the various branches of the national economy.

Fourthly, the finances of the Soviet Insurance Fund. (The operation of the fund is in the hands of the trade unions.)

Fifth section consists of the various forms of state-controlled insurance.

Sixth, the system includes the finances of the collective farms and co-operative societies.

The financial system is under the direction of the Council of People's Ministers of the U.S.S.R. The Ministry has charge of the Union budget which, each year, has to be approved by the Supreme Soviet. Special bodies supervise the distribution and check the expenditure. The Chairman of the State Bank of the U.S.S.R. is a member of the Council and has the same status as the Minister of Finance.

The bulk of Budget revenue is derived from the Turnover Tax—which absorbs most of the capital

accumulation of the Union's industrial establishments. The Turnover Tax follows the planned prices. "For example, if it is planned to market a given commodity at 150 roubles per unit, its production cost being 100 roubles, Turnover Tax may be fixed at 30 per cent. (45 roubles) leaving 5 roubles for profit."

But before continuing consideration of revenue sources, it will be as well to examine the price system.

Cost price covers production, marketing and depreciation. Wholesale price, which is fixed by the Government, consists in general, of cost price, Turnover Tax and profit. (There are exceptions. In some cases profit does not figure in wholesale price; in others, only production cost. In some instances, wholesale price is even less than production cost, the deficiency being made good by the State.)

Prices of goods and services play an important, nay, a decisive part in the Soviet financial system. Price policy aims at a favorable relation between industry and agriculture; between the allied classes, the workers and collective farmers. It aims at raising living standards. By providing production equipment at low prices it is possible to keep prices of raw materials—iron, steel, coal—and of capital goods, low, to the benefit of industry and the farms. If prices of iron, steel, coal are high the higher price will be reflected in the prices of all goods in which they are used.

Systematic reduction of production costs is a duty imposed on all production units. It is obvious that, in an economy where production, in the aggregate, is enormous, even a small reduction in costs represents hundreds of millions of roubles.

Reduction of production costs allows of reduction of prices. Reduction of prices provides funds which make possible further reductions in the same or other fields. It is a progressive, continuous process. Factory managers and workers are encouraged to decrease costs by increasing production and efficiency.

Of profit, a specified proportion goes to the Budget, the balance to the establishment responsible. The State's share of profits amounts to a substantial sum. Every establishment has the right to make a profit which it can distribute in accordance with certain rules—to its own requirements, to workers' welfare, to bonuses for workers.

Having examined the price structure, we can now revert to consideration of revenue sources.

The Turnover Tax is paid only once. Trading establishments do not pay it. It varies widely. If economic policy makes low price advisable or necessary the tax is reduced. By means of the Turnover Tax the Government regulates profits. Without it, goods such as alcohol and tobacco, marketed at high retail prices, would yield high profits and lead to unnecessary accumulation of idle funds.

Trading profit represents the difference between wholesale and retail price, the latter, like the former, being fixed by the Government. Any trading surplus in excess of the expenditure fixed by the plan goes into the Budget.

Income tax on workers provides a very small part—less than 2 per cent.—of total revenue.

Collective farms are taxed on their total income. (They do not pay Turnover Tax). Farmers are taxed on their individual incomes. This second tax is because farmers draw income from outside sources as well as from the collective. Although tax total from collectives is relatively small, expansion from 223,000,000 roubles in 1932 to 800,000,000 in 1940 (latest available figure) indicates the rising prosperity of the peasants. Nor should it be forgotten that the State provides the collective farms with machinery at production cost, or less; supplies them with cheap credits wherewith to buy expensive equipment; is the chief purchaser of their products.

Substantial tax reductions are allowed collective farms which pioneer new areas. Those in the far-northern areas are completely exempt. Reduction ranging to complete exemption is allowed farms damaged by flood or fire.

City populations receive income chiefly as wages. Wages are based on the Socialist principle: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his work." Soviet workers alone of all the workers of the world, have "freedom from want," in that they buy cheaply, are covered as to pleasure, medicine, health, old age, and care of their children and families.

The average wage in industry is based on average productivity in the industry. Individual workers add to their wages from improvement in quality or increased output. Because of this variation in earnings, income tax is progressive.

Tax exemptions are: Interest on State Loans (in Russia State Loans—Government Bonds—are held by workers, peasants)—on savings bank deposits, pensions, soldier's pay. Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of Socialist Labor, and Stalin Prize winnings are exempt. Persons with three or more dependents get a 30 per cent. reduction.

It is impossible to make a wages and taxation comparison which is of value because of the different significance of wages in Russia, where, as stated in the preceding paragraphs, monetary remuneration is only one part of the worker's return.

Transport services pay a special tax: the tax on non-commodity operations. The principle is the same as the Turnover Tax.

Commodities made by the co-operatives and sold within the co-operative system are not taxed. But profits of co-operatives are subject to income tax.

Loans are a useful budget item. Although loans are raised nominally to cover budgetary deficits, it is obvious that there is no true deficit, because the financial authorities base the budget on the national economic development plan which completely controls the economic and financial resources of the Union. (Actually a true deficit is possible in circumstances such as crop failure or catastrophe of some kind.)

Then why loans? The explanation lies in the fact that savings banks (deposits, R.7,000,000,000 in 1940, had risen to R.10,000,000,000 by April, 1946), insurance institutions and co-operative societies have surplus funds. These resources, instead of lying idle, are absorbed by loans and put to work. But, as well as being a useful, additional financial stream, loans are viewed as an encouragement to the people to save; as a medium through which they can express their faith in their Socialist State.

As Bogolepov says: "The success of State loans is primarily due to the general recognition by the population that the U.S.S.R., as laid down by its Constitution, is a State of workers and peasants." And the "success" and the "recognition" declare themselves thunderously in figures: the May, 1946, loan of R.20,000,000,000 was closed in eight days, over-subscribed by R. 1,800,000,000! Previously more than R. 126,000,000,000 had been raised by way of loans, including R. 66,000,000,000 raised in war loans in 1942-44.

Soviet loans have a currency of 20 years. They are interest-bearing (4 per cent. usually), and non-interest lottery loans with a large number of prizes.

Today income tax and mass loans are somewhat more important than in the past. This is understandable with so much of the industrial fabric shattered by the Nazis.

Here is a statement of revenue (1940 figures). The table shows the division of budgetary revenue among the U.S.S.R. and Republic budgets, which latter also include local budgets.

	Union Budget	Republic Budgets	Combined
	In Millions of Roubles		
Turnover Tax ..	95,600	10,300	105,900
From Profits ..	12,800	8,900	21,700
Machine and Tractor Stations	1,000	1,000	2,000
Income Taxes ..	1,900	7,500	9,400
Local Taxes	—	1,900	1,900
State Loans	6,200	5,300	11,500
Income Tax on Co-operatives ..	200	3,000	3,200
Social Insurance Funds	6,600	2,000	8,600
Customs	2,900	—	2,900
Other Revenue	8,700	4,400	13,100
	135,900	44,300	180,200

So much for income. Now for expenditure (1940 figures):—

	Union Budget	Republic Budgets	Combined
	In Millions of Roubles		
National Economy .	49,900	8,400	58,300
Welfare and Cultural	12,900	28,900	41,800
Defence	56,800	—	56,800
Debt Repayment	2,800	—	2,800
Other	9,800	5,700	15,500
	132,200	43,000	175,200

Expenditure—the allocation and distribution of the national income—is covered by the economic plan. Disbursement is chiefly on heavy industry, transport, tractor stations, defence, and welfare and cultural services.

Most of the means of production belong to the State, which carries on large-scale economic operations which form the basis of the Union's economic life. The collectives and co-operatives are next in importance.

Defence still takes a huge sum. "Every time a Russian wants to buy a bookcase we remind him to buy a gun!"

It is a basic policy of the Soviet Union to develop economically and culturally the areas occupied by the 102 nationalities which comprise the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Much in this direction was done during the war, intense industrialisation being brought to areas East and South-east of the Urals, either by transference or by completely new construction. Nor was cultural development of the backward areas neglected, even through the darkest days, when the blood-drunken Nazi hordes were sweeping to the doors of Moscow and to the foothills of the Caucasus.

Pursuance of both policies—cultural and industrial—was largely responsible for the steadfast, determined rear which was one of the decisive factors in ensuring victory over the Nazi armies.

The war was a test for the Soviet financial system. Under almost incredibly difficult conditions it proved flexible. The fact that, in peace, income taxation had been light, made it possible to enter this field with war and special taxes, although the greatest volume of revenue came from cutting economic development and outlay on cultural and welfare plans, and from loans, voluntary contributions and gifts.

Peace presents the financial authorities with enormous problems. The devastated areas have to be rebuilt. Construction of homes, hospitals, theatres, institutions, farms must be financed. The problems are faced with confidence.

Analysis of the Soviet financial system discloses that production provides the basis of Russia's finances. The huge expansion now begun will result in a vast increase in the national income, thereby making easier the process of financing the industrialisation. Thus the reconstruction and expansion of the Soviet Union will be based on, and spring out of, the process of reconstruction and expansion itself.

Out of the description of Russia's financial structure emerges a picture; a picture not of dry figures but of the welfare of human beings—children, women, men, the sick and the striving. Astronomical sums translate into industries and undertakings, gigantic by any measure, all aiming at making life easier and happier for the Russian people. In the plans of new railways, mines, giant factories, huge dams, are mirrored the new homes, creches, kindergartens, schools, hospitals, health resorts, sanatoria, and theatres that they will give to the people.

Only in a Socialist economy can production and finance translate into terms of human welfare.

NATIONALISATION OF THE COAL INDUSTRY

ARTHUR L. HORNER.

(From "Labour Monthly," February, 1946.)

THE Coal Industry Nationalisation Bill has now been presented to Parliament. It will come up for second reading and discussion in the House of Commons within a few weeks, when the views of the various parties will be freely expressed. The attitude of the Tory Party, which at first officially pretended to accept the inevitability of the nationalisation of this industry, is passing through a sharp change. It is becoming increasingly clear, especially from the Kemsley Press, which has already commenced to use phraseology expressive of their frustration, that they intend to make the passage of the Bill as difficult as possible. Every endeavour will be made by them to place responsibility for the fall in the output of coal during 1945 upon the present Government and to conceal from their readers that the fall would undoubtedly have been very much greater had the Tory Government been returned to power.

Tired workmen and exhausted pits have achieved remarkable results during the fourth quarter of 1945: the workmen, encouraged by the National Union of Mineworkers and by their faith in the Labor Government, have drawn upon the maximum of their strength in order to give the best results possible. It should not be forgotten that the main cause for the reduced output capacity of the British mining industry is the reduction in the number of persons employed and their exhaustion due to age and war weariness, as well as the exhaustion of a considerable number of the pits. These facts, superimposed upon the neglect, inefficiency and worse which prevailed under private ownership, must bear the responsibility for the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.

In the coming discussions, it is imperative that all progressive elements in our society shall give general support to this vital legislation for the following reasons.

The coalmining industry is the basic industry of the country. The production of Britain's coal cannot be permitted to be the private affair of those engaged in the industry. It is of too great a significance for the whole population, whose future means of sustenance is dependent upon it. Without adequate coal supplies, Britain cannot again become a great industrial country, with a capacity to export manufactured goods on the scale required to enable the purchase of essential goods from abroad. This question enters into every phase of the people's lives, housing, employment, demobilisation, social security, etc. A matter of such vital and general importance should, therefore, have become long ere now the responsibility of Government charged with safeguarding the wellbeing of the people as a whole.

To realise this aim it is necessary to secure possession of the industry, either through purchase or confiscation. The mandate sought by the Labor Party was to compensate, and I see no point in holding up or delaying the change-over from private to State ownership because of discussions around the question of the principle of compensation. It is necessary, however, to utter a word of warning. Two conditions must be fulfilled in determining the amount of compensation: (1) There must be the strictest application of the principle of "reasonable net maintainable revenue" as laid down by the Trades Union Congress at Blackpool in 1945, and (2) the capitalisation of the new authority should be computed quite apart from what has been paid in compensation. The Board's capital should be fixed at a figure which the industry, can reasonably be expected to bear in the future, having in mind the heavy capital expenditure which will be needed to place the industry on its feet. The National Coal Board cannot be expected to bear the full burden of the compensation to be paid if over-capitalisation is to be avoided.

The single possession of the coal mines of Britain is the only way through which this natural resource can be efficiently exploited. Mr. Robert Foot, in his so-called plan, admitted (and found, in general, colliery owners' support for his admission) that the future of the mining industry, even under private ownership, was dependent upon its ability to treat the industry as a national unit. The National Union of Mineworkers accepted this point of view, but disputed the ability of the various district colliery owners to cancel out the sharp differences between them arising from their contradictory economic interests, which were bound to make the unification desired by Mr. Foot unrealisable. This unification of the industry can alone make possible the technical reorganisation based upon planning outlined in the Reid Committee report. Under a system of national unification, the coal resources of the country can be viewed as a whole and their exploitation be determined in a scientific manner. It will now become possible to

utilise the most modern methods of production, so that the unnecessary utilisation of human labor upon monotonous, difficult and dangerous work shall cease. Only by this means will it be possible to make coalmining a tolerable industry in which to work and one that will attract its manpower by voluntary means in the open labor market.

The National Union of Mineworkers, however, expects more from the Coal Board which is to be set up than the technical reorganisation, which we consider to be essential. The Charter herein contained reveals that mineworkers anticipate progressive reforms in the existing working and living conditions as well.

Charter

The Minister of Fuel and Power having raised with the National Executive Committee of the National Union of Mineworkers the question of the recruitment of manpower to the coalmining industry, and the Committee having undertaken to give it the most serious consideration, has now arrived at the following conclusions.

In the view of the National Executive Committee, the extent to which the following changes are introduced will determine the rate of entry of new recruits to the industry:—

(1) The modernisation of existing pits and the sinking of new ones as rapidly as possible whilst strictly observing as a minimum the standards laid down in the Reid Committee Report; the provision of adequate compensation for those who become redundant; and at the same time aiming at the general application of the day-wage system.

(2) The adequate and careful training of youth in the various phases of mining operations, and the establishment of a clearly defined scheme of promotion; the provision of further training and tuition required in cases where workers desire to enter for a colliery technician's career.

(3) The introduction of new safety laws to meet the conditions of modern mining and especially to suppress the development of industrial diseases.

(4) The payment of compensation rates to meet incapacity due to industrial injury or disease which shall guarantee the injured person from financial loss and the provision of an adequate income for the dependants of those killed as a result of injury or who die from an industrial disease.

(5) The average wage standards shall not be permitted to fall below those of any other British industry.

(6) The restoration of the 7-hour day for underground workers; the introduction of the 40-hour week for surface workers; and the establishment of the 5-day week without loss of pay.

(7) The continuation of the principle of the guaranteed weekly wage when the Essential Work Order is withdrawn.

(8) Payment to be made for two consecutive week's holiday and six statutory holiday days in each year.

(9) The provision of pensions for mineworkers who cease to be able to follow their employment after 55 years of age and the payment of a subsidiary pension from the industry in addition to pensions provided from other legal enactments.

(10) The building of new towns and villages of a high standard and situate at places calculated to enable miners to have increased opportunities for social facilities and to break down the segregation of mineworkers and their families from the rest of the community, accompanied by the provision of adequate transport services at reasonable rates.

(11) The complete reorganisation of health and welfare services so as to put a brake upon the wastage of manpower due to ill-health.

(12) Compulsory medical examination with training arrangements at full wages pending employment as a skilled workman in another industry if withdrawn from the coal-mining industry on medical grounds.

The National Union of Mineworkers, having in mind the manpower crisis which exists and recognising the complete dependence of our country's economy upon coal production, calls upon the Government through the Minister of Fuel and Power to give guarantees that effect will be given to the foregoing measures in accordance with a timetable and a progressive plan.

It is realised that whilst the manpower requirements of the industry will tend to fall as the industry is modernised, during the immediately ensuing years it will be necessary to depend upon the technical equipment now in existence. The only permanent source from which new manpower can be drawn and adequately trained is youths under 18 years of age. In the past the maintenance of the industry's manpower by the continuous supply of youths to compensate for wastage has come mainly from the ranks of mineworkers' sons. The mining community, however, is not willing to accept a special responsibility for the supply of new mining labor. Quite rightly, miners and their wives have come to regard their sons as citizens entitled to seek a livelihood more congenial, less dangerous and better paid employment in the same way as do the sons of other people. Young persons will only be attracted to the coalmining industry in sufficient numbers when it offers to them conditions of employment which compare favourably with those offered in other industries and a higher standard of living than has been the

lot of those who have toiled in the industry in the past.

It must, however, be appreciated by all concerned that the foregoing measures, even given most favourable conditions, will take time. The sinking of new mines is not a matter of months, but years. The amount of labor which can be employed in sinking a shaft is limited by the area of the shaft in which the men are called upon to work. It is true that new methods must be sought and probably will be discovered, for expediting the sinking of shafts. It is not anticipated, however, that these developments will produce any revolutionary change in the rate of sinking. Similarly, we are anxious that the Coal Board shall lay out the workings, the roadways, etc., of the future mine, according to a plan made beforehand and that the old hand-to-mouth methods of private enterprise will be abandoned.

In mines to be reorganised, the cost of which is to be met out of the £150,000,000 provided in the Bill, months, if not years, must elapse before the full benefits of new methods of work are experienced. A great deal will have to be done and will remain to be done after the first years of public ownership. That progress is possible on a gigantic scale is demonstrated not only by experiences in Holland, U.S.A., Poland, Germany and the U.S.S.R before the war, but also in certain mines of this country. To achieve this advancement it will be necessary to institute a new appreciation of the possibilities latent in the situation. Old standards of judgment which have limited productive capacity and which have impeded the adoption of new methods must be set aside. The technique of coal-mining can no more afford to be static than the technique applied to the production of any other commodity.

The danger of the static mind applies not only to the actual technique of the industry but, in addition, to the relations between it and its manpower. The highest supervisory and technical grades must in future be regarded as employees of the industry. It is true that the functions and the role of various categories will differ and that remuneration will not be equal irrespective of responsibility, training and capacity. There will, however, be the possibility of introducing into the industry a team spirit which has never previously existed. In the past, the supervisory grades and technicians have been held to be the representatives of the colliery companies, whose duty it was mainly to concern themselves with the application of measures calculated to reduce costs at the expense of the general body of workers. In future, all categories will be compelled to appreciate that the struggle must take the form of a joint struggle against Nature, to extract quantity of coal.

It is only to the extent that the people engaged in the industry, whoever they may be, are able to master the problem of production that it will become possible to raise and maintain the standard of life of all concerned at the level which men who are performing such vital work deserve from their country.

I desire to stress that the so-called nationalisation of the mining industry must not be regarded as a legislative act which automatically will supply satisfaction to all the needs. It is rather the beginning of a process which will enable the progressive overcoming of all the disadvantages, human and technical, which have been attached to the mining industry up to the present time. It would be exceedingly dangerous if the idea were to become widespread that, having secured the state ownership of the mining industry, all needs will automatically be supplied. Producers as well as consumers of coal must now appreciate that it is not easy to eradicate the mental state of mind which has grown up in an industry in which the most savage industrial struggles have taken place over a number of years. "The habit of mind of the workmen expressed in their subconscious opposition arising from their fear, especially towards new methods of work, will continue for a long time. Educational and propaganda means will have to be devised to remove these fears and we shall succeed because the industry in future must be in a position to give clear guarantees that progress in methods of work resulting in greater productivity shall not be permitted to result in hardship and destitution for thousands of workers, which was undoubtedly the case in the past.

State ownership of industry in class society is, however, not Socialism. The purchase of various industries will not terminate the kind of society in which we live. The system in which one class lives by the purchase and exploitation of the labor power of the other is not brought to an end.

State ownership under a democratic government is, however, a progressive and important stage in the march towards greater productive efficiency, made possible by the unification of industry nationally through single ownership. It will enable many measures to be undertaken in the national interest, and will bring benefits to the workers engaged which have not been previously considered possible or even desirable by those who were in a position to make decisions.

The framework of the machinery to be instituted in the mining industry in the new set-up has already been partially revealed in the "Bill for the Nationalisation of the Coal Industry." There is to be a "National Coal Board" composed of nine persons chosen for their capacity to manage the affairs of this great vital industry. Each is to be an expert in his particular field of activity, i.e., production, commerce, finance, science, health and welfare, labor relations, etc. At the same time they must be capable of operating collectively and of arriving at decisions on the various questions which arise from time to time. In short, they will function as an efficient working Board of Directors answerable to the Minister of Fuel and Power, and through him to Parliament.

The Mineworkers Union will not participate in a representative way in the decisions of the Board which will occupy the position of employer in relation to employees.

The union will still have to contend for improvements for its members which it holds to be justified, as would be the case under private ownership, although it expects much better reactions from the new organisation than it experienced from the old. The Board, functioning as an employer, may resist demands which involve fresh financial obligations. The union, therefore, must preserve its independence and remain quite free to organise or to withhold the sale of labor power, i.e., it must reserve to itself the right to strike. It is unlikely that the need will arise to the same extent as before—it is hoped not at all. I refer to this because it makes clear the fact that class relations will continue. The change from private to state ownership in class society is not fundamental; that is to say, it does not produce a change in the character of our existing society, which will remain capitalist society.

It is important to stress this, because we are not entitled to anticipate results from it which can only be realised through socialism. That there will be an improvement is beyond question. Moreover, the union members will apply themselves at every level to the task of assisting the work of the Board, through joint consultative organs which must be established for the purpose at the pits, in the districts and at the centre in London.

The union members who may be appointed to positions of responsibility in the new organisations will cease to have any further organisational associations with the union, for two reasons. This is necessary in the first place because they cannot function as employer and employee, and secondly, the union cannot permit any persons other than its chosen representatives to act on their behalf, or even to appear to do so.

This does not mean, however, that such persons can be regarded as having "gone over to the other side." On the contrary, they are men who are expected to convey to and impress the workers' viewpoint upon the Board, and to permeate the whole organisation with a high appreciation of the workers' contribution and to cause their colleagues to place a high value in concrete terms upon it.

This most interesting and vital experiment in the field of public ownership, brought about by a Labor Government, with the overwhelming approval of the Miners' Union and the electorate generally, must be made a success. To fail would result in a coal shortage so serious as to wreck the reconstruction plans, and in such an event to bring down the Government. Even limited success could slow down the implementation of these plans, and cause discouragement in carrying the policy of public ownership into other industries whose efficiency expressed in increased productivity is so vital to a country called upon to export for imports to the extent Britain is today.

Thus while the nationalisation of a single industry, or even of more than one industry, is to be distinguished carefully from the fundamental change into a socialist society, it is nevertheless of very great importance. The nationalisation of the coal industry, with some aspects of which I have dealt in this article, is a democratic measure, absolutely necessary at the present time and a great step forward in the right direction.

THE FASCIST MENTALITY IN AUSTRALIAN ART AND CRITICISM

"GOYA"

(Continued from last issue)

One of the minor attributes of Fascist thought is the idealization of rural life as compared with the life of the city. Rader remarks: "Fascist literature is full of panegyrics to the spiritual character of rural life. The metropolis, in contrast, is represented as the den of materialism." This tendency, which might be considered a reversion to the heyday of Australian "squattocracy," is evident in the belief held by J. S. MacDonald that Arthur Streeton's paintings "point the way in which life should be lived in Australia, with the maximum of flocks and the minimum of factories. But we have to be like the rest of the world, feeling out of it if we cannot blow as many out-to-work whistles, punch as many bundy-clocks, and show as much smoke and squalor as places that cannot escape such curses. . . Let others if they are bent upon it, mass-produce themselves into robots: thinking and looking like mechanical monkeys chained to organs whose tunes are furnished by rivetting machines."

The conception of the state as an organism or a group-mind is one of the central features of Fascist literature. It is to be found in its mature form in Baylebridge's **National Notes**: "The God that we, as a nation, shall have made ourselves, is perhaps the only one to which man has yet never offered serious worship and sacrifice." The Nazi ideal of complete and final national regimentation is paralleled when he says: "Every man then, thinking in a truly national character, will consider himself but as a means and instrument of national service."

One of the commonest confusions among pro-fascist writers is the identification of the development of modern art with the growth of Communism on the one hand, and "Jewish exploitation"

on the other. Writing on "Culture and Commerce," in 1939, Norman Lindsay says, "To be sure the uprush of communistic principles among all peoples has had one extremely disastrous result, for to their claim to a share of the world's culture the lower orders have taken to practising art themselves; hence the peculiar uproar of disintegrated values labelled Modernism. Later and more discerning generations will undoubtedly define this movement under the heading The Wharf Lumper in Art." Wharf labourers have of course been blamed for many things, but only a Norman Lindsay would blame them for the art forms of e.g. Salvador Dali. Hitler of course felt very much as did Lindsay in the matter of modern art. He passed laws against it, called it Jewish, international, foreign, degenerate. He forced modern artists such as Klee, Kandinsky, Beckmann out of their art schools, and drove them from the country. Their works were removed from museum walls and hidden or sold abroad.

But Lindsay's statement is not an isolated case, anyone who takes the trouble to go through the material in art publications in Australia in the period between the wars will find ample evidence of the widespread nature of the "Bolshevik-Modernist" confusion. Before leaving the matter it is perhaps worth quoting E. Wake Cooke's contribution. "There is a curious parallelism between Bolshevism and the Modernity movements; Lenin promised Russia a heaven and gave it a hell! The Modernists are actuated by the same spirit." If Mr. Wake Cooke had been in a position to examine the facts he would have found the Modernist painters, at the time that he wrote his criticism, were far too absorbed in the investigation of their own private heavens and hells to worry about presenting sidereal gifts to the Soviets.

Perhaps the most obvious, because the most terrible and irrational of its tenets, has been the Fascist persecution of the Jews. This trait developed much later in Australia than the other Fascist traits that we have noted. But the 1940 Exhibition of the Contemporary Art Society brought a virulent attack upon the "Jewish" contributors to that exhibition in the form of a letter from Sir Lionel Lindsay to the **Sydney Morning Herald.** Lindsay's book **Addled Art** confirms the anti-Semitic nature of his art-criticism. But as several million Jews have been done to death upon the altar of anti-Semitism since Lindsay wrote his notorious letter, he has considered it advisable to include a qualification, by which he hopes to attack "Jewish" painting and at the same time absolve himself from the charge of anti-Semitism. Lindsay patronizingly admits that there are some "good" Jews: Heine, Disraeli, Einstein, Monash and Phillips Fox. This is not a new qualification.

Sigmund Freud is numbered among the "bad" Jews, and this is accounted for largely because—quite literally—Lindsay does not like the look of his face. "Glance at Freud's face. The look of concentration in the eyes is confounded by a general expression of sulky disquietude and their sadness tempered by a vague hostility. It is the face of a man soured and ill at ease with himself or the world." The "sourness," according to Lindsay, following his predilection for "racial" arguments, is due to one extreme of the Jewish character. If Lionel Lindsay had been a Jew living through the thirties in Vienna, he may have been able to find other reasons for the "sadness tempered with hostility." It is very doubtful whether an intelligent man could feel anything but sad and hostile at Goebbels' "description" of the Jew to the Nuremberg Party Conference, in September, 1937: "This is the world enemy, the destroyer of civilisation, the parasite among nations, the son of chaos, the incarnation of evil, the germ of decomposition, the plastic demon of the decay of humanity."

The general tenor of **Addled Art** is strongly anti-democratic. Lindsay has the same hatred of democracy as the leading fascist theorists, Gobineau and Chamberlain, and the fascist writer Alfred Rosenberg. He speaks of the "mob's invasion of art" and that art can only survive this invasion if bad art is discouraged. To Lindsay a democracy cannot produce great art. He objects to art being included in the school curriculum because art cannot be taught. By including art in the curriculum, "the democracies level and lower all culture."

The pre-fascist mentality of **Addled Art,** however, is not limited to its anti-Semitism and a hatred of democracy. There is the same emphasis upon a "natural elite" that provides the "leaders," to be found throughout Fascist writing: "Natural man, guided by a profound instinct, destroys the weak and malformed at birth. Mistakes of nature, he knows that if they were allowed to propagate they would menace the vitality and continuity of the tribe. The weak chicken is pecked to death." Like Hitler and Mussolini Lionel Lindsay is also a red-baiter: "The tactics of the international Communists would serve: (the "bolshevik-modernist" confusion) corrupt, undermine, flatter the groundlings; put the boot in. The thing was to kick the stuffing out of the aristocrat Drawing."

Anti-Semitism has not been isolated to one or two critics in Australia. In a statement by Alcedo Gigas in **The Publicist,** we read, "We Kookaburras think that the Australian community cannot be possibly saved or advanced by Jews: we think the Jews' advocacy of so-called internationalism and their antagonism to nationalism constitutes a menace to Australians." Ghettos, Klu Klux Klan Kookaburras, Bunyip gods and Jindyworobaks are some of the archaic fossils left by the ebbing of objectivity in Australian thought and criticism that has proceeded steadily since the 1890's.

The final answer to the increasingly reactionary nature of the "criticism" proceeding from the pens of Lionel and Norman Lindsay has been written by Jack Lindsay, son of the latter, nephew of the former: "Wherever we probe this 'German culture' we find a regressive entanglement of dark magic thinking and flat scholasticism, which, if left to itself, would revert to a barbarous Medievalism. So rapidly can the mass-roots of culture be cut."

This article has endeavoured to show that there is a direct line of theoretical descent from the aestheticism which grew out of the Melbourne Bohemian circles of the nineties, and the increasing mysticism associated with the practice and criticism of landscape painting, to the development of an arrogant nationalism—all of which are outlined in Bernard Smith's **Place, Taste and Tradition**—and finally to an arrogant mysticism which takes on all the attributes of the fascist mentality. There is to be observed in Australia during the twenties and thirties the gradual growth of the anti-human tendencies of Fascism in Australian cultural development as in certain aspects of its political development. Nor must we delude ourselves that those same tendencies have been finally and completely defeated. Their reappearance in whatever form must give us cause to be vigilant. For the final common denominator of these "cultural" tendencies is to be found in the concentration camps of Dachau and Belsen.

THE PROFESSOR'S MELODRAMA

EMILE BURNS
(From "World News and Views")

THE Labor Party Executive's long-promised melodrama on the subject of affiliation has at last been produced. Its author is Professor Harold Laski, and it is called **The Secret Battalion.**

Act I is a short bout between "Authoritarian Socialism" and "Democratic Socialism," in which the first gets gently knocked round the ring; but as both are entirely illusory visions, no bones are broken.

Act II begins to warm up. It is modelled on the famous Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, the parts being played by "The Open Profession" and "The Secret Purpose." Dr. Jekyll is most respectable and democratic; Mr. Hyde is "like a secret battalion of paratroopers" and acts "without moral scruples." The dialogue is a bit dull, but the knockabout is the main thing.

Act III introduces "Socialism by Consent," who is declared the winner against "Socialism-ready-to-fight-capitalism," an ignorant fellow who is pushed out of the ring by the referee (Professor H**** L***).

The melodrama ends with Act IV, in which the referee, a little punch-drunk with his own punches, staggers round hitting out at his own hallucinations, which he calls Dimitrov.

Maybe not a very exciting melodrama; but good enough for Transport House. It gives vent to their emotions of hate for the Villain, the Communist Party. With this aim it was not necessary—in fact it would have been by no means helpful—to stick to the truth; so the Professor was able to exercise his talents in the other direction.

The method is simple. "Explain" or "reveal" what the Communist aim is; then arouse horror and hatred of the ninepin you have just set up; then knock it down.

The central theme is that the Communists base their whole policy on the belief that a war of Anglo-American imperialism against Soviet-European Socialism is inevitable, when we shall make a revolution. This is one of the most stupid suggestions imaginable. The Communist Parties of all countries are working to prevent another war; and we see as one of the principal safeguards the coming to power of democratic governments. Far from wanting another war, or regarding it as inevitable, we urge the unity of the working class parties in order to ensure the triumph of democracy against the warmongers. The Professor, on the basis of his distortion of our aims, calls us "organisers of catastrophe." If he had presented facts instead of hallucinations, he would have drawn a picture of how the Communist Party constantly warned the working class against the catastrophe that was being organised by Hitler and Chamberlain; and how the Labor Party executive had failed to heed the warning. Again today, we warn against the catastrophe to which the present foreign policy of the Labor Government may lead; our aim is to avoid the catastrophe, not to bring it about.

The Professor's second theme is that the Communists are out to stab the Labor Party in the back. He can only bolster up this nonsense by completely distorting a recent speech by Dimitrov.

For example, in this speech to the Communist Congress in Bulgaria, Dimitrov referred to the need for Communists to make themselves efficient, so that they could play a responsible part in the reconstruction of their country. Laski handles this as follows: "Communists must be able to supply the best experts so that our cadres are always in the first place' in any Party to which they gain admission." This is barefaced distortion; Dimitrov never referred to gaining admission to other Parties. His actual words are: "Wherever there is any kind of competition between us and our Allies (in the Fatherland Front) we must be in a position to supply the best experts so that our cadres are always in the first place and justify the confidence which is given to them."

But it is on the basis of this distortion that the virtuous Professor goes on to say: "Under the guise of a yearning for unity, Dimitrov avers without hesitation that the Communist aim is to stab the

Social Democratic Parties in the back." There is not one word like this in Dimitrov's speech.

Again, the Professor puts into Dimitrov's mouth the statement that the Communist Party must disguise itself as "an ordinary democratic Party"; that any Communists who are troubled by this duality of outlook "are either not Marxists or they are provocateurs." What Dimitrov really says is that people who see a contradiction between the struggle for the Fatherland Front programme and the struggle for Socialism are either not Marxists or they are provocateurs. In fact, Dimitrov's whole speech was the very opposite of the "organisers of catastrophe" lie that Laski tries to establish. He stresses the "historic democratic revolution which has been taking place in many countries since the war," and goes on to say: "This course of social development, comrades, may to some appear slower than the policy of 'take up your arms; hit right and left and set up your dictatorship!' However, the former course is not only possible and realistic, but it is also undoubtedly much less painful for the people." In fact, not violence, "stabbing in the back," and "catastrophe," but democratic advance is the keynote of Dimitrov's speech.

HOW NSW TEACHERS WON NEW DEAL

H. ROSS, B.A.

THE barrister in charge of the N.S.W. Public School Teachers' Federation salaries claim stated that the agreement signed on April 26th between the Federation and the Public Service Board was, in the present situation, an extraordinary one, and this for a number of reasons. First, although the results fell short of the original claim substantial gains were made and several principles improving the pay and status of young and temporary teachers and giving much-needed opportunities for promotion, were won. Next, the conduct of the campaign merits comment and, lastly, attention should be drawn to the results this win is having. Already evidence is to hand of the interest of teachers in other parts of the world and of the interest of other progressive and public service bodies.

The Public Instruction Act of N.S.W. laid the basis for the development of education for the people in this State. Certain sections continued to use the Church and other private schools and have never concerned themselves in the education of the sons and daughters of the masses, nor in the miserable conditions under which teachers worked to give it. To the Teachers' Federation goes the credit of taking up this matter, and of enlisting the support of the parents of the children, trade unionists, small farmers and lower middle classes through the Trade Unions, the Parents' & Citizens Associations, and local councils, etc. Thus the union has a dual capacity.

The Teachers' Federation was formed in 1920 in response to mass discontent and activity of the teachers for some organisation to look after their interests and to win better pay, and its debut was followed by increases in many cases of one hundred per cent. In 1927-29, when the teachers approached the Court for further increases, there was no mass activity of the members to back the claim and after a long and lifeless business, the results, as was to be expected, were practically nil.

The organisation was at its lowest ebb in the days of the depression, when the 22½ per cent. Public Service cut was followed by the savage basic wage reduction and by the introduction of the Married Women Teachers and Lecturers Dismissal Act, a retrenchment measure which, although allegedly to give employment to young student-teachers, permitted the dismissed married women to return and to work at lower rates of pay. The Superannuation Fund, to which teachers contribute, was also at this time unscrupulously milked by the Government. Then it was that a group of rank and file teachers rallied the ranks and eventually induced the organisation to take action. The President, a "personal friend of Mr. Stevens," was replaced by one known for his fighting qualities, and several assistant teachers won seats on the Executive, hitherto almost entirely sacrosanct to Heads.

During this time the membership, which had been slipping dangerously, climbed back, and under a progressive lead has been improving ever since. The salaries cuts were restored after mass meetings of teachers and other Public Servants in the Sydney Town Hall and before Parliament House. The new vitality of the organisation expressed itself in moves for educational progress, enlisting the interest and help of unions, Parents' & Citizens' Associations, medical, dental and other professional workers.

The outbreak of the war halted progressive moves, but the Federation leadership, with its eye to the future, submitted the basis for a salaries claim to the 1944 Conference and 1945 was spent in working out details and in getting the active support of the rank and file. When it is considered that these are scattered the length and breadth of N.S.W., and that there are some 160 associations, the size of the task can be visualised. Thus, while negotiations were proceeding, the vast majority of the membership were holding meetings, enlisting the support of the people, getting letters into the papers and finally so impressing members of the Government with their determination that promises were made by the latter that the money for salaries increases would be made available.

Mr. Sweeney, the barrister employed by the Federation on the case, paid tribute not only to the skill and tenacity with which the officials fought it out point by point, but to the united, steady and active support by the membership.

But the same reactionary element that works in other unions, in obedience to orders from who knows, to smash a strong and progressive organisation, reared its ugly head in our ranks and, as Mr. Sweeney said, constantly embarrassed the negotiations. The win is the triumphant answer to their miserable and puny efforts, and few, if any, are their supporters today. A great lesson in unity has been learnt.

Since the successful conclusion of the negotiations, there have been requests from teacher bodies in U.S.A., Britain and New Zealand for copies of the agreement, and a similar interest has been shown in it by local Public Servants, showing that while on the one hand, the Teachers' Federation enlisted the support of these bodies, these now are tremendously impressed by its significance for claims which they may make, and so the lessons of unity and united action unfold before us.

The interest aroused in Education generally through this case will put the teachers in a better position to work for improvements in school buildings, in educational methods and in training and equipment of staff.

In fact, the time is ripe for a new deal for Education, for better schools for workers' and farmers' children, and there is every prospect, if campaigns are conducted which enlist the support of the people and which draw them into activity, that much can be done to make the schools places where the best possible is done for the healthy mental and physical development of our children, and workers, through their organisations, should give these moves and campaigns their strong support.

TRUE FACTS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION

Y. LAZAREV

TO-DAY, after the termination of the war which was won thanks to the tremendous efforts and sacrifices of all the people of the Allied Nations and, of the Soviet people especially, we find in Australia some people who are again carrying on a campaign of lies and slander against the U.S.S.R.

Maloney, ex-Minister of Australia to the Soviet Union, goes so far as to deliberately distort facts and express his glee over the difficulties which are natural in a country that has borne the brunt of the devastating war. Soviet people make no secret of these difficulties. All they want is that they should be represented as they actually are, not in the shape of the lies spread by Maloney.

Maloney asserts, for example, that last February when he was leaving the Soviet Union, the price of bread there was from 60 to 100 roubles per kilogram. The truth is that rationed bread in the Soviet Union costs from one rouble for rye to 2.8 roubles for wheat—per kilogram. Throughout the war rationed bread was being sold at the same price as before the war. It is still sold at the same price to-day when the war is over.

Throughout the war and to-day when the entire world is up against food difficulties, Soviet workers have been receiving all products to which their rations entitle them. I happen to live in the neighbourhood of "Dynamo" factory—an electrical engineering plant. It is a state-owned enterprise such as many others in the Soviet Union and the average earnings of the worker of this factory is 800 roubles per month. Each worker receives a monthly ration card which entitles him to:—

16.5 kilograms (36.3 lbs) of bread.
2.2 „ (approx. 5 lbs) of meat.
0.8 „ (approx. 1¾ lbs) of butter or fats.
2.0 „ (approx. 4½ lbs) of cereals.
0.9 „ (2 lbs) of sugar

and an assortment of other necessary products.

That isn't much, of course, but the entire cost of these products doesn't exceed 80 roubles. If a husband and wife both work at the factory they both receive the same rations. The bread ration for children is smaller (0.3 to 0.35 kilograms per day—approx. 0.7-0.8 lbs.), but the entire ration includes a number of special products for children. Like many other plants and offices in the U.S.S.R. it has its own subsidiary farm, supplying its restaurant in which workers can get dinners at a normal price, and also a factory store where the workers can purchase products over and above the official rations.

Apart from this there are victory gardens which became very widespread in the Soviet Union during the war. The State provides free of charge a plot of fertile land and several hundred square yards to anyone desiring to grow garden crops. In 1945 there were over 18,500,000 workers and office employees who had such gardens. Many workers kept cows, pigs and poultry. Furthermore, prices in the market and in what are called "commercial" shops where products are sold without ration coupons, have been steadily dropping.

Certain categories of office employees receive a somewhat smaller ration than factory workers, but they too receive 0.45 kilograms (1 lb.) of bread per day.

Another point to be borne in mind is that there are a number of other elements that go to make

up the standards of living of the Soviet people. For one thing there is the State social insurance system whose beneficiaries are all workers, clerks and office employees. Social insurance funds are made up entirely of contributions from various enterprises. Workers and other employees pay nothing towards them.

Soviet workers or office employees do not lose their earnings in payments for doctors, and illness does not mean for them impoverishment and ruin, as in some other countries. They receive medical assistance entirely free of charge, in addition to sick benefits from social insurance funds for every day of their illness.

Every Soviet working man or woman receives two to four weeks holiday with pay every year. Those who wish it, are given accommodation in sanatoriums and rest homes. This year Trade Unions alone will provide accommodations in rest homes, sanatoriums and health resorts for 1,500,000 of their members, twice as many as last year. Accommodations are provided free of charge or for payment amounting up to 30 per cent. of the actual cost. Accommodations in sanatoriums and rest homes are also provided for by Public Health bodies and various Government departments. Before the war over 6 million people were accommodated every year in sanatoriums, rest homes and health resorts.

Further, aid given by the Government to mothers in the Soviet Union must not be overlooked. Upon the birth of the third child the mother receives a grant of 400 roubles, upon the birth of the fourth child the grant is increased to 1,300 roubles and in addition the mother receives a monthly allowance of 80 roubles during the course of the next four years. Grants and allowances increase with the birth of each new child.

The Soviet people take legitimate pride in their creches and kindergartens, where children are fed and taken care of by experienced pedagogues. Even in the hardest years of the war the Government saw to the functioning of creches and kindergartens. What this means to the working woman may be seen from the following: In kindergartens maintained by the "Krasnaya Rosa" Textile Mill in Moscow, all the mother has to contribute to the maintenance of her child is 60 roubles at the most and mothers of several children and wives of soldiers pay nothing.

Education in schools is free of charge. This summer over four million school children will be accommodated in camps situated in picturesque health places. About two million of them will be maintained by Trade Unions.

In his recently published "Russian Journey" J. B. Priestley speaks highly of facilities for recreation and amusement provided for the workers of the Soviet Union. Priestley visited many towns and villages in the Soviet Union where he saw people who were dressed not as well as they'd like to be. He saw people living in flats more crowded than they would have been if the Soviet people hadn't had to fight to defend their country and all mankind from fascist slavery. The German invaders left 25,000,000 people in the Soviet Union homeless. War interrupted the ambitious programmes of housing construction. Priestley and other conscientious observers who have visited the Soviet Union in recent years are aware of this. He gives an unbiased picture of life in the Soviet Union, whereas Maloney, on the other hand, belongs to those who spare no effort to sow prejudice and hostility against the U.S.S.R.

In March, 1944, the Soviet Government, while retaining the rationing system, organised the sale to the population of foodstuffs and consumer goods without cards, but at higher rates, at special non-ration shops and restaurants opened for this purpose.

By the beginning of 1946, 130 stores in the cities and 1,000 at railway stations were selling foodstuffs at higher prices, while other consumer goods were sold at non-ration shops in 40 cities of the country.

Before the war, when there was no rationing, the total number of shops in the country, according to the official statistics, was more than 355 thousand. This number probably decreased slightly during the war, but comparing this with the number of present day "commercial" shops, you will see that the latter represent only a very small per cent. The bulk of food and consumer goods obtained by the population is distributed through the normal ration system, at normal prices.

By the end of the Five-Year Plan 28 per cent. more goods will be sold to the population than in 1940. This means that by 1948, the middle of the Five-Year Plan, retail trade turnover will have attained and exceeded the pre-war figure. With regard to many types of goods, the pre-war turnover will be reached still earlier. This will be achieved by increased production of foodstuffs and other consumer goods (Plan provides for an average annual increase in production of 17 per cent.) as well as the reduction of supplies to the Army in connection with gradual demobilisation.

In order to ensure the abolition of rationing on bread, flour, cereals and macaroni in 1946 the Soviet Government has approved of the plan for expansion of sown areas this year by 8,200,000 hectares as compared with 1945. A great number of tractors, motor vehicles, farm machinery and large quantities of fertiliser and fuel have been sent to farms.

The new Five-Year Plan provides for transition in 1946 and 1947 from the rationing system to a widely ramified system of Soviet trade. The rationing of bread, flour, cereals and macaroni products is to be abolished in the Autumn of 1946.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

J.R., Queensland, asks:

Mr. Maloney, Mr. Bevin, Mr. Menzies and others have accused the Soviet Government of being imperialist, is there any basis for such a charge?

The classic explanation of imperialism is the work of that name by Lenin, written in 1916. There Lenin defines imperialism as "the highest stage of capitalism," a stage at which it has already become transformed from industrial capitalism to monopoly, finance capitalism. Imperialism is parasitic decaying capitalism.

The indisputable correctness of Lenin's analysis is apparent when we survey the world around us today.

(1) Production is dominated by the monopoly giants on a national and international scale. Imperial Chemical Industries, General Electric, General Motors, Dunlop Rubber, Shell and Standard Oil and Lever Bros., are typical examples of a number that operate on a world scale and have considerable interests in Australia. The B.H.P. is the best example of Australian monopoly. Its interests include iron and steel, coal, shipping, goldmining, aircraft, chemical works and shipbuilding. Through its London board it is connected with the Bank of England.

(2) Finance capital, i.e., the merging of banking and industrial capital, is obvious when 12 directors of two Sydney Banks directed (in March, 1940), 25 other companies, including C.S.R., British Tobacco (Aust.), Tooth & Co., Associated Newspapers, Goldsborough Mort, and shipping, insurance and trustee firms. The same general picture is true of Melbourne, Adelaide, New York, London and any other city of the imperialists.

(3) The monopolists exploit the colonial workers even more intensely than those at home. Australian monopolists are no exception. C.S.R., Theodore-Packer, W. R. Carpenter, Burns Philp & Co., Sir Walter Massey Greene, are included in those who have investments in Fiji, New Guinea and Papua, Solomons, Siam and elsewhere to the North of Australia, from which they receive high profits, because of very cheap native labor treated no better than slaves.

The extent to which monopoly capital has achieved dominance in the capitalist world is reflected in current economic and political problems. The industrial strife in America, England and Australia, coupled with serious threat of widespread unemployment, the conflict over the Anglo-American Financial Agreement, the struggles in the Middle East, India, Indonesia are but a few of the symptoms of imperialism. Even worse are the attempts of reaction (whose economic base is monopoly capital) to stir up a third world war, the inevitable "ambition" of the imperialists who see the Soviet Union as the inspiration of progressive movements everywhere. The imperialists seek markets and sources of raw materials, which they divide and re-divide by military conquest.

Before World War I the whole world had been divided between a few great powers, including Britain, Germany, France, Czarist Russia, Holland and U.S.A. As a result of the two world wars changes have taken place in the distribution of the colonies and the relative strength of the different capitalist powers, but although one-sixth of the earth has been torn from the exploiters by the Soviet workers, a few great powers strive to continue their domination over the other five-sixths. That, in addition to the establishing of bases for war, is the real reason for British intervention in India, Indonesia, the Middle East and American intervention in China, the Philippines, etc. These are the principal features of imperialism as revealed by Lenin.

It would probably be too much to expect Mr. Bevin or Mr. Maloney (any more than Churchill or Menzies) to accept any Leninist principles. In 1914, Lenin already characterised the imperialists who cloaked themselves with labor phrases as "Social-chauvinists." Such "Labor leaders" were worse than liberal economists such as Hobson (quoted by Lenin), who described the Bevins, Attlees, Laskis, Maloneys, Fallons, etc., of that time, as "Fabian imperialists." These "Labor imperialists" are the tools of reaction.

What is there in common between the Soviet Union and Imperialism?

The Soviet Union has no monopoly capitalists, no financial magnates, no idle parasites, and no oppressed colonies. The Soviet Government has consistently fought for peace, in opposition to the imperialist war-mongers.

The Red Army did not intervene in Greece, Indonesia, Egypt, China, etc. On the contrary, it has withdrawn from the territories in Persia and Manchuria which it occupied in the war years. The U.S.S.R. is a voluntary union of over 40 nations, comprising 16 self-governing Union Republics. Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia joined the Soviet Union as late as 1940 in response to the expressed desire of the people, through their elected Parliament. There are no minorities deprived of all citizenship rights (as for instance the Australian aborigine), no "second rate" peoples as the masses in the colonies and semi-colonies are regarded by the imperialists.

In short there are none of the imperialist characteristics in the Soviet Union. The agents of reaction in the working-class movement conjure up a vision of "Red Imperialism" on the instructions of their master, monopoly capital, the real essence of Imperialism. In economic and political outlook they are behind the liberal bourgeois economists of over 40 years ago.

The opportunists are themselves another symptom of decaying capitalism, which they everywhere

desperately try to save. Lenin showed how the imperialists corrupted and bribed a privileged section of the working class, created a "labor aristocracy" from colonial "super profits" as a bulwark against the masses in the advanced and colonial countries. The opportunists inevitably shed many crocodile tears because one-sixth of the earth will not facilitate their betrayals, but stands as a living inspiration to the revolutionary workers of all countries, and an all powerful confirmation of the correctness and strength of Communism today, Marxism-Leninism developed further by the creative genius of Stalin.

BOOK REVIEW

Hubbub in Java (John Thompson)

JOYCE METCALF

JOHN THOMPSON, Australian poet and war correspondent in Java for the A.B.C., November-December, 1945, has written the first general survey of events, developments and leading personnel in the New Indonesia. A more serious work than the title would indicate, **Hubbub in Java** can do much to arouse those unacquainted with the facts, and as yet unresponsive to the great national struggles in the colonial countries today.

The opening scene of the book, a banquet, "an entertainment of studied artistry and calculated tempo" in the palace of an Indonesian Prince, to some extent indicates the new situation in Java. Dining at the tables, instead of the Dutch masters of Java were the "new men of Indonesia." "It was exciting to see Sjahrir, Sjarifudin and many of their followers . . . . Sukarno and Hatta, solid Luat and rugh-hewn Amir from Sumatra—revolutionaries, republicans, several of whom had had long penal servitude—sitting at their ease where the Dutch had yawned in their pride."

Owing to inability to speak the language, Thompson says, "my real contacts were confined to the sophisticated few (Indonesians who were Dutch-educated intellectuals) and I could only gaze at the many." He describes Premier Sjahrir, young, keen, modest, a man of wide learning, who had suffered prison and exile, and who had organised resistance under the very noses of the Japanese. A man of great faith in his own people, "he may be assassinated . . . but his spirit will not die. Throughout Java there are picked young educated activists who worked with him in the underground and will play a big part in the future Indonesia."

President Sukarno is characterised as the agitator, "a demi-god in the eyes of the masses, Sukarno could lift congregated thousands into frenzies and ecstasies. Sjharir's every effort was to make them calm and firm." His words were remembered when others' were forgotten.

A skilful blend of historical background, events, personal observations and pointed anecdotes, the various sections of the book answer soberly and irrefutably the lies and distortions from the agents and mouthpieces of imperialism. How puny are the claims of Dutch and press that this vast national upsurge is a mere Japanese-made revolt, in face of the unanimous demand and determination to achieve independence that Thompson was able to observe and describe. How silly the claims that the Indonesians are unfit to govern themselves and run their own country when it is precisely that that they are doing with enthusiasm and competence.

It is their own crimes with which Dutch and British imperialists are charging Indonesians when they accuse them of atrocities, irresponsibility, "extremism," violence and the like. War there is in Java, varying in intensity particularly in the key cities, but Thompson proves that the precipitation and maintenance of this war is the responsibility of British and Dutch whose sole aim is to force the people of Indonesia back to slavery and savage exploitation by former Dutch masters.

"In the task of perfecting our social and administrative structure," states the Political Manifesto of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia," we Indonesians see no necessity for the forcible measures. If, however, such force is ever used, it will be by the Dutch, because of their desire to impose themselves on us. We have no wish to impose our will on other races. All we want is recognition of our independence and the opportunity to perfect our system of government."

Climax and most significant section of the book is the account of the tour into the interior of Java made by the Republican leaders whom Thompson accompanied. On this remarkable journey the author was able to see for himself the manifestations of the new Java.

Purpose of the tour was to explain the Government's programme and policy, impress on the people the need for unity and discipline, to observe the extent of popular support, consult with local leaders and generally check on the situation and organisation throughout the country.

To those travelling, the journey seemed one continuous demonstration by the population of their confidence in their leaders and in the Java that these leaders represented. Strung out in their thousands along the railway tracks, grouped at level crossings, at villages and remote stations, at towns large and small, old and young, women and children turned out with banners and slogans and

cries of "Merdeka"—"Freedom," to welcome and pledge support for their leaders. "More and more the unanimity of Java was proving deeper and firmer . . . We had travelled through a land of hope and resolution, and for a week we had not heard a shot."

The people of Java not only have faith in their Government, but a faith, based now on experience, in themselves and their competence to run their own affairs. Government reports at this time, showed increasing control of food distribution, of agricultural production and of manufacture and distribution of a number of commodities—soap, gasoline, beer, iron, ice, petrol, coal in West Java. Food was not abundant for the masses, it never had been, but there was sufficient, and certainly no crisis. Public utilities—electricity, water supply, railroads ran smoothly in the war city areas as in the inland towns.

Against a background such as this, of a kindly industrious people peacefully and successfully running their own affairs, stands out most blatantly the infamous role of British Imperialism. By themselves the Dutch could not have caused embarrassment for long to the Indonesian Government and people once the Japanese were disarmed. But with the aid of British forces, bombers and bullets supplemented by Japanese troops, not only have the Dutch been able to increase their military forces and equipment, they have been heartened and hardened in their insane course of trying to regain former control—a course which can only plunge the country into bloody warfare without hope of success for the aggressors and costing heavy loss in lives and treasure to the Indonesians. The wiping out of Bekassi, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, "Lidice No. 2," as the Indonesian newspaper "Merdeka" called it, was an atrocity perpetrated by the British Command on a scale which even the Dutch had previously not attempted. Recent reports from Java are of renewed fighting and of the continued unholy unalliance between British, Dutch and Japanese forces.

"It is a matter of absorbing interest," finally concludes Mr. Thompson, "to watch the pattern of the new world emerging and to speculate as to the manner in which our own comparatively independent nation will adapt and accommodate itself to changes occurring, not only in China, not only in India, but right next door in the islands of Indonesia."

One must add to this somewhat lame and impotent conclusion for so informative and potentially influential a book, that the independence of Indonesia, the defeat of Dutch Imperialism and consequently the deadly blow that such a defeat will inflict on world imperialism, is a matter not of mere academic interest but of vital concern to the people of this country. Recently the Communist Parties of the Netherlands and Britain have called jointly on the Dutch and British people "to demand vigorously and decisively that the Indonesian Republic, which is based on the will of the Indonesian people, is fully recognised and its sovereignty . . . respected."

The cause of peace and progress demands from peace-desiring people everywhere organised action on behalf of Indonesian independence; demands emulation of that splendid practical assistance given by our own waterside workers.

GEOLOGISTS AND GENESIS

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

THE first geologists thought in terms of the accounts of the earth's origin given in the Bible. The world had been made, a few thousand years ago, in seven days. Since then there had been very minor changes due to erosion by water, to volcanoes, earthquakes, and so on, with the one exception of Noah's flood, which had covered the whole world. When great depths of mud and rock were found, containing bones and shells of extinct animals, these were supposed to have been caused by this one flood. So almost the whole of the geological record was explained by one single catastrophe.

More careful examination showed that many rocks must have been laid down very slowly in still water, and that there had not been one set, but hundreds of sets, of extinct animals. In fact a hundred years ago geologists generally thought that the rocks had been gradually laid down in an orderly way.

This theory works pretty well for most of England. If we find one deposit above another, for example, the London clay above the chalk, we can be sure enough that the lower one was formed first. It does not work for the great whin sill in Northumberland, which is due to an underground flow of lava which has baked the sedimentary rocks above and below it. Of course, a surface flow only bakes the rocks below it, as there is nothing above to bake.

But where great mountain ranges are investigated we find old rocks pushed over newer ones, and sometimes whole strata turned upside down. This was first detected in the Alps, but later in Scotland and Belgium, where the remnants of mountain ranges much older than the Alps, and almost completely worn away, were discovered. We now know that it is pretty general.

Modern geologists think in terms of revolutions. The word is not mine, but theirs. There have been

about three of these revolutions in the last five hundred million years, and about eight in the earlier history of the earth. Each revolution built a number of mountain chains in different parts of the world.

The last one produced the Himalayas in Asia, the Alps in Europe, and the Cordilleras in America. Some geologists would divide it into two stages. A little mountain building is still going on, but we seem to be past its climax, and we may expect that during the next hundred million years or so mountains will be worn down rather than built up.

The most violent revolutionary changes are to be looked for in the building of the highest mountain chain, the Himalayas, and Sir E. B. Bailey, the Director of the British Geological Survey, has recently interpreted the findings on this range of two Swiss geologists, Heim and Gansser, and the Indian geologist, Wadia.

Little is known of the geology of the Himalayas, since the Tibetan and Nepalese governments do not want their countries to be developed by capitalist imperialism, as they might well be if valuable minerals were found in them.

The most interesting area which has been fully studied is that around Kiogar, between the upper courses of the Ganges and Sutlej. Where valleys are several miles deep, the opportunities for working the structure of the mountains are of course very good.

It becomes fairly clear that Tibetan mesozoic rocks with fossils like some found in Bavaria were pushed bodily over younger rocks formed a long way farther south. In between them there are volcanic rocks, but telling a very queer story. The lower layers consist of lava with the characteristics only found when it has flowed out under the sea, interspersed with the skeletons of one-celled animals which only accumulate in deep ocean. But above these are volcanic rocks of a terrestrial type, pushing up through the sediments above them in narrow veins, like the quartz veins which are so common in Cornwall and many parts of Scotland.

In fact, Tibet has been pushed over India, which has slipped below it and lifted it up. In the early stages there was a deep and narrow sea in front of the advancing edge of Tibet, studded with underwater volcanoes, such as are not rare in the Pacific. Later, these were overrun.

From a geological point of view the Himalayas at Kiogar are in an almost indescribable mess. Huge blocks of rock several miles long have been torn away, perhaps by landslips, and embedded in younger strata.

Dr. Bailey has not yet accepted the theory which is today the great geological heresy, but may be generally accepted in another generation, the theory that the continents have drifted for thousands of miles over melted matter below them like slag on the top of a mass of molten metal. Its strongest adherent today is probably the South African geologist du Toit. On this theory Africa, South America, India, Australia and Antarctica were once joined together. They have drifted apart, and the pressure of Africa against Europe made the Alps and Pyrenees, while the northern tip of India went bodily under Tibet.

This theory certainly explains a lot of facts. For example, the world's main deposits of diamonds are in South Africa, and in the part of Brazil which once fitted on to it. The ice-formed rocks in India, Africa and Australia which are now in hot regions were laid down by glaciers near the South Pole, and so on.

Geologists are becoming more and more ready to believe in very large changes in the earth's surface in the remote past. Much the same changes have taken place in anthropological theory. We no longer ascribe all our evils to a woman eating an apple in a garden six thousand years ago.

But we can attribute many of them to the origin of class society first in one part of the earth and then in another, during the last ten thousand years. This meant division of labor and greater production, but it also meant a huge growth of oppression and selfishness.

We can no more accept the details of the Garden of Eden than of Noah's flood; but we can agree that there have been rapid and world-wide changes in geography, and, at a very much later date, in human society.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

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THE QUEENSLAND MEAT STRIKE

J. C. HENRY

THE Queensland Meat Strike was the greatest industrial struggle in the history of the northern State. Commencing in a relatively unimportant bacon factory in Brisbane on 8th March it extended into a state-wide strike of meat workers, coal miners and waterside workers, with sections of many other unions directly involved. Railways and trams were reduced to a skeleton service, the city and country towns to semi-darkness. Trade was paralysed and industry tottering to a complete halt before the strike terminated on 10th-11th July.

Starting as a struggle of 120 meat workers against the employers in a single factory, the strike developed into a struggle between the workers in the meat industry and the meat bosses, and from there to a struggle between the workers as a class and the capitalists as a class and those instruments of the capitalist class, the Government, Arbitration Court, the daily press and weaklings in the trade unions.

In 18 weeks of glorious struggle the working class, fighting under the leadership of the Trades and Labor Council, defied all the power of the ruling class, its ghost stories about court orders, enforced secret ballots, etc., and wrote a new page in the history of the Australian labor movement.

The strike commenced on the question of seniority in employment, was fought and supported on that issue.

Owing to weaknesses of certain of the A.M.I.E.U. Southern District officials many bacon factory workers scabbed before the strike ended. These same weaklings, supported by an element on the State leadership of the A.M.I.E.U., finally opened the workers' front for the Government to get out of the debacle of its secret ballot and issue an order to return to work at the very time victory was at hand because of the solidarity action of the miners and watersiders. The Government order represented a partial victory but was in many respects unsatisfactory.

The split in the A.M.I.E.U. leadership threatened to do what the ruling class had failed to do in 18 weeks of the bitterest struggle, split and destroy the A.M.I.E.U. from within.

The Disputes Committee, aided by the fighting leaders of the A.M.I.E.U., was forced to seek such additional assurances as the strength of the watersiders and miners could gain and recommend a general resumption of work.

To understand the points at issue and the development of the struggle it is necessary to explain the meat industry set-up.

There are three main sections in the Queensland meat industry—namely, the Export, Bacon Factory and Retail Sections.

The workers in the Retail Section are spread in hundreds of small shops over the State, many of which are semi-family concerns, and have no real fighting strength.

The Export Section covers the big meat factories owned by Borthwicks, Swifts and Vesteys which are linked to the British-American meat cartels, and the Brisbane Abattoirs, a semi-governmental concern, constitutes the basis of the organisational and numerical strength of the powerful Australian Meat Employees' Industrial Union. Here the Union supplies the labor. No meat workers can start work without a permit from the union office. The union is organised on the job. The job organisation is based on the departments in the factory, with the Board of Control representing the workers in the factory as a whole the governing authority. In battles extending over thirty years the union has enforced seniority because it exercises job control. But the employers refused to recognise seniority though it was established in practice.

The Bacon Factory section has developed and during the war had greatly strengthened its organisation and fighting strength compared with past years. The organisational form approximates that of the export section but the factories are relatively small. But here the labor is picked up by the boss at the gate. During the war the union was able to enforce seniority to a fairly high degree.

Before the war ended, but particularly since then, the meat bosses have been attacking the vital union principle of seniority in both the export and bacon factory sections in different parts of the State. The union had defeated these attacks in a series of struggles which were confined to the particular factories concerned.

On the 27th February four men dismissed from the Brisbane Abattoirs were reinstated after a two-day strike called on a Secret Ballot vote of 716 for, 61 against, and the Queensland Meat Board entered into a written agreement with the A.M.I.E.U. recognising seniority.

The decision of the Meat Board to give written recognition to the principle of seniority caused the meat bosses considerable alarm and they decided to launch an offensive. The meat bosses aimed to prevent the establishment of seniority in the Bacon Factory section and to destroy the power of the union to continue to enforce it in the export section by smashing its control of labor. The meat bosses also wanted to head off the demands being raised by the union on holiday and sick pay, the inclusion of the war loadings in the wage rate, etc.

The attack was launched at the Murarrie Bacon Factory. Four men with 15 to 20 years' service were dismissed while men with only 3 months' service were kept on. The general manager said, "We maintain that we have the right to pick our

own labor, and to dispense with it as we think fit, and we intend to stand on that attitude."

The members of the union in the factory ceased work.

The Union Executive ordered the men back to work and reported the matter to the Industrial Court. The Court ordered a compulsory conference of the parties. The conference, which took place on 7th March, proved abortive.

The members of the A.M.I.E.U. at the factory decided by 112 votes to 7 in a secret ballot to strike. The union decided to take up the bosses' challenge and demanded the reinstatement of the 4 men, which meant, in effect, the enforcement of the principle of seniority in the factory concerned. This constituted a direct test for the bacon factory section and indirectly for the industry as a whole.

The Bacon Factory Association approached the Industrial Court for an order directing the men at Murarrie to return to work. The representative of the employers' federation lined up with the bacon factory manager on the question of hire and fire. The Court did not grant the order directing the men back to work. The strike continued.

On 13th March the employers fired the second shot in their attack when 6 girls with years of seniority were sacked from the Oxley Bacon Factory. A.M.I.E.U. members at Oxley, in a secret ballot, decided by 141 votes to 15 not to return to work till the girls were re-instated and seniority recognised.

On 15th March a special correspondent, expressing the views of the Employers' Federation, writing in the "Courier Mail" said "that the employers as a body were disturbed by the Meat Board's decision on 26th February to accept the principle of seniority. The Meat Board was a state instrumentality but private operators saw the danger in ceding the principle of seniority might be felt throughout the meat trade, and probably beyond."

At this stage meat bosses of both Bacon and Export Sections were united and they were supported by the Queensland Employers' Federation. They were out to prevent the recognition of seniority and to smash the A.M.I.E.U.

Realising the position, the A.M.I.E.U. leaders considered it impossible to defeat the employers unaided or by engaging them in the bacon factory alone. The A.M.I.E.U. approached the Queensland Trades and Labor Council's Disputes Committee for assistance on 13th March. The Disputes Committee pledged full support to the meat workers and placed a black ban on the Murarrie Bacon Factory as from Saturday, 16th March.

On 18th March, at the request of the A.M.I.E.U., the Disputes Committee, with representatives of all unions immediately affected, declared the Oxley factory black. All unions were requested to instruct members not to handle any goods from the black factories.

On 19th March a 1-day stop work meeting of all members of the A.M.I.E.U. in the Southern District was held. (There are three Districts in the A.M.I.E.U. in Queensland — Southern, Central and Northern.) This largely attended meeting decided to cease work in 7 days if the dismissed members were not re-engaged and seniority recognised. It was also decided that, if this course became necessary, the State Executive should recommend an extension of the dispute to the central and northern districts.

This meeting expressed appreciation of the actions of the T.L.C. Disputes Committee and asked that the A.C.T.U. be notified that the dispute was in furtherance of the policy of the A.C.T.U. on the question of seniority.

On 25th March the employers announced that they would immediately proceed to work the "black" Murarrie factory and that former employees could apply for re-employment. The Country Party supported the call for scabs at Murarrie.

A compulsory conference called by the Court broke down. Mr. Hanlon, the State Premier, then invited the parties to a conference with himself and Mr. Gair, Minister for Mines. The union proposed that the basis of settlement be the Abattoirs agreement on seniority. The representative of the employers would not accept this. No agreement was reached.

On 28th March a compulsory conference was called by the Arbitration Court. The Court proposed a basis for settlement and the union submitted a counter proposal based on its policy. The employers' representative made it clear that he would not move from the right to hire and fire. This conference also broke down.

At a meeting of the State Executive and Southern District Council of the A.M.I.E.U. it was decided to extend the strike and 6,000 meat workers were called out on 29th March.

The State Cabinet attacked the T.L.C. Disputes Committee, blaming it for calling out the meat workers. The Cabinet commenced to line up with the employers. It had a serious rail struggle on its hands as a result of its own attack on railwaymen's conditions in the workshops. The "Courier Mail" reported that one Government member, speaking of the railway position, said, "We are all in this. If a fight has to come it may as well be now."

The Meat Board, which controls the Abattoirs and the export companies, decided to cancel all agreements and understandings with the A.M.I.E.U. This included the seniority agreement. The Employers' Federation and the capitalist press commenced an anti-Communist attack upon the meat workers, the Disputes Committee and the working class.

On 3rd April the Arbitration Court cancelled preference to the A.M.I.E.U. under the Bacon Manufacturing Award. The unions then declared "black" all bacon factories in the Southern District and the Redbank and Maxam Meat Processing plants. In addition to members of the A.E.U., F.E.D. & F.A., E.T.U. and Road Transport Workers, Railwaymen now became involved because of the application of black bans.

Hanlon told the Secretary of the Meat Union that the Government could do nothing further in the matter.

On 5th April a mass meeting of meatworkers in Brisbane expressed confidence in the Disputes Committee and called upon the Government to amend the Arbitration Act to provide recognition of length of service based on a fair average standard of efficiency for all workers.

At this stage the T.L.C. Executive re-affirmed the full support of the trade union movement to the meat workers and decided that all unions should immediately commence to raise finance and to launch an interstate campaign for finance for the meat workers and other unionists involved in the struggle.

On 12th April the employers reported that some scabs had responded to their call for labor in the Toowoomba, Doboy bacon factories and that farmers had commenced to work Murarrie. A few members of the A.M.I.E.U. scabbed at Toowoomba and Doboy.

The Queensland Colliery Employees' Union decided not to supply coal to any works involved in the dispute. The State Executive of the Meat Union asked the Federal body to recommend complete active support in all states in support of the Queensland strike.

It was now clear that only federal intervention could bring a settlement and avoid a protracted strike which would ultimately involve other industries. The State Government, Arbitration Court and the employers bitterly opposed Federal intervention.

On 2nd April, 2,300 railway workshops employees at Ipswich had ceased work.

During this period a very intense struggle was proceeding in the railways for united action throughout the whole service on the workshops issue. Mass meetings of rail men, while giving a majority for strike action, reflected confusion in many depots. Rail leaders were negotiating, procrastinating and altering the deadline for strike action. As the railways are the nerve centre of Queensland industry this struggle distracted attention from the meat strike, threw added work on to union leaders and weakened attention to the measures necessary to strengthen the meat strike. The final deadline was fixed for Tuesday, 16th April, but the dispute was settled without a general strike of railmen.

On 17th April the Disputes Committee said it had endeavored to restrict the strike to the meat industry, but by introducing scab labor the employers had made it impossible to continue that limitation. The unions withdrew members from factories employing scabs. The railway black bans to and from all meat establishments were strengthened. Waterside workers refused to handle meat works material in or out of ports.

Picket lines were at last established at the Abattoirs, Borthwicks and the bacon factories in the Brisbane area, and had a powerful effect in building morale and deterring scabs.

On 24th April the Arbitration Court, on the application of the employers, cancelled the Abattoirs and Export awards giving preference to members of the A.M.I.E.U. The court indulged in its usual slander of trade union leaders, accusing them of having pulled the members out on strike.

On 30th April the Arbitration Court took action on its own accord to get a resumption of work at the Abattoirs. The aim of the court was to split the meatworkers by getting their main strength in the southern district back to work and also prevent the union from getting solidarity support from other industries. The union would not agree.

The Court ordered the meat workers in the abattoirs, export sections and bacon factories throughout Queensland to resume work not later than 15th May on the existing awards. When the union secretary asked permission to make a statement he was refused. Justice Matthews said, "We are not interested in the merits of the matter at all. All we are interested in is the date of resumption of work."

On 3rd May the mass meeting of meatworkers rejected the court's order. Mr. Neuman accused the court of a partisan attitude. Mr. Harvey, President of the T.L.C., said, "There should be no resumption unless at least pre-strike conditions are guaranteed." Had the Court's order been accepted the A.M.I.E.U. would have received a crushing defeat, as many of its conditions, including those which enable it to enforce seniority in the export factories, are not included in awards.

Seizing on the Court Order and presenting the question as one of Arbitration and peaceful methods or violence and revolution, the daily press, assisted by all kinds of reaction, led the most distorted and vicious anti-strike, anti-working class and anti-Communist campaign. Understanding the cowardice and fears of some on the leading body of the meat workers, reaction exerted itself to split the union leadership, divide the A.M.I.E.U. from the T.L.C., shatter the rank and file and annihilate the meat union.

On the 9th and 10th May the Premier held a series of conferences with the employers and the disputes committee. These conferences failed because the best offered the men was to return on the Court's order.

The reason given for holding these conferences was that the Federal Minister for Commerce had expressed concern about the duration of the strike and its effects on meat for Britain. Actually they were little more than part of the general campaign of reaction to raise hopes of a settlement and split the meat workers' leadership.

On 16th May the Disputes Committee decided to seek Federal intervention in an effort to bring about a settlement and Mr. Neuman of the A.M.I.E.U. and Mr. Macdonald of the Disputes Committee went to Melbourne.

The Industrial Court gave the A.M.I.E.U. one week to resume work or the union would be deregistered. In a long typewritten statement, obviously prepared before the case was heard, the Court attacked the strike, the A.M.I.E.U. and the Disputes Committee.

It was clear that the State Government was preventing the federal government from assisting a settlement of the dispute.

The miners' union asked its federal body to demand Federal intervention and asked Hanlon to co-operate with the Federal authorities to bring about a resumption on pre-strike conditions.

Both the A.M.I.E.U. and Federal Minister Holloway asked the court to give a stay of proceedings on the deregistration of the A.M.I.E.U. The court refused and the union was deregistered on 22nd May. The haste was to make Federal intervention more difficult, open the way for police action against picketing, and to intimidate the meat workers.

With Mr. Neuman still in Melbourne, the weak men on the A.M.I.E.U. leadership recommended to the Disputes Committee that a mass meeting be held to consider a resumption. As the representatives in Melbourne reported progress in the direction of Federal action the Disputes Committee decided no good purpose would be served by such a meeting while negotiations were still proceeding.

After hearing reports from their representatives on the negotiation with the Federal authorities the Disputes Comittee decided that a deputation wait on the Premier in a final effort to reach a satisfactory settlement. No satisfaction was gained.

As soon as the deregistration took place Hanlon's police broke up the picket lines and further scabs, including many members of the bacon factory section of the A.M.I.E.U., went into four bacon factories in the Southern District. Kearney, organiser of the Bacon Factory Section, and Dixon, Southern District Secretary A.M.I.E.U., contributed to the weakening of members in this section.

In view of the line-up of the whole employing class, the court and the Government against the strike, the Disputes Committee decided to call a conference with waterside workers, coal miners and rail unions for the purpose of extending the strike and preventing the defeat of the A.M.I.E.U. by forcing a settlement.

F.E.D. & F.A. men working at the New Farm Power House turned down a proposal to strike against supplying power to scab factories.

Watersiders decided that all products treated at meat and bacon factories not agreed to by the A.M.I.E.U. would not be handled. Seamen at monthly stop-work meetings decided not to man ships in which there were any scab products.

The railway was the weakest position as far as the workers' front was concerned. All the force of the capitalist press and of the reaction within the labor movement from the right wing in the Cabinet and the leaders of the smaller rail unions concentrated their full blast to prevent railmen from taking action.

At a State-wide mass meeting of miners, railway men and waterside workers held on Wednesday, 12th June, the two decisive rail unions, the A.R.U. and the A.F.U.L.E., decided for strike as from midnight on Monday, 17th June. The Waterside decision was similar to that of the railway workers. The Miners, by a three to one majority, decided to cease work immediately, which they did.

The Executive of the Railway Unions decided, on the recommendation of the A.R.U. leadership, to postpone their strike till midnight on Wednesday, 19th May. As Monday was a holiday the court would not have been able to hear the injunction had the date not been put back two days.

The Maintenance Union, Guards and Shunters, Salaried Officers and Station Masters came out openly to break the rail strike. They approached the Arbitration Court for an injunction restraining the A.R.U. and A.F.U.L.E. from calling the strike.

The line-up of unions in the Court on Wednesday, 19th, was very interesting. Those supporting the injunction represented approximately 25 per cent. of rail workers. The unions opposing the injunction represented 75 per cent. of railway men. The decision of the Court was a foregone conclusion. It ordered the railmen not to strike, made a political attack upon the meat workers, the Disputes Committee, and Communists, and in effect said that the bosses were right in sacking the 4 meat workers though the Court had never heard the case. Unlike the meat workers' case where the Court read its lengthy typewritten judgment immediately, on this occasion the Court adjourned for lunch before reading the typewritten judgment.

The leadership of the A.F.U.L.E. and A.R.U. now had to decide whether to give effect to the decisions of the mass meeting of their members or to give effect to the anti-working class order of the court.

The sustained attacks of reaction certainly put fear into the hearts of a number of executive members of the A.F.U.L.E. and A.R.U. Inspired telegrams came into the A.F.U.L.E. Executive meeting which was proceeding on Wednesday afternoon and it was decided to make a last-minute appeal to the Premier to lift the fines on railway men. The deputation was accompanied by two State officers of the A.R.U. This show of weakness naturally caused the Premier and Mr. Walsh, Minister for Railways, to adopt a firm stand. When the A.F.U.L.E. Executive re-assembled more inspired telegrams had accumulated. A majority took greater fright and decided to call the strike off. By air and phone the A.R.U. executive advised

mass meetings of members held that night not to proceed with the strike.

The mass meetings of A.R.U. members, which had the best attendances for years, confirmed the estimate that the rank and file of railway men were prepared for struggle. The great majority of rail men felt shame and humiliation. This was worse a little later when the government paid off thousands of rail men and put the remainder on short time as a result of the action of the miners.

The struggle in the railways had distracted considerable attention from other aspects of the meat strike for the second time.

The waterside workers ceased work in all Queensland meat ports at midnight on Wednesday, 19th, as agreed. On Thursday morning bosses' men and politicians' puppets, assisted by C.A. reactionaries, made an attempt to stampede the Brisbane watersiders to work at the pick-up shed at starting time. The press joined the battle to break the watersiders, but unionism won the day. "A very big meeting of members on Friday, 21st June, decided without dissent to continue the struggle with the miners in support of the meat workers.

The action of the watersiders gave the working class new heart after the failure of railway action. They felt confident of victory, though it would take longer for the action of miners and watersiders to exert the necessary pressure on industry to force a settlement.

On 20th June meat workers at Auburn and Riverstone plants in N.S.W. decided for a 24 hour stoppage to consider action in support of the Queensland Branch. A mass meeting at Homebush was against a stoppage and the N.S.W. executive refused to agree to a stop work meeting. This prevented the extension of the dispute on a Federal basis.

The coal strike was now becoming effective. On the 22nd the Government cut all Sunday and excursion trains and forecast a 5 per cent. cut in electricity and gas. Next day a state of emergency was declared under section 22 of the State Transport Act, a piece of semi-fascist legislation enacted in 1938 by the Forgan Smith regime.

Over this week-end a conference called by the Federal Meat Controller took place with the employers on the 4th floor and unions on the second floor, with Tonkin acting as liaison. This conference got nowhere.

On the 25th the Prime Minister's office officially stated that the Federal Government would not intervene in the dispute. The Queensland Chamber of Manufacturers applied to the Court for a general order to stand down employees without pay in case of emergency. This was granted.

Next day drastic cuts in electricity and gas were made. These cut the manufacture of gas and electricity, closed the hotels and picture houses and threw thousands out of work. The aim to arouse hostility to the strike failed. The workers saw each new cut as a step nearer victory.

On 27th June the Cabinet meeting late used its emergency powers to order a Secret Ballot of meat workers. Hanlon said that the union would conduct the ballot which would be taken as soon as practicable. Next morning at opening time the police raided the union office in the Trades Hall, Brisbane, and seized the union records. No receipts or assurances about their return were given, though asked for. Similar raids took place at the same time at the offices of the Central District at Rockhampton and the Northern District at Townsville. Hanlon lied to the press to deceive the union, then conducted a raid on the union unprecedented in Australian history.

A mass meeting of strikers held the same day condemned the action of the Government and marched to demonstrate before the Executive Building, while a deputation went in to interview Hanlon. The unions demanded that he call off the ballot and use the emergency powers to order the meat bosses to re-open the factories on the terms of the unions. He undertook to submit the proposals to Cabinet.

Cabinet met and used the emergency powers to call the employers and the unions into conference. The conference adjourned after eight hours' session and broke down next morning.

A mass meeting of meat workers taking place at the same time as the conference expressed concern at the newspaper statements indicating that a settlement might be reached on terms other than those decided at mass meeting and instructed delegates to accept nothing less than the full terms of the unions. The meeting also adopted a policy on the secret ballot being conducted by the Industrial Registrar. This condemned the Government for interfering in the internal affairs of the union, called for a "NO" vote, stated that the conduct of the ballot was undemocratic and open to fraud and called upon the Disputes Committee to call mass meetings, after the ballot was declared, at which the conditions of any return to work would be made. Mass meetings of meat workers in all centres carried similar resolutions.

The ballot was proceeded with as a postal ballot conducted by the Industrial Registrar assisted by Government servants. The union was excluded. The ballot was attacked openly and in unauthorised leaflets from one end of the State to the other.

Evidence soon came to light that people in no way connected with the A.M.I.E.U. were receiving ballot papers and that many meat workers received two papers, and one case of a man receiving three ballot papers was reported. "It looked like a real A.L.P. plebiscite with all affiliated unions in on it. To crown the lot, the Industrial Registrar let slip to the press, which published it, that he had already issued 10,300 odd ballot papers and was still busy, while all people in trade union circles knew that the total membership of the A.M.I.E.U. was less than 8,000. The press dropped all mention of it after this.

The Government-forced-and-conducted secret ballot proved the greatest fiasco in the history of the

State. The working class were enraged. The Government had received a terrible blow. It, the employers, and the press had built so much on the ballot. But its threat had failed to stampede the workers and because of the wide open irregularities the ballot couldn't be declared.

The day for the declaration of the ballot was 10th July. It couldn't be declared, but the Government could not stand up to calling it off unless the strike could be ended. The day had to be saved and all the forces opposed to the workers conspired behind the scenes with the worst elements within the labor movement to save the day against the power of the unions.

On the morning of Thursday, 4th July, soundouts were made to a militant leader in the Trades Hall from interstate on minimum terms and it was suggested that, if asked, Hanlon would issue an order for resumption under the emergency law. In reply the union leader approached stated the full terms of the union.

The Brisbane "Telegraph" came out with full headlines that the Reds were going to drop the meat strike, wash it up, and concentrate on the coal industry.

That evening the State Executive of the A.M.I.E.U., plus the paid officials and chairman of the Southern District, the body that conducted the affairs of the strike for the meat union, met. At this meeting Kearney, organiser of the bacon factory section, moved a resolution which subsequent events proved had been inspired if not written by Government circles. This resolution recommended that the Disputes Committee request the Government to issue an order under the emergency powers to end the meat strike. This was carried by 4 votes to 3. It is easy to work out that those for it were Kearney, Dixon, Thornton and Mansfield, and those against Neuman, Cottam and Ridsdale, with President Fields having no vote. Loder, another Southern organiser, was in the South at this time. The plan was clear. The Disputes Committee was to meet on Friday morning, the Queensland Central Executive of the A.L.P. in the afternoon, and the Cabinet at night. The aim was to have all these bodies ask the Government to act on the majority resolution of the meat leadership. The weaklings would sell the strike and the press would blame the "reds."

This plan misfired. The Disputes Committee did not meet till the afternoon and no decision was reached till night. The decision rejected the recommendation of the majority of one in the meat leadership because it violated the decisions of the rank and file of the meat workers, expressed in mass meetings a few days before, and of the trade union movement. The Q.C.E. meeting could not take place and the Cabinet was left in the position of having to make a decision without backing from the labor movement. In the early hours of Saturday morning the Cabinet issued an order under its emergency power directing the meat companies to open the factories and the union to supply labor in accordance with past practice; disagreements on past practices of supplying labor to be referred to an industrial magistrate; a conference to be held within 14 days, matters not agreed upon in conference to be referred into court. The same order cancelled the secret ballot.

The strike leadership was now faced with an entirely new situation. The order was a big improvement on the Arbitration Court's order of 2nd May and the terms offered by the employers. The key point for the export section and Abattoirs and the foundation stone of the union's power had been conceded.

The split in the A.M.I.E.U. leadership was serious and while it would be easy to defeat these weaklings in the meat workers' mass meetings throughout the State, they would split a section away in the Southern District. The meat workers had had 18 weeks of struggle and a split at that stage could wreck the union. In any case it would be hard to straighten out the bacon factory section in the Southern District as a majority of scabs in several factories were union members. The weak leader of the A.M.I.E.U. wanted to stampede on Monday morning, but wiser counsel prevailed.

A mass meeting of meat workers was called in Brisbane on Wednesday afternoon and for northern centres on Thursday. Miners and Watersiders said that their attitude would be decided by the Disputes Committee on the basis of the meat workers' wishes. The Disputes Committee met, but made no decisions. A deputation went to see the Premier and obtained a number of assurances. In the afternoon the miners' leaders saw the Premier, discussed the meat order, obtained an assurance that restrictions on gas and light for domestic use would be lifted at the earliest possible moment, and arranged some conferences on mining matters.

On Wednesday morning, 10th July, the Disputes Committee met and, after discussion, a resolution recommending to the meatworkers, watersiders and miners that, in view of the circumstances, they should return to work on the basis of the conditions and assurances given re the meat workers and the miners, was carried. The resolution thanked by name all unions that had participated and called for preparedness against further attacks and to advance the trade union programme. This recommendation was unanimous and the first indication of the attitude of the Disputes Committee.

The meat workers' mass meeting which followed right after carried the recommendation of the Disputes' Committee without opposition. The speakers were Neuman (Meat Union secretary), Macdonald (Disputes Committee), Millar (Miners), Grayham (Watersiders). They concentrated their remarks on the resolution and on preserving unity at the time the meat workers needed it most. They did not attack those who had split the meat leadership.

Dixon and Kearney, speaking last in an effort to cover their own betrayal of the meatworkers and

make out that it was their efforts that saved the day, attacked the Disputes Committee and the Communists. This move had been worked out with the press and with Catholic Action which, because of so many being out of work from all industries and the fact that meat workers never check tickets to enter a mass meeting, had been able to organise a group of about 300 round the platform. These hoodlums, mainly consisting of C.A. youth who did not know one union leader from another, taking their cue from Kearney, applauded the attacks loudly and howled down Wells when he attempted to reply. This confused many meat workers, who were disgusted.

The bosses' agents certainly did their utmost to split and confuse the meat workers and not without some success. The press featured this as a great revolt against Communism and lauded the position of Dixon and Kearney, with photographs of the "victors," etc.

The Central and Northern meat workers in orderly meetings accepted the recommendation of the Disputes Committee, even though with reluctance.

Some effort made by a small section to disrupt the waterside meeting failed. The C.A. outside group could not gain admittance. The miners' meetings were orderly and confident of their strength. The watersiders and the miners throughout the State returned to work on the recommendation of the Disputes Committee after it had been endorsed by the meat workers.

The employers won their point in the Bacon Factory section and dealt the union a severe temporary blow at this point, but the trade union movement successfully defended the position of the A.M.I.E.U. in the Export Section, its decisive point of strength, and preserved it as a powerful industrial union, thus defeating the first great assault launched by big capital on the Queensland working class in the post-war period.

Their own writers estimate that the struggle cost the employing class 6 million pounds, a heavy cost to defeat 750 bacon factory workers. They do not say how much was spent on the labor spy and bribery racket. But in any case the money aspect is the least of their losses.

SOME CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE STRIKE.

(1) The strike showed the willingness of the working class to struggle—the solidarity of the meat workers and members of the A.E.U., F.E.D. & F.A., Clerks, E.T.U., and Transport Union involved in and around the meat factories over such a long period, the decision of the miners and watersiders who came out purely in support of the meat workers, the action of those railwaymen who incurred heavy fines for applying black bans, and the support of the working class generally.

(2) The strike showed that firm and decisive leadership inspires the workers and consolidates them in the course of the struggle. This is proved by the way the miners and watersiders consolidated and became stronger in the struggle; also by the strength of the meat workers in the export section and by the weakness of the meat workers in the bacon factory section, where the weakness and cowardice of Dixon and Kearney were reflected by those who scabbed.

(3) The strike showed the power of the working class and that bosses, Arbitration Courts, the Press and the Government are rendered impotent while the main body of the working class stand united under courageous leadership.

(4) The strike showed that a semblance of unity in which treachery hides its policy from the rank and file is a very dangerous thing. Weak elements in the leadership of a union embarking on a serious struggle should be forced out into the open before the rank and file early in the struggle and their rotten policy completely exposed.

(5) Number (4) and the failure to obtain sufficient support in other States to force Federal intervention and the tendency to be side-tracked from the main tasks in hand by conferences that could not be successful, were the three outstanding weaknesses in the struggle.

(6) There are many other conclusions too numerous to go into here, that the working class must draw from this struggle—the employers' drive against the working class, the sharpening of the class struggle and class line-up, and many questions of strategy and tactics flowing from this and on finance, propaganda, etc.

(7) The seniority question placed so sharply in the foreground should now be pressed home by the Queensland Trades Union movement and the government forced to enact legislation giving this degree of security in employment.

(8) The whole question of getting rid of at least the most obnoxious aspects of the Queensland Arbitration system should be placed sharply to the fore.

(9) The working class must be put on guard against the Industrial Peace snare that the capitalists are pushing so hard in an endeavor to shackle the toilers to acceptance of lower living standards, to enable the Australian capitalists to compete in the new trade set-up that will arise on the conditions of the U.S.A. loan to Britain.

The working class gained a great deal of political and industrial experience in this strike. If the workers study and apply these lessons as well as they fought in the struggle, the Australian labor movement will indeed be the stronger for this rich experience.

REACTION BEATS ITS WAR DRUMS

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman, C.P.U.S.A.

THROUGHOUT the United States powerful reactionary and pro-fascist forces, violating the most vital interests of the American people, are advocating war against the Soviet Union. Their war-like clamor is widespread in the press, on the radio, in Congress, and elsewhere. World War II is not yet officially over; our soldiers are only partly returned from the battlefields; tens of thousands of civilians, still unburied, lie under the smoking ruins of many devastated cities; Europe is war-ravaged from end to end, and millions of people are in dire starvation as a result of the war just ended—yet the warmongers would plunge the world into a new blood-bath incomparably worse than the one we are now emerging from.

So far has their war agitation gone in this country that Winston Churchill dared to come here and propose an Anglo-American war alliance directed against the U.S.S.R. (an alliance which is already coming into existence); the Truman Administration is proceeding to develop a huge post-war military machine based on an offensive strategy; our manufacture of atomic bombs is going ahead day and night, so that now we have on hand more than 1,500 of these super-deadly weapons; exposures have been made in the daily press, almost in a routine way, to the effect that actual plans have been worked out for the atom-bombing of Russian cities; hostile British radio broadcasts, aimed to drive a wedge between the Soviet people and their government, are now being beamed at the U.S.S.R.; and diplomatic crises in the U.N., all of our making, follow one another with deadly regularity, each more threatening than the previous one, and the latest of which is the deliberately provoked crisis over Iran.

Behind this dangerous warmongering stand the big trusts and monopolies of the United States, with their reactionary, pro-fascist hangers-on, including Social-Democrats and Trotskyites. The policies of the Truman Administration, especially in the realm of foreign relations, departing from the co-operative policies of the late President Roosevelt, fit in with those of the profit-hungry imperialist expansionists. The general aim of all these warmongers is to establish American capitalist domination over the war-wracked world. The greatest obstacle to this plan they find in the U.S.S.R.

The American and British masses developed a deep respect and friendship for the Soviet people during the war. For one thing, the people of Britain know (even if their leaders do hide the fact) that it was Hitler's fear of an attack by the Red Army in his Balkan rear (and not the heroic defence by the R.A.F. in the so-called Battle of Britain) that saved their country from falling before the Nazis' conquering armies. And the people of the United States also know that it was the tremendous struggle of the Red Army, at a terrific cost in lives to the Soviet people, that smashed the Wehrmacht while we organised (with a year's needless delay) the second front in Europe.

So, to break down these friendly feelings of the peoples toward the U.S.S.R., the warmongers have had to develop a maze of great lies against the Soviet Union, in order to prepare for an anti-Soviet war. They shout that the cause of the present political tension in the world is Soviet "imperialist expansionism;" that the U.S.S.R. is trying to dominate the world even at the cost of war; that the Anglo-American bloc is fighting to defend world democracy against Soviet reaction; that an American-Soviet war is inevitable, and that such a war, in view of America's vast strength, would be easily won by our country and its allies.

The sinister danger in all this warmongering is that, so far, there is so little opposition to it. Our people, like the British masses, do not want war, but the trouble is they are not yet making their voices heard or their will felt. Numerous courageous and clear-sighted men, like Senators Pepper, Kilgore, Mitchell and Taylor, have spoken grave words of warning against the needlessness and folly of an anti-Soviet war, as have various newspapers. But the great democratic masses of the people, especially those in the trade unions, are still largely unaware of the grave danger now confronting the peace of our country and the world. It is, therefore, very needful that we consider some of the major arguments of the warmongers.

Is there a Soviet imperialism? The answer to this reckless charge, which is made on every side by warmongers, is an emphatic NO! The U.S.S.R. is a Socialist country, one in which the industries and the land are owned by the people. Hence, lacking profit-grabbing capitalists, it cannot be an imperialist power. The so-called expansionism with which it is being charged, specifically the inclusion within its borders of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia and Eastern Poland, is only the restoration to Russia, with the consent of the peoples concerned, of territories that were torn away from it after World War I. Regarding the Balkans also, the U.S.S.R. is not seeking to absorb the several countries, as the warmongers allege, but is simply insisting on the right of these lands, formerly all fascist-controlled, to have truly democratic governments. And so far as Iran and Manchuria, present bones of contention in U.N. circles, are concerned, the U.S.S.R. is trying to arrange normal trading and diplomatic relations with them on a democratic basis. Thus the so-called Soviet imperialism is a myth, an invention of the warmongers to provide a pretext for anti-Soviet antagonism and eventually war.

In reality, the imperialist expansion is on the side of the Anglo-American bloc, especially on the part of the monopolists of the United States. The United States went into the war a power limited almost exclusively to the Western Hemisphere. Its navy was smaller than that of Great Britain and, it was often stated, of Japan also. Its air force was negligible, and so was its army. But the United States came out of the war a world power of the first magnitude. Its navy is now bigger than all the rest of the navies in the world combined and it dominates both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Its air force is also as large as all others put together and, with American bases scattered halfway round the globe, from Iceland to China, it is in a position to atom-bomb any city in the world. Besides this, its army is now holding forth in 56 countries all over the earth. In view of this tremendous American imperialist expansion it takes a lot of assurances by the Soviet-haters to accuse the U.S.S.R. of expansionism when it has only reunited the territories properly belonging to it and is but seeking to establish normal and friendly working relations with its neighbours.

British imperialism especially displays a cynical disregard of realities, as well as of world opinion, when it shouts loud protests because Soviet troops did not evacuate Iran as quickly as the British ruling class would like. For are not British troops occupying Greece, Egypt, Indonesia, Palestine and many other countries, including unhappy India, against the wishes of the inhabitants thereof? These British situations are, of course, with the help of the United States delegates, kept out of the proceedings of the U.N.

The warmongers yell the charge from the housetops that the U.S.S.R. is striving to conquer the world. But this is a deliberate lie—a big lie of the Hitler type. The policy of the Soviet government is one of peaceful collaboration with its world neighbour states, in conformity with the Socialist character of its economic and political system. It wants an opportunity to rebuild its war-ravaged country. We Americans cannot grasp the extent of the war ruin suffered by the U.S.S.R., with some 15,000,000 of its people dead, 70,000 villages and 1,700 cities and towns destroyed, and one-third of its industry wiped out. It is simply absurd to suppose that a country so devastated by war should be embarked upon a policy of world domination, and could face the prospect of a war that such a policy would surely provoke.

On the contrary, it is the Anglo-American powers which, disregarding the will of their peoples, are out for world domination. Their violent charges of expansionism against the U.S.S.R. are designed as a smokescreen to cover their own inordinate imperialistic ambitions. The monopolists in the United States, especially, viewing the tremendous military, industrial and financial powers of this country, are convinced that now, with the rest of the world prostrated, is the golden opportunity to establish their world hegemony.

World policies of the United States government, with Great Britain going along as a sort of junior partner, bear out this assertion. Aggressive American foreign policy is in evidence on all international fronts—the attempt to reduce China to an economic and political dependency of the United States; the unilateral control of Japan, aimed at making that country dependent upon our own; the more active policy of economic and political domination throughout Latin America; the efforts to dominate the new democratic governments in the Balkans; the newly aggressive policy in the Near and Middle East; the constant whittling away of the Potsdam, Yalta and other wartime agreements, the attempts to control the economic life of various countries by means of politically conditional loans; the manipulation of food supplies, under control of the notorious Hoover, to favor reactionary political groups in Europe. And, especially, there is the so-called get-tough-policy with the U.S.S.R., the purpose of which is to eliminate the greatest of all obstacles in the path of the American and British imperialists, the vast Socialist republic of workers and peasants, the friend of all downtrodden peoples, and the mainstay of world democracy.

The world domination policies of our government are clearly to be seen in the current sessions of the Security Council of the U.N. Mr. Byrnes is dictating the whole proceedings in the most high-handed manner. He has already built up a controlling anti-Soviet bloc. The other capitalist countries, almost without exception, are under the thumb of the United States. Chiang Kai-Shek in China is dependent upon American bayonets and finance; France, devastated by the war, sent a delegation here seeking a huge loan; Australia, whose country was saved from Japanese invasion by American armed forces, is falling more and more under our control; Holland, if it is to once more rebuild its shattered empire in the East Indies, must have American help; and Great Britain herself can only hope to hold together her ramshackle empire and restore its broken economic system with American military, political and financial assistance. And nearly all of these countries are also knocking on the doors of the United States asking for its surplus food supplies to feed their starving populations.

So Mr. Byrnes, taking advantage of the favorable situation of the United States, and supported by Mr. Truman and the great trusts of this country, has whipped all these dependent and semi-dependent countries together into a working bloc that controls the U.N. With this bloc he is trying to coerce the Soviet Union into submission, even with the threat of war.

Never in the history of the late unlamented League of Nations was there such a bold-faced example of imperialist arrogance as Mr. Byrnes' refusal to grant an extension of two weeks' time to the U.S.S.R. in which to complete its negotiations with Iran. Mr. Byrnes, evidently afraid that the U.S.S.R.

would secure a friendly adjustment with Iran, insisted that the Iranian matter must be heard immediately and that our war ally, the U.S.S.R., should, in fact, be put on trial before the world. And when the U.S.S.R., refusing to submit to this outrageous proceeding, declined to participate in the discussion over Iran, Mr. Byrnes, with the help of a big clatter in the press and on the radio, set the stage for an international crisis. The Anglo-American big business warmongers attacked the Soviet Union in full cry, which was exactly what Mr. Byrnes and his fellow-imperialists expected and wanted. Nor will Mr. Byrnes, with the help of the Attlees and Bevins of Great Britain, hesitate to create another world crisis in the U.N. over some new trumped-up issue if and when the Iranian crisis is overcome.

The warmongers are crying out with all the propaganda means at their disposal that war with the U.S.S.R. is inevitable and that we may as well get the job over with. But this, too, is a great lie. It is the Hitler theory all over again, to the effect that the capitalist world must unite to destroy the Socialist Soviet Union. Contrary to all this profascist propaganda, war between these two great social systems is not at all inevitable. It all depends upon whether or not the peoples fight against the projected war. There is every good reason why they can and should live in peace and harmony together. But to do this requires that the peoples of the United States and Great Britain find the means to curb the great monopolists who are dominating the foreign policies of their countries. Otherwise, they are following a course which, if unchecked, will lead straight to another great war.

The basic cause of modern war is capitalist imperialism, that is, the fierce struggles between the big capitalist states to sell their surplus commodities in the world market, to monopolise the world's economic resources, to occupy international strategic military positions, and to exploit colonial and semi-colonial peoples. World War I was a military collision between the British-Japanese-French-Russian-American bloc and its bitter imperialistic rival, the German-Austrian bloc, for world control. Likewise, World War II was caused by the drive of German-Japanese-Italian imperialism to establish world dominion. And the danger of a World War III originates precisely in the present determined push of American imperialism, with the help of Great Britain, to set up a world control for itself.

As for the Soviet Union, it presents no danger of war. On the contrary, its Socialist character, coupled with its great strength, makes it the main buttress of world peace. Because the Soviet industries and land are owned by the people, and because the Government is in the hands of the workers and peasants, the U.S.S.R. is naturally wedded to a policy of peace. With its production automatically absorbed in raising the living standards of its own people, it has no great artificial surpluses to be dumped on the world markets in fierce competition against other powers. With vast natural resources of its own, it has no need or impulse to struggle for control of world raw material supplies. And its whole Socialist structure and spirit are fundamentally opposed to the exploitation of other peoples. Hence it is utterly absurd to speak of "Soviet imperialism" and of a U.S.S.R. drive to war.

The peaceful character of the U.S.S.R. is no final guarantee, however, for the maintenance of world peace. The democratic masses in the United States and Great Britain must also lend a hand. The monopolists who dominate the great capitalist powers, the United States and Great Britain, are on a rampage, driving for world control. They especially direct their attacks against the U.S.S.R., because they hate it as a Socialist country and because it is the unwavering friend of the oppressed of the earth. This is why they lose no occasion to create ill-will toward the U.S.S.R. and to provoke acute international diplomatic crises, as in the case of Iran. The whole Iranian matter could have been disposed of in a friendly spirit and thus every semblance of crisis avoided had Mr. Byrnes and the big monopolists who stand behind him desired it.

Such imperialist warmakers must be restrained, otherwise they will provoke war. And the American and British peoples can defeat their war plottings if they will but exert their irresistible power to hold their countries, through the United Nations, to a policy of peaceful collaboration with the U.S.S.R. and all other peace-loving lands. This is the price of peace and it must be paid. The very worst mistake that the peoples of the United States and Great Britain could make would be to fall victims of the warmongers' lie that war with the U.S.S.R. is inevitable. Then indeed, we would be rushed into a new world war willy nilly, with all of its frightful horror and devastation.

One of the most sinister aspects of the war propaganda that is now going on openly in our country is the common allegation that an armed conflict against the U.S.S.R. would be a democratic war; a sort of completion of the World War II task of wiping out world tyranny. This, of course, is also a monstrous lie; a part of the Hitler propaganda that saturates all the arguments of the warmongers. In reality, an anti-Soviet war would be an ultra-reactionary war and would threaten the world with fascism.

As a Socialist country the U.S.S.R. is on a higher social level than any capitalist country, however rich or powerful. Its industries, owned by the people and dedicated to their welfare, constitute incomparably a more democratic system than the capitalist system of private ownership, with its resultant handful of millionaires and billionaires on one side and vast armies of poverty-stricken people on the other. The Soviet's whole political system, corresponding to its thoroughly democratic industrial base, likewise represents the highest form yet achieved anywhere by mankind. Similarly, its broad mass educational movement; its system of complete equality among the many peoples that make up the Soviet Nation, and many other features of Soviet life, are on quite a higher plane of democracy than

exists in any capitalist land. But the ruling capitalists in other countries are desperately anxious that the peoples of their respective lands do not get to know these facts about Soviet democracy. So they have, ever since the birth of the Soviet Union in 1917, by the most astounding propaganda campaign of misrepresentation in all history, largely succeeded in keeping this knowledge from their people.

The democratic character of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, however, has been made unmistakably clear during the recent war and in the present postwar situation. No country has been so clear-headed and determined as the U.S.S.R. in its fight to destroy fascism root and branch. Wherever we look, in Germany, Japan, the former fascist satellite countries of Europe, or in the great colonial lands, the force of Soviet diplomacy is steadily and consistently being exerted to eliminate the vestiges of fascism and to strengthen world democracy.

Unfortunately, however, the same cannot be said about the policy of the American and British governments. For despite the strongly anti-fascist and pro-democratic convictions of the American and British peoples, it is a deplorable reality that throughout the world the influence of their two Governments is anything but militantly democratic. In Germany and Japan they are compromising with the defeated fascists; in the former fascist states bordering upon the U.S.S.R., they are supporting reactionaries of various sorts, and are using them as imperialist tools against the progressive new European democracies. Our State Department still recognises the defunct fascist governments of Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania. Similarly, our representatives' influence in China and other colonial and semi-colonial lands is anything but truly democratic. In the war-torn countries the United States and British officials are always to be found on the Right, with every reactionary and fascist element looking hopefully to them for succour; while the U.S.S.R. is uniformly on the Left, the solid defender of local and international democracy, and an object of the bitter hatred of every fascist.

A war against the U.S.S.R., which our warmongers are now so boldly advocating, would be a war against world democracy. It would be directed not only against the Soviet Union, but also the liberation struggles of the colonial peoples, the new democracies in Europe, and the aspirations of the workers all over the world. It would be an anti-democratic, pro-fascist war. That is why reactionaries and fascists of every stripe are so eager for it. They know that the U.S.S.R. is the world's main bulwark against fascism, and that if it could be overthrown the road would be open for the victory of reaction in its worst forms.

In the eagerness of the warmongers to mobilise the American people for a war against the Soviet Union they are picturing such a war as being a simple and easy matter. Their argument runs about like this: "Russia is very weak after the war, while we are very strong. Moreover, we have the atom bomb. Let us, therefore, get on with the war. It will be a cinch, and the sooner we begin it, the better. Delay can be very dangerous for us, inasmuch as Russia admittedly has tremendous recuperative powers and, then, who knows when she may evolve the atom bomb herself?" The Hearst-McCormick-Paterson Axis press especially reeks with this type of warmongering, which is echoed widely on the radio and also has much influence in political circles.

So widespread is such propaganda that numerous prominent spokesmen have found it necessary to warn the American people not to be deluded by the arguments that an anti-Soviet war would be a sort of vacation tour to Moscow. In the N.Y. Herald Tribune, February 21, 1946, Walter Lippmann, in discussing the naive thought that the Soviet Union could be defeated by a sudden, well-placed shower of atom bombs, points out that if a war were to be directed against that country, the Red Army, in response, would overrun most if not all of Europe, and would also hold England at its mercy. He says we must "realise that the atomic bomb could not guarantee a victory, and does not even promise a victory." From which he concludes:

> "Where does all this lead? It leads to the inexorable conclusion that if we examine the problem of military security, we cannot help seeing that there is no real alternative to political agreement."

General Eisenhower, on March 15, was even sharper in his warning against prevalent anti-Soviet war talk, showing that such a war could only lead to disaster for us:

> "Our people do not want a war which could have no end but the destruction of the greater part of the world. Atom bombs or no, war still means knocking out the opposing armies . . . We saw what happened to the finest armies the world ever saw. If we tried to conquer Russia, there's no telling when we could establish ourselves on her soil. But once we did, we'd face years of slogging through Siberia. We have nothing to gain to start, and would have nothing left at the end."

Blatant advocates of a Soviet war, in seeking to make the whole thing look very easy, hide the fact that inasmuch as the rest of the capitalist nations, including Great Britain, are either very war-weary and unfit to fight or virtually ruined by the recent war, the United States, outside of fragmentary fascist support, would have to fight the proposed anti-Soviet war almost alone. Our country emerged from the two great world wars with comparatively light casualties and without any war devastation; but a World War III waged against the Soviet Union would surely cost us many millions of dead, would bring about the ruin of our cities from atom bombs, and at the end it would bring us to a futile stalemate if not an actual military defeat. To such a catastrophe the warmongers are trying to lead our nation, with their glib talk about a war against the U.S.S.R.

The alternative to the holocaust of a new world war is a peaceful agreement with the Soviet Union.

Unity between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is the only possible foundation for world peace and a strong United Nations. And such a Soviet-American agreement can be achieved if the American people will beat back the imperialists in our midst and insist upon our Government following a genuine peace policy in the tradition of Roosevelt.

Organised labor must especially rise to its obligations in this situation. It must reject and protest against the dangerous course of the Truman Administration in foreign affairs. It must realise that it has to fight in the realm of international policy that it struggles against on the home front. The union-smashers, Jew-baiters, Negro-haters, and enemies of progress generally in this country, are the principal warmongers and most rampant imperialists in the sphere of foreign affairs.

All the trade unions of the United States, not only those in the C.I.O., should affiliate with the World Federation of Trade Unions and heartily support its peace programme; they should combat every manifestation of militarism and imperialism on the part of the Truman Administration; they should be the sharpest opponents of Anti-Soviet propaganda; they should clean as many reactionaries as possible out of Congress in the coming Congressional elections; they should be the most alert champions of Big Three and United Nations solidarity; they should be the leaders of the whole American people in the fight for peace.

Throughout the world the various Communist Parties, with many millions of their respective peoples rallied behind their lead, form a great bastion of international peace. They are inveterate enemies of fascists, imperialists and warmongers. They are the best defenders of their people's interests, which are opposed, all over the world, to those of the monopolists. The United States, the most powerful capitalist country and the leading imperialist power in the world, also needs a powerful Communist Party, for this would enormously strengthen the people's fight for peace and for progress on all fronts. Now is the time to build the Communist Party. The fight against the warmongers must be won.

SPEECHES TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING, MAY 31 - JUNE 2, 1946

L. L. SHARKEY.

COMRADES. I agree with the report that was delivered by Comrade Dixon. Much has been said by various speakers on the question of the danger of war, and there cannot be any doubt that every indication we can have from Anglo-American imperialism must confirm the view that as far as they are concerned, if they can beat back the mass resistance, they would set their course for war with the Soviet Union.

Every day we have some statement, particularly from the United States, indicating some new weapon, some new development in military, naval or aviation preparations for war, together with their repudiation of Potsdam in relation to the rebuilding of Germany. The obvious intention is to construct their area of Germany as a base for war with the Soviet Union. You know the position in Japan and what has taken place there, with MacArthur's intention to rebuild a reactionary Japan as part of the encirclement of the Soviet Union. The seizure of the Danube boats and the British Labor Government's declaration that Spain cannot be considered a menace to world peace all fit into the picture. Everywhere they are building up the forces of reaction, coming to agreement with fascism, and developing their weapons with this end in view. So we ask ourselves: why do they want war with the Soviet Union? What are the reasons for this apparent change from Teheran, Crimea, Potsdam, the period of the war?

The Anglo-American imperialists know very well, just as Churchill admitted in his Fulton speech and Evatt pointed out in Parliament, that the Soviet Union does not want war. They admit that this is true, but yet they carry on openly their preparations not only of a propaganda character, but of a much more serious nature. The Yanks are building up their bases from one end of the world to the other and they sent a Note to Rumania which I suppose is about the very last word in hypocrisy: they complained about the unfair use of the press and radio against the reactionaries in Rumania. Why not send a Note to the McCormick, Hearst, Beaverbrook or Warwick Fairfax press about the unfair use of the press?

This is one example of the extreme provocation to which these people are prepared to resort. They fear the advance of the socialist revolution in all these countries, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Finland and so on, hence they are very anxious to break down the so-called "iron curtain" and they threaten they will go to war over these issues.

As comrades have pointed out, they are extremely afraid and they have good reason to be afraid. None of the capitalist countries, neither Britain nor the U.S.A. nor Australia, in the twelve months since the war, have made any progress worth mentioning towards establishing economic or political stability of the capitalist system in their own country. As you know, the position worsens for them all the time, all the gorgeous plans for rehabilitation on paper have failed to materialise, and the general crisis of capitalism has been so accentuated by the war that they feel the weakness of capitalism more than ever. So that is another factor, their own instability, their fear that in a few years' time they will be faced with the greatest of all economic crises, and when we look at this "iron curtain," comrades, there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt that it is a very terrifying thing for the bourgeoisie.

How to solve their problem? They believe, as Mr. Churchill said, that the time is short and very soon democratic power will become overwhelming. Their time is short, they have the atom bomb, they have various other weapons at their disposal at the moment, which they believe Soviet Russia does not yet possess. Well, I cannot say definitely, of course, what weapons Soviet Russia possesses at the present time, they have not indicated the nature of whatever weapons they may have. We know that they are quite confident of their strength, that Soviet scientists have indicated that they expect to have atomic energy, not only for bombs but applied to Soviet industry, during the period of the forthcoming Five Year Plan.

The atom bomb has played a very important role in the development of the world situation. Mr. Byrnes openly stated, when asked why today they oppose Potsdam and Crimea, that too many concessions were made to the Soviet Union, that the concessions were made because then "we did not know we had the atom bomb." With the aid of the atom bomb they hope to be able to reverse all present progressive trends, to recapture for imperialism the countries behind the so-called "Iron Curtain" and even to destroy the Soviet Union. In other words, Anglo-American imperialism today believes itself to be the last bastion holding up the advance of world Socialist revolution, and if we analyse it from that standpoint and ask ourselves what type of war is this that "our" imperialists plot, there is only one answer—this is a continuation of Hitler's war, the worst form of reactionary, counter-revolutionary war.

The responsibility for the future of humanity in connection with this whole world situation and the preparation for war more than ever depends on the Communist Parties in the English-speaking countries, because here is the main centre of war preparation, in the British Empire and in the U.S.A. It was not for nothing that Churchill, in the course of his Fulton speech, said that in the English-speaking countries alone the Communist movement was still in its infancy, and Churchill drew the most important conclusion from that also that they must act while the Communist movement in the English-speaking world was still not strong enough, in his opinion, to defeat the plans of the bourgeoisie. I think you need no further urging than that conclusion drawn by Churchill. That was one of the factors that he took into consideration—the comparative weakness of the Communist Parties in the English-speaking countries, as one of the factors that gives an opportunity to the Anglo-American imperialists to launch an attack against the Soviet Union and suppress world independence. That puts us on our mettle to rectify this position which Churchill counts as one of the main factors making for a new world war, so that Churchill will not be able to say that they can strike while the Communist movement in the English-speaking countries is still an "infant." That indicates to us our responsibility. That is, taken as a group, the American, British, Canadian and Australian Parties have a main responsibility in checking the war plans and struggling against the imperialist, anti-democratic war being planned against the Soviet Union and the democratic and potential Socialist States of Europe.

T. WRIGHT.

I agree entirely with the report and the supplementary reports; the draft of the letter to the A.L.P. is a very good one. I take it that this will become a document to be printed and distributed particularly to A.L.P. workers. But the report and discussions have impressed me that we could not let a document of this kind go without some few lines about the war dangers. It is based almost entirely on national questions and I think we should make some reference to the danger of Australia being drawn into a war by British and American imperialism.

Some references have been made to the referendum and I want to refer to the importance of this for the Trade Union movement and the need for us, to the extent that we can do it through the trade unions, to conduct a big campaign in support of the referendum. When I say that I am not thinking simply that we should point out to the workers that if the referendum is carried it will give the Federal Government the constitutional powers needed to legislate for shorter hours and increased wages, because after all I do not think we should have any illusions that the Federal Government is going a long way on these lines if the referendum is carried. In the next few months the Federal Government might introduce legislation giving improved conditions, but what I have in mind is something different from that. The present position in regard to wages and conditions holds back the growth of the Trade Union movement.

There are many Unions which are supposed to be Federal Unions, but in reality they are more or less a loose linking together of State Unions—the Meat Industry is another one very similar to my own—and the reason is that they developed as State Unions in the first place and while they have a certain amount of interest in common in regard to Federal Arbitration they still have a great deal of interest in State courts and the centre of gravity remains in State branches and State activity. We want to see the development of the Trade Unions on a national basis speeded up and, in my opinion, if the referendum is carried it will give us a tremendous amount of assistance in stimulating and improving organisation of the trade union movement

on a national basis. The reason is that if the referendum is carried Federal jurisdiction will override State jurisdiction because it will be possible to get decisions on wages and conditions in such a way as to become common rule applying all over the Commonwealth.

At present in Queensland, Western Australia and other States there is resistance amongst the working class themselves to having a Federal jurisdiction and they want to preserve certain State rights that they consider may be of value to them. The carrying of the referendum would lead to the position that whether they liked it or not they would be compelled to strengthen their organisation on a national basis, and the fact that Federal decisions will become the common rule will bring about that linking up of interests and unity of decisions that will give a broad basis for further strengthening the trade unions.

R. GIBSON.

Comrade Dixon last night made it very clear how the monopolists are gathering their forces for great attacks on the labor movement. From all we have heard in Victoria the Chamber of Manufacturers are very closely linked in a conspiracy with the Liberal and Country Parties and the Melbourne and Sydney press in order to provoke a showdown with the working class to prepare the way for victory in the Federal elections. In the last days of the double dumping dispute the Chamber of Manufacturers met and made a decision to try and force the Labor Government to take some action in the matter.

Even if the immediate mining crisis is past it may be that next week or the week after we may find ourselves with great industrial trouble on our hands on which the future of the Unions or the Federal elections may depend.

In these circumstances our united front work becomes of crucial importance and it was a good thing that the Political Committee acted promptly in order to correct wrong developments of our tactics in Victoria.

There are three things that stand out about the Labor Party situation in Victoria. One is that despite 40 years of John Wren intrigue and 10 years of organised Catholic Action intrigue still thousands of Labor Party members and followers in Victorian factories are ready to co-operate with us when we go about it in the right way. In the Henty by-election it proved possible to get good co-operation between Communists and most of the A.L.P. branches and members.

Secondly, there were 400 resolutions on the Labor Party agenda paper most of which were progressive, and there is quite an important cleavage in the leadership of the Labor Party in Victoria. The better elements are keen to build the Labor Party and are trying to limit the anti-Communist heresy hunt and have differences with the Catholic Action group.

Thirdly, the Cain Government is in general following a right-wing policy. The Government retreats from many vital points of their programme and uses the Legislative Council vote with great skill to justify relative inactivity. We have to reverse this policy on the part of the Government, to convince Cain that these attacks on the Communists do not pay and get united action with the best elements for the Communist and Labor Party programme.

On the matter of taxation it seems to me that a very sharp campaign has to be waged if we are going to get substantial relief on the lower incomes. Cain has made the announcement that there will be only slight tax reductions on lower incomes in the future. Some indication was given by Scullin last week to a deputation. He indicated that he had made certain recommendations about the Federal budget. He argued against the A.C.T.U. demands for reduction on lower incomes. He developed the old social democratic doctrines about evening out poverty among the poor. He said that the removal of taxes on incomes up to £300 would mean scaling down on middle incomes; to put the A.C.T.U. demand into effect would cost £38,000,000 and he implied that he considered that impossible. The whole reply was of a kind to indicate that we would have to redouble the campaign on this question if we are going to get any results.

E. ROSS

Going through the files of "Common Cause" during the week to build an article on our consistent drive for control of the industry, as usual I got browsing over other matters and came across one particularly interesting report of the Labor Council in August, 1937, and since I have not very many things to say I think I will take time reading this, as I think it will interest members of the Central Committee and also bear some lessons for us in the light of the remarks of Comrades Jeffrey, Docker and others on the situation on the Labor Council.

This is a resolution carried by the Labor Council, practically unanimously, in August, 1937:

"That this Labor Council deplores the action of Labor leaders in adopting the attitude of retreating before the red bogey. Instead of attempting to disrupt the ranks of the workers by themselves attacking the Communists we call upon Labor speakers to concentrate their efforts on an effective exposure of the anti-working class activities of the Lyons-Page Government, explaining the Labor Party's programme and uniting the workers for a Labor victory on October 23rd."

R. A. King was the mover. In moving the motion Mr. King said — "in using the red bogey Labor leaders have made a retrograde step which will react against the interests of the workers, it is going back to the days of George Reid and the Socialist Tiger. All that the Labor Party leaders are doing is splitting the workers. Will that help to secure the return of the Labor Party? Emphatically it will not. On the contrary this policy is likely to lead to our defeat and perhaps some of the politicians are already preparing an excuse to blame it on the Communists."

Supporting, A. S. McAlpine said — "Beasley must recognise that he is paving the way for the suppression of such organisations (Communist Party, F.O.S.U.) and that the trade union movement will follow as it has in other countries." Mr. McAlpine said "that the Labor Party as a result of their stupid and treacherous red-baiting policy had been placed on the defensive." He appealed for unity against the U.A.P.

In reply Mr. King said "one of the main troubles is that the political section has been allowed to dominate industrial movements. But that day is coming to an end and when the Labor Government is returned the A.C.T.U. and Labor Councils will be on the doorstep, insisting upon the passage of working class legislation."

The resolution was carried amidst enthusiasm, only a handful being in opposition.

We are in the position today of having both the Federal and State Governments, after trying to get out of the coal industry and saying they were determined to get out of it, both trying to bring forward some concrete propositions to bring security to those employed by the industry and those dependent on it and we intend to keep them there until we see the colour of their money, as one may say. And so I say we have the initiative and it looks as though we may be getting somewhere and the position on that front is more favorable than for some considerable time.

After screaming "rationing," after devious threats of general strike and slating the miners all over the place the press have been caught on the wrong leg and have been forced to pull in their horns, go quiet and their tone suggests they do not know what it is all about.

I agree with the material put forward in reference to the united front. Undoubtedly there is the basis today, with the Labor Party Executives forced into the position of supporting the major demands of the workers, for the real united front work.

BRITISH COMMUNISTS CHALLENGE BEVINISM

(Statement adopted by the enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, June 16.)

THE rejection of the Communist Party's application for affiliation by the Labor Party Conference at Bournemouth took place after a campaign of calumny, misrepresentation and distortion such as has never before been known in the history of the Labor movement. The decision can encourage only the enemies of Labor, who now feel themselves stronger to prevent the working-class from achieving its demands, and who are bent on world domination, even though this policy may mean a new war. It is for this reason that the rejection of affiliation has been hailed by Churchill, the Tory press and the bitterest enemies of the common people all over the world.

The Conference, in spite of its congratulatory stocktaking of the progressive achievements of the Labor Government — nationalisation, the Health Service, the repeal of the Trade Union Act, etc. — could not dispel the deep concern of the rank and file regarding many aspects of its domestic policy, but above all of the disastrous foreign policy.

The foreign policy of the Labor Government has brought the country to the stage where there is a serious danger of a complete collapse of Allied unity. This is the plight to which the unconcealed antagonism of the Labor leaders to the Soviet Union, the new democratic Europe, and to Communism has brought the British people.

This policy is making a reality of the Anglo-American bloc, first proposed by Churchill, which necessarily involves the breakdown of the United Nations Organisation and, in place of international co-operation, the economic dependence of Britain upon American capitalism, which can result in mass unemployment at the end of the present trade boom, and a new world war.

The widespread uneasiness of the Labor movement over the composition of the Nationalisation Boards, over the appeal for the "best brains" from the capitalists instead of working-class representation and control, over the excessive compensation contemplated, is equalled only by the alarm of the workers over rising prices, fares, rents and the continued delay in providing houses, combined with the inactivity of the Government in ending luxury feeding and the Black Market in the midst of the food crisis.

The Bournemouth Conference did not seriously discuss these grave questions. Nevertheless they must be discussed, for on their solution depends the success of the workers' demands. The lack of an over-all economic plan to meet Britain's serious position was covered over by Morrison's complacent panegyric on reconversion. The vicious anti-Communism of the Labor leaders can only bring increasing co-operation with capitalism at home and abroad at the expense of the working-class, and the hints and suggestions of the Tories regarding coalition with Labor on foreign affairs are but its logical expression.

The Communist Party warns the entire Labor movement of the danger which now confronts the British people as a consequence of this policy. It can only result in a betrayal of the programme for which the country voted at the General Election and a strengthening of Tory reaction.

The Communist Party will work as never before for an end to the present reactionary foreign policy. For peace and friendship with the Soviet Union and democratic Europe, and against the exclusive Anglo-American alliance with its danger of new wars. This is the only basis on which the unity of Britain, the Soviet Union and America and real international co-operation can be built, the problem of Germany solved and world peace assured.

We will fight for the carrying out of the Potsdam Agreement, which means denazification, the removal of the Junkers and big industrialists by the breaking up of the great estates and industries as has already been done in the Soviet zone. British labor must refuse support for Byrnes' effort to wreck the economy of the Danubian States by the penetration of American capital and the holding up of the Danube shipping as a means of securing this aim. The Twenty Years Treaty with the Soviet Union must be made a reality through real co-operation with the Soviet Union and the new, progressive Governments of Europe, thus avoiding Britain's dependence on ruthless American monopoly capitalism and isolation from every democratic force in Europe.

We will fight for the withdrawal of British troops from India and for independence for the Indian people. For the withdrawal of troops from Indonesia and Greece. For an end to concessions to Big Business. We will demand that Labor uses its power to make nationalisation successful and secures the increased production the nation needs by the co-operation and promotion of workers to key positions of control and responsibility. We demand that it uses its emergency powers to proclaim an economic plan and to direct industry to former distressed areas.

We demand that the Government ends luxury feeding. Gaols the black marketeers. Organises increased production of crops for human food.

Fully and speedily operates the Education Act and gives equal opportunity to all children. Halts rising prices by vigorous control and action against employers' profits. Adopts a policy of higher wages and equal pay for equal work. Increases taxation on the rich and reduces it on the poor. Stops the increase in fares.

Speeds up the housing drive by smashing the building ring, by ending black market building and repairs and by reducing building costs and providing adequate housing subsidies. Rents must not be increased.

Fascist activity and propaganda must be stamped out.

The Communist Party calls for a nation-wide campaign of meetings, demonstrations and mass activity to rally the working-class to achieve these demands. It expresses its readiness to work in unity with all sections of the Labor movement to fight for this policy, and in every daily struggle against capitalism.

Despite Bournemouth, unity of the working class is still the supreme issue—unity against all employers' attacks in the workshops, the Tories and world reaction. It expresses its full confidence that this unity will triumph in spite of the opposition of the Labor leaders, who seem to be more concerned with preserving capitalism than fighting for Socialism.

In the months that lie ahead the Communist Party will devote the time, energy and fighting ability of every member and Party organisation to achieve these aims. We call on every supporter to join the Party now, to strengthen its influence in every factory, depot, pit, shipyard, town and village. We shall redouble our efforts to build stronger trade union, factory and co-operative organisations, with full protection for the shop stewards to face the big struggles ahead.

We shall undertake the most extensive preparation to achieve the maximum number of candidates in the coming November Municipal elections so that every important local authority can be strengthened with a group of Communist Councillors fighting for the people.

The Bournemouth Conference has not ended the fight. The deep desire of the working class for a united Labor movement has received a temporary set-back. We shall go forward with new determination and resolve to build and strengthen the Communist Party to continue this fight until the unity of the working class is finally established. We call upon the workers in the factories, town and countryside to join the Communist Party on the basis of its fighting policy against capitalism and for Socialism, the only final solution of every problem before us today.

June 17, 1946.

THE VATICANS WAR ON PEACE

V. J. JEROME

(From "Political Affairs," April, 1946.)

(Continued from last issue.)

MOST outstanding in the new appointments is the unprecedentedly large quota for the Western Hemisphere—fourteen cardinals, allotted in equal number to North America and Latin America.

Canada, formerly with a Cardinal only for Catholic French-speaking Quebec, is now doubly secured to the Holy See through the promotion of the Archbishop of Toronto. Thus, we see the Vatican penetration of English-speaking Canada. Canada's role of pawn in the anti-Soviet game of British and American imperialism cannot be considered apart from this new Papal honor.

The appointments for Latin America will give added strength to U.S. imperialism for consolidating a hemisphere bloc in the UNO to further monopoly's expansionist and anti-Soviet designs. Light is shed on the choice of cardinals for Latin America by the revelation in the **Spanish News Letter** of London, as quoted in the issue of **Izvestia** already cited, that the list of Spanish Cardinals-designate was drawn up by an agreement between the Vatican and Franco in 1941.

Of particular significance is the appointment, for the first time, of two cardinals to Brazil. Basically, the intent of this move can only be to hold back the democratic advance of the people, to reinforce reaction in the second largest State and second greatest Power in the hemisphere, and to prepare the country for a leading pro-fascist role in Latin America. The alarm of reaction is particularly great in view of the significant showing made by the newly legalised Brazilian Communist Party in the 1945 Presidential election.

The wholesale appointments of cardinals on both sides of the Rio Grande are designed to tighten the "spiritual arm" in the joint pressure of foreign finance capital and the Vatican on the people's forces in the Latin-American countries. Spain is a golden apple in the Papal orchard. It also emits Falangist rays upon the political, ideological, and cultural life of the countries of Latin America. This was unmistakably seen at the celebration, last October, of the 50th anniversary of the Coronation of the Virgin of Gaudalupe, which was turned into a mass political mobilisation of Mexican Catholicism for Church and Franco. The significance of that gathering is especially attested by the fact that the celebration was opened with a special radio address by Pope Pius XII.

On that occasion, the Archbishop of Mexico declared:

> "Our Virgin asks more than a temple in Mexico. She wants as her temple the whole American continent. This we did not understand until now."

Quoted by J. A. Del Vayo in **The Nation,** December 15, 1945.

Among the Hierarchical participants that day was the Archbishop of Quebec, Cardinal Villeneuve, who spoke as the Legate of the Pope. Criticising the opponents of the corporative system, the Cardinal said:

> "Such people do not understand the true corporativism sponsored by the Church. Pius XI held that the reign of justice and charity may be achieved in economic and social relations by setting up professional or inter-professional groups or corporations, founded on genuinely Christian bases. Each corporation would be the legally constituted association of all members of the profession; and their activities, within it, would converge in search of the common welfare of all members of society. Thus, corporate professions would produce a triple benefit, that is, economic, professional, and social. **Politics, in the electoral sense of the word, would be excluded."**

Quoted by O. I. Roche in **The Protestant,** November-December, 1945.

Symbolically, the arrows of the Spanish Falange were placed beside the Mexican flag on that occasion.

The character of the Vatican aspirations is more clearly indicated by the considerable Catholic support enjoyed by the fascistic Sinarchist movement, which was launched in Mexico in 1934, with direct Nazi co-operation, as a terrorist subversive organisation directed at the Republic. According to an Allied Labor News dispatch of February 25 from Mexico City, this camp is financially supported by the Spanish Falange in Mexico, by employer organisations, by foreign investment companies, and, through frequent donations, by the National Catholic Welfare Conference in the United States, on the grounds that the Sinarchists favor "Catholicism." Claiming to have a membership of nearly half a million, the National Sinarchist Union announced in February its intention of participating as a political party in the national elections to be held in July. The "Union" is known to have the blessing of the Rome Hierarchy, and, to no little advantage, the protecting friendship of U.S. Ambassador George Messersmith.

No doubt the Vatican hopes, by these Western Hemisphere appointments, to take greater advantage of the deep-seated Anglo-U.S. imperialist rivalry in Latin America, the focus of which is the Argentine. In the main, with the Vatican's decided orientation toward the most powerful imperialist country, the United States, it can be assumed that the weight of the Church will be behind the U.S. imperialist interests, which are determined to eliminate Britain as an economic power and a political influence from the Latin-American sphere. However, the Vatican well knows how to give itself

ample elbow-room for manoeuvre and intrigue, and its policy therefore may not be identical in every Latin-American country.

Let us now turn to the appointments for the United States.

It is significant that three of the four new cardinals were selected from the Middle West—Archbishops John J. Glennon (now deceased) of St. Louis, Samuel A. Stritch of Chicago, and Edward A. Mooney of Detroit. Viewed politically, the reason for these selections is not difficult to trace. By this gravitation to the Middle West, the Vatican broadens out its base beyond its previous main concentration on the Irish Catholic communities of the Eastern seaboard States. With this shift, too, the Vatican connects itself with the centre of "isolationist" America. The Middle West is the terrain of the clerico-fascist offensive in the country. It is the spawning-ground of Father Coughlin and Gerald K. Smith, of pseudo-Christian hate-publications and hoodlum formations; the hatchery of the reactionary Association of Catholic Trade Unionists; and a main field of anti-Soviet concentration among national groups by Vatican-directed agencies.

The "temporal" interests underlying these appointments come to light when, for instance, we view at close range the choice of the Archbishop of Detroit. The elevation of Archbishop Mooney is noteworthy. It is an appointment in the main centre of the United Automobile Workers' Union, largest single trade union in the world; in one of the key strongholds of basic industry—the kingdom of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler; in the city where there are hundreds of thousands of solidly organised militant workers.

Archbishop, now Cardinal, Mooney was and is Charles E. Coughlin's superior, directly and fully responsible for that fascist priest's activities, which he was a long time in reproving with a slap on the wrist, when they were most embarrassing to the Church. Even more significant is Mooney's role in inspiring the labor-splitting reactionary A.C.T.U. This clerico-fascist "labor" outfit has now insinuated itself, with some harmful effect, locally or nationally, into a number of unions, among them the steel, auto, shipyard, rubber, textile and electrical workers' unions (all, significantly, C.I.O.). Its Chaplain is Rev. Raymond S. Clancy, appointed by Mooney as Director of Social Action in his archdiocese. Mooney's own newspaper, **The Michigan Catholic**, constantly quotes from **The Wage Earner**, official paper of the A.C.T.U.

Significantly, the "liberal" Catholic weekly, **Commonweal**, in commenting on the new cardinals, said editorially (Jan. 4, 1946):

> "Archbishop Mooney . . . has been especially notable in his support of Catholic concern for the labor movement."

The most outstanding and spectacular elevation of all, in the Americas or elsewhere, is that of Archbishop Francis J. Spellman, "Military Vicar of the United States," and "Pope Pius XII's right hand man," whose See, New York, is the most powerful, in economic strength and political influence, in the world today.

The special significance of Spellman's appointment is summed up, almost in programmatic form, by **Time** (Feb. 25, 1946), as follows:

> "The Church . . . looks to the U.S. as an example of the form of government which today promises the most for the Church's survival. It looks to the U.S. as an idealistic people who have at last chosen, or been forced, to take their place in international affairs. And it looks to Francis Cardinal Spellman as the practical idealistic American who can best advise and guide its efforts to utilise these forces in its favor."

Spellman is even spoken of as the possible successor to Pius XII. (Not without meaning perhaps is the news item that the emblematic red hat conferred on Cardinal Spellman at his elevation happens to be Pius' own, which he received on becoming Cardinal Pacelli.) And if Spellman is not given the Secretaryship of State in Vatican City, it is because, informed Vatican officials are reported to have said, the Pope considers him at present more valuable in the United States.

The value of Spellman's services as New World pillar of the Church of Rome was made evident in the past by his liaison role which was instrumental in Roosevelt's appointment, in December, 1939, of a "personal representative" at the Vatican. That step was, of course, in complete violation of the Constitutional principle of separation of Church and State. Not long afterward, American finance capital, with its Administration, was aligned in the general imperialist anti-Soviet front which was preparing to "switch the war."

In Spellman the Vatican has continuously had an active agent for its policy of "selling" Franco to the American people. The political essence of his role was clearly reflected in his statement, made in 1943, when, after visiting Franco-Spain, he wrote in **Colliers**:

> "Whatever criticism has been made of General Franco (and it has been considerable), I cannot doubt that he is a man loyal to his God, devoted to his country's welfare, and definitely willing to sacrifice himself in any capacity and to any extent for Spain."

It was quite consistent for Spellman's diocesan organ, the **Catholic News** (August 11, 1945), in commenting on the Spanish Civil War, to beatify Franco: "He was fighting on the side of the angels." The angels!—whose earthly shapes the whole world saw, in black shirts and brown.

Spellman's friendship for fascism, if single instances were further needed, was most blatantly displayed in February of this year by his attendance at a banquet at Franco's embassy in Rome. This feast took place immediately after Franco's execution of ten Spanish anti-fascists—an act that outraged all progressive mankind, Catholics and non-Catholics, and aroused wide-scale demands on both sides of the Atlantic for an end to fascist tyranny in Spain. By his presence, Cardinal Spellman lent the aura of the Catholic Church to a celebration of the enslavement of Spain.

It was this same Cardinal Spellman, fresh from fascist banquets, that the New York City Council greeted upon his return in a resolution expressing "a great deal of satisfaction and pride" in his elevation, and offering "congratulations to the Catholic Church." This homage paralleled the civic honors soon thereafter heaped upon Churchill, fresh from his Fulton, Missouri, speech.

The anti-fascist people of America, regardless of church or denomination, whether Protestants, Catholics, or Jews, have reason to honor the two Communist members of the New York City Council for their courageous stand against the resolution introduced on March 5 to extend the city's official welcome to this lover of fascism. History will record that the votes of Davis and Cacchione alone on that day were on the side of the people.

In shifting its main base of support to the United States, the Vatican is in reality consolidating a base that is already established and that has in recent years become increasingly important to it.

In the '20s it was still possible for a historian to write: "The Catholic Church is . . . . a thing apart in the heart of the American body politics." Today no anatomy of America's political life can fail to reveal the Catholic Church fastened upon its heart. There is not a sphere of the nation's life in which the Catholic Church, and through it, the Vatican (directly or indirectly), does not intervene. It is an irony of history that the most powerful Protestant capitalist State in the world, the U.S.A., is today the greatest source of power of the Roman Catholic Church.

It is all the more ironical in that Rome has traditionally viewed the United States with misgivings since our country gained its independence. The Jeffersonian democratic principles, with their philosophic background in XVIII Century French materialism, expressed in the Constitutional separation of Church and State, caused the United States to be regarded by the Vatican as an erring nation. Thus, the English Catholic author, Hilaire Belloc wrote:

> "The culture of the U.S. is, from its original religion and by its momentum and whole tradition, opposed to the Catholic Church."

Today the same Vatican which rushed to make its Concordats with the corporative States of fascism and which struggles to perpetuate feudal-landlord tyranny in Poland, the Balkans, Spain, and Latin America—the same Vatican professes to look to the United States, in the words of **Time** (Feb. 25, 1946), as: "the world's greatest embodiment of the form of government which offers the Church its best milieu for survival—democracy!" What it really courts is American imperialism (still to quote Time): "the world's most effective counterweight to the newly emergent power of Russia."

Politically and diplomatically the Vatican was able to make considerable inroads in the United States during the struggle for collective security, Roosevelt's "quarantine the aggressor" slogan, which was in response to the needs and desires of the people, met with well-organised opposition from the reactionary and directly pro-fascist forces, who, in conjunction with the Vatican, waged the fiercest fight to keep up the tragic farce of "non-intervention" in Spain. Roosevelt's concession upon concession to the Vatican led inevitably to the betrayal of Spain, which touched off World War II.

The Administration's part in that betrayal was directly connected with its policy of accommodating clerical reaction. Clerico-fascism increasingly came to permeate the State Department, its Washington personnel, its ambassadors, and its silent envoys, such as Jefferson Caffery, Joseph P. Kennedy, Carleton Hayes, Robert Murphy, and Admiral Leahy, behind-the-scenes instigator of many an infamy. Munichism, pro-Vichyism, and Darlanism became the pattern of the State Department's policies.

And we, with our Browderite tail-ending, and with our Browderite expediency-mindedness, were all too ready to find excuses for the Administration's policy of yielding to the pressures of the reactionary Hierarchy. Thus, we saw "necessity" in each act of capitulation—because of Catholic Boss Flynn of New York . . . . because of Catholic Boss Kelly of Chicago . . . .

The Vatican's westward expansion of its spiritual domain cannot but help to increase the worldly riches it has long derived from the United States. In view of Europe's dwindling Peter's pence, apart from all political considerations, the shift of the Papal centre of gravity to the great wealth and economic power of the Catholic Church in the United States has become a materialist necessity.

While the Catholic Church is careful not to disclose the extent of its fabulous wealth in real estate (tax exempt), investments, and various holdings, its economic strength can be seen in such available data as the following, relative to church expenditures and the value of church edifices:

STATISTICS FOR 1936.

	Value of Church Edifices.		Expenditures during Year.	
	Churches Reporting.	Amount.	Churches Reporting.	Amount.
All Churches . . .	178,758	$3,411,375,467	189,766	$518,953,571
Catholic Churches.	15,661	787,681,357	13,720	139,078,738

(Statistical Abstract, 1943, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.)

It can thus be seen that, while Catholic churches represented only 9 per cent. of the total reporting, the proportionate value of their edifices was 23 per cent., and, while they constituted only 8.3 per cent. of the total reporting, their expenditures were 27 per cent.

The power of this wealth is reflected in the marked increase in Catholic publications and readers. According to the 1945 **Catholic Press Directory**, the number of Catholic publications in the United States has in the past three years increased by 35 to a total of 367, with a combined circulation of 10,600,000, representing a gain of over a million and a half readers, or 14.4 per cent. since 1942.

It is obviously not possible to point directly to subsidies by monopolies to the Catholic Church or to political pressures on their part in its behalf. Such undoubted practices are, needless to say, facilitated by the fact that key captains of industry and finance are members of the Catholic Church. But they are increasingly adopted by non-Catholic industrialists and financiers as monopoly reaction, seeking more anxiously direct and open political support in all churches and denominations, sees in the political role of the Vatican a major weapon. Thus, a high representative of the House of Morgan is known to have expressed himself recently: "We're playing ball with the Vatican."

The desperation with which the Vatican is working to keep firm the imperialist base of its own existence impels it more and more to reveal the political essence hidden beneath the spiritual guise. None but the politically innocent can look upon the Vatican as not being designedly and to the full extent of its influence a political power.

The claim to the Vatican's right of political interference was officially made by Pope Pius himself in his declaration of March 16, 1946, in which, according to a Rome dispatch of that date to the **New York Times,** he "defended the right of a parish priest to counsel his flock in matters of politics—which a new Italian election law would make a punishable offence." The Pope stated: "It is the concern of the church to explain to the faithful their moral duties which derive from this electoral right." What the Vatican conceives these "moral duties" to be was made clear in an A.P. Rome dispatch of February 23 which reported the "recommendation by the Italian Consultative Assembly for a Law to penalise clergymen who try to influence Italian voters to a Fascist rule." (**New York Times,** February 24, 1945.)

True, whenever the Vatican finds itself trapped politically, we shall continue to witness the old attempt at refuge in religion. Thus, the Vatican City daily, **Osservatore Romano,** sought to explain away **Izvestia's** expose of the reactionary appointees to the College of Cardinals by complaining: "As usual, **Izvestia** confuses religious moves with political ones." But the religious pretext is by now worn so threadbare as to be more embarrassing than protective. This dilemma brought Archbishop James H. Ryan of Omaha to write, in a letter to the **New York Times** (May 12, 1940): "Though conscious of the religious power of the Pope, head of the Catholic Church, we have chosen to remain blind to the political power of the Pope who is King. But is it the part of wisdom not to recognise the Papacy for what it is . . . . ?"

Of course, words like Archbishop Ryan's are not uttered as a criticism of the Vatican's meddling in politics, but rather as a suggested means of avoiding the repeated embarrassments of such criticism by removing its basis. Those words are, in effect, a declaration: It is now safe to admit openly that we are in politics; it will give us more freedom to operate.

The Vatican must be exposed and fought as a political power. Not the religion of the Church of Rome is at issue, but its political role. We Communists base ourselves on the principles of Marxism, on dialectical materialism and its application to history. At the same time—indeed, on the very basis of these scientific principles—every Communist defends freedom of religious belief and practice as a democratic right. But religion used to cloak political reaction challenges every democratic right. When, in the guise of moral force, the Hierarchy cries out for "justice" to the small nations in the U.N.O., we must expose its reactionary design of securing a pro-Vatican balance of power with a bloc of small Catholic States like Austria, Belgium, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, and the countries of Latin America. The Vatican cannot commit political crimes against the democratic interests of the peoples and against the peace of the world, and escape arraignment by pleading "religious" motives before the court of world opinion.

By presenting the issue as Christianity v. Communism, the Vatican seeks to win the Protestant masses also to its side. We should be nurturing illusions if we held that this policy cannot and may not score successes. The Protestants in the United States noticeably resent the encroachments of the Catholic Church. Yet, despite "straws in the wind," it does not necessarily follow that there will be a strong and effective Protestant counter-action. Even the current epidemic of conversions among notables (which only the superficial will ascribe to Father Sheen's "talented persuasion") requires to be seen in this light. Vandenberg and the Vatican are playing one game. We must be mindful of the very subtle Vatican-inspired propaganda designed to make the Pope appear today the spokesman of all "Christendom."

This propaganda is clearly traceable, for instance, in the Luce-controlled **Time's** interpretation of the Pope's turn to the United States as "the greatest reorientation in Church policy since the Council of Trent" (cited issue). The full significance of the statement is brought home to us when we remember that the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which the Protestants refused to attend, marked the decisive doctrinal and organisational split between Protestantism and Catholicism. The current "reorientation" propaganda is manifestly designed to neutralise Protestant American opposition to the Vatican and its policies, to give the impression that the fundamental cleavage registered at the historic Council of Trent is healed, and that all Americans may now combine on the political platform of the Church of Rome.

The orientation of the Vatican to the United States puts greater responsibility on us in the struggle against fascism and its clerico-fascist arm.

The struggle must be waged so as to drive a wedge between the reactionary Hierarchy and the masses in the Church. The bulk of the Catholic workers in the United States are in the trade unions. The masses of Catholic workers in the C.I.O. are supporting the general line of this great progressive trade union centre. In this country the attempt to organise clerical trade unions is more assailable than perhaps anywhere else. For here clerical trade unionism goes against the very grain of labor tradition. Here there is the strong and healthy tradition of the One Union and unified struggle. Organised labor can build firmly on this tradition and launch a powerful appeal and counter-drive against the divisive and destructive attempts of clerical reaction. And in this struggle, Catholic workers will take their place in the forefront.

We must avoid our error of the past in which we told ourselves that we were extending the "outstretched hand," where clerical reaction was offering us a mailed fist. The outstretched-hand policy, as we applied it, was not a policy of alienating the Catholic masses from the reactionary Hierarchy as a means of winning them for the anti-fascist struggle; rather, it amounted to a gesture of friendship to the Hierarchy, in which, illusorily, we saw a "progressive wing." Much of the confusion surrounding our outstretched-hand policy proceeded from an outlook that the Church would, if not play a progressive part in world affairs, at least be neutralised by the "progressives" among the Hierarchy. That illusion was part of the Browderite roseate prospect of the progressive postwar role of "enlightened imperialism."

Certainly, as Marxists, we must constantly remember that our programme calls for the unification of all sections of the people's forces that can be rallied round the banner of progress. As Marxists, therefore, we should know that we must always seek ways to unite with the Catholic masses, wherever possible, on issues however moderate—and always with sensitive regard for their deep-going religious feelings—in order to win them against the Hierarchy and for democratic advance. In this sense, the policy of the outstretched-hand, far from being abandoned, must be vigorously re-directed. We must bring the Catholic masses to understand that ours is not an anti-clerical position, but a position against clerical reaction. We must bring them to see that the issue is not Communism v. Catholicism, as the Vatican would have it appear, but the united democratic forces of the people—including Catholics and Communists—against reaction wherever it manifests itself, in the Church and outside. We can succeed in this task only when we connect the struggle against the Vatican's policy with the general struggle against fascism, reaction, and imperialism, and only when we find the proper approaches to achieve unity of action with the broad Catholic masses.

The issue is the struggle against the Vatican's war on peace. The issue is the struggle against imperialism's drive for a third world war. The issue is the continuing struggle for the total destruction of fascism.

On the one side is the camp of finance capital with its material forces and ideological and "spiritual" defenders. On the other side is the camp of the peoples with their social resources in the democratic masses, primarily the working class, with its organised movement and Communist vanguard; in the independence movements of the colonial peoples; in the newly forged peoples' democracies of Europe; in the Socialist Soviet Union—in whose existence, power, and world role increasing millions throughout the capitalist and colonial world have come to recognise their own fortress of strength as they advance in the struggle for world peace and social progress.

ARTS AND SCIENCES AND THE WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE

J. D. BLAKE

(From the speech of J. D. Blake to Victorian Arts and Sciences Conference, 16th June, 1946.)

The situation of artistic and scientific workers must today, as in the case of all other workers, be seen against the background of what is happening in the world.

Day after day the capitalist press contains gloating reports about the atomic bomb, the so-called "Devil's Dust" and bacteriological warfare. Reactionary forces in various capitalist countries talk with satanic glee about how entire populations of great cities could be wiped out with one blow. They speak of how the discoveries of science could ruin the crops and bring starvation to whole countries. They gloat over the prospect of water supplies befouled by disease bacteria, and they paint gleeful pictures of millions of people retching out their hearts from having drunk the waters of the earth.

Undoubtedly some of this is the speculation of distorted inhuman minds, but the important thing is the revelation of the monstrous fashion in which monopoly capital proposes to use the products of scientific thought and work.

The other side of this picture is the millions of people in capitalist and colonial lands who are consciously and actively fighting to put an end to the rule of these savages — fighting for the emancipation of mankind.

This mighty array of social forces creates gigantic tensions in our present day world which inevitably exert tremendous pressure upon intellectual workers.

In face of this there are some who try to find ways of escape from a reality which seems so awful to them; but the issues facing us are inescapable; men of science, art and culture generally, have to make their decision.

The creation of various associations of scientists to fight the monopoly of the atomic bomb, and the

monopoly frustration of science generally, indicates that the best of the world's men of science are already beginning to take the correct stand.

Our own scientific workers have not been unaffected by these happenings and are increasingly acting parallel with, or in concert with, the main forces of social progress.

A primary duty of Communist scientific workers is to lead the struggle for improved salaries and conditions for scientific workers. To this end the association of scientific workers in various fields must be still further strengthened and improved, and the ties between these associations and the trade unions and the labor movement as a whole need to be made much stronger than at the moment.

At the same time our Communists must strive to develop a class approach on scientific matters. Just as there is a class approach to the problems of the atomic bomb and atomic energy, so also is there such an approach in other spheres of scientific work.

We should aim to reveal the effects of monopoly capitalism on various fields of scientific work. To contribute scientific knowledge to the struggles of the labor movement; which, by the way, is the only correct path to overcome the monopolist frustration of scientific work, and the unsatisfactory conditions of scientific workers.

Our scientific workers can contribute much more to the struggle for decent housing by investigation of the problems of building materials, building methods, types of houses, flats and so on.

The conscious lowering of the quality of manufactured goods, consumer goods, food and proprietary medicines which is connected with profit making and living standards of the masses, the suppression and misuse of scientific achievements and related matters, provide a wide field for this class approach to scientific subjects.

The problems of the control and exploitation of natural resources, as for example brown coal and its relation to decentralisation of industry; the Snowy River development, soil conservation, siltation of rivers, water supplies and reafforestation, which come within the general sphere of what is known as regional development, all provide avenues through which our scientific workers can make an important contribution to the struggles of the working class.

The vast and little explored field of industrial health, the fight against disease (tuberculosis for example), medical research, expansion of hospitals and clinics, the more efficient organisation of medical service, with better conditions and security for medical and hospital workers, together with the liberation of patients from financial worry—all these problems merge with the general struggle of the working class for higher wage levels and for better working and living conditions.

Communists working in the various fields of science and the professions must widen and deepen their knowledge of their own field of endeavour. A Communist scientific worker must aim to become a master in his own field so that he is looked upon by the men in his own profession, and by the masses, as a man of great learning, mastery and professional skill.

In the various fields of artistic endeavour our work has moved ahead since we last assembled. The creation of a new executive for the overall direction of work in all art fields, including the various schools of painting, commercial artists and so on marked a great step forward.

New life has come into the Victorian Artists Society which promises to become one of the most virile organisations of painters in Victoria.

The expanding work of the realist film unit, the writers' group and the theatre makes a valuable contribution to the developing struggles of the labor movement.

It is necessary to remind Communists who are members of artistic and cultural associations that it is essential to avoid any narrow, doctrinaire approach in their work.

The Communist Party in its general political work among the masses—among non-Party and Labor Party workers—maintains the utmost firmness of principle, and at the same time strives to avoid any doctrinaire, sectarian or narrow approach.

Without capitulating to backwardness, the Communist Party takes the workers as they are. It seeks the common ground on which united struggles can be organised. Communists organise the practical experience of the masses in struggle, so that in the process of struggle the masses learn to adopt the Communist standpoint.

With variations for the particular field, our Communists in the various fields of art work should learn well these precepts of Communist work.

In these momentous days, when mankind stands at the crossroads of history, workers in the fields of art and culture generally feel a growing need to examine the problems of world outlook in relation to art and culture.

For a brief period in human history the bourgeois world outlook inspired great works of art. That was the period when the bourgeoisie was conducting a struggle against feudalism.

Today the social decay of bourgeois society is far advanced, and connected with that fact there is a condition of extreme decay in the field of bourgeois culture.

Nowadays it is rather obvious that the bourgeois world outlook is no longer capable of inspiring a Beethoven, a Shakespeare or a Rembrandt. Spiritual decay and degeneration is a feature of present-day bourgeois society.

Because bourgeois society is historically transitory, bourgeois realism in art could only reach its apex for a brief historical moment. Even then it could only be a limited kind of realism for the simple reason that the bourgeoisie has no future.

In the period of its decline bourgeois realism sometimes assumes the form of naturalism, often even to showing how bad bourgeois society is, but it cannot reveal the new and the good growing out of the old.

In fact this situation inevitably leads to a break from realism in the bourgeois school and two paths open before the artistic worker:

(1) The domination of pessimism, mysticism, complete abstraction and escape from reality. The retreat into the irrational world and the field of the unconscious—into the mystical other world.

This is the path taken by the dominant group among the Melbourne contemporaries.

(2) The real effort to attach oneself to the new—to the class forces which are moving forward—to the world outlook of the harbingers and architects of the new society—the impressive grandeur of vast millions awakening and making history.

This second path is the path which has been taken by our socialist realist group of painters headed by comrades Counihan, Bergner, and O'Connor. Their contribution to Australian art lies in the fact that they have led a clear artistic break from the dominant corrupt and decaying trend among the contemporaries. They have boldly taken the initiative in developing a socialist realist trend in Australian art. In my view they are on the right road.

At the same time I think it should be understood that this body of artists are still in the process of becoming socialist realists. The weight of emphasis in their work is still on the critique of the old, and as we know that could still belong in a category of true bourgeois realism. Fully mature socialist realism in various art forms—the ability to discern the new in the midst of the old—the growing future within the old, is bound up with a thorough mastery of Marxist theory.

What do we understand by socialist realism? Do we understand it to be a simple copying or photographing of the reality? Such art forms could still remain varieties of bourgeois realism. Presentation of the reality as something static, as an unchanging, frozen thing, does not accord with the Marxist view of reality.

Marxism is the theoretical foundation of socialist realism, and dialectical materialism is the Marxist theory of knowledge.

Dialectical materialism teaches us that reality is moving matter; in the reality there is a unity of opposites, and a conflict of opposites, within the one unit and within the whole. For example in the one man, one society, and, as our physicists would tell us, in the one atom.

We have to deal with a many-sided reality in which the many sides interact one upon the other —nothing stands still, everything is passing away and becoming.

In other words reality itself is dialectical, and socialist realism must therefore, by its very nature, be filled with dialectical life.

Art which presents man and nature as static and unchanging does not accord with dialectical reality.

Socialist realism has to do more than merely freeze into art forms the results of visual and aural images. The defeats and victories; the sufferings, misery, and the joys of people, as seen by the artist, become fused in the crucible of his creative imagination—his fantasy as it were—to produce the socialist realist work of art.

For the Marxist imagination is itself part of reality, provided it arises from the Marxist dialectical concept of reality. In the artist such creative imagination can, and should, illuminate the truth of life—of reality. People viewing the resultant work of art—painting, novel, film, etc.—should sense a feeling of great revelation of truth, and be able to say:—

"That is the truth—that is how life is—there is the promise of the future. The artist has revealed to me the truth of life in a way I have not been able to do for myself."

In other words, from the artist's creative imagination the emerging image which is the work of art should be something more than a copy of visual and aural images.

Fully developed, mature, socialist realist works of art and literature can only come from mastery of Marxist theory.

Only Marxism permits profound insight into the many-sided, dialectical reality. Only Marxist theory can prevent our imagination overrunning the bounds of reality—away from the real world into the mystical and the unreal.

Only Marxist theory gives us that essential inflexible faith in people, in the future. Only Marxism allows us to see through all the human misery and suffering, through all the hypocrisy and avarice of the present-day capitalist world—through all this the invincible forward march of human progress.

Marxism provides the key to understanding the social forces—the class forces—which, sometimes gropingly, sometimes in great rushes—at times in defeat, at others with great victories, are steadily pressing forward to the emancipation of mankind.

That is the man of today; the exploited and oppressed man, who is straightening his shoulders and pressing forward. He is frequently hampered by eyes filled with the smoke of deception and the mire of a decaying social system clutching at his feet.

But he is going forward.

He has a simple dignity for he has to perform the most dignified of all tasks in human history—the ending of the exploitation of man by man.

That is the reality, and that is the real man, that our socialist realists will fully know, and fully understand, with the aid of the brilliant searchlight of Marxist-Leninist theory.

TEACHERS AGAINST REACTION

W. E. GOLLAN, B.A.

DESPITE fundamental and basic deficiencies in the N.S.W. education system (Alan Short drew pointed attention to one of them in June "Review"), it is yet true to say that important progressive trends have appeared in the last ten years. These have affected not only the courses of study and mechanics of teaching, but the whole community attitude towards education and the social and educational outlook of teachers.

It appears that N.S.W. is somewhat more advanced than other States in these respects, but there can be no doubt that developments here are bound to stimulate educational advance in other States. Consequently, these trends are of national importance. They indicate in sum total the beginning of a shift in the centre of gravity of the whole educational process. In a word, education is becoming a little more democratic and is beginning to affect the thinking and activity of very many of those concerned in the education process—child, parent, teacher and even Education Department officials.

No doubt, world events have largely contributed to this end; and certainly the presence of a Labor Government since 1941 has been a contributing factor, but the principal compelling and directing force has undoubtedly been the Teachers' Federation, which has grown consistently in stature and influence until it is today, beyond question, the major educational influence in N.S.W.

The whole process that has been going on and is still continuing is one of broadening education, of beginning to fit it to meet the needs of preparation for citizenship and of strengthening the links between the education system and the community at large.

The syllabus has been made less narrowly academic; it has become more diversified to meet the requirements of different kinds of abilities and to provide more varied forms of training. A good deal of the lumber carried over from the mediaeval forms of education has been abandoned. More conscious and deliberate thought is being given to providing the child with a minimum of exact knowledge and to development of the capacity to think about the real world. In this respect, the course known as "Social Studies" is of fundamental importance, providing, as it does, for some opportunity for scientific method in the study of human affairs and reducing the misleading propaganda and special pleading that defaces the older courses in history and civics.

Parallel with these changes has gone a broadening of the experience and activity of teachers. The affiliation with the Labor Council and the A.C.T.U. has enabled the Federation to put forward before the unions a progressive educational policy and provided links with the great body of trade unionists whose children are educated in the public schools and who are vitally interested in the kind of education they receive.

More important still, it has linked the teaching body in an organised way with the mass movement of the people. In the educational field, this process has been developed still further by effective co-operation with the Parents and Citizens' organisation and by holding, in collaboration with the Education Department, a series of Regional Educational Conferences that have done much to draw wide masses of the people into active participation in educational reform. Simultaneously the status of teachers has been considerably raised. Not only have substantial salary increases been gained by direct negotiation with the employer, but teachers have won Departmental recognition of their position as skilled craftsmen by the award of a Teacher's Certificate.

Much remains to be done. The Teachers' Federation programme of educational advance which, in substance, is also that of the Parents and Citizens' and the A.C.T.U., outlines the reforms needed to raise the educational system to a minimum state of efficiency. The reforms are legion.

However, there can be little doubt that with its powerful allies in the people's movement, and through its own efficiency and strength, the Teachers' Federation will lead the way in making the educational system here one of the most democratic and efficient in the world.

It is not surprising, in view of this progress, that the forces of conservatism and reaction both within and without the union have carried on a campaign of bitter opposition and disruption, culminating recently in a calculated attempt by some of its own members to defeat the Federation campaign for increased salaries for teachers. Fortunately their treachery was unavailing, and they have succeeded only in progressively isolating themselves from their fellow unionists. An analysis of the methods used by the reaction reveals the usual pro-fascist pattern of thought and activity.

Resistance to the broadening activity and the increase of democratic thought amongst teachers took, originally, the form of a narrow craft isolationism. Within the Union the catch-cry was raised, "Let us mind our own business," as a means of preventing the achievement of reforms that could be won only by effective collaboration with other bodies also concerned with educational advance. This was buttressed externally by a persistent press campaign of slander and misrepresentation, in which the "S.M.H." played the leading part. The affiliation of the teachers to the trade union movement, representing as it did the first major shift of professional workers out of the camp of privilege and wealth into that of the people, provoked a frenzy of dismay which this organ of monopoly capital made no pretence of concealing.

More recently the "S.M.H.", and, to some extent, the rest of the monopoly press, has followed the policy of a persistent smear campaign directed against the Federation Executive and Council, opening their columns to every enemy and traitor within the teachers' ranks, expurgating the replies of Federation officials, and resorting to such deliberate distortion in its reports that Federation Council decided recently by an overwhelming majority to exclude the press from its meetings.

During the early period of the struggle for a progressive educational policy, the main ideological exponents of a reactionary, mediaeval, abstract type of education were a group of Trotskyite followers and Professor Anderson, several of whom are now conspicuous in the ranks of Catholic Action. Their leader, one H. Eddy, has found a more congenial field for his activities in befuddling the minds of members of the W.E.A. With the eclipse of the Trotskyites the leadership of the reaction passed to Catholic Action. This group have been far more openly reactionary than their predecessors, and, naturally, more mischievous, in that they have quite unscrupulously used and are still using church-loyalty to carry out their policy. Their pattern of work is identical with that of the Catholic Action in other unions and draws heavily upon the Fascist technique. In a printed slander-sheet, which they have ample funds to disseminate widely amongst teachers, they classify all Federation progressives as "communists," call for the dismissal of Communists from the teaching service, indulge in anti-semitism, and use threats of organised violence to prevent discussion of their activities. (Such threats were made against the writer of this article by one of the group, G. Stanton of Redhead Public School.)

During the campaign for salary increases, members of this group conveyed to "Century" confidential information which was published by that journal, doing grave harm to the campaign; and in numerous other ways attempts at sabotage were made. For this group it was more important that the union leadership should be discredited than that salary increases should be won. The Catholic Action and their associates have consistently fought every progressive educational move; they were fiercely opposed to the Social Studies Syllabus, they resist the growth of democracy, while simultaneously raising the cry of "more democracy within the union," hoping by such moves as plebiscites on all matters of policy to disrupt the Federation by carrying faction fighting throughout its ranks and so creating the chaos of anarchy.

At the 1945 Annual Conference, the intrigues of this body were thoroughly exposed. As a result of this, they are temporarily quiescent, but it is not without significance that one of their close associates, C. P. Ryan, recently moved for the secession of the Headmasters' Association from the Teachers' Federation. Mr. Ryan was evidently charting the new course. However, the move was overwhelmingly defeated. It seems clear that a basic change is taking place amongst wide strata of teachers' opinion. Very many teachers who, ten or five years ago, would have been classified as conservatives, are progressive today, in union and educational matters.

The struggle ahead for a New Deal for Education, together with correct leadership in co-operation with the people's movements which ally themselves to this New Deal, should consolidate this loose progressivism into specific forward-looking socialist opinion.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Why do the Soviet authorities attach so much importance to having only one candidate in the election, when it is a fruitful source of misunderstanding, and is moreover difficult to explain to those accustomed to our parliamentary methods?—H.M.L.

The question can be boiled down to: Are the Soviet elections democratic? Are they free?

To assess the worth and meaning of the election method of a given country, the first and by far the most important thing to do is to examine its political set-up. In no other way would it be possible to compare elections in Soviet democracy with elections elsewhere, for example in bourgeois-democratic States, or in some of the areas in western Germany controlled by the Anglo-American military, or with the "elections" in fascist-ridden Portugal.

To approach the question merely by comparing the electoral machinery of the different countries would constitute a bad case of formalism in thought and investigation. We must seek the real content, the essence.

Compare, for example, a factory operating in Socialism with one under capitalist rule. Outwardly, they appear to be the same, and with similar categories of "workers," "wages," "management," and so on. But there is a world of difference nevertheless. In capitalism, the worker's labor-power is just one commodity among other commodities; the capitalist buys more, or less, of it just as he does with fuel, machinery or lubricating oil. In the Soviet Union, however, the workers collectively own and control all the industries; they are real partners of, sharers in, the products of their labor. Similarly with courts of justice, art institutions and a thousand other aspects of social life.

The fundamental difference derives from the fact that one society is exploitative, the other co-operative; one is riven by class struggle, the other presents a new civilisation free of social anarchy and

waste. When this is understood, the differences in election details no longer bear special importance, and can be explained in spite of the distortions and lies of capitalist anti-Sovieteering.

Even if one didn't know all the details of Soviet election methods, one should still be able to say with full confidence: "The form, or procedure, in Soviet elections differs from capitalist countries, but that is unimportant. I know that a people who fought three revolutions in the past 40 years, who created the miracle of Socialism in the face of a world of enemies, who produced the Red Army, who buy Shakespeare in millions of copies—I can surely know that such a people can easily and quite satisfactorily handle the minor details of how to elect the best representatives to their parliament!"

Democracy in capitalism is extremely circumscribed for the toilers. Even the secret ballot has been largely illusory for the reason that capitalist control of the means of production, and also of education and publicity, determine in advance that the voter could only "choose" between "one or other member of the ruling class to misrepresent him in parliament" (Marx).

* * *

Now for the few main details.

The important part of Soviet elections occurs before final nomination. The various organisations in the given electorate submit nominations. A lively, healthy campaigning begins—what one may expect among an emancipated citizenry. And they have to choose, as happens in hundreds of electorates, between workers with outstanding industrial records, Red Army heroes, novelists, scientists, etc., and never between a successful businessman, a political adventurer, or a real estate agent labelling himself "labor."

One candidate is eventually selected to stand. If there are "withdrawals by direction," they are by direction of the particular section of the voters who made the first nomination. There is nothing wrong with that, any more than with the right of recall available to electors if the candidate turns out unsatisfactory after election.

The final test comes on polling day. The candidate must secure at least 75 per cent. of the total on the roll; if he fails, a new election is ordered.

What is of special interest is that, without compulsory voting, the actual voting hits the 99 per cent. mark in most electorates.

Of greatest historical significance is the bloc of Communist Party and non-Party candidates. Hear Stalin on the matter: "The non-Party people are united with the Communists in one, common, collective body of Soviet people . . . . The only difference between them is that some belong to the Party and some don't. But this difference is only a formal one. The important thing is that all are engaged in one common cause. That is why the Communist and non-Party bloc is a natural and vital thing."

This bloc does in fact presage the eventual "liquidation" of the Communist Party. In the Communist society to come, even the formal distinction between Party and non-Party will have disappeared. The Communist Party will have fulfilled its historical task of leading the masses from capitalism to Socialism, and then to the higher stage of Communism.

(References: **How the Soviet State is Run** by Pat Sloan; **The Constitution of the U.S.S.R.**; the final section of Stalin's **Report to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.**)

BOOK REVIEW

The Road to Serfdom (Professor Hayek)

Dr. G. P. O'DAY.

THIS book, written by a Professor of Economics in the University of London, is apparently considered by the conservatives to be an adequate refutation of Socialism. It is well therefore to say at once that it does not contain a critical examination of the Marxian economic, political, historical and philosophical theories of the October revolution and the subsequent economic and political development of the USSR. Professor Hayek's criticism is indeed not concerned with Communist theory and practice. Let us explain what exactly he is criticising.

Socialism is defined by Hayek as "the abolition of private enterprise, of private ownership of the means of production, and the creation of a system of planned economy in which the entrepreneur working for profit is replaced by a central planning body." This definition is false for it is perfectly applicable to a complete State Capitalism. Socialism is defined by Marxists as "the collective ownership of the means of production and payment according to work done." By Hayek's definition, Fascism, Communism, and the economy of all States in which Capitalism is regulated are species of collectivism and the same general conclusions apply to all. So, according to Hayek, Germany before the first world war was largely Socialist, Sweden is Socialist, Hitler Germany was Socialist, etc., etc. In support of this, he quotes Max Eastman, W. H. Chamberlain, F. A. Voigt and Walter Lippmann; some deserters from Communism, all its enemies.

Thus the Professor lays an unsound basis for his argument. This argument is then that Socialist ideas have taken us away from Liberalism and are now conducting us to servitude. Hayek says that the growth of Liberalism and increased freedom, liberation from feudal shackles, was accompanied by the growth of commerce. The Marxists say that the growth of Capitalism and the ensuing bourgeois democratic revolution brought increased freedom and Liberalism. What Hayek cannot or will not see is that the development of capitalism into monopoly capitalism, its last stage, has developed contradiction at its highest point, the monopoly capitalists moving to repression, the working class to the final struggle for freedom. His proposition is that the world should go back to Liberalism, that is to the individualistic capitalism of seventy years ago. He is able to propose such an absurdity with confidence only because in his opinion history knows no laws and therefore we can make the world what we will. In this connection it is worth noting that the Catholic Hierarchy travel further on this road than Hayek. They denounce Socialism and Capitalism, Communism and Liberalism. They regard Socialism as the child of Capitalism and Communism as the child of Liberalism, and outdo Hayek by proposing a return to Guilds and peasant farming.

However, Hayek resembles these clerics in his childlike faith in Capitalism. He announces that there is no reason why a remedy for crises should not be found, perhaps by monetary control, and equally no reason why the capitalist government should not control monopolies. The Government and the law are, in Hayek's conception, above monopolies and certainly not controlled by them. Saintly professorial innocence! He has no conception of the true nature of the State, so correctly described by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Professor Hayek draws our attention to the part Socialists, i.e., those whom we term Social Imperialists, Social Chauvinists, Social Fascists, have played in the genesis of the Fascist States, and it is certainly well that we should not forget it. We share his horror of those regimented States and agree that Liberalism would certainly be preferable, if it were possible. As it is not, we fight today for a new democracy, a wide democracy, the essential preliminary to revolution. Here Hayek expresses a very common reaction of the modern petty bourgeois whose genuine and reasonable objection to Fascism is directed by cunning reactionaries against the Communist movement. Monopoly Capitalism sets up a Fascist State; the Fascist State sets up a planned economy; Communists want also a planned economy; deduction, the Communists are the main enemy, although it is exceedingly obvious that the Communists are the main enemy of Monopoly Capitalism. Surely the monopoly capitalists must laugh.

Here also are a couple of sentences that should tickle them: "The tendency towards monopoly and planning is not the result of any 'objective' facts beyond our control, but the product of opinions fostered and propagated for half a century till they have come to dominate all our policy" (p. 46), and "It is largely due to the influence of German Socialist theoreticians, particularly Sombart, generalising from his experience of their country, that the inevitable development of the competitive system into 'monopoly capitalism' became widely accepted" (p. 49). So there you have it. Socialist ideas are the true origin and fount of monopoly capitalism. Can topsy turvey go further?

From the foregoing you will have gathered that Hayek's criticism is in reality directed against State regulation of capitalism, against "planned" capitalism, and against the Fascist State. That is, against that planning which, in Lenin's words, makes the country a patadise for the capitalist and a prison house for the workers. The pity about his criticism is that it is superficial, it does not reach to the root, which is the inevitably predatory, reactionary, oppressive monopoly capitalism. We must, however, acknowledge the justice of some of his observations on Fascist propaganda. For example, he writes (p. 148) "The most effective way of making people accept the values they are to serve, is to persuade them that they are really the same as those which they, or at least the best among them, have always held, but which were not properly understood or recognised before." "The most efficient technique is to use the old words but change their meaning. Few traits of totalitarian regimes are at the same time so confusing to the superficial observer and yet so characteristic of the whole intellectual climate as the complete perversion of language, the change of meaning of the words by which the ideals of the new regimes are expressed." Socialism, Culture, as used by Hitler, spring at once to the mind. And Hayek is also right when he notes that "gradually the whole language becomes despoiled, words become empty shells deprived of any definite meaning, as capable of denoting one thing as its opposite and used solely for the emotional associations which still adhere to them." Here in Australia, the process is as obvious as anywhere. Politicians of the right wing, Labor and Liberal, use words today as a rule not for their meaning but for their emotional tinge. Cf. Menzies' "British Race" and "British Language" and the well-known cliche "Social Justice."

Having paid this tribute to Professor Hayek, we must now turn to what is the main thesis of his book, viz., that a planned economy means destruction of freedom. What does Hayek mean by freedom? He adopts the statement of Kant, "Man is free if he needs to obey no person but solely the laws." With this definition even Hayek must admit that multitudes, all those that own no means of production, have no freedom under capitalism for they must find a master or starve. He is also correct in that under Fascist dictatorship and the Fascist planned economy freedom is rare, for the masters are few and their power unlimited. With Socialism, however, with the collective ownership of the means of production, the laws are made by the whole people and therefore man is free, for he is his own master. As Engels pointed out, in the end the

administration of persons is replaced by the administration of things.

Moreover, under capitalism, man is subject to the immanent laws of capitalism, to blind natural law, and therefore his freedom is an illusion. In Socialism, man understands and uses economic laws for his purposes and therefore acquires real freedom, is no longer subject to unemployment, bankruptcy, and crises. In the words of the Soviet constitution he has the right to work, to rest and to recreation guaranteed by a material basis, the collective ownership of the means of production.

Hayek raises also other objections to planning. He conceives it impossible to plan for all as the tastes of man are so diverse. The experience of the Soviet Union effectively answers this objection. Planning by democratic centralism is planning by a central elected authority on the basis of information and decisions made by local elected bodies; plans not only general but also local plans independent of the central authority; these adequately provide for all possible variations of taste and needs. He also objects that plans take a long time to execute, while governments often change. This is simply not realising that in Socialism as classes have disappeared and there is therefore no clash of class interests, governments become far more stable and, as the Soviet Union has demonstrated, the consistent execution of a long time plan becomes perfectly possible.

However, we must not overlook the fact that Socialist planning must be preceded by a complete change of the economic structure, by a social revolution. We Communists clearly recognise that capitalist planning, State regulated capitalism, and the Fascist State are all enemies to freedom and lead to regimentation. That is why we fight always for democratic control against State control; why we want democratic Rural Boards, why we demand that the miners should have a say in the control of the mines, why when we demand nationalisation of monopolies, we always add the condition that this nationalisation be supported and largely controlled by powerful organisations of the workers independent of the State; when we demand nationalisation of medicine, we also demand local democratic control and freedom for the doctor, the nurse, and hospital employees and effective share of control by their local and national organisations. Always building the power of the workers for the day when the capitalist State must disappear, always fighting the bureaucracy which capitalism is constantly generating. Planning will increase liberty, but not any planning, only socialist planning.

We conclude then that Hayek's book is founded on confusion, on confusing Fascism and Communism. This being today the favorite method of attack on Communism, it is well that we should study it thoroughly and combat it everywhere we can. It is not enough to treat it with contempt.

Marxist Glossary (L. H. Gould)

S. MOSTON.

L. H. GOULD compiled in 1943 a **Glossary of Marxist Terms.** This publication proved extremely popular and was quickly sold out.

Inspired, no doubt, by this interest, L. H. Gould has now completed a **Marxist Glossary,** a considerable extension on the original **Glossary of Marxist Terms.**

The previous modest pamphlet of thirty pages has grown almost fourfold with a commensurate increase in the number of terms defined. The political value of the new work, however, has expanded in geometrical progression. This is partly the result of many suggestions by workers since the earlier publication, but the greater space available in the new work allows for a much more adequate treatment of many subjects.

For example, in the original edition Dialectics was defined as "the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and human thought" (Engels). To this brilliant, concise formulation has been appended an excellent explanation of the principal features of dialectics including the "unity of opposites" and the "negation of the negation." In this explanation the finer points of difference between various formulations are clearly revealed. For many students "unity and struggle," "contradiction and antagonism" of opposites have been more or less interchangeable phrases, but the new **Glossary** shows the real significance of each.

"Unity and struggle of opposites, refers to inherent contradictions within all things and phenomena of nature."

"All contradictions are not antagonistic. In capitalism, the contradictions of the basic classes are antagonistic and are resolved in antagonistic forms. Contrast this, however, with the contradiction between the proletariat and the peasantry in Soviet Russia from the period of the October Revolution up to the triumph of collectivisation in 1932; the former was Socialist in regard to mode of production, the latter individualist. But the contradiction was expressed, not in antagonism, but in friendly co-operation between the two classes, and finally resolved (or, the contradiction was destroyed) by the successful extension of Socialist production to agriculture."

Many more illustrations are given of the dialectics of nature and society. The new **Glossary** is not just an elaboration of the previous one. The many terms that have been added are of equal importance with the old, and receive an adequate treatment. Important questions as ground rent (both differential and absolute) are concisely defined, e.g., "Differential Rent — the difference between the highest price of production and the individual price of production. This difference is appropriated by the landowner."

Following this brief statement is an explanation of the origin of differential rent and the character of absolute rent.

Such definition undoubtedly has great value for the student in fixing in his (or her) mind the essentials of the subject, the further explanation giving some detail, aids towards more concrete understanding.

Nowhere in the **Glossary** does conciseness degenerate into dogma or narrowness. Definition, explanation and illustration are sufficiently flexible to avoid such cardinal errors.

The central theme of the **Glossary,** from which all the terms radiate, is the labor movement. This is the heart of the work vitalising all its limbs. Every phrase is well-chosen to enhance the spirit of the labor movement.

The creative role of Marxist theory is infused into this list of words and explanations. Agitation, class struggle, revolution, class consciousness and a host of other terms are transformed from what is only too often inert, dead letter jargon into active "guides to action."

Whether the student seeks knowledge on Materialism or Dictatorship, Democracy or Empiricism, he may be sure the **Glossary** will provide him with accurate information of practical value.

Mr. L. H. Gould has done a great service to the labor movement in compiling his **Marxist Glossary.** The **Glossary** will undoubtedly save students much time and ease many theoretical difficulties.

DUSTS

Prof. J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

THE Ministry of Health is at present engaged in two poster campaigns.

One urges us to hold a handkerchief in front of our face when we cough or sneeze. The other urges us to avoid venereal diseases, though it does not tell us how to do so. On the contrary, public money is being spent on propagating a lie, and a dangerous one. "Clean living," we are told, "is the only safeguard." If "clean living" means avoidance of sexual intercourse with people to whom one is not married, this is nonsense. After the war thousands of returning soldiers, sailors, and airmen will infect their wives, or be infected by them. The correct use of antiseptics is also a safeguard. Men will infect their wives, and conversely, because they did not use them.

However, I am not going to deal with this question, but to point out that the Ministry of Health gives no warning against a danger which kills more people, and causes more sickness, than coughs or sneezes or venereal diseases—namely, dust. To be more accurate, certain dusts; for some dusts seem to be harmless, and others are clearly good for health.

The evidence as to what dusts are poisonous comes from the statistics of mortality in different trades. Unfortunately, we have no figures later than 1931. But a dust which killed people in 1931 still kills them in 1945.

Let us see how we get evidence as to the harmful character of a dust. The kiln and oven men in the pottery trade—that is to say, men engaged in making earthenware, china, porcelain, terracotta and glazed tiles—have a mortality rate 37 per cent. above the average. Their death-rate from phthisis is 127 per cent. above the average; that from other lung diseases, 147 per cent. above the average. One naturally looks for something wrong in the air which they breathe.

If the sudden change from heat to cold and back were responsible, we should expect the kiln and oven men baking bricks and unglazed tiles to have the same high death-rate. Actually, their death-rate is 13 per cent. below the average, and their death-rate from consumption is half the average, though the sudden temperature changes may explain the fact that their death-rates from bronchitis and pneumonia are rather high.

Further, we find that the pottery workers' death-rate from "chronic interstitial pneumonia," which is the Registrar-General's pet name for silicosis, was 32 times the average. We need hardly go on to read medical reports on the lungs of dead pottery kilnmen to conclude that dust kills a lot of them, though these reports certainly drive the point home.

The dangerous mineral dusts mostly contain silica, and come from sandstone, slate, anthracite, abrasives such as emery and the sand used in sand-blasting, pottery glaze, and a few other sources.

Not all mineral dusts are harmful. Limestone quarrymen have a total death-rate 28 per cent. below normal, and their death-rate from phthisis is less than half the average. Limestone masons and limeburners who help to make cement are also healthier than the average. This has been known for many years.

But private and public authorities go on using sandstone. One of the cathedrals at Liverpool is largely built of red sandstone. Many lives would have been saved had it been built of brick, concrete, or limestone. The decision to build it of sandstone killed a number of men just as surely—and a good deal more slowly and painfully—as if a man had been buried alive under the foundation as a human sacrifice. For sandstone masons inhale so much silica that their death-rate from phthisis is four times the average.

There is plenty of limestone in the Pennines, at no great distance; but the authorities, both clergy and lay, responsible for such a building evidently do not think in terms of human life in deciding such matters.

Asbestos dust produces effects rather like those of silica dust, but it does not kill anything like so many people. On the other hand, it is a good deal harder to detect by means of X-rays, so its victims are more likely to die, or to become invalids, without compensation, than those of silicosis.

Textile dust is pretty deadly in large quantities. Cotton blowroom workers and strippers and grinders, who inhale cotton dust, had a death-rate 45 per cent. above the average. They died not only of lung diseases, but of heart and kidney diseases.

Wool dust also affects the kidneys. Wool spinners and weavers had over twice the normal death-rate from kidney disease, though it does not seem to hurt their lungs.

No one knows how the kidneys are damaged. It seems possible that the lung cells, instead of being clogged up with wool dust as they are with silica or asbestos dust, break the wool down into substances which are carried by the blood to the kidneys. But the kidneys are damaged in the effort to excrete them.

For every pound of textile dust inhaled by textile workers, I should think housewives inhale a hundredweight, though, of course, it is spread over many more people. The vacuum cleaner, which inhales textile dust without being poisoned, probably saves a lot of lives.

Of course, a small number of workers are exposed to much more poisonous dusts.

The dangers of lead dust are fairly well known.

Manganese compounds affect the parts of the brain concerned with posture, and give rise to stiffness, twitching and difficulty in walking. Later on speech is affected, and emotional control may be lost.

Hatters used to die on a large scale from inhaling mercuric nitrate dust, which is still sometimes used to loosen the rabbit fur from which felt is made. This not only rots the teeth, but causes a tremor called "hatters' shakes," and finally madness. The phrase "as mad as a hatter" is not funny. Hatters did very frequently go mad from mercury poisoning. However, more mercury poisoning seems to be due to the vapour than to dust.

Other dusts cause dermatitis. This is particularly common with explosives, such as "tetryl," whose dust particularly affects the inside of the nose. Trinitrotoluene and mercury fulminate also attack the skin.

Readers rather frequently send me samples of dust and ask if they are poisonous. I cannot answer them, as I have not got a chemical laboratory at my disposal, and very few chemists of my acquaintance have much time to spare.

The Trades Union Congress should establish a laboratory where such tests can be made. If this is done the workers will be spared a good deal of ill-health and some deaths. Until it is done, it will too often happen that no notice is taken of the dust in some new industrial process until it has killed several people and wrecked the health of many more.

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New Yugoslavia

IN Yugoslavia, according to the Constitution adopted on January 31, "The means of production are either the property of the whole people, that is, property held by the State; or the property of people's co-operative associations; or the property of private persons." In fact, 82 per cent of all industry is now in the hands of the State; in metals and engineering 87 per cent, in electrical engineering 95 per cent. When the agrarian reform now in progress is completed, 95 per cent of all arable land will be held by peasants. There is a great development of village co-operatives, over 7,000 having been newly formed, with 1,200,000 members. There is still a terrible shortage of food and materials and transport; but public ownership of the main means of production, combined with the initiative of people who have fought and won their freedom, will rapidly overcome all internal difficulties.

44 Hour Week

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

Theoretical Literature

Many readers are unaware that small quantities of former Anvil stocks of important titles are still available. Among these are the reports to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. given by the leading members of the C.C. Each one of these booklets contains contributions which cannot be obtained from other sources, yet are a vital addition to Marxist theory, e.g., Stalin's statements on the questions of the withering away of the state and on the intelligentsia, and Zhdanov's witty contributions on many questions connected with Party membership. The following titles in this series are still available and may be purchased at our bookshops or wholesale from Current Book Distributors:—

Stalin—Report on the work of the C.C.	6d.
Molotov—Report on the Third Five Year Plan	6d.
Zhdanov—Amendments to the rules of the C.P.S.U.	6d.
Manuilsky—Report of the Delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the Executive Committee of the C.I.	2d.
Resolutions of the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.	6d.

EDITORIAL

THE Federal elections have very considerable bearing on the future of the labor movement. A victory for the parties of monopoly capital led by Messrs. Menzies and Fadden would represent a grave setback for the cause of progress. Such a government would ally itself even more firmly to the imperialist, anti-Soviet forces in Britain and the United States and their conspiracies to bring about a new war.

The Menzies-Fadden reaction threatens the use of violent measures against the workers: penal legislation, the prison cell and the policeman's baton in order to halt the onward march of Australian labor. This use of the suppressive organs of the State would accompany a drive by the monopolies against the living standards and democratic liberties of the masses. Victory for the parties of monopoly capital would mean, as in America, the relaxing of price controls, with soaring prices and inflation, a big capitalist's paradise.

Inflation in the U.S.A. is robbing the workers and soldiers of their wartime savings and reducing their living standards. It is likewise ruinous for the middle class, the "small men," whose capital will be swallowed up by the banks and financiers. Such profiteering would accentuate the building muddle and similar problems and prepare the way more rapidly for a new economic catastrophe.

Therefore, the Communist Party must use every ounce of energy to elect, in the first place, the Communist candidates, and to secure the return of the Labor Party candidates where no Communists are standing. The election of Communist candidates has, for the workers, become a more urgent need than ever before. In foreign policy, the Labor Government has based itself on the Anglo-American imperialist bloc which aims at securing world domination for the American and British monopoly capitalists and at smashing the revolutionary movement of the European and Asiatic workers, together with the crushing of the colonial national independence movements and plots for an ultimate anti-Soviet war. Communists must be sent to Parliament to combat this anti-working class foreign policy which can only lead the toilers of the English-speaking countries to a new catastrophe.

The Labor Government has repudiated the platform of the A.L.P. which demands the nationalisation of key monopolies. The Labor Party, according to Chifley, foresees a "golden age" based on new industries to be established by British and American monopolists. As these monopolies have completely failed to produce any sort of "golden age" for the toilers of Britain and America, it may be taken for granted that it is indeed unlikely they will provide one for the Australian masses. What Chifley really means is an expansion of capitalism, a "golden age" of new opportunities for the bourgeoisie to further enrich itself.

This statement of Chifley's is reminiscent of the reformists at the time of the pre-depression boom in 1928 when they asserted "Ford had refuted Marx." In 1929, as is known, the great crash had arrived. Mr. Chifley's prediction of a "golden age" by means of the expansion of so-called private enterprise is no more substantial than the pipe-dreams of the Ford-worshipping reformists of 20 years ago.

Mr. Chifley asks the labor movement to forego nationalisation of the monopolies and the struggle for improved conditions in favor of this fantasy of a capitalist "golden age." Even British and American bourgeois economists, it might be said, expect depression when the present shortage of consumption goods has been met and "saturation" point, estimated by them at a year or two away, has been reached. Communists are needed in Parliament to combat such myths and press for nationalisation of key industries, coal, steel, etc., as the best means of reaching economic stability for the toiling masses.

The Chifley Government steadfastly refuses to countenance wage increases. Communists are needed in Parliament to press for a substantial increase of at least £1 per week over the present basic wage rate. They are needed to ensure that the 40-hour week becomes the law of the land.

The capitulation of the Labor Governments before the offensive of the capitalists has caused grave discontent in the working-class ranks. The employer-provoked strikes and the failure of the Labor Governments to deal with profiteers and saboteurs has created a situation which tends to alienate middle-class voters.

This situation demands a real fighting election campaign by the Communists, the Trade Unions and the Labor Party alike in order to prevent reaction turning the present difficult situation to its own electoral advantage. Discontented workers can be caught in the toils of Langism, the "Service Party," or even in the Liberal net if the Communists do not appear as an alternative working class leadership. This danger can only be averted by a realisation that workers leaving the A.L.P. orbit do not automatically gravitate to the Communist Party. They will be won to the support of Communism if our programme is taken to them. Thousands of new supporters can be won if there is a full mobilisation and maximum activity on the part of our Party's membership. Otherwise, workers disgusted with the Labor Government's failure to solve the major problems facing the country today will be caught up by reactionary demagogy.

The Communist Party is the Party of the unity of the working class. Despite the fact that there will be contests between Labor Party and Communist Party candidates in a number of electorates, nevertheless the Communists will still work on united front lines during the election period.

taxation and double the amount now being spent on re-establishment, war pensions and repatriation.

However, any suggestion that something be done to release the nation from the grip of the bondholders at once evokes from the bourgeoisie the panic-stricken cry—"Repudiation. That is unthinkable." So it is from the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie. Marx realised this eighty years ago, when he wrote, "with the rise of national debt making, want of faith in the national debt takes the place of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which may not be forgiven."

Basic wage earners, when they receive their annual income tax assessment; housewives, when they dip into their purse to find the extra halfpenny tax on the family loaf; even workers' children when they part with the halfpenny tax on their weekly bag of sweets, will not be afraid to commit such blasphemy as to curse the bondholders and cry, "Down with the National Debt!"

VITAL REFERENDUM ISSUES

H. B. CHANDLER

VESTED interests will go to any depths to prevent the Commonwealth Parliament obtaining more power at the referendum and especially more power relating to terms and conditions of industrial employment. This fact is clearly shown in the case for a negative vote officially prepared by the "Liberal"-Country Party which will be forwarded to every elector together with the case presented by the Government for a Yes vote to each of the three questions.

The Opposition bases its case on a repetition of its red-baiting, defence of the Arbitration Court, and an expressed "fear" that if the referendum is carried the Government would be able to deal directly with wages and hours and that the arbitration court would be pushed aside. This is a very weak argument which will be seen through by the thousands of workers who have had such a raw deal at the hands of the arbitration court judges and who have waited so long for the 40-hour week, wage increases and decent working conditions. The red bogey is raised to sidetrack the main issue. Vested interests are opposed to the Commonwealth Government having power to deal with industrial conditions because they gain a great advantage by the delays and decisions of the arbitration court and the big business stranglehold over State legislation through the reactionary Upper Houses that exist in most States of the Commonwealth.

The fact of the matter is that if the referendum is carried the Commonwealth Government will no longer be able to hide behind the constitution as an excuse for not granting the demands of the Unions and the needs of the people so far as working conditions are concerned. It will be a good thing that the Government will be able to discharge all the normal responsibilities of government in respect to fixing the standard hours in industry, to arbitrate on disputes, to fix the basic wage or the principle on which it is assessed, to regulate the maximum weekly hours of labor and to continue the work of the Women's Employment Board in regulating wages and conditions of women in industry.

There are different rates of pay in force in the respective States. There is no common rule in relation to terms of employment. There are **2,500,000 wage earners over 20 years of age in the** Commonwealth, of whom 1,250,000 approximately are unionists. No more than one-third are working under Federal awards and one-third under State awards. Thousands of others are not covered by any award. Uniformity of conditions can only be obtained by the Commonwealth Parliament legislating on a national scale, and this can be made possible by carrying the referendum.

The widespread unrest in the ranks of the workers is due to insecurity, inadequate pay and bad working conditions. The Commonwealth Parliament must be vested with the necessary authority to overcome these problems. It will then be a matter of the people insisting that it does so courageously and expeditiously. The arguments advanced by Messrs. Menzies, Fadden, Cameron and other protagonists of monopoly interests are false and a complete contradiction of declarations made when they were in power. For instance in 1936 Mr. Menzies said:

> "The Government agrees that this question of industrial powers must be dealt with. I am myself in favour of it." (**Hansard** 29/10/36.)

It is not expected that there will be a great deal of organised opposition to the Social Services questions. This is a clear-cut issue. Since the High Court has invalidated the free medicine scheme, most of the social legislation of the Federal Parliament has been considered to be insecure. This alteration is necessary to validate existing social legislation and enable extended services such as free medical, medicine and dental services and family allowances.

The case against this power has been written by Mr. A. Cameron, M.H.R., and Senators Mattner and McLachlan, the only three members in both Houses to vote against the bill. All are Liberal members and all are South Australian. They advance the argument that the High Court did not endanger existing social services, that the new power will impose bureaucratic control, that the Commonwealth will have far-reaching control over the lives of the people, and finally the old parochial reactionary plea that the States will be ousted from their role of providing social services. No doubt electors will choose the progressive role and vote **yes for extended Social services.**

It must be remembered that it will be necessary for a majority of the States as well as a majority of the electors in each State to vote for the constitutional alterations before they can be carried. As the issue is to be decided at the same time as the federal elections, voters will be given three ballot papers, one for the House of Representatives, one for the Senate and one for the referendum, and on for the Senate there will be three questions to be the referendum there will be three questions to be voted upon. This will necessitate the utmost clarity on September 28.

The Australian Communist Party, like the A.L.P., will advocate a Yes vote for each of the referendum questions. The Liberal-Country Party is divided on the issue. Big business is opposing every question. Some Liberals favour social services and oppose the industrial powers, whilst Country Party protagonists are hesitant upon organised marketing. Generally reaction will be organised for a No vote. But they can be defeated and their red-baiting rejected, providing every effort is made to unite the force of Labor, to campaign vigorously for the referendum, and advantage taken of the opportunity to mobilise the workers, the farmers, and the middle class sections—all who benefit most from the contemplated changes. These changes are progressive and will enable the Commonwealth Parliament to advance towards homes, jobs, and security.

SOVIET PROPOSALS TO BAN ATOM BOMBS

BORIS IZAKOV.

HUMANENESS, clarity and efficacy are the distinguishing features of the Soviet Union's proposals to the Commission for the Control of Atomic Energy.

The invention of a new atomic weapon of enormous destructive power may bring with it boundless misfortune for mankind. In its present form and character this weapon isn't meant to be used at the front line; its radius of action is so wide that it may affect the side using it as well as the enemy. The atomic bomb is calculated mainly for use deep in interior enemy territory, as the experience in the Pacific has shown. Thus the atomic weapon threatens primarily the peaceful population.

The civilised world has barred in war the use of poisonous gas as well as bacteriological means. It is only natural and logical that the same fate should overtake the atomic weapon.

To prohibit the production and use of the atomic weapon is concisely the gist of the Soviet Union's proposals. At the same time they present wide possibilities for the use of atomic energy in peaceful pursuits to further the well being of peoples and the development of science and culture. As Mr. Gromyko, Soviet Representative, stated at the session of the Commission for the Control of Atomic Energy: "There can be no efficacious and effective system of peace unless the discovery of ways and means of using atomic energy is placed at the service of humanity and unless it is utilised only for peaceful pursuits."

The Soviet proposals provide for the conclusion of the International Convention prohibiting production and use of the atomic weapon. According to the draft of this agreement the parties thereto undertake: (1) not to make use of the atomic weapon under any circumstances—(2) to prohibit production and storage of the atomic weapon—(3) to destroy within three months all stores of finished and unfinished atomic weapons.

Proposals submitted by Mr. Gromyko differ in principle from those of the American plan presented to the Commission by Mr. Bernard Baruch. The American plan amounts to the following: That the United States secure the monopoly for manufacture of the atomic weapon for an indefinite period. During this period, which will depend on the development of functions of the international control body, the United States intends to manufacture and store atomic bombs. Thereafter U.S.A. intends gradually in "consecutive stages" to share with the international control organ information on the manufacture of atomic energy and allow it to extend its control over the United States.

Apparently the U.S.A. means to fix at its own discretion the time when it will permit the international organ "in consecutive stages" to peep into secrets of its "atomic kitchen." Only when the American Government deems control by the international organ "effective" does it promise to cease production of atomic bombs and turn over its stock to the control organ and give it full information on the manufacture of atomic energy.

Each point of this extremely involved plan is a puzzle and fraught with all sorts of complications. Why should the United States Government want to continue manufacturing and storing atomic weapons—after it is prohibited? On what grounds does it claim the right to prolong indefinitely its monopoly for production of atomic energy? Why should all other countries be obliged to blindly trust the intentions of the United States whereas the latter displays clearly expressed mistrust not only towards its partners but also to the international control organ? Perhaps they think in Washington that the stir created over the test of the atomic bomb in the Pacific is especially conducive to arousing trust in the United States?

The fact hasn't been mentioned that the manufacture of atomic bombs in the United States isn't completely in the hands of the Government but that

various stages of it have been leased to private monopolistic firms. One such firm is Dupont Denemours Chemical Company which before the war was connected by a thousand threads with German Farbenindustrie and therefore by no means calls forth trust.

The American Plan has another very great defect. It suggests the departure from fundamental principles of the actions of the Security Council and in particular rejects the principle of unanimity of the Great Powers in the decision of vital questions (right to veto). Commenting on this point of Baruch's proposals, the American Press talks about the necessity for "powers to renounce their sovereignty", presumably . . . in favour of the U.S.A.

Experiences of the past few months have clearly shown that the rule of unanimity of the Great Powers is an irrevocable condition for the preservation of equality of all sides in that organ of United Nations on which depends the adoption of most responsible decisions. There can be no deviation from this rule.

The report of a Washington correspondent of Associated Press Agency serves as a curious post-script to the American plan. According to this Correspondent certain Senators stated to him in an interview that Baruch's position is such that the United States will never have to reveal to another country the secrets of the atomic bomb. This explanation of Baruch's plan apparently reflects the true state of affairs.

The Soviet Union's proposals and the American plan express two different trends in present day international politics. The first reflects an unalterable policy of peace and protection of world security. The American Plan, a product of "atom diplomacy", however, reflects obvious striving for world domination but in our times such striving cannot meet with success.

CHIFLEY'S WAGE-PEGGING FETISH

E. THORNTON.

ONE of the worst aspects of Federal Government policy today is the retention of the rigid wage-pegging controls. It is a common saying in the Trade Union movement that the only person in the country who still has any respect for wage-pegging is Ben Chifley.

Certainly the Prime Minister adopts a stubborn, unrealistic attitude to wage-pegging, and all the arguments put forward by representatives of the trade unions have been ignored by Mr. Chifley who continues to stand flat-footed on this matter. The employers and Arbitration Court Judges are taking full advantage of this attitude by the head of the Federal Government and to the demands of the workers, exasperated by rising prices and falling wages (for there has geen a great reduction in the average worker's income since the end of the war, mainly due to abolition of overtime), the employers and the Courts say "We can't give you increased wages because that would be an illegal breach of the wage-pegging regulations."

This is so much eyewash, for the employers are giving increases in wages, have done so in a number of cases; the Courts have also broken the regulations, the most striking example being the decision of the Queensland Industrial Court to grant a 40 hour week to the Queensland shearers, only of course after the shearers had enforced the 40 hour week themselves.

Recently the ironworkers in Whyalla, South Australia, asked the B.H.P. for a wage increase to men employed as holders-up in rivetting squads. The company refused even to discuss the question, on the ground that wage-pegging prevented such an increase. But about the same time the company offered a bonus scheme, which would have provided a wage increase to all workers in the shipyard, and, more glaring still, gave substantial wage increases to non-union staff employees.

So there we have the attitude of the B.H.P. clearly defined as holding that wage increases on a time basis for union men were illegal, that incentive payments were not, and that increased time payments for non-union staff men were perfectly legal.

Jack Hughes told me about another example. The Clerks' Union filed a claim for increased wages for the employees of a Trustee Company in Queensland, and after the lapse of some time received a petition from the employees asking that the claim be dropped and stating that all signatories were satisfied with their wages. This of course was very suspicious and therefore an official of the union made an inspection of the wages book of the company and discovered that all the employees in question had received an increase in wages. This was done obviously to counteract the union activity, but what about wage-pegging? It apparently did not apply.

I could multiply such examples which prove beyond doubt that the wage-pegging regulations are treated with scant respect by the employers.

Realising this the Ironworkers' Union has made no bones about its intention to get higher wages in spite of wage-pegging and its activities in this direction have been supported by the Moulders' Union and recently by the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Because of the shortage of foundry labor we have encouraged our members to leave the foundries which pay the lowest wages and go to work in the foundries where wages have been increased. Do we need to be ashamed of this? Of course not!

Our members have a perfect right to sell their labor time to the highest bidder, and after patiently accepting wage-pegging during the war it is understandable that workers should now demand the right to attempt to catch up with the increases in the cost of living.

But, some may argue, if there is a general rise in wages we will have inflation such as is now occurring in America! Rubbish. American inflation is not the result of wage increases but of the lifting of price control and unscrupulous profiteering.

Others may argue that increases in wages will develop an increased demand for goods which are in short supply and inflation will take place in that manner. The answer to that is that rigid price control will prevent a rise in prices and that secondly goods are not in as short supply as they were a year ago, but wages are lower because of the closing of many war industries and the elimination of overtime in others.

Another argument is to the effect that increased wages will increase the cost of production of consumer goods and therefore increase the cost of living. Many of the basic requirements of the people are hardly affected by wage increases. First, the price of imported goods such as tea and coffee are not affected at all by Australian wages. Then the prices of items such as flour, meat, butter, vegetables, tobacco, beer, etc., are not determined by wages in production to any great degree.

But can anyone tell me that the doubling and trebling of the price of furniture, carpets, crockery and a score of other home necessities has been caused by increased labor costs? I used to pay 1/6 for two ounces of tobacco. I now pay 3/-. Is that due to increased wages or indirect taxation? To the latter, of course.

So one could go on giving such examples which all go to prove that wages have lagged far behind prices, which have risen in spite of pegged wages, and that the worker is poorer today than ever before.

There are plenty of facts to show that wages could be substantially increased without causing an upward trend in prices, especially if price fixing was more rigidly enforced.

The Labor Government is building up for itself a tremendous wave of resentment because of its stubborn attitude to wage-pegging and this will undoubtedly be reflected in the Federal election results.

However there is still time for the Government to change its attitude and allow the adjustments of wages so clearly necessary for the workers. If it maintains its present position there is no alternative but for the trade unions to attempt to nullify the wage-pegging regulations, just as other controls have been made inoperative by other sections of the community.

THE AMERICAN NEGROES' FUTURE

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

(From a speech at the National Board, C.P.U.S.A., March 28, 1946.)

IT is a fact we must reckon with that, for the most part, the Negro people have not responded favourably to the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt, a slogan first put forward by our Party in 1928. Because of this lack of response, which amounts in many cases to vigorous opposition, there are some comrades in our ranks who conclude incorrectly that the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt is wrong.

Well-defined nations, at certain stages in their development, almost always spontaneously put forth a demand for self-determination and fight to realize it in one form or another. The Negro people in the Black Belt constitute a nation. They possess the basic characteristics of a nation, stated as follows by Stalin:

> A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.

Despite the fact that the Negro people in the Black Belt possess these qualities of nationhood, they nevertheless do not raise the demand for self-determination. Why is this so?

In my judgment, the basic answer to this question is that the Negro people, although a nation, are still a relatively young nation. They have not yet matured politically to the point where they will conceive of, and fight for, the slogan of self-determination. Nations, like classes, grow and develop; they do not spring full-fledged from the brow of Jove. (Our American working class, for example, with no mass party of its own and with its head full of capitalist ideology, is still far from political maturity.) Nations must pass through a period, more or less extended, of growth and maturation. The Negro people are now in the midst of such national development.

During the past 150 years, from one end of our Hemisphere to the other, more than a score of new nations have come into existence. Some of them, including our own, had great difficulty in acquiring a national consciousness, as well as the various other attributes of nationhood. Indeed, several of them, particularly in Central America, have not yet fully developed a vigorous sense of nationhood, much less won full national independence. In other parts of the world also, including nations and autonomous regions in the Soviet Union, we have in our time seen peoples maturing into national consciousness. In India, too, there are many peoples who do not yet demand self-determination for themselves, but support the general demand for a free India.

The Negro people in the United States are developing their nationhood under extremely difficult conditions. Nevertheless, they are developing it. Coming to the United States, dating back almost 300 years, from all parts of Africa, they found themselves enchained by chattel slavery. This made it impossible for them, until the Civil War, to develop all the characteristics of a nation. But, even under slavery, they did develop certain national characteristics such as a common homeland, a common speech and a common psychological make-up flowing from their traditions of oppression. It was only with the abolition of slavery in 1865 that the Negro people had an opportunity to develop the higher qualities of nationhood. Since then their progress toward nationhood has been phenomenal. They have in varying degrees registered tremendous strides in science, in politics, in agriculture, in labor unions, in the armed forces, in educational pursuits, in general culture, in sports, in all walks of life. They have now developed a strong proletariat and a well-marked, even though weak, bourgeoisie. This national progress is all the more remarkable in view of the brief time in which it has occurred and the extremely difficult conditions under which it has taken place. Let us not forget that there are still many thousands of American Negroes who were actually born chattel slaves.

The Negro people are rapidly developing their nationhood under conditions of repression hardly equalled in any other country in the world. In the North, as a national minority, they have to face widespread discrimination in every phase of social life, and in the South, where the great bulk of them live, they suffer under the weight of the infamous Jim Crow and semi-feudal system. Not long ago several Indian comrades asserted to me that the Negroes in the South were in an even worse condition of oppression and discrimination than the Untouchables of India. Despite all these difficulties, however, the progress being made by the Negro people has been one of the most striking features of American life during the past 80 years.

There are three special features that raise ideological difficulties to the acceptance of the slogan of self-determination by the young Negro nation. The bourgeoisie seized upon these to mask their fierce national repression. The first of these ideological difficulties is the race question. Ever since Negro slaves were brought to this country, the exploiters have attempted to justify their oppression upon the grounds that the Negroes are biologically an inferior race. This is the theory of white supremacy and Negro inferiority. It has been the ideological basis, not only for slavery, but for the entire system of Jim Crow, white supremacy practices, and other discriminations against Negroes. In consequence, Negroes naturally fight fiercely against this whole concept of racial inferiority and the segregationism that accompanies it. This makes them highly suspicious of any proposals, even slogans of national self-determination, that would seem to set them apart from the bulk of the white population. Preoccupation with this burning question of racial discrimination tends to obscure the more basic conception of their status as a nation.

A second ideological barrier to the development of national consciousness among the Negro people has to do with the general question of American democratic traditions. Negroes rightly feel themselves to be American in the fullest sense of the word. And, despite all the discrimination that is directed against them as a people, they are also proud of American democratic traditions and their contributions to establishing them. Consequently, here with this strong spirit of Americanism the young Negro people do not readily develop the conception of being themselves a nation, even though they are an oppressed nation within the broad American nation.

A third obstacle to the development of full national consciousness among the Negroes as a people arises from the fact that, situated literally in the bosom of the strongest and largest capitalist nation in the world, it is difficult for them, a relatively small and the most impoverished section of the American people, to conceive of themselves as taking a stand as a nation within this great American nation, and as demanding the right of self-determination. Such an assertion of nationhood on their part would be an act demanding very high national consciousness.

The foregoing are some of the major reasons why the young Negro nation has not yet reached the point of political maturity where it fully understands itself to be a nation and where it demands the right of self-determination. But that the Negro people are on the way to achieving such consciousness of nationhood is made obvious by observing their general orientation as a people.

Where are the Negro people going? What are they doing to solve the problem of repression? What is the route they are taking in their forward march? These are some of the major questions to which we must find answers. And we can find them, not in wishful thinking as to what the Negroes should or should not do, but in studying what the Negroes are actually thinking and doing about these matters. In applying the principles of Marxism to this complex problem we must be careful to avoid schematism; we must, as Lenin often counselled, listen carefully to the voice of the people. We must use our theory, not as a dogma, but as a guide to action.

In order to establish just what the orientation of the Negro people is, it may be helpful first to point out some of the goals toward which they are NOT heading. First, they are not looking, as a people, for the solution of their problems by inter-marriage and absorption into the general white majority of the nation, as appears to be taking place in some Latin-American countries. At the same time, they fight against the white supremacy barriers to the right of inter-marriage. Second, they are not planning to emigrate from the United States to Africa, as Garvey (and various other exodus proponents since Civil War times) would have had them do. Third, they are not dispersing their national organizations and giving up their struggles and simply relying upon the goodwill and generosity of the American bourgeoisie to provide them with economic, political, and social equality, as Browder recommends they do. And, fourth, they are not looking forward to a time when, in the South, they have a Negro Republic. Where, then, are they heading as a people, and what is their orientation?

Under the pressure of their difficult situation, the Negro people are developing along a triple-phased course.

First, the negro people, along with their white allies, are fighting militantly and resolutely for economic, political and social equality, and first-class citizenship, and not without very substantial successes. They are seeking to integrate themselves on a basis of equality into every American institution and into all fields of endeavour. The measure of their efforts in this direction is indicated, among other developments, by such movements as those against lynching, against the poll tax, and for full rights in the armed forces, for fair employment practices, etc.

Second, in order to carry through successfully these struggles for equal rights, the Negro people are energetically organizing themselves, and more and more on a national Negro basis. The N.A.A.C.P., the National Urban League, the National Negro Congress, the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America and other organisations have greatly increased in numbers and influence during the past decade or two, while in the sphere of trade union organisation the Negro workers have made most striking progress.

Third, along with this organized fight for equality, the Negro people are also gradually developing their natural culture and national consciousness. Specifically Negro culture is showing great vitality, so much so that it has already profoundly affected American culture in general. As for the development of their national consciousness, one of its most striking manifestations is the extent to which Negroes nowadays have lessened their talk of "race" consciousness and increased their tendency to consider themselves as "the Negro people." They have also developed a marked community of feeling with the colonial peoples of the world who are now fighting for national liberation.

All this signifies that the Negro people are on the path that leads to national struggle, organization, and consciousness. It is the way that leads to the eventual adoption of the slogan of self-determination, with corresponding practical demands for economic and political freedom. Today, both in the North and the South, the Negro people have put forward immediate demands appropriate to those of an oppressed national minority, seeking equality within the given state. But they will eventually advance economic and political demands that will raise their programme for the South to the higher level of national liberation.

With their process of increasing struggle, improving organization, and developing national consciousness, the Negro people at this time are orientating in the general direction of statehood in the Black Belt within the general confines of the U.S. There are no separatist tendencies among them. Rather than toward a Negro Republic in the South, they are much more definitely moving toward relationships roughly analogous in certain respects to those of the French-Canadian people toward the rest of the Canadian people. This is what the living practice of the Negro people teaches us now, and these lessons must not be ignored or misunderstood.

The Communist Party deservedly has a high prestige among the Negro people. This is because our Party, ever since its formation, has fought resolutely beside the harassed Negro masses. We have relentlessly struggled against the outrageous lynchings, against the Jim Crow system, and against anti-Negro discrimination and white chauvinism in all fields. We have also fought tirelessly for all the demands of the Negro people, and for the unity of the Negro masses and the white progressive forces. Our Party can rightfully claim much of the credit for the political progress made in recent years by the Negro people.

A weakness in our Party's work, however, has been the inept way we have handled the question of self-determination in the Black Belt of the South. Our adoption of the slogan of self-determination in 1928 marked a big step forward in our Negro work; but, unfortunately (save for the Browder revisionist period, when we dropped the slogan altogether), we have quite generally interpreted it in a Leftist manner. This has tended to make it unacceptable to the Negro people. Among the major improvements necessary in our presentation of the slogan of self-determination are the following:

(a) We must not brush aside the question of race, as we have done too often in the past. On the contrary, we must fully evaluate the role racial prejudice plays in the oppression of the Negro people and show its relation to the larger, more basic political question of the **national** oppression of the Negro people.

(b) We must attune our advocacy of the slogan of self-determination more closely to the general stage of national development which the young Negro nation has attained. We must pay closer attention to the incipient national moods, ideas, and movements now developing among this oppressed people, and adopt as a major task the awakening of the Negro people's consciousness of nationhood. We must pay particular attention to solving the land hunger of the Negro people. We must not present the slogan of self-determin-

ation to the Negro people in a manner that assumes that they are a nation fully matured politically.

(c) We must not, either by direct advocacy or by implication, create the impression that self-determination in the Southern Black Belt would necessarily lead to the creation of a Negro Republic. Instead, we must show that self-determination may take various forms, of which separation is but one. This is all the more necessary because the Negro people are in no sense orientating themselves at present toward the setting up of a separate Republic. We must study more carefully the whole question of bi-national and multi-national states, as they exist in various parts of the world.

(d) We must more concretely connect the question of Socialism with the fight of the Negro people against racial and national oppression. We must show them that while their present fight for economic, political, and social equality, and their eventual struggle for national self-determination, are indispensable for their welfare and freedom, it will only be under Socialism that they, together with the white toiling masses, will finally achieve full liberty, equality, and prosperity.

THE COAL BILL

H. WELLS.

THE Coal Industry Bill brought down in the Federal Parliament, following dicussions between the Federal Government and the N.S.W. Government, will not solve the problems of the coal industry, but it should ensure better conditions in the pits, some reasonable amenities at the mines and in the coalfields towns and a greater output of coal.

The measure is not nationalisation of the coal industry — it is very far from that. It could more correctly be described as a Bill to provide the coal owners of New South Wales (who have been declared by several learned Judges to be extremely short-sighted, anarchistically competitive and want-only wasteful) with advice, money, and general assistance to rehabilitate their industry, re-equip their mines with new and up-to-date machinery and to provide (in spite of themselves) a sure, ready market for all the coal they can produce.

In return for all this and with a surety to the owners of a regular profit, the Government hopes to gain sufficient coal to overcome the great lag in Australian industry and in fact in its whole economy, caused by the coal shortage.

The mineworkers on the other hand can gain much better working conditions, better machinery which can mean less arduous, gut-tearing toil, better treatment of dust, which will be astremendous gain, better ventilation, some reasonable amenities at the pits and in the coalfields towns.

The Joint Control Board can also make a real contribution to the coalfields people by providing for the establishing of other industries in the coalfields, thereby making possible alternate employment and the possibility of parents holding their families together, and better homes in which to house themselves.

The coalmining industry is one of the industries in Australia in which change from "wild-cat" methods to even capitalist "modernity" and "efficiency" can benefit the worker. No one, Governments, mining unions, or the Labor Movement, should be carried away with high-sounding speeches to believe that the present legislation means anything more or less than this.

For the mining unions, interested as they are in altering the rotten set-up that has existed in the pits and is so much a problem in winning even normal trade union discipline and clarity, in preventing the utter collapse of the industry on which all their members and dependents have to rely for their future and in the winning of some real advance in the health of their members, the present legislation is a real and great gain.

Especially is this so because the Miners' Federation had to fight so hard and take such measures as to actually force the Governments to go even this distance.

The present measure is a step in the direction in which the mining unions wish to go — they have fought hard for this gain, they must fight just as hard to ensure that they make the most of the provisions in the Bill and to ensure that in its administration the Joint Coal Board goes at least to the full extent promised by the Government leaders in their speeches in the parliamentary debate.

The Governments and the Labor Movement must assist the Miners' Federation to ensure that the New South Wales coalowners do not "suck the Bill dry" and then in a few years — three to five —throw it away. Without doubt, and despite their phoney opposition to the Bill, this will be in their minds. If there is evidence of this, we must ensure that the Joint Coal Board take steps to acquire the mines and remove these profit-sucking gentry, so that the industry may return in use to Australia and its people the 20 millions of pounds which the Government leaders consider will be necessary to reorganise it.

Now to some features of the Bill itself.

The Bill provides for the establishment of a Coal Authority to be known as the Joint Coal Board, with extensive powers.

Its main powers relate to:

(a) To ensure that coal is produced in the State in such quantities and with such regularity as will meet requirements throughout Australia and in trade with other countries.

(b) To ensure that the coal resources of the State are conserved, developed, worked and used to the best advantage in the public interests.

(c) To ensure that coal produced in the State is distributed and used in such manner, quantities, classes and grades and at such prices as are calculated best to serve the public interest and secure the economic use of coal and the maintenance of essential services and industrial activities.

(d) To promote the welfare of workers engaged in the coal industry in the State.

In order to carry out its declared functions, the Joint Coal Board is provided with extensive power to require any mine manager or owners, or any employee, to put into effect any decision made by the Board. In other words, the owners are to be requested to accept such advice as will make it possible for their pits to produce sufficient coal for the abovementioned purposes.

They are to be requested to spend public money to improve the machinery and equipment of their collieries, to increase output of coal. They are to be requested to allow the Joint Coal Board to distribute their coal and to supply classes of coal most needed for particular undertakings.

If they do not accept the request made to them by the Board, and the advice tendered to improve their industry, then some pressure may be brought to bear on them, or, alternatively, the Board may acquire their mines by paying just compensation. But which coal owner will not be prepared to accept such advice and money and distribution of their coal, when they are to be guaranteed a much better profit than they have made for the past fifteen years?

There is nothing to provide that the owners shall not do such things as they have done towards the men in the industry during the past years, and without doubt, while they may co-operate and accept advice from the Board until such time as they have reorganised their pits, their history would lead me to believe that their attitude will change very considerably both towards the Board and towards their employees immediately this has been achieved.

It is significant that Part 4 of the Bill was deleted at the request of Mr. Menzies when the Bill was discussed in the Federal Parliament. This part deals with the control of coal mines and the powers of the Board in that connection. To accept such an amendment without doubt leaves the suspicion that the Government does not want the Joint Coal Board, which, incidentally, will be under the political direction of the Government, to control the mines. They hope to achieve their purpose of improved conditions in the coal mines and a big increase in the production of coal by paying the owners' bill for the reorganisation necessary.

One would normally have expected that the Labor Government would make some Labor appointments on such a Board and would have provided some place in the new apparatus for the Trade Unions, especially as the Miners' Federation have shown that they knew most about the industry and its development or collapse over the past four years. While no names have yet been released, it is freely suggested in the lobbies that the people who may be appointed will not be labor men but are more likely to come from those who have been employed and trained by coal owners and monopolists. It is to be hoped that this will not prove fact.

Without doubt, the major weakness in the Bill, apart from the obvious unwillingness to nationalise, acquire or control the industry, is the refusal of the Government to provide for a definite place in the new set-up for the Miners' Federation. To achieve its purpose to increase coal production, very considerable reorganisation of the industry will be necessary, because even the Prime Minister himself admits that if every mineworker and every coal mine worked every day, output would still be insufficient.

In such a reorganisation of the industry, the Union could play a very considerable part, and the men on the job could be won to contribute very many ideas that would overcome bottlenecks and weaknesses in the layout of haulages, ventilation or equipment which now holds up production. In addition to this, the men would more readily accept any changes that were to be made after consultation and in agreement with their officers, than they would accept changes decided upon by a supposedly independent Board.

No such Board can be independent at all. If men are selected who know nothing of the coal industry, then they would need to appoint technical advisers who, without doubt, would come from men who have been employed by owners for the past fifteen years, and have received their training and carried out their work as representatives of the owners.

A further provision in the Bill, which will cause considerable uneasiness and suspicion in the minds of the mineworkers, is the provision that the Joint Coal Board may remove any person from the mining industry. This cannot possibly work evenly. It is impossible to remove the owner's agent or superintendent, because even though he may be prevented from attending coal conferences, it would be impossible to prevent him advising managers under his control by way of letter, telephone or personal discussion.

The mineworker, however, who is removed from the industry must necessarily break up his home in the coal fields, sever his family connections in that town or village, and move to some other place to try and get employment in a backyard industry, because no monopolist concern would employ a man who was considered to be too bad to continue employment in the mining industry. Granted that efforts by the Miners' Federation to secure discipline of their members regarding petty stoppages have not been as successful as desired, the Federation, without doubt, will resist with everything at

their disposal any decision to remove mineworkers from the industry which savours of victimisation.

One of the good features of the Bill, in a capitalist way, is that it will guarantee the continuance of the N.S.W. Mineworkers' Pensions Scheme, and also guarantee the continuance of reasonable compensation. For some time past the Miners' Federation has been worried that with the end of the subsidy payments to insurance companies, those companies would claim bankruptcy, and injured mineworkers would receive only a percentage of their compensation. It was also worried that the Mineworkers' Pensions Fund would require additional levies from mineworkers in order to remain solvent in the event of any radical change in the industry and numbers of employed workers.

It is accepted that the Chairman of the Joint Coal Board would be also the Chairman of the Mineworkers' Pensions Tribunal, and that this Fund shall be kept solvent. Provision is also made for the Board to establish a Workers' Compensation Fund which would be levied over the whole of the industry, and a Welfare Fund in which the N.S.W. Government would put an amount of £70,000 per annum, and the remainder would be met by the Commonwealth Government. A Coal Industry Fund is also to be established, from which advances will be made to the owners for purposes of reorganisation, either as a grant or loans.

It is anticipated that the Board will be able, by exercising its power, to fix the price of coal to repay into the Fund amounts equalising expenditure.

Despite the criticism of the Bill made by the Miners' Federation Executive and Central Council and the amendments sought, the Central Council has accepted the Bill as the best measure yet brought forward, and as one which should result in considerably improving the conditions of its members. It has agreed that it will give every chance to the new authority to make a success of the undertaking. In doing this, the Federation and the Labor Movement must remain conscious of the major weaknesses in the Bill, and be fully aware of its shortcomings.

INDIA PLAN A SWINDLE

(Statement of the Indian Communist Party, July 15, 1946)

The Cabinet Mission which was sent to India by Britain's Labor Government, to arrive at a settlement with Indian leaders, has finished its work after long and protracted negotiations of fully 2½ months. On May 16th it issued its Award which is supposed to meet India's long-standing demand of freedom and complete independence.

Under the Award, there is to be a Constituent Assembly—not elected directly through adult franchise—but by the present Provincial Legislatures which are based on a very limited electorate. Also, these members who belong to different communities will not vote together; the Muslim members will elect the Muslim delegates, the Sikh members (in the Punjab) will elect the Sikh delegates and members from all other communities (Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans) will elect the other delegates.

After the elections the delegates would gather, it seems, for only one meeting where their chairman and other officers would be elected. Immediately after they would split up into what are termed 'sections.' Section A consists of dominantly Hindu provinces, Section B of Bengal and Assam and Section C comprises the Muslim majority areas of the North West.

After determining the constitutions of these three sections, all the delegates would reassemble for the purpose of settling the final all-India Union Constitution. This constitution, however, must compulsorily have a Union Centre controlling Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs.

It is at this stage that the representatives of the 582 native States step in. These representatives will not be elected by the people of the States, but in effect nominated by their feudal Princes and will hold one-fourth of the total seats in the Constituent Assembly.

Thus we have the three group or section federations and a Union Centre. This professes to meet the demands of both the major Indian parties—the demand of the Indian National Congress for a constitution of "United" India with one central authority, and the demand of the Muslim League for a separate Muslim State of Pakistan comprising the Muslim majority areas of the North-West as well as Bengal and Assam.

Nobody in India, however, believes that freedom has been granted. Progressive dailies and certain Left spokesmen inside the Congress have been strongly condemning the Award as an Imperialist trap. The main limitations pointed out are:

First, that there is no clear-cut declaration of Independence.

Second, that the Constituent Assembly is not a **Sovereign** Body but has to function under the shadow of the British Power itself, with the British Army here and with the British Viceroy as the head of the Government.

Third, that one-fourth representation is given to the Princes, the traditional stooges of British Imperialism, who will be holding the decisive balance for their masters. In fact ironically the Princes are the only element in Indian life who have been given "freedom"—to maintain their autocratic feudal States!

Fourth, that compulsory grouping of provinces into "sections" is designed to intensify national conflicts and put Indians against Indians. Sjt. Bardoloi, the Congress leader of Assam, for example, has made it quite clear that his 10 million Assamese do not desire to get swamped by 60 million Bengalees. In the same way, the Pathans in the North-west who have been arbitrarily dumped into "section C" want themselves to decide their own future and do not wish to be forced to go into any federation with the other Muslim majority provinces.

On the question of grouping of provinces, a leading member of the All-India Trade Union Congress has another important point to make. In his recent interview he declared:

"The 'groupings' above all are calculated to disintegrate India economically, leaving it open to British exploitation. It is no accident that the Union Centre is not supposed to deal with Customs, Tariffs and Planning. Under the Award each group or section federation would be having its own independent economic policy—thus preventing Indian Business from making a common front against British vested interests. And British Big Business hopes to exploit the political conflicts of the different section federations for their own economic penetration."

The fifth major defect of the British Award as it has been pointed out is that the Constituent Assembly has no time limit fixed within which it has to produce the Constitution. This has to be seen together with other shortcomings. First, the voting strength of the different communities in two of the three "sections" works out so that they are very evenly balanced leaving a very narrow margin of votes either way. Secondly the British plan makes a provision by which most of the vital decisions on the so-called "communal issues" cannot be taken by a simple majority in the Assembly but must be referred for arbitration to a British-appointed Federal Court. From this, all that could be visualised is a perpetual drift, a series of endless deadlocks with no provision for their solution except through British awards, formal and informal.

In fact the main strategy of the British in these negotiations has been to switch the Indian freedom movement from the demand for complete independence to a demonstration of India's internal differences. So that on the one hand the British are able to parade before the world their own "sincerity" and on the other hand inside India itself get into a strategic position for guiding the course of constitution making.

It is here that matters stand today—the Cabinet Mission having packed off to Britain, solving not one of the urgent pressing problems facing the Indian people. In the meanwhile the newspapers have started headlining signs of famine and food and cloth scarcity in the whole of the South, as well as portions of Bengal. A strike-wave bigger than India's biggest one of 1921 is sweeping across the whole country, affecting every industrial centre. Politically too, conditions are as unstable, communal riots having broken out in Ahmedabad, Dacca (Bengal) and Bareilly (Behar).

India stands on the threshold of big changes, political and economic. Everything depends on the channels along which the coming struggles of the working people are directed.

OUTLOOK AFTER BOURNEMOUTH

HARRY POLLITT, London.

BY now most readers will have been made familiar with the main character of the discussions and decisions of the 45th Annual Conference of the Labor Party at Bournemouth. No one who attended this conference would doubt the tremendous feeling of victory among the delegates arising from the defeat of the Tories at the last General Election and the wide scope of constructive legislation on the home front that has either already been carried through by the Labor Government, or will shortly become operative.

This victory feeling was the predominating impression. Yet at the same time any serious political observer could not help thinking that there was a certain dangerous tendency expressed (mainly as a result of the leadership of the platform) towards being "giddy with success." For at no time during the proceedings was any serious effort made by the leadership to face the Conference up to the grim realities of the acute political and economic questions that will begin to arise with increasing gravity. No effort at all was made to give any analysis of Britain's economic position either in relation to the situation at home or against the background of the international situation as a whole. From this follows failure to evolve the kind of perspective, based on a correct analysis, that would enable the Conference to formulate its policy decisions more closely in accord with the facts of the situation.

This weakness not only continues to feed existing illusions, but places the movement in a position where it may be taken off its guard, unprepared for the severity of the struggle which the British working-class will have to increasingly face from the capitalists. In this article I do not propose to go into every aspect of the Bournemouth Conference. I want to deal principally with the matter which, in the minds of all who were present, whether they would admit it or not, was the shadow that hung over the Conference. For shadow there was. It hovered over the Conference from the moment the delegates began to arrive to their preliminary meetings, right up to the end of the Conference. It was the shadow of war. I do not mean by that that war is imminent, but there was an instinctive

fear that, consciously or unconsciously, the course of foreign policy which the Labor Government is adopting may lead to a new world war some years from now, unless that course is altered.

If after one year of a Tory Government the international position had deteriorated as it has done since July, 1945, and especially if relations between Britain and the Soviet Union had reached the critical stage they have, one could easily imagine how the mass pressure of the movement would have made itself felt on the Labor Party leaders and the reaction of the Bournemouth Conference to such a development. Short shrift would have been given to any attempt to place the responsibility on the Soviet Government or its people. It would have been placed squarely where it belonged — on the Tory Government. But when such a situation exists after a year of the Labor Government, despite Mr. Bevin's oratory, it is impossible to avoid facing his Government with the same responsibility.

Indeed, at the Blackpool Labor Party Conference in May, 1945, before the General Election, at which, on Mr. Bevin's own admission, the Labor Party did not expect to become the Government, the Right Hon. Hugh Dalton, M.P., placed the question of Anglo-Soviet relations in their right perspective when he declared:—

> It is indispensable that we should do everything to ensure the closest contact and adopt every possible means of removing any suspicions which may linger between the Soviet Government and the British Government, or between the broad masses of the Russian people on the one hand and the broad masses of our own people on the other. Given that Anglo-Soviet relations are still clouded from time to time by suspicions and misunderstanding, I most emphatically hold that a British Labor Government is far more likely to remove these suspicions, than a British Tory Government.

You have only to read that quotation again and think of the present situation, to grasp how badly the Labor Government has failed to fulfil the aim that was set for it by Dalton.

If anyone thinks I am exaggerating the importance attached to the foreign policy of the Labor Government by the movement, they should take note of one very important fact. More resolutions on various aspects of foreign policy had been placed on the agenda by Divisional Labor Parties — and these are the bodies in close touch and who carry out the detailed work of the labor movement—than on any other subject. These resolutions were compressed into various composite resolutions in the drafting of which much of the original vigour and critical character of the original resolutions had been lost. Nevertheless, as they stood in relation to the whole character of the foreign policy in Spain, U.S.S.R. and Palestine they reflected the deepseated concern that is daily being expressed in every workshop and local Labor organisation.

After nine speakers had moved, seconded and supported these resolutions, the debate closed. But Mr. Laski announced that he had received the demand from sixty-six delegates to speak and twenty-seven other delegates desired to speak on foreign policy. This is an unprecedented number. It reveals the widespread distrust, confusion and, as one delegate accurately put it, "bewilderment" that exists in relation to the Labor Government's foreign policy. Mr. Bevin's speech did nothing to remove these feelings. There was the same concern and anxiety at the finish as when he began. In fact, amongst the more thoughtful and far-seeing delegates the alarm was increased because if Mr. Bevin made one thing clear (apart from creating the impression that he is the only member of the Labor Government who has ever made any suggestion or had any ideas) it was that he is fully determined to do everything in his power to strengthen the Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union and the new democratic Europe.

I will say at once that if this course is persisted in, its consequences may be mass unemployment and war. This course, if persisted in, must lead to disaster, not for the people of the Soviet Union, but for the people of Britain. From the moment the Labor Government came to power its main orientation in foreign policy has been for an alliance with aggressive American Imperialism as opposed to any honest or sincere efforts to secure an understanding with the Soviet Union.

Much play is made with Mr. Bevin's offer of a fifty years treaty to the Soviet Union. But surely it is not the length of this treaty that matters, whether it is for one year or for a hundred years —but the spirit and aim behind such a treaty.

The systematic efforts that have been made to destroy the unity of Britain, America and the Soviet Union are the real preliminaries for the Anglo-American bloc. Yet if a life and death military struggle against fascism demanded the unity of these three powers and without that unity fascism could not have been destroyed, surely the still more difficult problems of winning the peace in the interests of the common people demand an even stronger unity between these three powers.

Naturally, in such a complicated situation as the world faces today, there will be differences of opinion on various problems that arise. But there were serious differences between the big powers in the course of the war against fascism. The example was the quite definite view of America and the Soviet Union on the urgency of opening a Second Front as opposed to that of Britain, who had a totally different conception of military strategy. Nevertheless, deep as these differences were, they were amicably settled in the end. They had to be settled, because the victory over fascism had to be won. The differences which exist between the Big Three powers have, as they can be, also to be resolved if peace is to be made permanent and world security a reality.

How does it come about that from the moment that the war ended such a change could take place in the relations of the Big Three powers? I do not feel that any single explanation is possible. There are a variety of factors which have to be taken into consideration, amongst which it seems to me that the following constitute the principal reasons.

(1) The British and American capitalists never expected the Soviet Union to emerge from the war against fascism as the strong, virile power in international politics it is today. They knew they could not defeat Hitler without the Red Army and they worked in alliance with it, but they hoped the price of victory over fascism would also be a tremendous weakening of its greatest enemy — Communism. Instead of this, the opposite has been the case and all over Europe the influence of Communism is reflecting itself in the mass support it receives from the people, as witness the votes cast for the Communist Parties in Czechoslovakia, France and Italy in particular.

This, alongside the strength of the Soviet Union, is the fundamental reason why capitalism, through the Governments of Britain and America, is renewing its traditional hostility to the Soviet Union, and to Communists. That is why there is an Anglo-American bloc and why, in the name of "democracy", threats are being made to call separate peace conferences and make separate peace treaties.

(2) The struggle against fascism, representing as it does the most reactionary section of monopoly capitalism, obviously entails a weakening of the capitalist system as a whole. This has been strikingly proved by the political awakening that manifested itself in the General Election victory in Britain and the new democratic Europe that has emerged to play a stronger position in world affairs with every month that passes. This latter point is particularly applicable to the Balkan countries, where reaction has received a smashing blow and the world forces of progress new and powerful allies.

(3) The American imperialists never made any bones about their intention of trying to obtain for American imperialism the dominating position in world affairs that German fascism had sought to obtain. Neither do they make any bones about their intention of keeping Britain a very junior partner, as far as Anglo-American co-operation in the future is concerned.

(4) The unholy alliance of Social Democracy and aggressive American imperialism, against the Soviet Union and the new world, represents the last stages of the struggle between a dying capitalist form of society and the new advancing socialist order of society.

In my opinion, these are a few of the principal reasons which explain the change which has come upon the international scene. If there are any others, then, no doubt, they will be advanced. But if you read carefully the speeches of responsible leaders of America and Britain, you cannot fail to note that they have deliberately embarked upon a war against the working-class, as expressed in the aims and aspirations for which Communism stands. They never make a single speech without referring to their desire for peace—but Hitler himself was an adept at this type of propaganda. They never make a speech without protesting their friendship for the Soviet Union and in the same speech they invariably make an attack on Communism, which they allege is contrary to civilisation. They make every effort to divide the world as between alleged "progressive democratic powers of the West" and the nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union lying behind some mythical iron curtain, and this is what is bedevilling international affairs at the present time. The Labor Government cannot continue to damn the Soviet Union with faint praise at one moment and in the very next breath launch a full-blooded vicious attack against Communism, meaning the Soviet Union, without causing international irritation and suspicion, not only in the Soviet Union, but in the many European countries where the Communist Party is playing a key role in the government of these nations.

You cannot deny the Soviet Union access to the secrets of atomic energy, remembering the vital part played by the Soviet Union in achieving the victory over fascism and expect this to contribute to international understanding and future peace.

Certain sections of American imperialism are boasting of new rockets that can fly from America to the Urals. They give gruesome details of two new bombs which explode so high in the air that the sound is never heard, but which pollute the air far and wide in that area with germs of two of the most malignant diseases known to mankind. Naturally the peoples are asking who they are to be used against.

When reactionary elements in the U.S.A. unashamedly state their belief that "the wiping out of thirty million Russians would be a small price to pay for the abolition of Communism," thoughtful people in all parts of the world are bound to ask what lies behind it all, and honest Labor supporters find increasing difficulty in justifying their Government's policy of alliance with American imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The concern and anxiety at Bournemouth was well founded. When all the clapping and the applause that the leaders of the Labor Party received there has died away, and sober reflection begins to mature, as the international situation unfolds, it will not be long before we see a mass movement beginning to develop to secure a reversal of the present reactionary policy.

It is this fight for unity of the Big Three which alone can make the United Nations Organisation a success and which can guarantee the future peace of the world, which is the supreme issue before mankind at this moment and above all before the British people.

I do not intend to go into detail about the debate on the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labor Party. The character of the opposition to our affiliation is the natural counterpart of the line in relation to fundamental ownership and foreign policy alike. I think I was the first to coin the phrase that "the honeymoon period of the Labor Government will not last for ever" and I noted that Mr. Morrison used this phrase in the course of his unmeasured and filthy attack on the Communist Party. Social Democracy and "democrats" of the Morrison type always direct their full venom, not against capitalism, but against the revolutionary section of the working-class. It is not the big employers who get the hard knocks, but the Communists who seek by their policy to weaken capitalism, strengthen the working-class and develop strongly in it the will to the conquest of power and Socialism.

The hostility of Social Democracy to Communism always becomes more aggressive and self-confident in time of trade prosperity and boom. It is nothing new we are witnessing at this moment. We saw it in full bloom in 1928, when the whole theory of Social Democracy in Germany, France, Britain and Czecho-Slovakia, to name only four countries, was advanced to astonishing proportions to endeavour to discredit Communism and extol the "socialist" virtues of American Big Business in particular. "Fordism" had replaced "Marxism"—that was the burden of social Democracy's song. In 1929 the bubble was pricked and the whole world, with the exception of the Soviet Union, was launched into the greatest economic crisis ever known.

The defeat of Communist affiliation to the Labor Party is not a blow against the Communist Party, but against the hopes of those who wished to see the Labor Government speedily carry out its full General Election programme as a means of organising peace and prosperity.

It will encourage only the reactionary forces who seek to weaken the power of Labor, prevent the workers from obtaining better conditions and who are preparing for a new war.

Those supporting working class unity have been faced with a campaign of misrepresentation, intimidation and forgery of documents without parallel in the history of the labor movement. These methods will have a boomerang effect on those who organised them.

The character of the campaign which has had to be organised to produce the present decision is proof of how strong is the desire for unity amongst the active workers of the labor movement. They will not fail to note how the most enthusiastic supporters of Labor leaders opposing unity with the Communists have been Mr. Churchill, the whole of the capitalist press and the most reactionary elements in America and Europe.

The smug self-satisfied complacency of the Labor Party leaders will be shattered sooner than is yet realised. The illusions will be blasted by increasing class struggles. The open and concealed enemies of the working class will soon be compelled to face great exposures. The class issues will become clearer and more sharply defined.

The Bournemouth Conference may have been well timed to open when Victory Parades were being organised, but its results are not going to turn out to represent victory for the working class in its bitter struggle against capitalism and for socialism.

This is why the decision against Communist affiliation is a blow against the best interests of the workers, now and in the future.

What will the Communist Party do now? Let me say at once to those who have so gratuitously given the advice that we should disband the Communist Party, that there is not the slightest possibility of such a retrograde step being taken. On the contrary, we will now make the greatest efforts to increase the influence and membership of the Communist Party on the basis of its fighting policy against capitalism and for Socialism; a policy which is in the present and future interests of the labor movement and the nation. The Bournemouth Conference itself was the most powerful argument against the liquidation of the Communist Party, for if it had been affiliated to the Labor Party, the character of the agenda, the discussion, and the decisions would have taken on an entirely different trend, and the platform would not have been able to get away with policies that can only lead to mass unemployment and war.

We will make our full contribution towards solving the emergency position Britain is now in. We will fight against rising prices and profits, for higher wages, shorter hours and more rapid demobilisation, for the success of nationalisation, not by buying the best capitalist brains, but by utilising the power and initiative of the working class. We will fully support every measure to ensure the successful carrying through of the housing programme, but on the basis of rents the workers can afford to pay.

We will support all measures essential for solving the present food crisis, which received no attention worth mentioning at Bournemouth. But we shall demand relentless war on the Black Market, social justice for the agricultural workers and drastic measures to increase the production of essential foodstuffs in Britain.

We will struggle side by side with the Indian and Egyptian peoples in their struggle for independence and the withdrawal of the British troops from these countries. Similarly, we will demand the withdrawal of British troops from Greece and Indonesia, and an end of British recognition of Franco and trade with Spain.

We will intensify our agitation for the stamping out of all fascist activity in Britain and warn against the dangers of fascist and reactionary activity hiding itself behind the cloak of religion.

We will work unceasingly for a policy of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union and the new democratic Europe, and the ending of a reactionary alliance with Imperialist America, which can endanger Britain's economic position and lead to a new world war.

To those who have attacked our Party, because it is alleged to be pro-Russian, let me say, we are proud to have always fought for friendship with the Soviet Union because we know that this has always been in the best interests of Britain.

We will now immediately organise one of the greatest political campaigns for our policy this country has ever seen, linking it at every stage with a widespread propaganda for the principles of Socialism, and will invite all who agree with our policy to join the Communist Party.

The Bournemouth Conference has taken a serious decision against the unity of the working class, but the issue of unity still remains on the agenda. Time, events, experience, all alike will combine to bring it forward again and again, until the conviction and the determination for its realisation will have triumphed over those reactionary leaders in the Labor Party who are more anxious to secure the preservation of capitalism than the achievement of Socialism.

DE-BUNKING SWISS "DEMOCRACY"

NORMAN FREEHILL.

IT is high time Swiss "democracy" was de-bunked.

The stream of propaganda claiming monopoly rights to democracy by the capitalist nations flows stronger and muddier with each passing month. Its purpose is to make the peoples of the world believe that only under Capitalism is democracy possible. Thus there can be no democracy in Russia. Simple?

So we take the most quoted and idealised example of capitalist democracy and strip it naked.

The entirely wrong, widely-held acceptation of Switzerland as a sturdy, democratic little country is crystallised by Walter Theimer's completely false description of it. In his **Political Dictionary** he refers to it as "a model State," based on "ideas of civil equality," "harmonious relationships" and its "immunity to Nazi propaganda."

There is as much reality in that chocolate-box cover fantasy as there is in the Hollywood version of Switzerland as a country of never-ending ski-ing, carnival and gaiety; of beautiful scenery; of obsequious innkeepers dancing attendance on celluloid millionaires and their mink-decked minxes.

As recently as July 1, Sydney **Sun** in a special cable from Berne reported that "the police used fire hoses and tear gas" against striking building trades workers. The message continued: "The strike was for holidays with pay. It was organised not by a Red union but by a Christian (Catholic) one." If tear gas for Christians, what for Reds? "Democratic" little Switzerland!

It needs no deep delving to uncover, beneath the flimsy fake of Swiss "democracy," the reality of Fascism in high places. It needs little research to show that the ruling group includes men who pulled, or helped pull, the strings to which Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco danced.

On May 23, 1946, the Swiss Government alleged, in a 60-page Red-baiting white paper, that the Swiss Communist Party continued to have foreign associations. It did not issue a White-baiting red paper disclosing that backers and members of the Swiss Government continued to have foreign associations—Nazi associations! That the Red-baiters included callous, calculating accomplices of the world's mass murderers, Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco.

"Democratic" Switzerland for years has been ruled by a small group of capitalists who own or control the chief banks, the principal industries, and all but a few of the leading papers. The group has supplied from its own ranks key Cabinet Ministers. From the ranks of its executives it has filled the important posts in the Civil Service.

Switzerland's President in 1936, Edmund Schulthess, came from Switzerland's world-known electrical trust, Brown-Boveri—and went back to it. Brown-Boveri bulks largely in the picture of Swiss "democracy." We shall take a glance at it later.

Lesser conservative figures in the Cabinet know that they will be rewarded with banking or industrial directorships if they do sufficient work for their masters.

Meantime let us look at history. Switzerland has ruled itself since 1291. It was given the right of permanent neutrality in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna. More than once in its history, it showed that it was prepared to fight to maintain its independence against its warring neighbours.

It maintained its neutrality proudly and profitably until the Russian workers and peasants snapped their capitalist-feudal chains in 1917. Whereupon Switzerland threw its neutrality into the rubbish-bin. Since then its Governments have been implacable in their opposition to Soviet Russia.

Late in 1923, a Swiss citizen named Conradi and a Russian named Polunin murdered Vorovski and Ahrens, Soviet representatives to the Lausanne conference. They were found guilty, but the voting was less than provided for by cantonal law. Despite Conradi's admission of guilt, he was released. The Swiss Government sneered at the Russian demand for apology and compensation.

Russia broke off diplomatic relations. It was only in March of this year that the Swiss Government informed the Soviet Government that it had "modified its previous attitude," and successfully appealed for a resumption of relations. Whatever the reasons—and we shall not dig too deeply—dear little "democratic" Switzerland was the last country in the world to resume relations with the world's only true democracy.

From the official break in 1923 onward, leading members of the controlling group directed a consistently anti-Russian course, their successive Governments, under presidents many of whom came from the group, placing official seal on their policy. The Government refused to act when the Red-baiting Ligue Aubert called for the murder of Litvinov at the time he was campaigning for disarmament and peace.

Switzerland's Foreign Office chief and League of Nations delegate, Motta, at the opening session of the League made an intemperate attack on Soviet Russia. Until his death (January, 1940) he never ceased his bitter hostility, his unbridled and unscrupulous lying. A devout Roman Catholic, mouth-frothing, Red-baiter Motta was a stout supporter of equally devout "favorite son" Franco, torturer and mass murderer of scores of thousands of Spanish Catholics. Motta, who was four times President, was the loud-speaker through which was broadcast much Vatican propaganda.

Motta's successor, Marcel Pilet-Golaz, took up the anti-Russian poison-gas cylinder as it fell from Motta's dirty fingers. (Pilet-Golaz was President from 1941 to 1945.)

Motta's counsellor and guide was Max Huber. Huber is Switzerland's armament king. He controls Swiss Aluminium Trust and the Oerlikon Arms Co. To servicemen and servicewomen it is necessary to say no more than that the Oerlikon factory in "democratic" Switzerland supplied Germany with everything it could. To the layman, it might be added that Oerlikon's manufactures covered all manner of aircraft, anti-aircraft and naval guns and shells.

Huber was interested in the Italian armaments industry through his association with Count Giuseppe Volpi di Misurata and former Fascist President Guido Donegani of Montecatini—backers of Mussolini—and was linked with the Nazis through his huge sales of aluminium and armaments.

Pierre Bonna, departmental chief of the Swiss Foreign Office under Motta and Marcel Pilet-Golaz, also was linked with Volpi and other backers of Mussolini through his brother Frederic, who was a director of Montecatini. Frederic was also director of Hentsch, which financial house was to Hitler what Montecatini was to the strutting thug Mussolini.

Huber's munitions and his armament auxiliaries and war subsidiaries helped Mussolini and Hitler to slaughter hundreds of thousands of good soldiers of the United Nations.

But Mr. Huber is a "democrat" who doesn't believe in letting his heart know what his gun factories do. His bank account bulging with gold and his heart with sentiment, he took the position of Hon. President of the International Red Cross, headquarters Geneva.

The other 19 members of the International Red Cross Committee are Swiss. All but a few of them are linked with the powerful group of bankers and industrialists who tell the Swiss people what to do and where to go.

At this juncture look at the Red Cross.

Last year the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament awarded the Nobel Peace Prize to the Geneva International Red Cross Committee for work among prisoners of war. The duty of the International Committee is to check that war prisoners and sick and wounded soldiers are humanely treated.

We interpose this A.A.P. cable of May 31, 1946: "Four British servicewomen who parachuted into France were thrown alive into the ovens of the Natzweiler camp by Nazi Black Guards."

That crime has just been disclosed. But what of the mass murders and revolting atrocities on millions of prisoners of war and civilians at Maidanek, Oswiecim, Belsen, and a dozen other camps. What of the torture, burning, starvation, blood-draining, and experimentation on live persons by the Nazi sub-humans. These crimes are history. Yet representatives of the Geneva Committee, reporting on hundreds of German camps, found them "good." The nice Germans! ("Four servicewomen thrown alive into the ovens . . .")

Perhaps the Germans were too clever for the earnest souls who guide the Geneva Committee. Perhaps not! For the same sickening reports of "good camps" were offered the world in the **International Red Cross Review** when Maidanek and a hundred other horrors were already known. The same nauseating reports were issued while the world was shuddering at press and news-reel pictures of Germans still sweating from the heat of the mass-death furnaces; of brutes still slavering over their mutilated victims; of cannibalism by starved, tortured, brutalised Nazi prisoners. "Good camps!"

Whom do you think the Swiss Committee's sweetly innocent reports of "good camps" helped —the oppressed peoples, the mourners of children, outraged sisters, tortured mothers, murdered sons, brothers, fathers? Or the Nazis?

It seems inconceivable that the Nobel Committee did not know these things. Were they growing mushrooms underground during the war years?

Let us leave the Nobel Committee to its conscience and hie us back to Brown-Boveri and the other members of the Swiss group.

Swiss War-Industry-Head Speiser came from Brown-Boveri. Margaret Boveri's war effort was to write articles for Goebbels' paper, **Das Reich.**

Anyway, who better (for the industrialists) to occupy the position of Minister of Economy (which they have done for years) than members of the big engineering firms? Who better (for the bankers) to run the State Treasury (which they have done for years) than members or supporters of the Swiss Banks? Who better to run the Foreign Office and the diplomatic service than the members, relations or executives of the same big industrialists and bankers?

As the British and American troops crossed the Rhine and the Russians were beating the Germans back to Berlin, when all Germany's other friends had deserted her, Swiss banks (Kreditanstalt of Zurich, Bankverein of Basle, the Eidgenoessiche and others) kept on supplying the Nazis.

Even when the Swiss Government promised the mission led by Roosevelt's special representative, Mr. Lauchlin Currie, to cease helping the Nazi war machine, it played a double game, for in less time than would show on a stop-watch, Swiss industrialists resumed trading.

Also one glaring evidence of their pro-Nazism the Swiss bankers and industrialists could not hide: the Stock Exchange lists. Prices on the Swiss stock exchanges rose with German victories—or rumored victories—and dropped with German reverses.

With the foregoing facts in mind, to know that the Swiss Government suppressed the Communist Party during the war will hardly raise an eyebrow.

So arrogant and bitter was the "democratic" Swiss Government in its attitude towards Nazism's chief antagonist that it did not bother to hide its hatred. It ill-treated Russian escapees from German prison camps. It handed back many hundreds to the Germans. It gaoled its own citizens who protested. In these anti-Russian, pro-Nazi acts the Swiss Government had the approval of President Eduard von Steiger.

This pro-Nazism was in keeping with von Steiger's background. Von Steiger was a member of the Ligue Aubert. So was Conradi, murderer of Vorovski. But where Conradi murdered with his own hands, von Steiger, as is the way of the men behind the Hitlers, Mussolinis, and Francos, sheltered behind the "legality" of Government action. Von Steiger did not murder the anti-Nazi Germans he handed over to the Nazis. Von Steiger did not murder the Red Army soldiers he forced back into Germany—the Nazis did. Von Steiger did not murder the Jewish refugees from southern France or the anti-Nazi Yugoslavs. He merely handed them over to the Nazis. They did the killing.

Von Steiger was against those the Nazis hated. He saw good in those whom the Nazis favored. And so did the rest of the ruling group in Switzerland.

While anti-Nazi escapees were thrust back into the hands of Himmler's uniformed murderers, the wealthy Quislings, the supporters and backers of Hitler, were welcomed. Indeed, Switzerland competes with England as a home for dispossessed royal parasites, gangsters and vicarious murderers.

King Leopold of Belgium, undesired of his people, was warmly welcomed. Dr. Otto Koecher, Nazi Minister to Switzerland, is happy and undisturbed in his Swiss home. So is Colonel Vauchnik, servant of King Peter of Yugoslavia (assassinated in France) one of the bloodiest dictators and large-scale thieves who ever held a nation in subjection.

On May 22 last, it was announced that Switzerland would turn over 58,140,000 dollars to be divided among France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and other nations looted by the Nazis. This doubtless included three tons of gold, portion of Himmler's thefts, which Swiss banks bought from the Reichbank in April of last year, but certainly did not include "the £45,000,000 of Belgian gold bars" and "loot stolen by the Nazis all over Europe, especially France and Belgium" (cable, **Mirror,** 2/7/46).

More important was agreement (May 21, 1946) on the sharing of proceeds from the liquidation of German assets in Switzerland, valued at 700,000,000 dollars. Britain and the United States were entitled, under the Paris Agreement, each to 28 per cent., France 16 per cent., and Yugoslavia 6.6 per cent. Russia, which agreed to the Paris pact, did not seek a share.

These distributions represented no eager, voluntary surrender. Following on earlier representations to the Swiss Government on the matter of help to the Nazis, the United States issued a strong warning in January, 1945. The Swiss Government first refused, then resisted, protested, shuffled. By these means it gained an extra 16 months' German business for the Swiss bankers and industrialists.

Following the defeat of Germany, seized documents unfolded damning proof of the relations between the Swiss bankers and industrialists and the Nazis. As a result the Allied attitude stiffened, to culminate in Switzerland's sullen distribution of loot and assets mentioned. But thus far (July, 1946), it has refused to give up the £45,000,000 of gold and the other loot mentioned above. And nothing is being done about those millions which the Swiss ruling group smuggled to Spain and the Argentine for the Nazis.

Today, the lovers of Nazism, the friends of those who wrote the murder plots for lesser actors to play, the haters of true democracy who made sickening tributes to neutrality and sent human fuel to the Nazi ovens—today, these Fascist figures are gaining encouragement from the blustering puppet of British Reaction, Bevin, and the representative of "Jim Crow," South Carolina Senator J. F. Byrnes.

Which means that the fight will now become more open.

The Swiss workers have a tradition that has been obscured by its ruling class, betrayed by its Social Democrats. The Swiss workers supplied a contingent to the International Brigade which fought with Spanish Catholics against Franco's Moorish troops and Nazi airmen. The "democratic" Swiss Government gaoled the remnants of the contingent when they returned to Switzerland.

In the November, 1943, elections, the Social Democratic Party, largest Party returned, called for immediate resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia. Four months later the Party motion before the National Council (Parliament) demanding renewal was withdrawn at the request of Pilet-Golaz!

Hope for real democracy in Switzerland lies with the working class. When they have won unity among themselves and the Social Democrats have discarded their Right Wing leaders, they will have taken a firm step towards a democracy that will not have to be written in inverted commas.

THE ACTIVATING FORCE OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

(Editorial in the "Bolshevik" (No 23-24, December, 1945), theoretical and political journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.)

Seven years have passed since the publication of the **History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.** Before the war more than 20 million copies of this book were issued. At present the **History of the C.P.S.U.** is going through a supplementary printing of 11 million copies. The publication of an additional printing of many millions of copies takes place in response to the lively interest of the Soviet people in the history and theory of the Bolshevik Party. This interest has grown especially now in connection with the great historical role played by the Bolshevik Party during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. The growing desire to study the history and theory of the Bolshevik Party is an expression of the fact that the Party has become even more closely related to the people, an expression of the growth in the political activity and consciousness of the masses.

The Soviet people won their victory in the Great Patriotic War under the guidance of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which unified and organised their forces and wisely directed them to a single goal. The intelligence and will of the Party and its unsurpassed organising ability played the greatest role in winning a victory which has no equal in history. The Party fulfilled this role because under new conditions it creatively applied its great theory, its rich historical experience. It emerged from severe trials enriched and made wiser by the new historical experience. In their desire to understand profoundly the conditions and means which helped to enable our Party to organise the victory of the people in the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people are turning to the study of the entire history of Bolshevism. This is understandable, for the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War was prepared by the whole preceding activity of the Bolshevik Party, by its struggle for the socialist transformation of our motherland.

The importance of studying the history of Bolshevism is determined by the fact that without this a profound mastery of our Party's theory is impossible. It is impossible to grasp the theory of Bolshevism without knowing its history; a study of the history of our Party provides a clear notion of the indissoluble connection between Marxist-Leninist theory and Party policy. The study of Party history has special significance for the new reinforcements that entered the C.P.S.U. during the war years; for they have still to master the experience of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The history of the C.P.S.U. is Leninism in action. It is the history of the political life and struggle of our Party, of its varied practical activity, and at the same time, it is the history of its ideological life, of its ideological-theoretical struggle. The whole of the **History of the C.P.S.U.** is permeated by the indissoluble connection between Leninist-Stalinist teaching and Bolshevik action.

The history of the C.P.S.U. shows that, in the hands of our Party, theory has become a great transforming force, because the Party has never treated theory as an abstract ideal, as a lifeless "symbol of faith." The Bolsheviks have continuously directed their efforts toward putting revolutionary theory into practice. The Mensheviks and other opportunists only chattered about socialism, without making the slightest effort toward bringing socialist theory to life, toward practical struggle for socialism. Putting up a screen of chatter about socialism, they put off struggling for it to the misty distance of ages and thus helped capitalism fortify its positions.

Characterising the activities of the Second International, Lenin wrote:

> "'Socialism' as a goal in general, in contradistinction to capitalism (or imperialism), is accepted now not only by Kautskyites and social-chauvinists, but even by many bourgeois politicians. . .
>
> "The whole Second International . . . counterposed socialism to capitalism in general, and for just this too general 'generalisation' it suffered bankruptcy." **(Lenin Miscellany,** Vol. XVII, p. 113.)

Bitter experience has convinced the workers of Western European countries of the fruitlessness of chatter about socialism; they have paid a high price for the treacherous activities of the leaders of the reformist parties, who, by the splitting policy they conducted in the labor movement, weakened its forces in the struggle against fascist reaction. The Mensheviks in Russia, and right in line with them, the Trotskyites, who later sold themselves to the fascist secret services, in their time also chattered about socialism, and, screening themselves behind this chatter, strove to "prove" the impossibility of the victory of socialism and in alliance with foreign imperialists sought to restore capitalism in our country.

Only the Bolsheviks, guided by Lenin and Stalin, have brought to life the great doctrine of the socialist transformation of society. From the very first steps of their revolutionary struggle the Bolsheviks have steadfastly heeded Lenin's injunction that "All agitation for socialism must be converted from the abstract and the general into the concrete and the immediately practical." **(Lenin Miscellany,** Vol. XVII, p. 181.)

In the long and stubborn struggle with all kinds of enemies of socialism, who hid themselves behind

the screen of accepting it verbally, the Bolsheviks proved in fact that socialism is not an empty dream and does not lie somewhere in the misty distance of ages. They organised and realised the victory of socialism on one-sixth of the earth. In the USSR the question of the victory of socialism is "Today . . . no longer a debatable question. Today it is a matter of facts, a matter of real life, a matter of habits that permeate the whole life of the people." (J. V. Stalin Speech delivered at a meeting of the voters of the Stalin electoral area, in Moscow, December 11, 1937.)

The scientific theory of socialism created by Marx and Engels was rendered lifeless by the opportunists, since they deprived it of all practical significance and meaning. While Marx and Engels turned socialism from a utopia into a science, the opportunists, as Lenin pointed out, substituted for scientific socialism a purely philistine, "dream-cloudy" inclination toward socialism in the abstract (see **Lenin Miscellany,** Vol. III, p. 494). Making the axis of their whole propaganda the thesis that socialism is a matter of the very distant, practically indefinite future, the Mensheviks and other opportunists produced something that suited the bourgeoisie. For this reason the bourgeoisie even saw in them a social bulwark, because without coming out against socialism directly, they distracted the masses of the workers from the practical struggle for the socialist transformation of society. It was precisely this that made Menshevism, opportunism, the most artful and shrewd device for maintaining the domination of the bourgeoisie.

In Bolshevism, however, the bourgeoisie recognised a serious threat to themselves, because the Bolsheviks were conducting a real struggle for socialism, for bringing revolutionary theory to life. In this active approach of the Bolsheviks to their theory is expressed their genuine revolutionary spirit, their actual devotion to the fundamental interests of the people.

Precisely because the Bolshevik Party throughout its whole history fought actively to bring revolutionary theory to life, theory itself in the hands of the Bolsheviks always was and is ever a progressive science, which they unswervingly move forward, enriching it with new ideological acquisitions. The Mensheviks and reactionary leaders of the Second International destroyed theory—destroyed it precisely because, not wanting to realise it in practice, they reduced it to a state of immobility and stagnation, deprived it of its revolutionary soul, distorted and deformed it. They did everything they could to prevent the proletariat from understanding its real opportunities in the struggle for emancipation and from being inspired by faith in its own forces. The whole practice of the opportunists, which was directed against bringing socialism to life, gave rise to all sorts of "theories" to the effect that socialism is impossible in the immediate perspective, that it is a matter of the very distant, practically indefinite future.

On the contrary, the Bolshevik Party, in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, advanced Marxist science on the path of an ever deeper understanding of the laws of social development. Lenin, Stalin, and the Bolsheviks disclosed that in conditions of a new epoch — the epoch of imperialism — there existed a new disposition of class forces and new possibilities, permitting the toilers, with hope of success and with confidence in their forces, to conduct a practical revolutionary struggle for the socialist transformation of society.

The Mensheviks and other opportunists, who never took seriously the theoretical propositions of Marxism and had no intention of putting them into practice, also did not set themselves the task of spreading the revolutionary ideas of Marxism among the masses. Characteristic of the opportunist leaders of Social-Democracy is a haughtily disdainful view of the masses, according to which theory is allegedly inaccessible to the masses. The opportunists concealed from the masses the revolutionary heart of Marxist theory because they feared that education in the spirit of Marxism would lay bare before the masses the defects of capitalism and cause its foundations to waver.

In contrast to the opportunists, the Bolsheviks have always taken care that the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism penetrated the masses on an ever deeper and broader scale. This corresponds to the active attitude of the Bolsheviks to their theory. The Bolsheviks have not elaborated theory in order to pigeonhole its conclusions, but in order to embody them in life. In this the Bolsheviks have taken as their point of departure the position that the masses decide the fate of history. They therefore have considered it their duty to bring advanced ideas to the consciousness of the people, and have never ceased taking care that theory becomes the property of the masses.

Contrasting the Bolsheviks, the Communists, with the Mensheviks and all other opportunists, in his article "Lenin as Organiser and Leader of the Communist Party" (1920), Comrade Stalin pointed out that there are two groups of Marxists and that between them there lies a whole gulf, for their methods of work are diametrically opposite.

Characterising the Mensheviks and opportunists, Comrade Stalin said:

> "The first group usually confines itself to the superficial recognition of Marxism, to solemnly proclaiming it. Unable, or not wishing to study the essence of Maxism, unable, or not wishing to apply it in practical life, it transforms the living revolutionary propositions of Marxism into dead, meaningless formulae. It bases its activities, not on experience, not on the results of practical work, but on quotations from Marx. It takes its guiding lines and directives not from an analysis of living reality, but from analogies and historical parallels. Discrepancy between word and deed—such is the principal disease from which this group suffers."

This discrepancy between word and deed, which the opportunists made their principle and norm of behavior, led in the final analysis to their repudiating more and more even a verbal acknowledgement of Marxism, to their going over to the position of bourgeois ideology, to their becoming plain servants and accomplices of the policy of the imperialists.

The Bolsheviks saved Marxism and developed it further.

Characterising the Bolsheviks, the Communists, Comrade Stalin said:

"The second group on the other hand transforms the centre of gravity of the question from the superficial recognition of Marxism to its realisation, to its application in practical life. Indicating the path and means of realising Marxism for various situations, changing the path and means when the situation changes—this is what this group concentrates its attention upon mainly. It takes its directives and guiding lines not from historical analogies and parallels, but from the study of surrounding conditions. In its activities it relies, not on quotations and aphorisms, but on practical experience, testing every step it takes by experience, learning from its mistakes and teaching others to build a new life. This, properly speaking, explains why in the activities of this group there is no discrepancy between word and deed, and why the teachings of Marx fully preserve their living, revolutionary force."

This unity of word and deed, a unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, permeates the whole history of our Party. This is why it is impossible to master Marxism-Leninism without studying the history of the Bolshevik Party.

The **History of the C.P.S.U.** shows the unity and integrity of Marxism-Leninism in all its component parts and discloses the all-sided connection between the policy of our Party, its strategy and tactics, with its ideological and theoretical principles. The **History of the C.P.S.U.** is a classical work of Marxism-Leninism. It provides a theoretical generalisation of enormous political experience, a demonstration of the indissoluble connection between the policy of our Party and its world outlook and theory of social development, and a disclosure of how the Party of Lenin and Stalin has enriched and advanced Marxist theory.

In his work, **Dialectical and Historical Materialism,** Comrade Stalin developed further the Leninist ideas on the unity of method and theory in the world outlook of the Bolshevik Party.

This unity is embodied in the fact that both method and theory are consistently revolutionary. In Marx's words, his dialectic is "in its essence critical and revolutionary." And, as Comrade Stalin points out, "it is precisely this critical and revolutionary spirit that pervades Lenin's method from beginning to end." Marxist-Leninist dialectic is a weapon in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, for the victory of the new over the old—in its essence it looks forward into the future. But the Marxist-Leninist method has the special property that it exists in unity with materialist theory. For materialist theory liberates man from false, idealist notions and ideas of a "supreme reason" and "supreme will" as predetermining everything in this world, including the division into exploiters and exploited, etc. Materialist theory gives the toilers firm ground in the struggle against outlived social orders and for a progressive reconstruction of society.

Counterbalancing the revisionists, who rejected Marxist dialectics, Lenin and Stalin showed that dialectics is the revolutionary soul of Marxism, that the Marxist world outlook is an indivisible unity of the Marxist dialectical method and Marxist philosophical materialism.

Similarly, dialectical materialism and historical materialism are indissoluble. The all-embracing proof by Lenin and Stalin of the inseparability of dialectical materialism and the materialist conception of history has great significance in the struggle against opportunists and revisionists, who have tried from different angles to undermine the foundations of the Marxist world outlook. It is known that double-dealing with regard to Marxism has been exemplified in the case, for example, of Bogdanov and other empiriocriticists who in words acknowledged historical materialism, but rejected dialectical materialism.

Lenin and Stalin razed to the ground these attempts to set Marx's historical theory in opposition to the philosophy of dialectical materialism. With exhaustive completeness they showed that it is precisely the extension of all the propositions of dialectical materialism to the cognition of social phenomena that leads to a genuinely scientific explanation of social development.

The **History of the C.P.S.U.,** created by Comrade Stalin, liquidated the harmful gap between Marxism and Leninism that had existed in the sphere of propaganda, the estrangement of Leninism from dialectical and historical materialism, from party history. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in its decision "On the Organisation of Party Propaganda in connection with the Publication of the **History of the C.P.S.U.,**" reunited into one whole the artificially split-up component parts of what is a simple Marxist-Leninist body of doctrine —dialectical and historical materialism and Leninism—and made the connection between historical materialism and the policy of the Party. The **History of the C.P.S.U.** is a guide of this sort, in which the indissoluble unity, integrity and successorship of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, the unity of Marxism-Leninism, are demonstrated. Set forth in it is the new element introduced by Lenin and his disciples into Marxist theory on the basis of a generalisation of new experience in the struggle of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

Already in his work **Foundations of Leninism,** Comrade Stalin pointed out that ". . . Lenin's method is not only the restoration, but also the concretisation and further development of the critical and revolutionary method of Marx, of his materialist dialectics." In the same work Comrade Stalin indicated the new that was introduced by Lenin in the development of Marxist philosophical materialism. Comrade Stalin wrote: ". . . None other than Lenin undertook the very serious task of generalising, in line with the materialist philosophy, the most important achievements of science from the time of Engels down to his own time, as well as of subjecting to comprehensive criticism the anti-materialistic trends among Marxists."

Accordingly, it is impossible to study Leninism, the theory and history of our Party, apart from dialectical and historical materialism, which is a component part of Marxism-Leninism.

In the history of philosophical and social thought there have been not a few theories which contained attempts to explain the historical process and interpret phenomena of social life. Among these theories there were also those that served only to obscure sense. But all even of those social theories that carried within them certain kernels of truth shared the same fate: they could not become reliable guides for historical action, because the basic line of historical development was not correctly represented in them—they could not disclose the motive forces of the historical process.

Only Marxist-Leninist theory provides a genuinely scientific explanation of social development and is a fully reliable guide to correct action. This is proved by the history of the Bolshevik Party, which in all its steps had as its guiding star Marxist-Leninist theory and emerged from the struggle victorious. The history of the Bolshevik Party is therefore the brightest testimony to the force and vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory. The **History of the C.P.S.U.,** in shedding Marxist illumination on every step in the history of our Party, shows how our Party applied theory and moved it forward in concrete historical surroundings, and in so doing it teaches Party cadres and the Soviet intelligentsia by concrete historical examples how to find correct guidance in the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

No other party in the world has had such a rich and scientifically generalized political experience, such advanced theory, as the Bolshevik Party. Only the Party of Lenin and Stalin relies in its activities on knowledge of the laws of social development, tested by great historical practice. The **History of the C.P.S.U.** has generalized the enormous historical experience of the Bolshevik Party.

Now that the fascist aggressors have been destroyed and our country has entered a period of peaceful development, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people face new tasks in the sphere of building our economy and culture, tasks for further strengthening the military-economic might of the U.S.S.R.

As a result of the victory over the fascist aggressors, big shifts have taken place in the life of states beyond our borders, in their mutual inter-relations, and there have been changes in the role played by individual states on the international arena.

We are faced with a new page of historical development, one that our cadres must comprehend in order to orient themselves freely in the whole internal and international situation. Hence the necessity for a continued unremitting theoretical and political arming of our cadres, for a systematic study by them of the works of Lenin and Stalin, for a profound mastery of the theoretical and ideological foundations of our Party and its historical experience.

STORY OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

P. MORGAN-THOMAS.

[Before coming to Australia, Mr. Morgan-Thomas was for many years a contributor to Socialist papers in Britain; consequently his views are of interest. However, some points made are open to question, for example, the statement that "Socialism was growing in England and the workers were more united than today in their desire for real Socialism." Also the Labor Party leaders mentioned as "opposed to the war" (of 1914-18) did so only from the pacifist-conscientious-objector standpoint and not from a consistent Marxist-Leninist attitude.]

THE British Labor Party was launched in 1899. Its real founder was the late J. Keir Hardie who ever remained faithful to the working class. But J. Ramsay McDonald, and Philip Snowden (afterwards "Lord" Snowden) always claimed their share in the formation of the first English Labor Party which had for its object the election of Labor representatives to the House of Commons. The party was made up of the Independent Labor Party, the Fabian Society and the Trades Unions, also, for a short while only, the British Socialist Party. The latter, however, at that period was definitely "Marxian" and revolutionary, and soon found that the new Labor Party, which was ruled for the first few years of its existence by the Independent Labor Party, was too "opportunist" for any organisation which believed in real socialism to associate itself with. The policy of the Independent Labor Party, being anti-revolutionary and anti-Marxian, appealed more to the ever conservative British workers than the Marxian programme of the British Socialist Party.

Ramsay McDonald began to perceive this a few years before the formation of the Labor Party. Arriving home from abroad in 1893 he had joined the British Socialist Party, but later he resigned from that party and joined the Independent Labor Party, in which he soon made his influence felt. Hardie unfortunately believed in the sincerity of R. McDonald right up to his (Hardie's) death in 1915. Hardie could have often enriched himself at the expense of his ideals, which were altruistic and faithful to his class, but did not deign to do so. He was guileless and could not detect McDonald's self-seeking.

The chief partner in this new Labor Party was a mild "Socialist" organisation — the Independent Labor Party, formed in 1892, which by 1899 had built up many branches up and down Britain, especially in the North. Their weekly organ "The Labor Leader" had now a very fair circulation, and had every week notices of the Branches, which announced socials, lectures and dances (which attracted many, especially the dances, for young workers of those days had little amusement). Hardie, Snowden and McDonald were constant contributors to this "Labor Leader" and travelled the country organising and lecturing for this party. But their programme was vaguely "Socialist" and unlike that of the British Socialist Party — who set out their programme weekly in their organ "Justice", clearly and concisely, the abolition of the Monarchy and House of Lords being first among its steps to revolutionary socialism. On the other hand the Independent Labor Party often claimed you could have a King under socialism!!! But then they wished to get their representatives into the House of Commons, and for centuries there had only been 2 parties in that Assembly, and Liberal and Tory had carried on a 'sham' fight between themselves. This was characterised by the British Socialist Party as a fight between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, but the opportunist Labor Party refused to admit this. For the first several years after the launching of the British Labor Party, the only representative they had in the House was Keir Hardie, who had sat there since 1892 as an "Independent." The Boer War 1899-1902 which showed how Britain looked after small nations (except when there were Diamond and Gold Mines to confiscate) stopped the growth of the "forward" movement for a while; and although in 1902 Henderson was elected as a Labor representative in the House of Commons, it was not till 1906, when the Liberals secured a big majority for Free Trade (over 150), that 29 labor members were elected and the parliamentary Labor Party led by Keir Hardie entered the British House of Commons.

The entry of the new party caused quite a stir —although out of the 29 members only a dozen were members of a socialist organisation, the rest being (Liberal) Trades Unionists. However, both Liberal and Tory were genuinely alarmed at the growth of "Socialism" in such a conservative country as Britain, and newspapers and magazines vied with one another in printing articles on socialism for months; and, of course, articles by the successful Labor candidates (whose party posed as 'Socialist') as to how and why they won these seats.

A year later 2 other workers' members were added to the 29. One of these, however, was too revolutionary for the Labor Party caucus and was not endorsed by the Party. Yet he beat Liberal and Tory standing as an out and out Socialist. And amazing as it may sound, Snowden helped him win; and incurred the wrath of the Labor bosses. This man, Victor Grayson, was one of the very few real Socialists ever to enter the British House of Commons and fight for the unemployed in the House in season and out of season — and generally fighting alone. He was expelled from that capitalist assembly for a time. In 1910 there were 2 General Elections and the British Labor Party added a few members at both these to their number. In spite of the "opportunist" policy of the Labor Party socialism was growing in England and the workers were more united than today in that country in their desire for real socialism.

The war of 1914-18 was the capitalist saviour both in England and abroad; had it not taken place the chances are the U.S.S.R. would not be the only socialist country today. When the war broke out, however, there was a division in the Labor Party. Six of the members, including R. McDonald, Snowden and Keir Hardie opposed the war and spoke against it. The organ of the Independent Labor Party—"The Labor Leader" and the Party itself to its credit, opposed what Lenin called "this criminal imperialist war." However, in 1915 when Asquith — the then British Prime Minister — formed his coalition cabinet he invited a few of the Labor members to enter it, and Henderson (the one time anti-militarist) and 2 others were given seats on the cabinet. Later in 1916 the Trades Unions held a vote on conscription which was defeated by a large majority. Nevertheless the 3 Labor cabinet ministers refused to resign and a measure of conscription was carried for the first time in Britain for the duration of the war.

Towards the end of the 1914-18 war the feeling in England was one of growing hatred for war and the Labor Party called their representatives out of the cabinet a little before the termination of hostilities and refused to let them enter Lloyd George's coalition formed just after the armistice. But at this snap "Khaki" election the Labor Party more than doubled their number in the House, and for a while it looked as if the Party, now led by Ramsay McDonald (Hardie having died in 1915), was going to be more revolutionary than pre-war, when they preached the possibility of a King under socialism. For in 1920 they formed soldiers' and workers' councils up and down Britain, and these in conjunction with Trades Unions plainly told Lloyd George that in the event of war with Russia they would declare a general strike. That upset Lloyd George's applecart and he called the war off. From then, with one or two lapses, the Labor Party seemed to be growing less opportunist.

However, finding themselves the largest single party in the House of Commons after the elections in 1923, they ruled the country with the help of the Liberals in a strictly "Liberal" way for 6 months, when the Tories turned them out. In 1926 there was a general strike in Britain; this strike roused the ire of the capitalist class and seriously alarmed it. However, just as it looked as if the strike were going to be successful and after 11 days of its duration, the Labor "Leaders" paid their tribute to the master class and called it off.

From that time onward the policy of the leaders of the British Labor Party has been one of reaction, of hatred of the Soviet Union, and a desire to serve the capitalist class at all costs (and thus themselves). This was perhaps not so apparent while George Lansbury led the Party from 1931 until 1935, when he resigned fearing sanctions against Italy would lead to war; Lansbury had been a lifelong opponent to carnage. Indeed, every year during his leadership he got a resolution passed at the Labor Party conference ordering a general strike in the event of war. Lansbury was an honest man and much beloved of the workers. The Trades Unions who were now ruling the Labor Party disliked him and were glad to get rid of him and substitute an automaton for a leader—Attlee.

Directly Lansbury had gone W. Citrine (afterwards knighted for his work for the capitalist class) caused the resolution for a general strike, if war was declared, to be abandoned both by the Labor Party and Trades Unions. Henceforth the once anti-militarist Labor Party swallowed anything the warmongers asked them.

In the 1929 General Election the Labor Party found themselves the largest party in the House. J. Strachey (now turned reactionary), in his book **The Coming Struggle for Power,** tells us how R. McDonald earnestly hoped the election would not give them an absolute majority and kept saying "I hope the Liberals do well." His wish was granted and the Party were able to say they could not bring in socialism because they had not a majority. Strachey ably argues in the book quoted that it was not the absence of a majority but a desire to let capitalism still flourish, that caused their administration to do nothing for the workers when the Labor Party ruled in England from 1929-31. From that time until the war the attitude of the Labor 'opposition' in and out of the House of Commons was one of hatred for the Soviet Union and for Communism. They argued it was through the Communists that Fascists were made, and they were more dangerous than the Fascists. Again and again they refused to co-operate with the Communists, or to join hands in a United Front against Fascism. Even men like Stafford Cripps came under their wrath in this direction, and yet had they and their fellow Social Democrats on the continent co-operated with the Communists the war might have been averted.

When the war came they gladly helped the war makers, and began a tirade against the Soviet Union for not joining the Allies. Their leaders entered the war cabinet and one of their number (Morrison) became Home Secretary and promptly suppressed the Communist "Daily Worker" and "The Week." Directly the war was over (and even a little before) they began to slander the Soviet Union, and when they came to power last year their venom and hatred of the Soviet increased. Mosley, the leader of the English Fascists, was allowed a "carte blanche," and was able to spread his poison up and down England, while Attlee (the automaton) directed no doubt by the Foreign Secretary (Bevin) who hates the Soviet Union, and Communism, made a speech which was a tirade against Communists, declaring them a danger and hoping that at the Labor Party Congress a vote against them being admitted to the Labor Party would be large.

In the meantime, in order to pave the way for a war with the Soviet Union (planned by the British and American monopolists) the British Labor Party have planned to form an anti-Communist International, also a drive to kill the Communist Party in Britain.

Had they been a true friend of the working class they would not have been a party to the present capitalist policy of starvation for the British workers. At the termination of hostilities the capitalist rulers of England had 2 alternatives—(1) to buy the needful food from America, which the British people had money to pay for; (2) to save capital and build motor cars and other luxuries to sell abroad at large profits for themselves and let the British people half starve. They chose the latter (knowing the rich could get all the good things) and the Labor Party with its large majority stood for this unkind policy. The Labor Party's budget was applauded by the Stock Exchange. Its fake nationalisation has proved a boon to shareholders for which the workers must pay. Bevin has helped Franco, and backed Fascism in Greece, Argentine and elsewhere, while frankly hating the Soviet Union, and now the plan of the British and American monopolists is plain to see, and is backed by the British Labor Party. A drive to discredit the U.S.S.R. because of the great success of the work begun by the immortal Lenin, and carried on by Stalin. A drive against the land, where food rationing has been abandoned; insecurity, and unemployment gone; and where science literature, art, and music are for all Soviet citizens; and the greatest scheme of education and recreation for the young children carried out. Capitalism is facing a crisis. It knows that if the U.S.S.R. is left alone that country will become an earthly paradise; but one which by its very success will doom capitalism. One or the other must go. Therefore with the aid of the British Labor Party this new drive against the U.S.S.R. has been planned. Only the victory of socialism can save the world from a terrible catastrophe.

THE PARENT AND THE TEACHER

C. A. SHORT, B.Sc.

THE principal weakness of a highly centralised system of education, such as exists in the Australian states, is the tendency for the school to become divorced from the community. Where there is a decentralised system as in the U.S.A., there is a great variation in the quality of education. A wealthy and progressive district or city will have an education as effective as any in the world, while poor and backward districts may have education of an incredibly poor standard. But, in general, the more direct participation of the citizens leads to a keener interest in education. This participation in education on a local basis has its reactionary side in interference with the work of liberal-minded teachers but, as previously stated, it has its progressive side, and on the state or national scale, in the greater real interest of the citizens in the educative process and in the provision of a larger percentage of the national income to instituting improvements in education.

Wherever socialist movements achieve even temporary power, even in limited areas, they have laid great stress on education. This was true of Spain and Greece. It is true of China and Yugoslavia.

Education in the Soviet Union is, next to defence, the most important activity of the community. Though highly centralised, there are strong links with the character of the locality, with the home and with production. "It is felt that parents cannot escape the responsibility for their children by handing them over to the school. In 1941 a great educational campaign began to educate parents in various ways. In a park in Leningrad, there was a festival of the home and the school; parents' evenings in the school are organised by their children. Forty towns have started Parents' Universities, which fathers and mothers attend, not only for lectures in psychology but also to discuss the qualities desired in Soviet children, including the very homely ones: consideration for others, a readiness to help whenever and wherever necessary, a respect for things so that broken objects are mended and belongings cared for. Other qualities are accuracy and precision in work, a desire to excel at a task and readiness for adventure." (**Education in the Soviet Union,** Doris McRae.) Anyone acquainted with literature on the Soviet Union will have read of the links between the school and the factory, the school and the collective farm and of the pioneer and technical clubs. So we see that a highly centralised system does not necessarily lead to apathy, on the part of the community, toward education.

The attitude of a considerable number of Australian parents toward the school and the teacher is one of indifference if not of actual hostility. The school is too detached from society. It is not considered a disgrace to the community that in many of our school playgrounds pupils are not allowed to run because of overcrowding, that buildings are dilapidated, dull, drab and more or less continually out of repair. It is not considered an anomaly that any one of a hundred insurance offices and banks is better than the best of our schools which house "the most precious things in the community." There is no great outcry about the fact that children eat lunches brought from home in conditions which no body of workers would accept for two days.

Throughout the Commonwealth, tens of thousands of parents who ARE concerned about education attend Parents and Citizens' Association meetings and Mothers' Club meetings. But the work of these associations is largely directed to helping out the meagre supply of equipment provided by the Education Departments. They use up all or most of their energies providing duplicating machines, stencils and paper, carpets, books, pianos, radios, sewing machines, etc. The total sums raised probably amount to less than one per cent. of the amount spent on education. The road forward lies, not in an intensification of their effort along the lines of present activity but in a reorientation of effort. The Parents' Association of any particular school can help in establishing healthy relationships between that school and the community. In regard to money, instead of raising a few pounds to mitigate the bad conditions of the schools, or of that particular school, the parents would achieve real results by joining in a broad political campaign for adequate finance for education.

In New South Wales the central organisation of citizens' associations, the Federation of Parents and Citizens' Associations, is aware of the real nature of the problem. The most active of the members who come together as delegates have made common cause with the N.S.W. Public School Teachers' Federation in endorsing a programme for education. Although most teachers agree with this programe it is doubtful whether the majority of members of P. and C. Associations understand and agree with it.

To say that most teachers agree with the programme is not to say that they actively support it. The disinterest of the community and bad conditions, the parsimonious attitude of the Government to Education and the lack of equipment have soured many teachers. Some are resentful of any participation of the community in the school life, misunderstanding it as probable interference in their work and their methods. But the great majority of teachers are very sincere in their work and are potentially strong supporters of a campaign for educational reform. It is significant that teachers' organisations have, in the past, been the leaders of such campaigns. Teachers, through their organisations, can form the core of a great mass movement for a modern education, but the interest and support of parents and citizens are essential to its success.

The present campaign centres on the necessity for larger amounts of finance for education than the States are able to provide. The Federal Government has taken the first hesitating steps toward providing finance for education. It is estimated that a capital expenditure of about £25 million is required to bring our schools up to modern standards. This must surely be regarded as a modest sum, a very small percentage of our war expenditure. Yet it will require a mass campaign of teachers and parents to enforce it and to see that it is expended to build really good schools and proper sites, not to patch present obsolete and overcrowded buildings.

Communists throughou Australia should be active in influencing their fellow citizens and fellow teachers in their organisations. Whatever the attitude of the press on other matters, they will not be found altogether unsympathetic on this issue. The support given by all sections of the press to the recent campaign in N.S.W. for increased salaries for teachers is a proof of this.

In rebuilding the devastated areas of the Soviet Union priority was given to schools. The campaign for decent accommodation, efficient equipment, larger playgrounds and adequate supplies of books must become a mass campaign on the broadest basis similar to the campaign for housing. In this campaign for a new deal for education, teachers and parents have a mutual interest.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Conducted by L. H. GOULD.

"Why is there still the state power in the U.S.S.R.? Didn't Marx and Engels say that with the ending of exploitation the state would 'wither away'?"—L.T.J.

DISCUSSING the problem of the relation between Socialism and the state, Stalin elaborated the above question as follows:—

"It is sometimes asked: 'We have abolished the exploiting classes; there are no longer any hostile classes in the country; there is nobody to suppress; hence there is no more need for the state; it must die away. Why do we not strive to put an end to it? Is it not time to throw out all this rubbish of a state?' Or further: 'The exploiting classes have already been abolished in our country; Socialism has been built in the main; we are advancing towards Communism. Now the Marxist doctrine of the state says that there is to be no state under Communism. Why, then, do we not help our Socialist state to die away? Is it not time we relegated the state to the museum of antiquities?'"

What precisely is the state?

Engels defined it as "a particular power of suppression." The state is the apparatus of power, represented by the army, police, courts, etc., in the hands of one class to suppress another, or other classes. In slaveholding times, the slaveholders controlled the state in order to maintain their rule over the population which consisted in the main of chattel slaves. In feudalism, the feudal monarchy and the great landowning nobility needed the state to suppress the masses of peasants and serfs, and also to suppress the emerging bourgeoisie (the burgesses of the towns). In capitalism, the state is in the hands of the class of capitalists (today, of course, monopoly-capitalists or imperialists) to suppress the workers and all the toilers.

The first thing to emphasise then is that the state expresses the existence of classes and class struggles within society. The state came into being with the break-up of primitive Communist society, that is, when mankind divided into classes of rulers and ruled, exploiters and exploited. In his splendid **Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,** Engels describes the beginnings, the first steps towards the establishment of the state power. Suffice it here to say that the state is not something neutral; it is not an agency standing above classes in order to "reconcile their conflicting interests." Consider the fiction of the Arbitration Court—that it "reconciles" the conflicting interests of capital and labor. It cannot. To repeat, the State (of which the court is one arm) is a suppressive power operating in the interests of the capitalists. It is a dictatorship; but in capitalist democracy a concealed dictatorship.

To continue. Stalin defined the main functions of the state as follows: "Two basic functions characterise the activity of the state: at home (the main function), to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad (not the main function), to extend the territory of its class, the ruling class, at the expense of the territory of other states, or to defend the territory of its own state from attack by other states. Such was the case in slave society and under feudalism. Such is the case under capitalism."

Why does the proletariat, after it comes to power, need the state? For precisely the same reason as with other ruling classes, namely, to suppress its enemies (the old exploiting minority, the capitalists). Not only do the capitalists remain (capitalist exploitation cannot be completely abolished overnight), but they constitute for a long time a very dangerous oppositional force, actively resisting the establishment of the new order of Soc-

ialism. The capitalists, it is true, are now no longer the ruling class, but they possess technical skill, connections, military knowledge, movable wealth and, of great importance, so long as the outside world is still predominatingly capitalist, powerful allies in those capitalist states as fiercely determined as themselves to overthrow the new Socialist state.

This capitalist encirclement is of great significance. Marx and Engels worked out their doctrine of the state only in its general forms, i.e., as applied to socialism on a world scale. But historical development set a special problem for the Marxists of this century: how is the Marxist doctrine of the state to be applied if Socialism comes at first only to one country, and the rest of the world continues capitalist? Basing themselves upon Marxism, Lenin and Stalin brilliantly solved the problem.

The state under Socialism disappears — yes, but not immediately! Nothing would suit the bourgeoisie better than for the working class, just arrived to power, to abolish the army, etc., to do away with the apparatus to restrict, coerce and suppress them! (In the Spanish revolution of 1934, the anarchists committed the most awful blunders — indeed, real crimes against the working class — by their fierce opposition, not only to the capitalist state, but also to the proletarian state. They released militarists, monarchists, and landowning nobles from gaols on the grounds that gaols are evidence of the existence of a state, which they "opposed on principle"! The released prisoners were not so punctilious; they soon returned with armed gangs and massacred tens of thousands of the anarchists and others.)

The question therefore should be put in a more valid form: "How long a time must elapse before the state in Socialism can disappear?"

And the answer can only be given in relation to actual given conditions. In the U.S.S.R., for example, to the extent that the old exploiting bourgeoisie has disappeared, to that extent the suppressive power of the Proletarian state has likewise disappeared (or "withered away"). The elections have shown the unbreakable devotion of the Soviet citizenry to Socialism; hence, the apparatus needed internally to suppress capitalist remnants is already at a minimum, and well on the road to vanishing. To a very large extent the "government of persons" is already replaced by "the administration of things."

But externally, the U.S.S.R. is still encircled by a capitalist world. What, then, is the answer in regard to the "second main function" of the state, namely, defence of Soviet territory from aggression? The answer is that the Soviet state has had to be continuously strengthened; it is more powerful now than ever before — very fortunate indeed for the whole of progressive humanity.

Socialism will develop in the U.S.S.R. into the higher stage of Communism, but the state will continue if the imperialists are still about. "Will our state remain in the period of Communism also?" Stalin asked. "Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared. Naturally, of course, the form of our state will change again in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad."

[References: Lenin's **State and Revolution,** the final section of Stalin's **Report to the 18th Congress of C.P.S.U.,** and Engels' book mentioned above.]

BOOK REVIEW

Crux Ansata (H. G. Wells)

S. MOSTON

H. G. Wells, the famous English novelist and historian, has written a brief history of the Roman Catholic Church, **Crux Ansata (The Cross with a Handle),** which is at the same time an indictment of that body's hierarchy. He was apparently impelled to write this work by the failure of Britain and America to bomb Rome (in 1942) in spite of mass demands.

Although, and unfortunately, Mr. Wells lacks a Marxist approach to history, his little book provides some very useful information as a background to a study of the present-day role of the Vatican in world affairs. The data provided facilitate a fuller understanding of such articles as "The Vatican's War on Peace" by V. J. Jerome published in recent issues of the "Communist Review."

Catholicism was definitely formulated in the 4th century A.D. and at that time, Mr. Wells points out, "the spirit of Constantine the Great is as evident as, or more evident than the spirit of Jesus." There can be no doubt that whatever may have been the original Christian outlook of sympathy for the poor and downtrodden, the Church adapted itself to the wealthy rulers, its own hierarchy merging with, and becoming a substantial part of the ruling class. "Its priests and bishops had forgotten about the Fatherhood of God, they wanted to see the power of the Church, which was their own power, dominating men's lives."

For a thousand years, the Roman Church is characterised by a ruthless cruelty to and intolerance of anyone doubting the Catholic interpretation of the Bible. Among the religious sects to suffer were the Waldenses early in the 13th century. Pope Innocent III preached a crusade and "every wandering scoundrel at loose ends was enrolled to carry fire and sword and rape and every

conceivable outrage among the most peaceful subjects of the King of France."

For some centuries the clergy were the only scholars, few others being able even to read and write. While performing a historically useful function, even this monopoly of learning was turned to very worldly use by the Church.

"Monkish chroniclers employed by the Princes and Potentates. . . . . sat and toiled to make their manuscripts as bright and pleasing to their employers as possible. A reeking slum of human indignity is lit up by the flattering brightness of the subservient chronicler . . . and it is only when we subject them to closer scrutiny that we are able to grasp the squalid facts of human life of that period."

Other historians have shown that not even the Holy Writ was free from the distortions of these unscrupulous chroniclers, to say nothing of their fraudulent insertions into the works of Roman and Jewish writers of the time. The forgery of legal documents, depriving the peasantry of land and adding to their oppression was another popular and lucrative pastime of these learned men. There seems to be good reason for the policy of illiteracy as practised in Franco Spain and other countries dominated by the Hierarchy.

The lessons of the English Peasant revolts in the 14th Century seem very modern and immediately remind us of Greece, Indonesia, India and Palestine, the Atlantic Charter and other broken pledges of the imperialists (the Australian monopolist promises to our workers included).

"Richard II . . . that tragic and inglorious king lied and cheated his way out of the Peasant Revolt; **the people trusted him and were massacred for their touching disposition to accept the word of a gentleman."**

The great Peasant Wars that went on in Europe for about four centuries, were generated by the same basic material factors as the Reformation, which made a great breach in the spiritual and temporal power of the "Holy Roman Empire." The growth of commodity production, of merchant and moneylending capitalist, undermined the feudal "unity" of that state, and marked the beginnings of its disintegration.

However, Mr. Wells shows that the Vatican continues to wield not only spiritual but considerable economic and political power, which it desperately tries to bolster up. "The tragedy of the (Roman) Church is that she put her spiritual influence to evil ends and abused her freedoms beyond measure." So it was in the past, so it is today.

Mosley, Captain Ramsay, Dean Inge, Mussolini and Franco are but a few among the enemies of humanity and progress that have received the benefit of the Hierarchy's "spiritual" influence. In the U.S.A. and Latin America, the Vatican and its agents are busy, but not in the interests of democracy.

There are many more interesting stories that can be mentioned in a review. The Crusades, the Jesuits, St. Francis of Assisi, Charlemagne, St. Dominic the Spaniard, have their place in the picture, brightening or softening, but often horrifying, the scene.

Crux Ansata has an important message for all honest trade unionists, though there is no direct reference. It makes clear the ambitions to restore the old power and "glory" of Catholicism, by any means. Therefore we can see that the hierarchy's labor activities in Australia are not an accident, but part of the offensive described in "The Vatican's War on Peace," as well as by Mr. Wells. Today, the labor movement is the basis, with the Communist Party the heart, of nearly every progressive force, so then the Roman Hierarchy in order to perpetuate its reactionary domination is everywhere disrupting and attacking labor and progress.

Although Mr. Wells suffers (as I said at the outset) from the lack of Marxist approach, he is inspired by a righteous indignation, which in this book sharpens his honestly objective approach, and so he has produced a work well worth studying. His information is valuable ammunition to be used by the great armies of enlightenment.

The best weapons for using his ammunition are to be found in the armoury of Marxism-Leninism, and can be wielded only by Communists. Dialectical Materialists can critically master the material supplied by the liberal bourgeois and use it to batter down the fortress of reaction and ignorance.

(Crux Ansata, by H. G. Wells, published by the Free Citizen Press, Sydney, price 2/6. Our copy from Pioneer Bookshops.)

MY DEAD BODY

Prof. J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

AN Aberdeen councillor was sent to penal servitude for stealing coffin-lids which were used again instead of being burned. As he made the relatives pay for them, he was rightly condemned, but I have some sympathy for his plea that our present funeral customs are wasteful.

Our attitude to corpses is not only pre-scientific but pre-Christian. Most primitive people bury the dead with tools and weapons for use in a future life, and often give them food for a journey to the land of the dead. The ancient Greeks gave the dead a small coin to pay their fares on the ferry over the River Styx. The tombs of rich Egyptians were complete houses, more solidly built than those which they occupied when alive. Our coffins are only slightly modified from those which they used.

We still spend money on the dead which we grudge to the living. A good many children would be alive today if the money spent on their funerals had gone to feed them when alive. A reform can only come by voluntary effort.

I know what I want done with my corpse. If I have died of an interesting disease I want a post-mortem examination. This is specially desirable if I die of certain diseases of the nervous system, where a difference of a tenth of an inch in the place affected may completely alter the symptoms. This is particularly true of some parts of the brain which control, or at least influence, the chemical behaviour of the body; for example, the amount of fat laid down under the skin.

If we know the exact function of a part of the brain we may be able to say with fair confidence that a particular set of symptoms is due to a tumour pressing on that part, and to attack the tumour by operation or X-rays. But such knowledge is only obtained by dissecting the brains of people who have died after displaying the symptoms in question. If my next-of-kin refuses to allow a post-mortem examination in such a case, he or she will be condemning someone else to death.

If I die of some more ordinary disease or from an injury which does not smash me too extensively, I want my brain removed and sent to the Wister Institute of Anatomy in America. The workers in this Institute have already examined the brains of many people of intellectual distinction, including my father, as well as those of men and women of average and of low intelligence.

They have not yet reached any very definite conclusions. Probably, even with a microscope, we cannot yet study sufficiently fine detail. Lenin's brain was exhaustively examined, but its most striking character was the great development of cells in the pyramidal area, concerned in the control of muscles. This development can hardly account for Lenin's great intelligence. It is more likely to be connected with his habit of making constant slight movements, which has been so carefully copied by Shukin, the actor who represented him in "Lenin in October" and other films.

I should like the rest of my body to be used for the teaching of anatomy. If a body is hardened, and then sawn into slices which are preserved in spirit, it is useful for demonstration. There may be enough such sections at present. There certainly will not be if we start all the new medical schools which are needed to train an enlarged medical profession.

Alternatively, my body might be used for an ordinary dissection and buried or burned afterwards. But I should prefer to save the expense of a funeral and to continue to be of use to my fellows for as long as possible.

Unfortunately, the matter does not rest with me, but with my next-of-kin. One cannot dispose of one's body in a will, and in consequence convinced atheists with pious wives or sisters often receive Christian burial, though it is hard to see how anyone can believe that this will improve their prospects in a future life.

At present anatomy is largely taught on the bodies of paupers, to some of whom at least the prospect of dissection would be repugnant. I should like to see it done entirely on the bodies of people who have expressed a wish to be dissected, and whose nearest relatives agree. As things are, there is a considerable shortage of corpses. Several students have to share one leg or arm, and a young surgeon who wishes to practice cannot get all the material that he would need to attain as much skill as he should have before he begins on living patients.

In the Soviet Union they are beginning to use the dead in another way, namely, as a source of tissues for the living. Blood from people accidentally killed is as good as, or better than, blood from donors.

But the most striking results were obtained by Filatov, of Odessa, with grafts from the cornea, the transparent window in the front of the eye. This can only be obtained from living persons if they have already lost their sight from some other reason. So although the operation was invented in Austria and improved in Britain it was rather rarely used. Filatov has performed it on a great scale because eyes of dead men and women are constantly available. He has restored the sight of many hundreds of men blinded in the war, though unfortunately most eye wounds destroy more than the cornea, and cannot yet be treated in this way. He and his pupils have also successfully used skin from dead people for grafting.

It may be that the tissues of old people are not so useful for this purpose as those of the young. If so, no part of my body will go on living after my death.

But as men begin to think rationally about death on the one hand, and on the other to find their main satisfaction in helping others, I expect that funerals will become unfashionable, and that the greatest honour which can be paid to a dead man or woman will be to use the body as fully as possible.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . L. L. Sharkey

Theoretical Literature

Many readers are unaware that small quantities of former Anvil stocks of important titles are still available. Among these are the reports to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. given by the leading members of the C.C. Each one of these booklets contains contributions which cannot be obtained from other sources, yet are a vital addition to Marxist theory, e.g., Stalin's statements on the questions of the withering away of the state and on the intelligentsia, and Zhdanov's witty contributions on many questions connected with Party membership. The following titles in this series are still available and may be purchased at our bookshops or wholesale from Current Book Distributors:—

Stalin—Report on the work of the C.C. . . . . 6d.
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PEACEMAKER OR WARMONGER ?

R. DIXON

AT the Paris Peace Conference, in one of the numerous lengthy speeches he sought every opportunity to give, Dr. Evatt was reported to have said "the people fought the war and the people must make the peace." We heartily agree. The people should have the decisive say in the peace, as this is the surest guarantee of a durable understanding between nations without which a lasting peace is impossible. It is therefore pertinent to ask—What say have the Australian people had in the making of the policy of Evatt and the Australian Delegation at the Peace Conference? When and where were "the people" of Australia taken into Dr. Evatt's confidence? It is clear, they were not consulted. Parliament was not informed of Dr. Evatt's policy. There was no prior discussion in the press or among the people on his proposals because no one knew what he intended to put forward. It is even questionable as to how far the Labor Government was informed, because none of the Ministers, from the Prime Minister down, could intelligently discuss the issues raised at Paris by Evatt. Dr. Evatt's talk about the "people making the peace" is, therefore, merely a mask to cover his failure to consult the people. It is a democratic pose to hide his contempt for the people and for democratic practice.

The policy Evatt and Beasley espoused at the Paris Conference won the ardent applause of the anti-Soviet fraternity throughout the capitalist world, and with good cause. It was an anti-Soviet policy. It was a policy that was designed not to promote understanding between the nations as the basis for lasting peace, but to drive a wedge between the big powers, between the United States and Britain on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other.

Prior to the Peace Conference, Dr. Evatt spent months of his time in the United States and Britain, and it was there, in consultation with the reactionaries of those countries, instead of with the Australian people, that his policy was worked out. Dr. Evatt was the stooge, the "Rubber Stamp," of the anti-Soviet interests of the United States and Britain. His self-proclaimed championship of the interests of the small nations would be funny if it did not serve as a smoke screen for his advocacy of the policy of the Anglo-American bloc.

The Paris Peace Conference is concerned with the final peace treaties covering the satellites of Nazi Germany, Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland. The draft treaties before the conference were finalised by the Big Four Foreign Ministers after prolonged and bitter controversy, and although they are not all to be desired, they, nevertheless, reflect the degree of agreement that the Big Four were able to reach.

Why was it so difficult to reach agreement? Simply because of the fact that American Imperialism is striving for world domination. World War II brought to a head the most predatory and reactionary trends in American Imperialism. Believing in the power of the almighty dollar to make nations subservient to America, virtual colonies of Yankee Imperialism, the American monopolists are striving to break down all barriers to American trade and capital investment and to open up all sources of raw material for their exploitation. The American Loan to Britain, for example, imposes conditions which will result in the scaling down of Empire tariffs and make the British Empire more dependent upon and subservient to American Imperialism than before. But these methods of the U.S. billionaires are useless against the Soviet Union and the new democracies of Europe that look to Soviet Russia for support and succour.

We hear very much about the "Iron Curtain" in Europe. There is no "Iron Curtain." American and British press correspondents roam all over Eastern Europe, and U.S. and British representatives, not to mention their secret agents, are established in every country. It suits the monopolists, however, who are exasperated at their inability to dominate the economies of the countries of Eastern Europe, to have their propagandists shout about the "Iron Curtain" and paint lurid pictures of what is supposed to be happening there. It suits them because their aim is to establish a Western European bloc, in which part of Germany will be included, directed at the Soviet Union, a move which runs counter to the decisions of the United Nations Organisation and the agreements reached between President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Mr. Churchill at Teheran, Crimea and Potsdam.

With the connivance of the British Labo Government, the American Imperialists are establishing a new "Cordon Sanitaire" around the Soviet Union and are building air, naval and military bases from which to wage war on Soviet Russia. Thus they are insisting on a U.S. naval and air base ir Iceland, which is 3,000 miles from the U.S. anc 1,500 miles from the Soviet Union. They have air bases in Saudi-Arabia, 7,000 miles from America and 1,000 miles from the Soviet Union. They insisted on the Red Army evacuating Manchuria while they kept powerful forces in China to bolster up the reactionary Chiang Kai-Shek regime. They are constructing bases in the Pacific from the Aleutians down to the Philippines — all fronting the Soviet Far East. They are backing the semi-Fascist regime in Turkey and are demanding a say in the control of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, waterways vital to the Soviet Union and other Black Sea powers. They insist that the Danube, which flows down through Eastern Europe, should be free to the ships of all nations and that they be represented on the commission controlling this historic waterway. They refuse to permit Trieste to become a

Yugoslav city although ethnically, historically, economically and geographically it belongs to Yugoslavia. They deliberately violated the Yugoslav frontiers in order to creat an incident to enable them to rally American public opinion for war and to increase the pressure on Eastern Europe. They are doing everything possible to combat the nationalisation of industries and land which is the basis for the new democracy that the peoples of Eastern Europe enjoy, and to protect Anglo-American investments and restore the old reactionary regimes which were the source of continual anti-Soviet provocation in the past.

It is in the light of these features of American policy that we must consider the proposals Dr. Evatt brought before the Paris Peace Conference.

Let us consider, first, his demand for all questions to be resolved by a simple majority. The Anglo-American bloc in the Conference of 21 nations could muster 15 votes, whereas the Soviet Union could not count on more than 6 votes on all issues where the vital interests of the Soviet and Eastern European countries conflicted with Anglo-U.S. Imperialism. Thus, Evatt was actually aiming to force the policies of the Western Imperialists on Soviet Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe. It is absurd to believe that such matters can be resolved by a mere vote, they can be resolved only by mutual agreement. If Soviet Russia had commanded the majority of the votes at the Paris Conference instead of the Anglo-American bloc, would Evatt have been demanding a simple majority?

Next, there is the proposal of the Australian Delegation for the establishment of a Court of Human Rights. This Court, advocated by Evatt, is supposed to protect minorities and individuals in the defeated countries. Why only the defeated countries? Why not the Australian Aborigines who are maltreated by Liberal and Labor Governments alike, and deprived of their rights! Or why not the Negroes of America, the peoples of Malaya, Indonesia or India, the Jews or the Arabs in Palestine! Dr. Evatt's heart bleeds for none of these sorely oppressed people who are enslaved by Imperialism, he has no thought for any but the people of the defeated countries in Eastern Europe or Italy. His Court of Human Rights would be designed to protect private property interests, to assert the rights of capitalists and landlords whose industries or estates have been nationalised, and to bring help and strength to the reactionary political groups of the old regime, who are aiming to undermine the new democracies and restore the old pro-Fascist order of things. It would destroy the independence and sovereignty of the countries concerned and make them dependent upon the decisions of a Court dominated by the Anglo-American Imperialists.

Thirdly, the Australian proposals on reparations to Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia, etc., that they should be scaled down, and, further, that the payments should be made in foreign currency instead of goods, is suggestive of the commercial traveller approach instead of serious diplomacy. Under this scheme trade would flow mainly towards America and Britain, which can provide the credits, whereas Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Soviet Russia would be deprived of goods they urgently need.

Thus from every angle Dr. Evatt's proposals were designed to bolster the position of the British-American billionaires and to weaken the independence and freedom of the defeated countries.

The Australian Delegation to the Peace Conference was unsatisfactory not only because their proposals were reactionary, but also because of the way in which they handled the discussion. They made no attempt to hide the fact that their proposals were directed against the Soviet Union. Their hostility to Soviet Russia and the small nations of Eastern Europe was open and blatant.

Australia, which played such an important part in the World War against Fascism, is not only entitled to her place at the peace table, but should make her contribution to the understanding between nations necessary to lasting peace. We can't play that role, however, as the stooge of the Anglo-American bloc as Evatt and Beasley would have us do. Our influence and prestige amongst the peoples of the world will be lowered by their approach. We have only to take the results of the Australian proposals on the Peace Treaty to illustrate this. Evatt's proposal on Finland received one vote—Australia's. His proposal on Rumanian reparations commanded no support from any other delegation and was belatedly withdrawn. On three proposals he submitted to the Italian Commission the voting was two, five and seven.

This voting suggests that the small nations are not rallying very strongly behind their champion. Practically every proposal the Australian delegation has made so far has been thrown out, nevertheless, the press would make it appear that Evatt and Beasley are commanding amazing support. Why? Because the chief function of Evatt and Beasley at the Peace Conference was to develop the anti-Soviet campaign and thereby transform the Peace Conference into a forum for the strengthening of the Anglo-American bloc in preparation for World War III against Soviet Russia and the new democracies of Eastern Europe. This is the "dirty game" that Evatt and Beasley are playing at the Peace Conference.

It is well known that Dr. Evatt is an inordinately vain man, a limelighter, a seeker after publicity. The praise of the foul Hearst Press, the applause of reactionaries like Senator Vandenberg and the cheers of the millionaire enemies of Soviet Russia, all so pleasing to Evatt's ears, seem to have destroyed his sense of proportion and dignity. Even the pro-Fascist Greek stooges of British imperialism know where to draw the line, to hold back in the interests of the country they represent, but not Evatt. He and Beasley are prepared to drag Australia's name in the mud in order to develop the anti-Soviet campaign.

It must be obvious to everyone that the present anti-Soviet campaign is part of the preparations for a new world war. What will Australia gain from such a war? We will gain nothing but destruction and annihilation. The aim of Australian foreign policy should be to avert the danger of a new World War, and this means, in the present situation, not only not to join the anti-Soviet war preparations, but to expose and combat them. We must not be the "rubber stamp" of the Anglo-American bloc. Australia must pursue a policy of peace, must combat the threat of war and the sources from which it comes, and strive to promote friendship among the nations.

THE FIGHT FOR A FORTY-HOUR WEEK

T. WRIGHT

A YEAR has now passed since the trade union movement issued its ultimatum to the Chifley Government demanding legislation to establish a standard forty-hour working week. The Government was given until 15th February, 1946 (six months from V.P. Day) to introduce this long-overdue reduction in hours. The trade union movement through the Australasian Council of Trade Unions, and the metropolitan Trades and Labor Councils also decided to demand legislation by the various State Governments, and to conduct a big campaign throughout industry to prepare the workers for direct action, should the demand for a forty-hour week be refused. In December, 1945, mass demonstrations were held in the various States, as part of this campaign.

The response of the Chifley Government was to plead lack of power under the Commonwealth Constitution—a claim which was in contradiction to the opinions of Government leaders, given earlier, and in contradiction to the best legal opinion available to the trade unions. Even if it is admitted that the power of the Government in this matter could be challenged, there can be no doubt that the attitude of the Government was determined mainly by its opposition to the early introduction of a forty-hour week. This is conclusively shown in its refusal to concede the forty-hour week to Government employees, although urgently requested by the trade unions to do so. The various State Governments have been equally reluctant to concede the forty-hour week to Government employees, or to legislate, although possessing undisputed powers to deal with such matters, within State jurisdiction. A few individual parliamentarians disagreed with the attitude of the Commonwealth Government, for example Ward, who stated that "We are prone to see obstacles, rather than to go ahead with the job and let others find the obstacles." However in the circumstances it is clear that the Government was prone not so much to see obstacles as to actively seek and create obstacles.

Concerning the Constitution. It had previously been held by the Labor Party leaders that as the Commonwealth Government had participated in International Conferences recommending the forty-hour week, it had power to legislate on this matter under the section of the Constitution dealing with external affairs. Dr. Evatt, the legal expert of the Government, had ruled while a judge of the High Court: "It is not to be assumed that the legislative power over external affairs is limited to the execution of treaties or conventions. The Parliament may well be deemed competent to legislate for carrying out recommendations as well as draft international conventions resolved upon by the International Labor Organisation or other international recommendations or requests upon other subject matters of concern to Australia as a member of the family of nations. This power is a great and important one." (Goya Henry Case.)

When the forty-hour week was not an immediate prospect, Dr. Evatt and the Government were confident as to their power to legislate for it under the "external affairs" section of the constitution, but when it became an immediate issue, they were assailed with all kinds of sudden doubts.

Mr. Holloway, the present Minister for Labor, was so convinced of the Government's power to take action for the forty-hour week that as a member of the Opposition in 1936 he moved a vote of censure on the Lyons Government, stating: "If the Government will not adopt this Convention of the International Labor Office, and will not call a conference of State Premiers and ask for power, or, in the absence of power, an assurance that the States will not interfere until the Constitution has been altered to give the Commonwealth the necessary power to introduce working hours, as sure as I am now standing in this House, before the year is ended there will be a general stoppage of work on the part of those engaged in technical trades to get by direct action what they can't get by Constitutional means—a forty-hour week, which is now overdue."

Despite the declared view that the "external affairs" section of the Constitution gave the Government power to legislate for the adoption of the I.L.O. Convention on forty hours, and despite other possibilities under the Constitution, for example, the power to legislate for conciliation and arbitration in the settlement of interstate industrial disputes (not necessarily through the existing Arbitration Court), the Government persisted in its refusal to proceed with legislation and adopted

the tactic of manoeuvring the trade unions into an application to the Arbitration Court.

In its efforts to convince the representatives of the trade unions that it did not have power to legislate for forty hours, and that the unions had no alternative but to approach the Arbitration Court, the Government claimed that further legal review of the position had revealed that it was precluded from using the "external affairs" powers because only one country (New Zealand) had adopted the I.L.O. Convention; that too long a period had elapsed (!); and that in any case the powers in relation to the Convention would be restricted to only four industries. Apparently the Government did not know of the legislation for a forty-hour week adopted in France and Belgium in 1936 and the action taken by the U.S.A. Government in 1936, after an adverse decision by the Supreme Court. However, there is no evidence that the Government really succeeded in convincing the A.C.T.U. representatives that it possessed no power to legislate on hours. It is apparent that the Government succeeded only in convincing these representatives that it had no intention of legislating and that other means must be sought to pursue the forty-hour week. It was in these circumstances that, despite strong left wing opposition, the A.C.T.U. decided to accept the Government's proposal that the unions join in the forty-hour claim to the Arbitration Court already listed for the printing industry unions. To preserve unity in the struggle the unions as a whole were obliged to support the application.

The Arbitration Court hearing, as could be anticipated, has led to a further long period of delay. After a preliminary hearing in March last, the hearing proper commenced in May, and, according to latest advice, several months more will pass before the case is finalised and a decision given.

The hearing has given no encouragement to the belief that the Court will pursue a policy of systematically introducing instalments of a "new order," as the following Court interlude will show:

Judge Kelly: Sooner or later, you will have to speak in realities. What do you mean by a better world? Until now it seems to mean more money and less work.

Mr. Eggleston (A.C.T.U.): I mean increased wages, a hope for increased leisure, improved factory conditions and an improved educational system. The 40-hour week would be the first instalment of the New Order.

Judge Drake-Brockman: This New Order —I have heard it from the public platform, from the radio, and from individuals. I have asked the men who have mentioned it what it is, but I have never received an explanation from anyone.

"They are holding out this vague New Order without explaining what the blessed thing is. Now you come here and tell us we have to implement the New Order.

"I knew some day I would have something to do with it, and I wanted to know what it was all about."

Subsequently a crisis was threatened when it appeared that the general movement for wage increases would be allowed as an argument to offset the claim for shorter hours. This threat was averted at least temporarily.

All the world knows that, in the twenty years which have passed since the standard working week was fixed at forty-four hours, technical innovations, new machinery and new methods have enormously increased the productivity of labor; that the capitalist world went through its period of greatest economic depression and mass unemployment; that the working class and democrats of the whole world are demanding a better life; and yet in the Court it is necessary to submit to prolonged argument and counter-argument and legal flummery, and await the uncertain outcome when a legal decision will eventually be made.

In the meantime unionists are pressing for the earliest possible determination of the case. By earlier decision the A.C.T.U. is to meet within twenty-one days to decide on further action, if an adverse decision is given by the Court.

Not least disturbing to the trade unions is the failure of Chifley, in his recent Policy Speech, to give any promise of legislation for a forty-hour week, although one of the Referendum questions has been loudly proclaimed as ending once and for all, should it be carried, the doubts as to the power of the Government to legislate on standard hours. In view of past experiences there is every indication that, despite a successful referendum, the utmost pressure from the trade union movement will be necessary to secure the desired legislation.

While doing everything possible to speed the hearing in the Arbitration Court, the trade unions must strengthen their demands for immediate action by the Commonwealth Government to introduce a maximum forty-hour week for Government employees and to legislate for a general forty-hour week. The example of the shearers, who were able to establish a forty-hour week very extensively, and subsequently to have it included in a Queensland State Award, will not be lost on the workers. Failing a satisfactory response from the Government a widespread development of actions for the forty-hour week may be anticipated.

WHO ARE THE "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE"?

M. I. KALININ

(Adapted from an article in the January issue of the "Bolshevik," theoretical publication of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. This is one of the last articles written by Kalinin before his death.)

FIFTY years have elapsed since Lenin wrote his book **What the 'Friends of the People' are and How They Fight Against the Social Democrats (Communists).** This period has seen a great advance in the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism. Here it is sufficient to recall Lenin's works on the basic questions of Marxism, which Comrade Stalin has so splendidly expounded in his lectures on Leninism.

The role of Comrade Stalin in the theoretical elaboration and further development of Marxism-Leninism is generally known. His works on the National Question, on the theoretical basis of the industrialisation of the country and collectivisation of agriculture, his works on questions of the form of the socialist State, the war, and other problems of Marxism-Leninism represent in themselves a most valuable contribution to the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist teaching.

On closely analysing the policy and war measures of the Soviet State one may safely say that their correctness is indisputable even for people opposed to Marxism. Comrade Stalin's mastery of the method of Marxism-Leninism has raised the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin to a position of authority never recognised before. Comrade Stalin not only demonstrated in theory how to construct socialist society; his work led to its realisation. The synthesis of his great work is the Stalin Constitution. Thereby he laid the foundation of the new civilisation—Communist Society.

What the 'Friends of the People' Are, which brought about the ideological defeat of the Narodniks, was written fifty years ago, but this does not lessen the importance of Lenin's book today. On the contrary, precisely in order to master better Marxism-Leninism, the theoretical principles of Comrade Stalin, his strategy and tactics, our young people (and not only our young people) should study this first major work of Lenin.

Lenin's persistent and uncompromising struggle against opportunism, personified by the Mensheviks, began soon after the defeat of the Narodniks and the Economists—it can be said, from the first days of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Lenin untiringly exposed the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks who were drawing the working class into subjection to the bourgeoisie. Clear proof of the correctness of his relentless struggle against the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries is that in the period of the October Revolution the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries were found in the camp of the landlords and capitalists.

Lenin's unwavering Marxist policy and his continual exposure of the Mensheviks as capitalist agents within the working class movement, and of the Socialist Revolutionaries as in essence petty-bourgeois liberals, as false defenders of the peasantry, assured to the Bolshevik Party the leadership of the workers and peasants in those days of fierce struggle for Soviet power. The Revolution swept aside the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries together with the landlords and capitalists, branding them as traitors and betrayers of the Fatherland.

Lenin was a passionate champion not only of the happiness of his own people but of the happiness and prosperity of all humanity. With forceful logic he exposed equally the black reactionary forces in all countries and every form of opportunism.

The book **What the 'Friends of the People' Are,** it seems to me expresses thoughts which can considerably facilitate for Russian Marxists understanding of the developments taking place in other countries today. Lenin's irreconcilable stand against the enemies of the people is vividly shown in this early work.

We see how, in combating ideas hostile to Marxism, with the utmost clarity and simplicity, Lenin gives a real understanding of Marxism, teaches sharp vigilance, a distrust of the people who parade under a cloak of socialism and democracy but who are in practice most servile to reaction, out of conviction as much as cowardice. There are such people in other countries at present—more than enough—from real political swindlers to spineless conciliators, who in their words sympathise with the masses of the people but who are in fact ready at a convenient moment to sell the people's interests.

In this early work Lenin outlines the strategy and tactics of struggle of the proletariat, works out the line along which common struggle of all democratic forces against reaction can advance.

In this connection we find in Lenin's works concrete advice to the effect that in certain cases, in certain conditions, it is necessary to come to agreement with, to make certain immediate practical compromises with other progressive groups and parties (of course without ceasing the ideological and political struggle and in every way isolating and sharply dividing the reactionary elements among them).

In **Left Wing Commmunism** Lenin recalls Chernishevsky's words that "Political activity is not the pavement of the Nevsky Prospect (the clean, broad, smooth pavement of the perfectly straight principal street of St. Petersburg)." He gives examples of how our Party, at different stages of the struggle, resorted to practical compromises with the bourgeois liberals and petty-bourgeois parties

and at the same time continued relentless struggle against them on the main political questions and unmasked their false democratism and socialism.

"Before the downfall of tsarism," he writes, "Russian revolutionary Social-Democrats repeatedly utilised the services of the bourgeois liberals, i.e., concluded numerous practical compromises with them. In 1901-02, prior to the rise of Bolshevism, the old Editorial Board of 'Iskra' (consisting of Plekhanov, Axelrod, Zasulich, Martov, Potresov and myself) concluded—not for long it is true—a formal political alliance with Struve, the political leader of bourgeois liberalism, while it was able at the same time to carry on an unceasing and merciless ideological and political struggle against bourgeois liberalism and against the slightest manifestation of its influence in the working class movement. The Bolsheviks always adhered to this policy. From 1905 onward they systematically defended the alliance between the working class and the peasantry against the liberal bourgeoisie and tsarism, never, however, refusing to support the bourgeoisie against tsarism (for instance, during the second stage of elections, or second ballot) and never ceasing their relentless ideological and political struggle against the bourgeois-revolutionary peasant party, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, exposing them as petty-bourgeois democrats, falsely masquerading as Socialists." **(Left Wing Communism, Selected Works,** Vol. X, P. 113.)

The second world war waged by the fascist bloc against the freedom-loving peoples, with the aim of conquering and enslaving the whole world, demanded huge sacrifices and unparalleled straining of the resources of progressive humanity. It aroused the most intense activity in all social groups and developed a deep cleavage between patriots—real champions of the freedom and independence of their fatherland — and traitors — the varied appeasers and conciliators, not to mention Hitlerite agents like Quisling and Laval. And here, during this unprecedented drama of the people, the greatness of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin shone forth brilliantly, and Lenin's tactic of the alliance of Communists with all other true patriots and champions of democracy proved itself in practice.

On analysing the process of the struggle of the peoples' forces against fascism in all the occupied countries, every unprejudiced and unbiassed observer with his own eyes can see the leading role of the Communists in this struggle. In the years of the most grievous trials and adversities, in the years of deadly struggle against fascism, all those people honestly and selflessly devoted to their Fatherland rallied round the Communists. That is, they, the Communists, took the lead in the sacred war for liberation against the German-Fascist invaders and enslavers, for the honour, liberty and independence of their people. Not one of the existing political parties did or could undertake responsibility for this unusually difficult and at the same time most noble and sublime task.

The old crude slander that Communists reject patriotism, do not acknowledge the Fatherland and therefore, a priori, are traitors, has been defeated decisively, for all time. But the parties who before the war shouted and bragged most of all of their "patriotism" are now unmasked as the real traitors against their Fatherland, as supporters of the Fascists. Exposed and pilloried also are those socialist "leaders" and "democrats" of different shades who during the period of occupation made snivelling appeals for non-resistance to the German-fascist invaders, for abstinence from "illegal" struggle against them on the pretext of preserving the strength of the people and preparing them for opening a campaign against the enemy "at a more favourable moment."

Communists appeared in the role of main organisers and inspirers of the sacred war against fascism, not only in some particular occupied country but precisely in all such countries. This was not accidental but a logical development. In Yugoslavia, Greece, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, where before the war the Communists did not constitute mass political parties—even in these countries they have developed correct political tactics and become mainly responsible for inspiring unity of all true patriots and democrats in the struggle against fascism. It seems to me it is difficult to find more clear and convincing proof of the correctness of those ideas which Lenin expressed fifty-odd years ago.

Now when the war in Europe and the Far East has ended with the complete victory of the Allies, and the next task of the United Nations is the establishment of firm peace, it is well to recall Lenin's many years' struggle against opportunist leaders of socialist parties and other "friends of the people" in the West; against Kautsky and Scheidemann in Germany, Renaudel and Longuet in France, Macdonald and Henderson in England, Vandervelde in Belgium, who, as Lenin said, were agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement. To these opportunist leaders and peculiar "friends of the people," Lenin applied the following neat characterisation given them by one of the French bourgeois newspapers:—

"These Vandervelde seem to be suffering from a sort of tic. Just as those who suffer from tic cannot utter two phrases without strangely twitching the muscles of the face, so the Vandervelde cannot make a political speech without repeating in a parrot-like way the words: internationalism, socialism, international solidarity of the workers, proletarian revolution, etc. Let them repeat any sacramental formula they like so long as they help to lead the workers by the nose and serve us, the capitalists, in pursuing the imperialist war and in enslaving the workers."

Further on Lenin himself writes about them:

"The bourgeoisie **needs** lackeys whom a section of the working class could trust, and who would paint in fine colours, embellish the bourgeoisie with talk about the possibility of the reformist path, who would throw dust in the eyes of the people by this talk, who would **divert** the people from revolution by depicting the glowing colours the charms and the possibilities of the reformist path. All the writings of the Kautskys, like those of our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, reduce themselves to such painting and to the whining of cowardly philistines who fear revolution." (Both quotes from Vol. X, **Selected Works,** Page 49.)

It would indeed be a naive dream to imagine that all that is left from the past has been outlived and overcome. Unfortunately the traditions of the Vandervelde, Renaudels, Macdonalds and so on are not only alive today but exist in the transition period from war to peace, are active with a new impetus, with the same aims and in the same direction as before.

For example, the contemporary leaders of the German Social Democrats, Stampfer, Grzhezinsky, Vogel, etc. In a certain period people of this type set the fashion for all the socialist parties in Europe. And now they are dreaming of becoming the leaders of the international social-democratic movement. A sight for the gods, indeed! The German capitalists, through world cartels and syndicates, attempt not only to save their capital but also to revive German militarism and brigand imperialism. And the German social-democratic leaders of the old type, as their time servers, act with the same motives and aims through the socialist parties in the different countries. The right wing of the French Socialist Party is also trying to follow the old line.

The recent congress of French Socialists revealed deep inner conflict. Rank and file members and local organisations of the party, worried by the growing solidarity of reactionary anti-democratic forces, are striving to rally the working people for the struggle for true democracy, for the extermination of the remnants of fascism and its economic base. The best means of achieving this they see is in unity with the Communist Party, which proved itself during the period of German occupation the real representative of the national interests of the French people, the true organisers of the whole people's struggle against the invaders for the freedom, independence and prosperity of their Fatherland.

However, the reactionary, splitting activities of Leon Blum and his adherents oppose this patriotic aspiration. This group attempts at any cost to curtail the steadily growing influence of the Communist Party and the rallying of the forces of the French working class on a new democratic foundation.

The reactionary clique of the French Socialists in fact helps imperialism in France to regain its old position. And all of this is, of course, being carried out under the banner of "democracy" and "socialism," and Blum and other leaders of the right wing socialists come forward as "friends of the people" who are fighting for the people and their future happiness.

The scene is similar outside France. Now in all other countries there are more than enough "friends of the people." Even extreme reactionaries from the camp of the bourgeoisie parade as "democrats." Therefore true democrats and patriots have now to undertake the difficult task of unmasking these false democrats and patriots, i.e., they are fulfilling the same tasks which Lenin accomplished at the dawn of the Russian revolutionary movement, but of course on an incomparably greater scale than was demanded at that time.

It is also necessary to take into account the fact that they have to deal with "friends of the people" who have become more cunning in the political struggle against the people and very skilled in different manoeuvres and frauds. It is safe to say that eighty per cent. of these false friends of the people deliberately masquerade as democrats and socialists to make it easier to carry out their reactionary policy. Today, in other countries, I believe there may be a few people similar to our Narodniks of the type of Mikhailovsky, Krivenko, Yuzakov, who possibly genuinely believe that they wish the people well, but there are also many crafty politicians whose aim is to fool the people.

That is why I say that Lenin's book can considerably assist Russian Marxists to understand the social processes now developing abroad, and to estimate them correctly.

WORK OF THE COMMUNIST COUNCILLORS

A. L. OPIE (Vice-President, Kearsley Shire Council)
(Report to 1st Annual Conference, Newcastle-Hunter District, A.C.P.)

WHO will deny the political significance and the tremendously important lesson to the whole labor movement of this country of our Party's Municipal By-election victory at Cessnock?

In a period of the fiercest orgy of red-baiting campaigns of lies and slander ever conducted against us by big business, reaction and the reactionary right wing of the labor movement, which allies itself more and more with an insidious, alien clerical reaction, we, as true representatives of the people, triumphed. As such it was a decisive victory for the people.

It is significant that workers and small business men, some small farmers and professional workers with their various shades of religious and political belief, preferred to vote for our Communist candi-

date, Tom Gilmore, as against the candidate that represented the right wing splitters and reactionaries. The issue was fought on unity and progress, the needs of the people against disunity, disruption and fierce red-baiting. Of course, there were the usual cheap promises that are brought forward with wearying repetition, year after year, by the "good old" reformist politician, but with which the people are disillusioned as reflected in their seeking the alternative leadership that we, as a Communist Party, are providing.

Already there are signs from those who hold leading Trade Union and other responsible positions in the labor movement in the district, that they are coming closer to our leadership, no doubt realising the precarious position they would be in if they permitted themselves to be influenced by the wave of hysteria whipped up by the capitalist propaganda agencies, the right wing reformist splitters, and the sinister machinations of the Catholic Action cliques. It is indeed a signal lesson for aspiring politicians, Trade Union leaders and others who desire to serve the Australian public. In other words, the coalfields people are beginning to judge their representatives, not on words, but deeds—a definite trend of marked disillusionment towards the Labor Party—the swing of the political pendulum is to Communist leadership. If Communists are fully seized with the need to improve our connections with the people, in effect, if we begin to learn better how to develop and lead the day to day mass work—united front work, work that reflects the real needs of the mass of people, then not only will we fulfil the "£5000 Communists for Canberra Fund," but carry the struggle against the Australian capitalists right onto the floor of Parliament House, by electing the most capable and fearless spokesmen for the Australian people—Communist Parliamentarians.

I do not want to be misunderstood—we would be naive, and committing a serious mistake, if we were to appraise the Cessnock election victory to mean that a huge left wing movement was sweeping right throughout Australia and that it is just a matter of nominating Communists to be elected to Parliament or Local Government, but what I do say is that the general indications are there, and with the deepening of the class struggle, the growing difficulties of capitalism and the failure of the Labor Governments to correctly lead and legislate for the Australian people (for as Lenin pointed out "the Australian Labor Party is a bourgeois Liberal Party" and as such will inevitably seek a bourgeois solution), the conditions are rapidly becoming more favorable for our Party's leadership being accepted as the only real alternative to A.L.P. leadership.

The point I wish to make here is the special conditions operating in the coalfields areas, and some special features about the by-election which serve to illustrate the difference on the coalfields from the situation in general. As most of you know, the coalfields constitute compact industrial communities, and the long years of excellent Communist leadership and activity in conditions that perhaps have been more favorable than elsewhere, must be a factor to be reckoned with. In addition, the very capable leadership of Communists in the major Trade Union organisation reflects itself, but over and above, and by far the most important in this recent period, has been the recognition by the leadership of our Party that shire and municipal work contains the essential elements, or ingredients, for the most successful united front mass work, which pays high dividends to the people and the Party. That is the lesson for our Party everywhere. It is the lesson that we must learn **now**, if we are to pick up the leeway that exists between the coalfields areas, Bowen with its M.P. Fred Paterson, and the localities throughout the Hunter region, and the rest of Australia.

One important feature about the election which should be mentioned at this stage. A previous success, wherein Comrades Evans and Wilkinson were elected to the Municipal Council of Cessnock, provided an opportunity for them to wage a relentless, fearless campaign of exposure against the right wing leadership, not only inside, but outside the Council Chambers. They took their campaigns to the mass of the people, built local unity on the programme which they fought the right wing on, thus correctly applying the tactics of the united front as taught by our great and inspiring international Communist, Dimitrov.

Evans and Wilkinson did not become, as happens to a good many of our Trade Union leaders, merely "good Trade Unionists" or "good Aldermen," they were good Communist leaders, fighting for and protecting Communist policy and programmes in the name of the Party.

It is significant to note that where the best unity and greater activity was developed, so also was the best voting recorded for our candidate.

Let us understand clearly that local government is the first elementary institution of parliamentary government. You know the old adage "you must learn to crawl before you walk," well, the quicker Communists begin to learn that lesson the quicker we will be walking and doing a lot of effective talking on behalf of the workers, in the Commonwealth Parliament. P.M. Chifley is still a member of a shire council; the percentage of politicians who were former Aldermen and Councillors is great.

I think we have sufficient evidence and experience to reveal that Local Government is a most fertile field for mass political developments. It may be considered by some Comrades that under the leadership of representatives of propertied interests, the Councils have not functioned in the interests of the people, but I think we can show that once influenced by Communist and progressive elements, supported by mass movements of the people, then the role of the Councils will grow, expanding in importance beyong our imagination.

I want, at this stage, to give you an illustration of what I mean, and I want you to pay particular attention and note how the role of the Local Government Councils dovetail, or tie-in, not only with the current campaign of the Miners' Federation, but the general objective of the programme set out in the draft resolution.

Knowing, and following very closely, the general campaign of the Federation and the Party for greater Government control of the coal industry, and the speculation forecast that moneys would be made available from the Governments for coalfields amenities, we took the opportunity at the recent annual Shires' Association Conference to secure a declaration, in principle, that in the event of finance being made available from the Governments, Local Government Authorities be recognised as the appropriate instrumentalities to implement any schemes of improved social amenities.

Despite the conservative nature of such a conference, mostly represented by people with propertied interests, and, of course, a little parochial and bitter towards miners, we were successful with that declaration.

Following upon this, we initiated from Kearsley a conference of all Local Government bodies throughout the State of N.S.W. that cover coalfields areas, all local M.L.A.'s and M.H.R.'s covering such areas, Chief Executive Officers of the Water and Sewerage Boards, Regional Councils and the Miners' Federation. The purpose of the conference was to tell the Governments that Local Government bodies know best of all the requirements of their people in respect to Housing, Public Health and Convenience, Public Libraries, Public Recreation, Water and Sewerage and Electricity supply, Omnibus and Rail Transport, etc., and it is rightly the function of local authorities, already constituted and empowered, to administer such functions.

It appears as if this conference will be highly successful both from the point of view of representation and content. Here I incidentally make mention of the fact that Kurri Kurri Parliamentarian, George Booth, who has shown a more co-operative attitude to us than any other coalfields politician, is very enthusiastic about the conference. I have perused a copy of the Joint Coal Bill and it appears that the Authority to be established to administer the provisions of the Bill has power to collaborate with persons and authorities in the establishment and provision of amenities that I have enumerated, also the promotion of the development and diversification of industry and of town and regional planning in the coalfields districts. It is important to note, too, that it has power to take all steps for the efficient and economical use of coal, the development of uses or markets for coal, and the recovery of by-products of coal. Whilst there is no specific mention of an oil from coal plant, it is implied in the clause dealing with recovery of by-products. We should still aim, incidentally, to have the Government establish and operate its own oil from coal plant.

The Act expressly states that a welfare fund shall be established, and it is understood that the annual State grant will be not less than £70,000 subsidised by not less than an equal amount by the Commonwealth. From this welfare fund, the Board has power to apply the moneys as it determines, for the welfare of the employees in the industry and their dependents, and communities of persons in the coal mining areas.

The Bill requires further examination and information as to interpretation before we will be in a position to relate it more fully to the Town, District and Regional Plans that have been developed by the former Newcastle and Hunter Valley District Committees. Apart, however, from the actual provisions of this Bill and all that it implies, from its good and bad features, the aspect that I emphasise is that when we relate the Bill to the policy and programmes that we have developed and fought for, then surely we must see the enormous political significance and advantage that we, as a Party, have. Is it not true that on the initiative of the Communist-led Kearsley Shire Council we are playing a leading part in correctly using Local Government as a powerful instrument, a rallying ground as it were, for a great state, nay a great national movement for the objectives and achievement of Jobs, Homes and Security? This is, as I said, just one illustration of the reasons why we should place proper emphasis on work in the Councils, and why it is so urgently and strongly urged that every member should grasp this fully. The call from this conference is to every Party organ, from the proposed Local Government Committee, District Committee, every Party Branch and Group, to every comrade, to go now, seriously, into the relationship of the Party to the local Council in every area, particularly in close co-operation with Party Municipal Aldermen and Shire Councillors, to find the way to leadership of the people's needs, and to identify our Party and our Party Comrades with the most progressive, the most urgent demands in the Municipalities and Shires covered by our District Committee. Before proceeding any further, let me emphasise and re-emphasise that it should be obligatory upon every single member of our Party to study and re-study that excellent little pamphlet, put out by our Central Committee, entitled **Outline for Work With Municipal and Shire Councils.** It is an important document because it sets out in simple terms the political aspects of Local Government, and most matters associated with the whole field of Local Government, as provided for in the Local Government and other associated Acts.

In addition to assimilating the things that we should know—and it is surprising how easy Local Government work is, not requiring any immense amount of technical qualifications, or any special qualifications, apart from a bit of sound common sense and courage of our convictions—the best

way to acquire the knowledge is to actually participate in and experience work in public committees. Here Progress Associations, P. and C.'s, etc., are all important, because in some way or other they are tied up with Local Government administration, and usually an opportunity is afforded to assume the leadership of such committees on behalf of the people. So, too, should we note the lack of attention by Party Branches as a whole in not taking up independently with the Local Government bodies the matters that they campaign around, and/or in association with other bodies leading deputations to councils on problems, etc. The Labor Party, in its reporting of the matters it takes up with the Councils and Government, certainly serves to illustrate the serious weakness of our Branches in this respect. Communist Branches do good work in this field which they never inform the public about.

If we are fully seized with the importance of the draft resolution before Conference, not only as to the brief re-statement of policy, but the programme, both organisational and political, then we can readily see the need for a Party Local Government Committee. The incoming District Committee will be charged with the immediate responsibility for the formation of such a committee to give direction to policy, co-ordination of programme and work of all local government bodies in the amalgamated district, and the hammering out of an all-embracing regional scheme for the Hunter Valley region. Whilst it must be gratifying to this conference to know that we have four Communists on the Lake Macquarie Shire, three in the Municipal Council of Cessnock and five on Kearsley, it is, nevertheless, important that we not only co-ordinate the work of these comrades and the programmes already being implemented, but lift the level of work to a much higher plane, in order that the whole of the District will gain as a result of our experiences, and thus facilitate the early election of more Communists and progressives to Local Government.

When we view the historic development of Local Government in our region, taking into consideration the common identity of interest, the great potentialities that the region still retains, then we can see quite clearly the lack of vision, the parochial self interest of the propertied class which has retarded proper planned development. Functions regional in their nature, and dependent on joint action and control for their initiation and success, have been and are sadly neglected by our local authorities. Today, public interest demands action to end this state of affairs, and, since we have assumed the responsibility for actual leadership and administration of policy in Local Government, we should aim for joint action on district schemes, or, by means of County Council control, bring about co-ordinated development of public utilities in the interests of the public.

It should be noted that a start in this direction has been made with the Kearsley Shire's proposal to the Cessnock Municipal Council to amalgamate and/or discuss conjointly such schemes as joint control of electricity, housing scheme, abattoirs, community hotel, etc. It is very true that because of lack of unity and failure to agree on matters where dual control exists, the working people have suffered. Despite the limited financial capacity of local government to implement urgent major social amenities, mainly because the only means of revenue is local rating on lands, there are many matters that can be successfully commended as revenue-producing projects, provided joint action and control is brought about. From a recent circular sent to Local Government bodies by the Prime Minister, it is obvious that the Commonwealth-State post-war plans do not make any generous provision for local government agencies, hence the emphasis to what I have just related about the joint control and the need for the Party to recognise that Local Government can be an important agency through which popular public opinion can be aroused. There can be no doubt as to the value of local administration for the winning of civic reforms, health matters and public utility.

If we are going to make our draft resolution the live pulsating charter of a better way of life for our people—striking back with mighty blows against the reactionary imperialist war-mongers, strengthening our Party so that it will ultimately lead the working class to final and successful struggles for socialism — we must have clearly in mind that the success of our struggle will require the utmost solidarity of the labor movement throughout Australia.

The lessons of our success in Local Government elections must be driven home. First, in the earlier elections, there existed in our district a great degree of unity—unity of all sections of our coalfields communities, as a matter of fact unity, or common cause, was made through our "New Deal" Committees with former Councillors, elements which were defeated in the elections. There was great activity by Communists, almost 100 per cent. branch participation in various phases of work. Thirdly, large numbers of non-Party people, A.L.P.ers, small business people and others, were drawn into activity. It should be remembered that with the end of the war there has taken place a sharper differentiation in the line-up of class forces and there is now considerably less unity and less activity. By a vigorous exposure of those against the interests of the people and a vigorous struggle by Communists to build unity, we will have more victories.

Election success only arises when we formulate a policy and programme that reflects the requirements of the people, and is backed by the unity I have spoken about, and this means thorough organisation by Communists.

I think a recent illustration I gave is worth repeating. Recently I attended a meeting of the Kurri Business Men's Club, and what did they raise with us? About a dozen local matters which

Kearsley Council gave 70 per cent. satisfaction to. They were matters of public importance. Why was it that the Kurri Branch did not write or have a deputation to the Council on such matters? Why have the Business Men been actually regarded as progressive, public-spirited men, taking up the people's requirements, when we can be? Is it any wonder we cannot gain large numbers of recruits, Tribune customers, and get cash?

Other bodies, not in any way working class, are raising matters with our Council and every other Council. Bernie Tonner recently led a deputation to Council on road improvements and other matters on behalf of the A.C.P. We gave great satisfaction. Is it not obvious that Bernie, as a Party member, will have a greater opportunity of selling literature, getting more finance and recruits? Bernie has shown us the way we want Branches to work. We should ensure that we select the appropriate issues round which we can develop full local unity, intensify all this work and combine it with increased sales of Tribune, a greater drive for cash—not being afraid to put forward the independent policy of the Party.

I have been asked to specially mention the work of Kearsley Council. Suffice it to say that Kearsley's programme includes such matters as public ownership and reticulation of electricity, and we have reached the stage of negotiating with the colliery companies and approached the Loan Council (Commonwealth) for a loan of £117,000. Plans and specifications have been approved by Council for the construction of public baths at Kurri, at a cost of £30,000 — the financing of this is tied up with an approach to the Governments, perhaps through the Coal Board's Welfare Fund and local town improvement rate. We have spent £4,000 on new road machinery in the last few weeks to improve roads, streets and drains, and a further sum of £1,000 is to be spent in this direction. Seven play centres will have been established by the end of next week towards our total of 21 to be established in our 21 towns and villages at a cost of £2,300. Recreation and Park improvements totalling an approximate expenditure of £3,400 will most likely be approved at the next Council meeting; included in this amount is a grant of £1,000 from the State Government, only secured after a constant campaign by Council. Road construction works to the extent of £25,000 have been approved by Council. The modern Kurri Kurri Baby Health Centre will be started within a period of a few weeks at a cost of £3,000. A uniform garbage system will be introduced by the end of the year with no extra cost to the ratepayers and the fee of 8/8 per annum is one of the lowest in the State. A town beautification scheme, starting with the plantation of hundreds of trees, will be commenced as soon as possible. Water reticulation service for the townships of Greta and Branxton is now under way, for the first time in the nearly 100 years' history of these townships.

Because of Council's action in bringing some colliery companies into the street lighting area, which they previously escaped, a number of our townships' street lighting rates have been reduced. This in some instances has more than offset the increase that we were compelled to levy due to the previous Council's neglect, and enormously increased costs of administration.

Council donated £100 to the Lake Macquarie War Memorial Convalescent Home and has set aside a sum for the construction of an appropriate War Memorial in the district to those who sacrificed their lives in the fight against fascism for democracy and human liberty. It is likely that Council will expend £500 for the repair and construction of pavements in Kurri Kurri. Small additional items of expenditure have been made available to football clubs, park committees, etc. In the last two months we have made available £175 to four bodies.

We are the only Council in the State that has granted an exemption to pensioners of payment of their general rate. In respect to transport — in conjunction with Communist Aldermen Evans and Wilkinson, we have conducted a vigorous fight against the Rover Motor Bus Monopoly and in some instances adjusted fares to the interest of the travelling public, secured an almost complete system of bus seating accommodation, better timetables and routes. In the process of this campaign we exposed the right wing who lined up with the bus company.

In respect to Council's employees, suffice it to mention that the officials of the Shire Employees have stated that they have received better treatment from our Council in 12 months than any previous Council. Complete harmony between the employees and the Council exists. Adequate round table machinery exists, without fear of intimidation, for the ventilation of grievances.

Child welfare is a feature of our work. "Be Tidy" campaigns, education in the schools, etc., is undertaken by Council's officers. We have protested vigorously against the high prices for fruit and vegetables; demanded enactment of the 40 hour week and £1/10/0 increase in basic wage; protested about repression of democracy in Greece, against the vicious daily press campaign against the Soviet Union, and passed many other appropriate resolutions, such as demand for nationalisation of mines, etc.

We have participated in the work of "New Deal" Committees, Council Conferences — deputations to Government on the campaign for Cockle Creek-Cessnock rail link, etc.; participated in drafting and endorsing a programme of economic and social requirements for the district to the Regional Committees; given support to hundreds of other minor yet vital matters that affect the people, their everyday needs—a seat here, a water fountain, Christmas vacation play centres, etc.

Is there need for further comment on the significance of Local Government, particularly under the leadership of the Communist Party? I don't think so.

The threat of Imperialist war, looming capitalist crisis and impending class battles confronts our Party with world historic tasks, and corresponding heavy responsibilities. On the shoulders of the world parties of Communism rests the future fate of humanity.

Only a Party of the Leninist type, a disciplined Party, firmly based in Marxist-Leninist theory, and strongly rooted in the masses, can acquit itself in adequate, Bolshevik fashion.

In greeting the Central Committee of our Party and its leaders, Comrades Miles, Sharkey and Dixon, we pledge ourselves to fulfil our tasks with honor.

Forward to a more active, more powerful Bolshevik Party!

DEBATE WITH MR. KEON, M.L.A.

E. F. HILL

ON July 22, Mr. S. M. Keon, Labor M.L.A. for Richmond, debated against Mr. B. Flanagan, Secretary of the Ironworkers' Union, the proposition —"That the Communist Party and its subsidiary the Ironworkers' Union are a menace to the Trade Union movement." How such an extraordinary title to the debate came about is known only to the tortuous minds of Mr. Keon and his advisers. In the course of a week, Mr. Keon three times changed the title of the proposition that he was prepared to debate. Originally his challenge was—"That the activities of the Ironworkers' Association constitute a menace to the Trade Union Movement" (**Herald,** July 10, 1946). After he had challenged Mr. Flanagan to debate, Mr. Keon refused to discuss the conditions of the debate, refused to discuss who would be chairman, refused to discuss a title acceptable to both parties. Mr. Keon clearly wanted to stage a demonstration against the Communist Party.

Briefly, Mr. Keon's challange arose out of the action taken by Ironworkers' Union members against a breakaway group from the union led by Mr. W. T. Lloyd. Ironworkers at Nobels went on strike against the tactics of Mr. Lloyd. Their action was upheld and supported by the Trades Hall Council Disputes Committee, and subsequently, by an overwhelming majority of Nobel's workers in a secret ballot.

On July 8, 1946, Victorian trade unionists were astonished to wake up and see in Melbourne's **Argus** ("the fascist headquarters in Melbourne" to borrow a phrase from Mr. Calwell) a double column heading "A.L.P. Silence Criticised—Communists Attacked" and underneath it: "An attack on the part played by Communists in the dispute at Nobel's Deer Park explosive factory and the 'extraordinary silence of executive officers of the A.L.P.' was made by Mr. S. M. Keon, M.L.A. (Richmond) last night." Mr. Keon, as one might well imagine after such an auspicious opening, graduated in Melbourne's reactionary press to a 3 column heading in Sir Keith Murdoch's **Herald:** "Labor Party Has Had Enough of Communist Terrorism — Mr. Keon Hits Out." (**Herald,** July 10, 1946.) Mr. Keon reached such importance that he pushed the atom bomb off the front page of Sir Keith's **Herald** and there he was —photographed drinking a milk drink!

If there were any doubt as to who would be Mr. Keon's allies, they were quickly dispelled. Leader of the Victorian Liberal Party (the ineffectual Mr. Hollway) sprang into action. Melbourne's **Argus,** of July 16, ran a heading "Liberal Leader Says Labor Must Support Mr. Keon." Mr. Hollway had no doubt about the correctness of Mr. Keon's policy —"The A.L.P. executive must decide whether it was going to support Mr. Keon, or repudiate him and swing further towards the Communists. . . The stand taken by Mr. Keon was a courageous one. Had it been taken by leaders of the Labor Party—preferably Mr. Chifley or Mr. Cain—some real service might have been done to the community."

At the debate in the Richmond Town Hall, Mr. Keon made one of his typical red-baiting attacks. He resorted to the worst form of demagogy, including anti-semitism and anti-alien tactics —"get back to Carlton you refugee scum," he referred to his opponents as "dingoes," "thugs," "scum" and other similar terms. When he entered the hall thugs obviously armed with weapons of various kinds crowded round him. He draped the Australian flag around himself: his supporter Mr. Mullens (ex-M.L.A., Footscray) withdrew it when Mr. Flanagan (veteran of two wars) spoke. Mr. Keon did not raise one positive point in his speech: not one mention of the 40-Hour week or the A.C.T.U. policy of £1 increase in the basic wage. His ranting and raving were in the true tradition of General Franco : the vast majority of the audience ironically and spontaneously raised their arms in the fascist salute. And there is no doubt that this spotlighted the real purpose of the whole business : it was a real Franco demonstration against the Communist Party organised and promoted by the Catholic Action movement.

But what went wrong? Only one small thing went wrong. That was that Melbourne's workers recognised the meeting for what it was. Far from the meeting being a triumphant parade for Keon, it was a vigorous anti-Keon demonstration. Mr. Keon complained that people came from all over Melbourne to demonstrate against him. Very true, Mr. Keon, that is precisely what did happen. Men and women came from far and wide to defend genuine working-class principles. The narrow basis of Mr. Keon's "movement" was demonstrated. Although Roman Catholic priests endeavoured to whip up Richmond Catholics to attend the meeting, the vast majority of Catholics, by not turning up, showed their contempt for this barefaced attempt to use their religion for recationary political purposes. Despite all the conditions in his favor, despite all the frantic whipping up, Mr. Keon's followers were outnumbered by about 4 to 1 : they were reduced to impotent fury as was Mr. Keon himself. Mr. Keon's followers quailed before the mass demonstration against them. But we may expect Mr. Hollway's darling, the "courageous" Mr. Keon to skulk behind the safety of parliament and to make his pronouncements through the press of the millionaires.

It would be naive to think that Mr. Keon is playing a lone hand in this crusade. Although the Catholic Action movement regretfully reported that the late H. M. Cremean would be impossible to replace (p. 17 Secret Report), Mr. Keon is making a desperate effort to establish himself as "leader" of the . . . Movement. He carried out faithfully and to the letter the ideas of the Movement. On pages 13 and 14 of the Movement's secret report is a deprecation of the failure of Labor politicians and Cabinet Ministers to condemn Communism. "With one or two exceptions it is notable that no Catholic Labor member, be it of the Commonwealth or the State parliaments, has shown any enthusiasm for the fight against Communism. In almost every case they are disposed to 'play it down.' They condemn the enthusiasm of those who are sacrificing themselves in this fight as misplaced zeal. They call on the authority which their position gives them to advise priests and even bishops that their 'inside' position makes them certain that Communism is no danger." What did Mr. Keon do? He commenced by condemning the silence of the A.L.P. Central Executive. He developed his argument into a sharp criticism of the Federal Minister for Labor (Mr. Hollway). "Mr. Hollway is apparently paying the price for immunity from Communist opposition in Melbourne Ports at the next election. . . There can be no other explanation of his request that the management of Nobel's comply with the ironworkers' demand for the victimisation (read "dismissal") of loyal A.L.P. members (read "breakaway groups") who refuse to pay money for the support of ironworkers — to be used in turn for the support of Communist candidates against the A.L.P. . . Fortunately, after Labor's victory in the Federal election in September, there should be ample new Ministerial talent available." (**Argus,** July 10, 1946). So speaks the "mighty" Mr. Keon at the behest of the Catholic Action so-called "movement!"

Mr. Keon belongs to a party the tradition of which is one man one job, and yet Mr. Keon is a member of Parliament and still retains his job as secretary of the Public Service Association.

Mr. Keon has gone out of his way to tender good advice to the Liberal Party about the anti-Communist campaign. In the Victorian Parliament, he said: "If opposition members desire to help the Labor movement in its fight against the Communists, they should remain quiet." Mr. McDonald (Opposition leader) interjected—"As the government remains quiet." Mr. Keon continued: "Neither the government nor I have been silent; but it is not helpful when the case for the employers is presented as it was by the honorable member for Toorak, for instance. (This refers to an attack by a Liberal politician on Communists.) Opposition parties must realise that, because of their past records, they are suspect in the eyes of the workers of this State. . ." (**Hansard,** 1945-6, No. 13, p. 1838). In other words, Mr. Keon says, because of the Labor label I wear I am able to do this job much better than he who wears an anti-working-class label.

Such an attitude is not surprising from one who led a deputation to have the Soviet flag banned from the official State Victory Day dinner nor from one who rebuked Dr. Evatt for a mild anti-Franco statement, nor further from one who secured the removal from the menu of a Melbourne cafe of a dish known as Russian steak. (The management subsequently served the dish under the name of Bismarck steak.)

Mr. Keon's stand was condemned by trade union after trade union and by thousands of workers at factory meetings. Even the extreme right wing were getting a little uneasy. Mr. G. Hayes, right wing A.L.P. President, was forced to utter a mild rebuke. But with time-honored technique, the Labor Party leaders allowed the heat to go out of the fight and finally a majority of the Central Executive said that "Mr. Keon had acted within the terms of a recent A.L.P. conference decision." So the policy of this clique on the A.L.P. Central Executive is decided outside the Labor Party and inside the minds of the worst elements in the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. Even this clique had to warn Mr. Keon that the time was not ripe for him to rush so wildly into the press. And what of the section of the executive who were for some action against Mr. Keon? The fact that they wanted action against Mr. Keon is praiseworthy but their courage and their conception of tactics are conspicuous by their absence. Whilst these men allow Mr. Keon to get away with things like this and allow the Labor Party's policy to be determined by the so-called "movement" then they deserve all the kicks they get. When they fight Mr. Keon and the Catholic Action movement in the open, then they will win, and utterly rout these plotters.

A word needs to be said on A.L.P. industrial groups. If we turn again to the Movement's report (p. 5), we read: "Most important of all, was the formation of Labor Party 'discussion groups' within the factories. . . It is impossible for us to exaggerate the importance of this change for our activists. Previously in the battle against Communism in the factory they were compelled to act individually. Wherever they concentrated in groups it was obvious

that the groups were Catholic. Hence the sectarian argument could be raised against them often with decisive force. Today they have the cover of the Labor Party. They carry on the fights as the executives of these factory 'discussion groups' and none **can effectively question their bona fides.**" (Thus the "Movement" openly recognises that their bona fides are open to question, but tactically it is estimated that the A.L.P. cover makes it difficult to bring this into the open.) Easter Conference of the Labor Party supported the settling up of these groups. The prime movers for this were Messrs. Broadby, Maxwell, Peters and Cousland—3 of them members of the "Movement" group in the Tramways Union and the other (Peters) a well known right wing leader. Now, the Movement has succeeded in carrying this policy one step further by getting rules for the formation of these groups adopted. The only purpose of these groups is to split and divide the workers : to carry on the work of the reactionary Roman Catholic Hierarchy against the real interests of all workers—Catholic, Communist, Labor Party and non-party alike. Where does our hero Mr. Keon stand? "The A.L.P. decision to form Labor groups in every union means that **Labor's battle against Communism** has extended from the political to the industrial field and that the fight is now on. . .

"Labor groups would fight all future union ballots on definite Labor tickets. But even with the election of Labor men the war would not end, because Communists, in the guise of Labor, would still try to whiteant the unions." **(Argus,** August 14, 1946.) Again, not a word about the pressing problems of the workers—only the fight against Communism — the same fight as the daily press conducts day in and day out.

It is all the more dangerous that these activities of Mr. Keon come at just the same time as the big monopolists are putting all they know into the fight against the working class and the Communist Party. The Catholic Action movement forms an essential part of the campaign to destroy the working class movement — it is but one flank of the offensive of reaction.

Let us summarise some of the important lessons to be learned from this experience of Victorian workers. The struggle against the right wing clique must be intensified as never before. Mass demonstrations of the kind against Mr. Keon are medicine these gentlemen cannot take. They must not be allowed to set up their A.L.P. industrial groups because these groups are designed for disruption. Within the A.L.P., opponents of the Keon line need to take a more courageous and open stand. Communists need to intensify the struggle for unity and the realisation of the urgent demands of the working class.

KURDS—EXPLOSIVE FORCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

NORMAN FREEHILL

IF you draw a sickle on that portion of the Middle East map which stretches from Syria to Iran (Persia) you will have covered an area which has no name on any map, but which is Kurdistan—land of the Kurds. It stretches over Syria, Turkey, Iran and Irak.

If to the sickle you add a hammer you might be making a political prophecy, because the Kurds are stirring in their mountain fastnesses.

The area inhabited by the Kurds sweeps from Aleppo Province on the Mediterranean well into Turkey north of Lake Van; continues up to Erivan, in the Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic; then runs down through Iran near Lake Urma (now in the new independent Iranian province of Azerbaijan): curves inward to Irak at Khanagin and on to take in the Kirkuk and Mosul oilfields.

The spread of the Kurdish population indicates what potential dynamite is stacked in the Middle East. And, as if the human factor was not inflammable enough, the fabulously rich Mosul and Kirkuk oilfields are in the area and there are additional unexploited oil lands.

Altogether, Kurdistan covers about 100,000 square miles. Of the population of the area perhaps 5,000,000 are Kurds, the rest being minorities of Arabs, Armenians, Azerbaijans, Iraki, Lebanese, Syrians — all representing oppressed nationalities.

More than one and a half million Kurds are in Eastern Anatolia in Turkey, a million in British-run Irak, 700,000 in seething Iran, 300,000 in British-controlled French Syria, and smaller numbers scattered in other areas. A number estimated at 20,000 are in settlements over the border in the Soviet Union.

On the matter of Syria and Lebanon it may here be noted that Britain has intrigued against France in both countries and the present controllers of those countries are the best British money could buy.

Before developing the political theme let us take a look at recent history — at least so much of recent history as bears on the Kurdish problem.

After World War I, under the Treaty of Sevres, the Kurds were promised their independence. That promise went the way of others made to economically and politically powerless national minorities in the cold-blooded huckstering after the 1914-18 war, when the League of Nations handed Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Irak to Britain and France and the big oil monopolists.

Lord Curzon, bitterly anti-Russian, in feverish haste to marshal any and every country against the young workers' and peasants' Soviet Republic, contemptuously threw the Kurds, and what the Turks had left of the Armenians, into the discard in return for Turkish opposition to the Soviet. To supreme aristocrat Curzon, the Kurds were, after all, merely uncivilised mountain fighters of no political importance.

Thus it was that, for Turkey's opposition to Russia, Curzon tore up the scrap of paper written in the Luxembourg Palace (the Treaty of Sevres), and did not even bother to mention the Kurds in the revised treaty of Lausanne in 1923. He washed his immaculately dirty hands of them. And the Kurds in the mountains saw their promised independence vanish into the thick, conspiratorial air of the diplomatic bargain shop.

One has always heard much of the Arabs and the Jews, because of British Imperialist interests in the area which bears so vitally on the Suez Canal, on oil, on India.

On the other hand, all but students of international relations rushed for their atlases when the Azerbaijan problem was thrust before an astonished reading public. The Bevin-Byrnes ganging up against Russia at least added to the geographical knowledge of the peoples.

But the Kurds never even "made" cable brevities until recent weeks.

In the "Daily Mirror" of August 3 came mention of "fear of a rising of Kurds in both Persia and Irak." Out of the muddled picture presented by the cable, which confused Kurds with Assyrians, Persians and Azerbaijans emerged these points:

"For a long time large Kurdish minorities in both countries, have been vocal about oppression and neglect by politicians.

"Irak appointed a Kurd as Minister for Kurdish Affairs in 1942 after an abortive rising. Amelioration of conditions was promised, but nothing has been done."

"Several revolts in the Mosul and Kirkuk regions have been crushed in the past two years."

A brief A.A.P. cable on July 17 said martial law had been "imposed in South Persia following a strike of 100,000 workers in the Anglo-Iranian Company's oilfields."

The cable went on to say that Persian troops had seized trade union headquarters and workers' clubs. The "Persian" troops are controlled by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., as is naively disclosed by the same cable, which said the "strikers and (democratic) Tudeh Party leaders have issued a manifesto demanding that the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company cease 'interfering with Persian political affairs.'" And "interfering" does not mean kid-glove action. It means force and murder and ruthless suppression.

Later came a cabled report of British warships moving up to the head of the Persian Gulf and British troops being landed. The British Government has a majority holding in Anglo-Iranian oil—it being one of the Foreign Office's investments.

Trouble in the British areas where the oil workers are sweated at wages which give them a bare existence was inevitable. In North Persia, Russia's oil agreement is on a fifty-fifty basis with the Persian Government (Russia supplies the technical experts and equipment). And the Soviet not only pays the Iranian workers hitherto unheard of wages but looks after them in other ways — gives them hospitals, schools; treats them as it treats the Russians who work alongside them. Such a violent contrast to the slave conditions on the British- and American-controlled fields must inevitably, sooner or later, have provoked moves by the Iranian workers. And, of course, any move by workers of oppressed nationalities for improved conditions is labelled "Communist."

An even wider and more troublesome outcome is likely so far as the Oil Monopolists and their Governments are concerned. Practically all the oil areas of the Middle East are owned or controlled by Anglo-American oil companies. Thus Governments of Middle Eastern countries are likely to ask for upward royalty revision of existing oil agreements with Britain and America to bring them into line with the Russo-Iranian agreement.

Since that message re the strike — and a strike of 100,000 "slave" workers is no small item—there has been dead silence except for the cable (3/8/46) about British troops being sent to Basra (Persian Gulf) to safeguard British and Indian capitalist interests in South Persia and (of course) "to protect British and Indian lives, if necessary."

Look again at that sickle you drew across the map. You can see just how the Kurds can throw the whole of the Middle East into ferment once they decide that the time has arrived for the 1920 promises to be fulfilled.

Intent upon anti-Russian propaganda over Azerbaijan, the cables in the Australian Press forgot to record that the Kurds moved with the Azerbaijans. Early in May the Kurds in Persia set up their own National Government (thus far not recognised) with Ghazi (or Quazi) Mohammed as Prime Minister, and entered into a military alliance with the Persian Azerbaijan National Government. Mohammed is an outstanding figure, cultured, a linguist.

The demands of the Iranian Kurds are—(1) Autonomy, (2) Kurdish language, (3) Kurdish officials, (4) Land reform, (5) Increased education, (6) Higher living standard, (7) Proportional representation in Iran Parliament.

Even while the Azerbaijans were negotiating for their independence the Kurds were making similar demands. Also at that time (May) the Azerbaijan radio announced that Azerbaijan having won its freedom, it was its duty to help free other national minorities oppressed by the brutal feudal landowners of Iran.

The fierce nationalism of the Kurds is allied to a fighting tradition. The people are virile mountain folk for the most part, used to hardship.

The Kurds did not accept the variety of masters under which the Curzon agreement placed them—Turkey, Syria, Irak, Iran. They fought the Turks many times.

The nationalism of the Kurds has been cemented in revolt against their oppressors. They have risen ten times in the past 20 years.

During the perilous war years they refrained from revolt, although the German agents early in the struggle could count on pro-Nazi Governments in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Iran and Afghanistan.

The Turks have been trying to wipe the Kurds out, just as they wiped out the Armenians by massacres which shocked the world. Whole Turkish armies have moved against the Kurds. Turkey conducted major military operations against the fighting mountain folk in 1925, 1930, 1937, and 1938. After the 1925 attack, the Turkish Government reported the Kurds as "wiped out." And after the 1938 operation the Turkish Minister of the Exterior, Jelal Bey, announced that "the mountain bandits have been liquidated." The 1938 statement was as ill-based as that of 1925.

In March last, Turkey and Irak signed a treaty to which (according to several foreign correspondents) was attached a secret clause which provided for joint struggle against the Kurd tribes.

Doubtless the shrewder heads among the British Imperialists, their ears nicely attuned to the muffled clink of golden dividends from Kirkuk oil, will go through the gestures of granting hearing, at least, to the Kurds in territories dominated by Anglo-Persian and Royal Dutch Shell. But the time, they will find, has passed. Curzon left a legacy that has shattered the faith of the Kurds for all time.

The Empire of the Oil Kings in the Kurdish areas is enormously rich. Oil from Mosul is piped to Tripoli and from Kirkuk to Haifa. The Khanagin field, near the Iranian frontier, is worked by the Anglo-Iranian, which owns the big southern Persian field.

Turkey is the Kurds' chief problem. Turkey's ruling class — the large landowners (Agas), moneylenders and a growing industrial bourgeoisie have most to fear from a resurgent Kurdish nationalism.

Although Turkey's population is three-quarters peasant, so grasping are the almost feudal landowners and so primitive the farming methods that Turkey still has to import foodstuffs. Even the recently strengthened Turkish bourgeoisie and the Turkish middle class are beginning to revolt against the dictatorship of the landlords and a few big capitalists.

The virtual serfdom under which the Kurdish peasants work in Turkey will look a miserable thing beside the freedom of their fellows in Azerbaijan and Russia.

Just as the freedom and incalculably better conditions of their brothers in the Azerbaijan Republic of the Soviet Union finally inspired the Azerbaijans in Persia to fight for and obtain their independence, so the Kurds in the area near Azerbaijan are the spearhead for the fight for freedom for all Kurds. These Persian Kurds, under the command of Mulla Mustapha, clashed with Iranian troops in the north-west, near the border of Irak, at the time of the Azerbaijan revolt. And the Kurdish National Army of 30,000 inflicted defeat on the Iranian forces.

Even greater is Irak's problem. Given a Kurdish National Government in Persia a Kurdish move in Irak will be beyond quelling. The cables tell nothing of the present position in Irak in which practically the whole of Irak's army and air force ("advised" by British experts) plus its "police" force of 7,000, are deployed along the line which marks the north-eastern Kurdish areas. The army and air bases are (by sheerest coincidence!) near the Kirkuk oilfield.

Actually Irak has already been served with notice of pending trouble. A year ago (August, 1945) the Kurds in Irak revolted. Kurdish tribesmen, chiefly irregulars, defeated the numerically superior Government troops. Only when independent chiefs had been bribed to assist the Government forces did the Kurds retire. But they retired undefeated. The Kurds were led in that revolt by Mulla Mustapha, already mentioned for his part in the Persian fighting.

The Kurds have not deep roots in Syria, and have been quieter than their mountain brothers. But if Britain ignores the 250,000 Kurds in Syria because of the game it is playing with the Arabs, the picture may change. The Syrian Kurds are part of the Kurdish family and it is not without significance that the Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, Khalid Bagdache, is a Kurd and the Secretary of the Communist Party of Lebanon, Fara Jella El-Helov, is also a Kurd.

Azerbaijan made the front pages because it was a pawn in the anti-Russia war-hate being created by Bevin and Byrnes.

Just as Britain was against the democratic Tudeh Party in the Azerbaijan Iran dispute because that Party was friendly with the Socialist Soviet Union, so it must be against any democratic force which threatens its dominance (shared, in some areas, with American Oil Companies) of the oilfields of Persia, Arabia, Irak.

If the Kurds rise over the whole of the Kurdish-occupied area, or bit by bit from Iran to the Mediterranean, Britain will find that it will have to cross borders to instal its police, armies and air force openly, inexcusably, insolently. And Greece cannot be duplicated indefinitely!

When the Kurds move in earnest they will make the headlines in the papers and headaches in the British Foreign Office and U.S. State Department. And they will shatter more than one Imperialist dream in the Middle East.

MARXIST MATERIALISM AND EPISTEMOLOGY

L. HARRY GOULD

(Paper read at the Congress of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Adelaide, August 21-28, 1946.)

THE struggle between materialism and idealism is, for Marxists, the basic question of philosophy. As the subject is rather new for gatherings of this kind, I shall devote the first part of my paper to a brief exposition of the principles of Marxist, i.e., dialectical, materialism and the Marxist doctrine of truth. The second part will consider other philosophies, including the latest views of Bertrand Russell as presented last November in his Henry Sidgwick lecture on "Physics and Experience." As well as defending the materialist standpoint, my purpose in this second part will be to show that these other modern philosophical trends are far from original; they are mere restatements of traditional, classical idealist philosophy.

First, then, Marxism affirms that matter, objective actuality, exists independently of sensation. Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is only the highest product of matter. Mind is matter at a high stage of development, matter organised in a special way; it is matter with its crowning achievement—consciousness. Matter is universally homogeneous in essence, and with all its changes, however vast the qualitative differences, it remains eternally one and the same matter, whether non-thinking, so-called "inert" matter or matter endowed with a definite faculty of sensation.

Marx and Engels, co-founders of modern Communism, stated: "The premises from which we begin are not arbitrary ones, not dogmas, but are real premises from which abstraction can only be made in the imagination. . . . These premises can thus be verified in a purely empirical way."

In the imagination anything of course can be abstracted, posited or related. Abstraction in imagination is absolutely indispensable for thought; but it must never be forgotten that imaginary magnitudes, such as $\sqrt{-1}$, or imaginary qualities or properties, such as angels with two wings or 22 wings, are always referable back to prototypes of the external world, to apprehensible objectivity.

Marxist materialism thus rejects the assumptions of the hundred-and-one varieties of epistemological idealism. The world, being, things are not merely ideas or "complexes of sensations." As against the idealist, solipsist or empirio-criticist, Marxism holds that the world is an object of understanding, but independent of understanding.

"Materialism," said Marx, "is the natural-born son of Great Britain. Already the British schoolman, Duns Scotus, asked 'whether it was impossible for matter to think.'" Stating that Bacon was the real progenitor of British materialism, Marx went on: "Hobbes shatters the theistic prejudices of Baconian materialism; Collins, Dodwall, Coward, Hartley, Priestly similarly shattered the last theological bars that still hemmed in Locke's sensationalism." Materialism is thus native to Britain and British science.

Second, the world is a process, is matter developing in a historical process. What is dialectics, the especial feature of Marxist materialism? It is defined as the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thought. The dialectical method of apprehending nature is by "taking things and their perceptual images essentially in their inter-connection, in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance"; nature reveals eternal movement and change, renewal and development. The essence of dialectics is the internal contradiction which provides the inner impulse for movement; that is, all things and phenomena of nature have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; the struggle between these opposites constitutes the internal content of the process of development.

The ancient Heraclitus was perhaps the first to present this viewpoint, saying: "The world, the all in one, was not created by any god or any man, but was, is, and ever will be a living flame systematically flaring up and systematically dying down" (also translated, ". . . in due measure self-enkindled and in due measure self-extinguished"). Lenin commented: "A very good exposition of the rudiments o dialectical materialism."

Third, Marxist materialism asserts that the world and its laws are fully knowable, that man acquires authentic knowledge of the world through science and social-historic practice. Rejecting scepticism, Marxism emphasises that truth is discoverable within, and only within, the process of cognition itself.

The unknown "thing-in-itself" becomes, through science and practice, the known "thing-for-us." Criticising the agnostic Huxley and his followers for their "shamefaced materialism," and their denial of the validity of sense perceptions, Engels said of the ungraspable "thing-in-itself": "One after another of these ungraspable things have been grasped, analysed and, what is more, reproduced by the giant progress of science, and what we can produce we certainly can consider knowable."

A few further statements on practice as the criterion, and also as the basis, of knowledge:—From Francis Bacon: "Human knowledge and human power meet in one; for when the cause is not known the effect cannot be produced. Nature to be commanded must be obeyed; and that which

in contemplation is as the cause, is in operation as the rule."

From Marx: "Social life is essentially practical. All the mysteries which seduce theory into mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice."

Engels: "The success of an action proves the agreement of our perceptions with the apprehensible objective truth of things."

Lenin: "Practice is higher than theoretical knowledge, because it has not only the property of generality, but also of direct actuality."

The method of epistemology, therefore, inquires not only, What can man know?—but also, What does man do? Man never "stands in theoretical relationship" with the outside world. He eats, shelters and clothes himself. He is not passive; he acts. Hence, man reaches truth, he establishes truth, by uncovering the secrets of the law-governed processes of nature, and by his own operations on nature. Contrast man's extremely limited practice in, say, mining in primitive times with mining experience today, i.e., after millennia of ever-improving practice, new techniques, and the capacity for theoretical generalisations in mechanics, geology and a hundred other related sciences. The most recent example of practice as the test of truth is the manufacture by physicists of elements prior to their discovery in nature.

We must also contrast Marxism with pragmatism. The latter recognises truth (what it regards as truth) only post factum, only after it has passed into history. Within understandable limits, Marxism can make confident predictions of the future, of the truth that is to come, through the further unfoldment of present processes, and by man's conscious intervention to shape the world to desired ends.

A final point in this exposition. Marxist materialist philosophy, dialectical materialism, is the world outlook of the Communist Party. What precisely is the connection between materialism and the theory of social revolution? Specifically, why is Marxism so irreconcilably opposed to epistemological idealism? Because Marxism proposes not only to interpret the world, but to change it; it is integrally bound up with, indeed, is synonymous with, science, with scientific endeavour, practice and verification. The pre-Marxist materialist, the mechanist materialist, had already correctly noted the relation, arguing that if man constructs all his knowledge from the world of sense and his experience in the world of sense, then it follows that man can, and should, be must change externality. Philosophical materialism, when translated into social practice, becomes critical and revolutionary. We may note in ancient times the animadversion of Plato against those who sought to restore Ionian materialism. Materialism was the theoretical weapon of the victorious bourgeois revolution of 17th century England and 18th century France. In America, there is the acknowledged debt of Jeffersonian democracy to Epicurus and, of course, to France of the Encyclopaedists. Today materialism, enriched by all the scientific achievements since 1789, is the instrument of the working class revolution of this century. Idealism, with its doubts and denials of the authenticity of man's knowledge, its relativism and subjectivism, its demiurges and absolute spirits, its a priori sanctions and ex-cathedra judgments, has always been the protector of the status quo, the handmaiden of privilege in class-divided society. "Philosophical idealism," said Lenin, "is a road to clerical obscurantism."

I now come to other philosophies.

Examination of the various modern trends reveals, as I said, their lack of originality, of newness in contribution to philosophical thought. The old idealism is repeated, but merely with some refinements of expression, and garnished at times with the weirdest terminologies; it is traditional idealism concerned with "thought entities and heavenly things"; if a departure is attempted, it is only in the direction of deducing relations between things by analysis of relations between concepts, or through juggling with the meanings of words—and then you are usually told that the things don't exist anyway. This aspect of modern philosophy was already discussed in Lenin's **Materialism and Empirio-Criticism**, published in 1908. Commenting upon what he termed, the "uprightness, clarity and precision" of the classical idealists, he demonstrated with many examples that the inventors of the supposedly new schools—empirio-criticists, recent positivists, neuromonists, pragmatists, empirio-symbolists, empirio-monists, immanentists, etc. — were repeating in one form or another the views expressed earlier by Berkeley, Hume, Kant and Fichte.

This is also true of philosophy since Lenin's day.

Who used such expressions as: "the framework of space and time"; "space and time are . . . the media through which the messages from the outer world enter the 'gateways of knowledge,' our senses, and in terms of which they are classified"; or, "what enters through the gateways of knowledge (is) appearances rather than reality"? Anyone familiar with the literature of philosophy would say, Immanuel Kant. Kant did express himself that way, but these quotations are from Sir James Jeans. Sir Arthur Eddington says: "The whole subject-matter of physics consists of pointer-readings and similar indications." Earlier scientists and philosophers had seen in scientific theory only symbols, signs or hieroglyphics. I quote from a 19th century giant of science, Helmholtz, in his address in 1878 on "The Facts of Perception": "Inasmuch as the quality of our sensation gives us the evidence of the properties of the external cause by which sensation is produced, the sensation can be regarded as its sign, but not as its image." Of course, whether sceptical distrust of the perceptive faculties is original or not, the objection remains. If industry and science provide a test (and what else is there but faith?), then perception does give a more or less true picture of the objective world; with only signs or symbols, true knowledge would be impossible; signs may be representations of anything.

A few words on the school of Scientific Empiricism. Runes' **Philosophical Dictionary** states that one of its main sections, the Vienna Circle, founded in 1924, ended with the death of its founder, Prof. Schlick, in 1936. Here is something pathetic, yet gorgeously funny, when one ponders over the flood of books, articles, lectures, which made their noise for a dozen years, and then passed on out of the world — testimony to the inconsequentiality of thinking which turns inward and feeds upon itself, seeking for truth with little or no reference to the outside world.

I take one statement, characteristic and significant, from Hahn's **Logic, Mathematics and Knowledge of Reality**: "If we can affirm apodictically that 2 plus 3 is universally equal to 5, if we are able to affirm, prior to all observation, that 2 plus 3 will never be observed to be equal to 7, for instance, the reason is that by 2 plus 3 we think of exactly the same thing as by 5." There is nothing new in this. My reply is also unoriginal, but as it is verifiable, I have more right to speak apodictically, and say: "Two sticks, or two fingers, added to three sticks, or three fingers, will make five sticks or five fingers. Two drops of water added to three drops may make four or six drops, or only one drop; in some cases, such as by combining two drops and three drops in an operating syphon or atomiser, the number may reach thousands of drops of water."

Now, Bertrand Russell.

The dictionary speaks of Russell's flirtations with realism, neutral monism, positivism and behaviourism. He offers a clue for his inconsistency in his **Sceptical Essays**, saying: "I am a British Whig, with a British love of compromise." However, few idealists can really afford to ignore materialism completely. The classical idealists set the fashion; thus, Hume, idealist indoors, but materialist outside his study; or Leibnitz, compelled to distinguish between "truths of reason" and "truths of fact." What is good for daily life is unavailable for speculation. Note this inconsistency: in **Mysticism and Logic**, Russell says: "The actual data in sensation, the immediate objects of sight or touch or hearing, are extra-mental, purely physical, and among the physical objects are the sense-organs and the brain." This is, for Russell, ultimate constituents of matter." This is, for Russell, a bad lurch to materialism. But he soon becomes frightened at his own temerity, and hastens to add: ". . . it is probably wrong in supposing that it continues to exist when we are no longer looking at it."

Rev. Dodgson's account of the Cheshire Cat sounds equally authentic; it certainly is a hundred times more artistic—you remember, the cat's smile that continued to be visible after the animal itself had disappeared.

Also unoriginal is the following statement of his quoted by Prof. Stebbing: "A piece of matter has become, not a persistent thing with varying states, but a system of inter-related events. The old solidity is gone, and with it the characteristic that, to the materialist, made matter seem more real than fleeting thoughts." This is rather common now; a number of physicists postulate that we may consider an electron only as a "probability function" existing in the mind of the mathematician. One of the chapters in Lenin's work is entitled, "The Crisis in Modern Physics"; another, in quotation marks, "Matter Has Disappeared." Dealing with the claim that science had reduced atoms to energy, Lenin argued that the phrase "matter disappears" meant only that matter in the form of the limit which we have known up to now vanishes, as our knowledge penetrates deeper. So again, the fundamental epistemological problem remains: Does the atom, now picturesquely described as an infinitely small solar system within which negative electrons rotate around the positive nucleus, does the atom exist outside our cognition? The atom bomb—do we deny its objective existence merely because description of the sub-atomic particles may be possible only in terms of formulae? I don't doubt that, as science probes still more deeply into nature's processes, we shall have new "crises" among some of our physicists and physico-idealists, and that matter will "disappear" once again, i.e., matter will "dematerialise" to energy, energy to mathematical formulae.

A few points from the Henry Sidgwick lecture, with brief comments. Quote: "Here is a peculiarity: physics never mentions percepts except when it speaks of empirical verification of its laws; but if its laws are not concerned with percepts, how can percepts verify them?" I reply: First, there is an obvious petitio principii (begging of the question) here, but we may pass that. Verification is possible only with the aid of man's perceptive faculties. The whole process of cognition—the first approach of knowledge, every step in verification, the further expansion of knowledge—is based on the "raw material" of thought, percepts, whether perception be by the unaided eye, ear, etc., or with mechanical aids to perception, such as the microscope, stethoscope, prism or cyclotron.

Quote: "We cannot adhere completely to common usage as regards the 'mental' and the 'physical' if we adopt William James' view that there is no difference between a perceiving and an object perceived (meaning by 'object' that which is given in perception as opposed to what is inferred). I share this view, and therefore cannot wholly adhere to usage." Comment: I use this quotation mainly to contrast it with the next. This statement of Russell's is of course pure subjective idealism, a restatement, minus the literary charm, of Bishop Berkeley's presentation.

Quote: "The table that I see is outside my body as I see it in perceptual space, and the physical table is outside my physical body in physical space." Reply: This is a materialistic formulation. However, he continues: "But sometimes the correspondence fails. I dream, say, of a railway accident: I see

the train falling down an embankment, and I hear the shrieks of the injured." Reply: Does Russell consider the experience of seeing trains in a dream epistemologically identical with seeing them in physical space? If he doesn't, his argument is quite pointless. But, frankly, I think he tends to regard them as identical, despite his remarks later on. There is, first, the connecting sentence ("but sometimes the correspondence fails"), and secondly, among anti-materialists differentiation between the experiences in the dream and the waking states is a most perplexing problem.

Quote: "Why, for example, when a number of people see the sun, should we believe that there is a sun outside their percepts, and not merely that there are laws determining the circumstances in which we shall have the experience called 'seeing the sun'?" Comment: One of the characteristics of idealism is the confusion between experiencing the objective world and having experiences. Russell depreciates practice, at times to the point of ignoring it altogether, and that is his great difficulty. One might suggest that he study the story of the Bikini test, or, more simply, watch the mechanic repairing his wireless set. Russell, who likes to poke fun at the theologian, falls himself into fideism and mysticism, because if subjective experience, if the "elements of consciousness," are the only reality, then mystical, occult or religious experiences are as valid as those of science. But if practice, if science, leads to objective truth, as it does, then there can be no room for fideism.

There is also an irresistible impression of mechanism in this lecture. To Russell, a percept is a percept, rigid, immutable, given with fatal finality. This is true, by the way, of his thinking in other spheres. One critic notes this staticism in Russell's recent **History of Western Philosophy,** in his handling of the problem of state power. A ruler is a ruler, whether it be Hammurabi or Hitler, Augustus or Elizabeth. I noted the same failing in **Education and the Social Order,** where he deals with courage, sensitivity and other human characteristics or attributes. The failing is due to operating with the logic of fixed concepts. Russell lacks dialectics. Fixity of conception is the very last method with which to examine the processes of the world.

This is very important. The Marxist theory of perception speaks not of signs or symbols, but of copies, images, mirror-reflections of things. But Marxism emphasises that human consciousness is not a lifeless reflecting surface; it is a consciousness that develops with experience, with the whole past experience of society. Reflection is an active moment of historical, evolutionary social practice. "The five senses," said Marx, "are the product of universal history."

It should be stressed, too, that practice is a continuously-expanding interactionism between man and nature; the changes which man has wrought on his environment react on man himself.

Further, in reply to Leibnitz, the materialist Feuerbach asked: "Is it possible I see only leaves and not the tree also? Is it possible that there is no sensation of identity, of uniqueness, of difference?" But in Russell there is little conception of movement of thought from lower to higher levels. Along with his mechanism, and indeed merely another facet of it, Cartesian rationalism, which holds sensations to be untrustworthy, is implicit in the lecture.

This is how Lenin describes the movement, the development through different moments or gradations, by which knowledge attains greater and greater depth: "At first—impressions, as in a flash, then—something is distinguished, then—ideas of quality are developed (leading to a definition of a thing or a phenomemon), and subsequently, ideas of quantity. Then study and reflection direct the thought to questions of identity and difference — basis—essence. All these moments or steps of knowledge are directed from the subject to the object, verify themselves by practice and proceed through this verification to truth."

I conclude this second part on the social-historical aspects.

In the large of history, philosophical idealism made its great contributions to the advancement of human thought and culture. But it is anachronistic today. The flood of "new" philosophies is not unconnected with the chaos of the modern world —its 65 wars since 1918, its economic crises, the cultural decline, the new terrors in the atomic bomb, and, as so gleefully announced, inventions for spraying pneumonic plague in bacteriological warfare, or, erasing cities and depopulating countries at a single blow. The hundred-and-one philosophical fads aid warmongering because they subvert human reason.

Take one of them, the Fictionist school, whose tenet of knowledge is that pure fictions, lacking objective truth, are yet useful instruments of action. One wonders how the Fictionists assess what is truthful, what fictive.

In his **History of the Later Roman Empire,** Prof. Bury speaks of so-called philosophers infesting society in the period of Byzantium's decline; "skilled monkeys in oratory," he called them. They are the concomitants of every dying civilisation. We too have philosophers in our epoch who will find their niche in future history books for their negativism, bizarriere, mysticism. If it be objected that Fictionism is not so very important, I remind you that we have had five editions in English of Vaihinger's **The Philosophy of "As If."** All these schools provide the philosophical correlates for those tremendous fictions plaguing mankind, the fiction which helped bring fascism to power, and today the fiction of the British government, labelled "labor," but which in its first 12 months of office managed to shoot Indians, Indonesians, Egyptians, Greeks, Jews, Syrians, Chinese, Annamites, Burmese, Malayans, Persians — all in the name of "democracy" and

"preparing the colonial peoples for self-government."

The rifles used were objects of the understanding of these colonial patriots, but existed independent of their understanding.

[My main references are: Mark and Engels' **Holy Family, Engels' Feuerbach and the Outcome of German Classical Philosophy,** Lenin's **Materialism and Empirio-Criticism,** Hessen's **Economic and Social Roots of Newtown's Principia,** Farrington's **Science and Politics in the Ancient World,** and Stalin's **Dialectical and Historical Materialism.**]

NO MIDDLE PATH FOR THE YOUTH

R. WHITE

THE honourable R. G. Menzies is today famous for his inaccurate statements—but the statement made by him at the official debut of the young Liberals in Victoria is worthy of serious consideration. In opening his address he said:—

> "In my opinion this is the most important gathering I have attended during my political career. . ."

This approach to the question of youth marks a new highlight for reaction in this country. Already sixteen branches of the young Liberals have been formed in Victoria; there are branches in New South Wales and South Australia and at the recent Liberal Federal conference a decision was made to form a national organisation.

The Liberal Party leadership is giving a large amount of attention to its organisation, the concentration points being the middle class and rural youth.

One of the important reasons for its coming to life is the Federal elections. An article in the May issue of their paper "Now" stated:

> "First steps in the forward march of Liberal youth was the training of committeemen as shock-troops to fight the opponents of freedom before and after the Federal elections."

Mr. Edmunds, Liberal M.P., has suggested that the opponents of freedom are the Communist element prevalent in the Australian community. This of course links up with the Liberal party policy of outlawing strikes and Unions, and speed up of the workers, couched in the fancy words of "Australia needs a high production."

Up to date no attempt has been made to win the working class youth, and the Liberals' present policy is certainly not cutting any ice amongst them for, as their Editorial says:—

> "Liberalism as a philosophy is based on high ideals of a free life rather than cold spiritless materialism."

Or as Mr. Anderson, Vic. Liberal party President, told them in an address:—

> "One condemning feature of socialism and Communism is the concentrated attention that they pay to material well being to the exclusion of spiritual values."

From the working class youth point of view, eating assumes a great importance and as their struggles for higher wages and better conditions show, is an important question occupying their minds.

The membership of the young Liberals in Victoria of some hundreds shows that they are making some inroads amongst the middle class youth whom they are grooming to be shock-troops in the coming elections. An article in their paper on tips for polling days, supposed to be funny, says—

> "If your opponent on the other side of the pavement seems to be making a hit with his vote for Boob and security line, it is advisable to gag him with a mouthful of rotten apple or any other garbage that may be lying around. This can best be done by getting a friend to tell him a joke while you ram in the gag from behind when he opens his mouth to laugh.
>
> "The opposition having been disposed of you can carry on happily in the knowledge that you've at least done your part towards a successful election. . ."

This undoubtedly is supposed to be terribly funny, but who is to deny that as the Liberals' election campaign gets filthier and filthier as it already shows signs of doing, the joke may become a reality and the young Liberals become young bashers.

While their country organiser reports that the youth in the provincial centres seem to be leaning towards labor, he goes on to say—"outside the centres, either on farms or in small hamlets, the majority of young Australians I talked to seemed to have some complaint about the present Government's handling of things."

It is no accident that they are basing themselves on the middle class and rural youth, for they understand full well that they can only get support for their policy amongst the more conservative sections of the youth. This does not mean that they tell them their real policy.

To these youth they say that there can be only one solution, a political party which seeks to pander neither to the right nor the left, but which marches down the glorious middle path — this they say is the Liberal party. The policy of this party is allied with sports, socials, clubs and all forms of recreation.

We should ask the Liberal youth to measure up the spiritual values of the Liberals, who as the U.A.P. sent scrap iron to Japan—appeased the fascists—banned youth parliaments and democratic

organisations and seized books like the gestapo in the middle of the night.

There is nothing very spiritual in their refusal to increase the inadequate basic wage or reduce hours. Who was it that assisted middle class youth by subsidising University Students, the Liberals or the Labor Government—did Mr. Menzies help the rural youth with organised marketing and stabilisation of the wheat industry? Of course not, again it was a Labor Government.

The real friend of the middle class and rural youth is the labor movement which fights in their interests for a better life.

"The Liberals and the Labor Youth movement."

When Mr. Butrell, Chairman of the N.S.W. Liberal Youth, announced the results of an essay competition he added—

"That the club had been organised for the express purpose of combatting the Eureka Youth League, for the Communists were their natural enemies."

As it is quite well known that the Eureka Youth League is not a Communist organisation, but is the youth organisation of the whole of the labor movement, the real sense of the statement is that the Liberal youth have been organised to combat the Labor movement and that their first bite will be at the Labor youth organisations.

Right throughout Australia the labor youth movement is helping to lead large numbers of youth in the struggle for a new deal and this is the reason for the attacks of the Liberals.

The intolerable conditions facing the working class youth have given rise to a real militancy which reached its highest peak in the stop work meeting of 1000 Victorian Building Trades Apprentices. All forms of intimidation were used to prevent them attending the meeting, but of no avail. The most concrete result of this campaign is the Act passed by the Victorian Parliament introducing full day-time technical training for apprentices. This victory is the result of years of work by the Eureka Youth League, Melbourne Apprentices' Committee and the Trade Union movement. This was one of the twenty points of the Victorian Trades Hall Council programme for youth that was formulated after decisive action and demands of the apprentices.

With day time tech. now law, the struggle will be to put it into effect. The policy of the Trade Unions on this question is quite clear. The Building Trades Charter for apprentices states:—

"That until such time as day time training is established, all time spent in technical training outside the ordinary hours of working shall be counted as time worked and shall be allowed as time off on the following working day."

The Unions most active in Victoria around the problems of youth are those of the Building Trades Federation. They have formulated a special charter which aims at uniform pay and conditions for all their apprentices. They are fighting for the following uniform scale—

	£	s	d
First year	1	12	8
Second year	2	16	0
Third year	3	19	4
Fourth year	5	2	8
Sixth year	6	6	0

So far they have been successful in winning the following—

An increase in painters' apprentices first year rate of 12/- per week. All other years received an average increase of 5/- per week.

The Secretary of the Building Trades Federation, Mr. Don Thompson, publicly thanked the Eureka Youth League for valuable assistance and advice.

Apprentices and Shop Committees in the metal trades lost no time after the lead given by the Building Trades Federation. Meetings were called on the job, resulting in the Metal Trades Council announcing a meeting of all metal apprentices where a metal trades charter for youth will be presented.

Now that the Trade Unions have won demands for their apprentices and are in the process of winning more, they should utilise these gains by making a big effort to recruit all of these youth workers to the Unions. Special rates should be allowed, with the calling of special quarterly meetings where their special problems can be raised and discussed.

Another interesting development in Victoria has been the organisation of a Labor Youth Parliament, consisting of representatives from Unions, Eureka Youth League Clubs and thirty four factories.

The first session of Parliament formulated a New Deal for Youth Bill. Since then two youth enquiries were organised and three more are under way. The Youth Parliament organised a protest meeting when fifth year apprentices received the £2 wage cut and are busily preparing for their second session.

Attention must now be turned to the needs of youth in the light industries. Low wages and dead end jobs are the lot of these young workers and with the help of the whole labor movement programmes for these industries must be worked out.

Young workers are showing that by organisation in the labor youth and trade union movement they are winning a new deal.

The Labor Government must answer the Liberal Party's move to form a nation-wide organisation with the launching of a concerted drive to build and strengthen the Labor movement.

The Labor movement must set out to show the youth joining up with the Liberals that in their desire to tread the so-called "middle path" they have been snared to the right.

NEW DEAL FOR THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD

DAPHNE GOLLAN, B.A.

AMONG teachers and parents in New South Wales at the present time there is widespread dissatisfaction at the deplorable conditions under which the children in State schools are educated. A vigorous movement sponsored by the Teachers' Federation and the Parents' and Citizens' Federation for a New Deal in education has arisen with a demand for the immediate granting of £25,000,000 by the Commonwealth Government to the State to build new community centre schools, bring old ones up to date, and provide them with modern equipment, canteens, sanitary conveniences and spacious playgrounds. The New Deal campaign has revealed that our State schools are a collection of ramshackle and antiquated institutions with amenities far inferior to those of the average modern factory, and that the whole process of education is incredibly hindered by the lack of modern equipment and tools of the teaching profession.

In one field in particular, that of nursery school education, development is not so much retarded as practically non-existent. Our backwardness in respect of nursery school education is clearly seen when we consider the remarkable advances which have been made in Britain during recent years with the setting up of wartime nurseries and the passing of the Education Act of 1944.

Before the war in Britain nursery classes taking children from the age of three years were attached to some elementary public schools, and there were a number of day nurseries for babies of working mothers, usually operated by private philanthropic organisations. Day nurseries were still regarded as institutions to alleviate the worst effects of the industrial system upon the children of the workers, and the idea of providing nursery school or Kindergarten education for all children under the age of five was still just an aim of the educationalists.

This was all changed during the war. The mass evacuation of the blitz disrupted patterns of social life and the urgent demands of war industries brought thousands of mothers out of the home. The desperate need for planned construction of nurseries on a large scale to give adequate care to the children of working mothers became obvious and so the wartime nurseries were set up under government authority.

By 1945, 1,555 of these nurseries caring for children from a few weeks old to the age of five were functioning throughout Britain.

The Education Act has been described as "imaginative and great in design, strong in inspiration and vision . . . recognising the essential principle that education is a continuous process . . . one of the greatest measures of social reform ever passed in Britain and providing for every child opportunities as never before." The main underlying reason for the passing of this progressive legislation by a Conservative Government was probably the recognition in Britain that the traditional education system had produced a people, millions of them barely literate, of low technical efficiency, lacking in the necessary training and skills to engage effectively in modern mass production or mechanised warfare. This, of course, became particularly clear during the war, when the British came into contact with the high mass efficiency of the Americans.

But whatever its motives the Act embodies a whole new philosophy of education which places it far in advance of the Australian system. It now provides for the education of children from the age of two. "A local education Authority shall . . . have regard . . . to the need for securing that provision is made for pupils who have not attained the age of five years by the provision of nursery schools or, where the authority considers the provision of such schools to be inexpedient, by the provision of nursery classes in other schools." Nursery schools are defined as "primary schools which are used mainly for the purpose of providing education for children who have attained the age of two years but have not attained the age of five years."

Since the compulsory school age in England is 5 years, attendance at nursery schools is purely voluntary, but under the Act it is the duty of the authorities to provide these schools wherever the parents want to use them. The White Paper on Educational Reconstruction of 1943 states the Governments' attitude on nursery education very clearly.

"It is now considered that the self-contained nursery school, which forms a transition from home to school, is the most suitable type of provision for children under five. Such schools are needed in all districts, as even when children come from good homes they can derive much benefit, both educational and physical, from attendance, at a nursery school. Moreover, they are of great value to mothers who go out to work, and also to those who need relief from the burden of household duties combined with the care of a large family. It is, however, in the poorer parts of the large cities that nursery schools are especially necessary. The authors of 'Our Towns,' in describing the conditions which were brought to light by the evacuation of 1939, said that nothing had impressed them so often or so deeply as the need to multiply these schools in the poor quarters of the towns, from which they should spread and be provided for the children of all parents who desire to use them. There is no doubt of the importance of training children in good habits at the most impressionable age and of the direct value of the nursery school in influencing the parents of children. There is equally no doubt of the incalculable value of the

schools in securing medical and nursing care, and the remedial treatments of defects which may be difficult to eradicate if they are left untreated until the child enters school in the ordinary way at the age of five."

Unfortunately the Government's aims were somewhat nobler in concept than in fulfilment. Because as soon as war production tapered off in 1945 and women began to leave industry, the Government closed many of the wartime nurseries. Immediately there was a loud outcry from the people and strong representations were made to the Ministry of Health to maintain the wartime nurseries as temporary nursery schools at least until such time as the nursery schools envisaged in the Education Act could be built.

The amazing position the wartime nurseries occupy in the lives especially of working class mothers may be seen in the report of a deputation to the Ministries of Health and Education in November, 1945, organised by the London Women's Parliament. This deputation, which included representatives of local authorities and nursery campaign committees, matrons, nursery teachers and mothers, strongly urged the retention of the nurseries and making the provision of nursery schools compulsory on local authorities. Two of the delegates, one a doctor, reported that in Lancashire and Cheshire a questionnaire circulated by their committee had produced 4,660 replies; 99.7 per cent. of the mothers questioned considered the nursery necessary in peacetime; 76 per cent. had to support their children, either totally or partially; 97 per cent. thought their children had improved in health, habits and happiness since being in the nursery; and the same percentage wanted residental nurseries for their children when they were ill or having another baby.

While the extraordinary unanimity of feeling in regard to the nurseries may be due to the fact that in conditions of acute housing crisis, shortage of food and clothing, and disruption of family life, the nurseries with their balanced dietary, routine and spacious playing areas are even more necessary than in normal times, nevertheless the figures still indicate a remarkable recognition of the value of the work of wartime nurseries.

In its reply to the deputation the Government agreed that nurseries had come to stay and the Minister for Health stated that from April, 1946, a grant of 50 per cent. would be made to local Welfare Authorities on all expenditure on facilities to provide nursery services. The Ministry for Education was not so satisfactory in its assurances and was not prepared to state definitely when the plans for building new nursery schools would be put into effect. But in spite of the hesitations and inadequacies which can certainly be expected from the Government, it is now generally recognised in Britain that day nurseries provide the most efficient means of caring for children under the age of 2 of working mothers, that the nursery school is an integral part in the process of education for every child, and that the provision of both is the responsibility of the community.

When we turn to the position in Australia the outlook is disheartening. In Australia the movement began as philanthropic work, and to this day has hardly progressed beyond that stage. In New South Wales the two main bodies which provide nursery services are the Kindergarten Union and the Day Nursery and Nursery Schools Association, both of which are voluntary organisations deriving their funds in part from charitable effort, and largely from an annual grant of £10,000 each from the Government.

The Kindergarten Union provides for about 1,500 children between the ages of 2 and 6 in 21 kindergartens (taking children between 4 and 6) and 16 nursery schools (taking children between 2 and 6). The Day Nursery and Nursery Schools Association takes about 650 children (of working mothers only) in 11 nursery schools (2-6) and 6 day nurseries (0-2). The total number of children provided for by these two organisations is something over two thousand. When one realises that in New South Wales there were, in 1943, 284,000 children under 6, and add the fact that there were more on the waiting lists of many of these institutions than there were enrolled, one can get some idea of the scarcity of nurseries and the need for the extension of facilities.

The New South Wales Department of Education has made hesitant steps to enter the field of nursery education by establishing special kindergarten classes in infant schools for children from the age of 4¾ or 5. By 1943 it had also set up two special nursery demonstration schools at Blackfriars and Canberra, and in 1945 five more were added.

A report issued in 1944 on the pre-school child by the Child Welfare Advisory Council of New South Wales urgently recommended the extension of nursery facilities, the co-ordination of the activities of existing organisations, the setting of a minimum standard of nursery school teacher training and the compulsory registration of nursery school teachers.

The fact that these elementary steps are still necessary in New South Wales (and the position is as bad, if not worse, in other states) is an eloquent commentary on the extent of Government neglect of nursery education. It is true that in New South Wales and Victoria there was some expansion of nursery services as a result of the war. In New South Wales the annual grant of the Government to the Kindergarten Union and Day Nursery Association was raised from £1,500 to £10,000 each in 1943. And in Victoria the Women of the University Patriotic Fund established small nurseries at Kew, South Yarra, Camberwell, Elsternwick and Hawthorn for children of working mothers. In 1943 these were subsidised by the Federal Government. A difficult situation has now arisen with the

end of the war because the University Patriotic Fund can no longer support the nurseries. All those connected with the nurseries are anxious to continue the service and the Victorian Day Nursery Development Association has been formed to campaign for their retention.

It is obvious that an immediate extension of pre-school education services in Australia is necessary. The notion which persists that nurseries are institutions to which unfortunate or undutiful mothers send their children to be minded while they go to work, must be overcome. The reason for this attitude of course is that in Australia pre-school education is in fact still confined to children from underprivileged areas, and is regarded by many as a gratifying field of charitable endeavour where altruistic daughters of the wealthy labor to relieve the distress of the children of the poor. As long as this attitude remains and as long as the burden of maintaining pre-school services falls in the main on the shoulders of voluntary philanthropic organisations, it is hopeless to expect an increase in the number of nursery schools to cope with the thousands of children needing them. The provision of nursery school education is the responsibility of the community, not of charity.

Day nursery services also for working mothers should continue and be extended by the Government to wipe out the abuses which exist in regard to many of the private child-minding centres, but the provision of twelve hour care daily for the children of working mothers is not the primary aim of pre-school education.

The nursery school plays a vital part in the health and educational programme of every child from the age of two. Certainly it does not take the place of the home in the life of the child, but the child benefits most by a combination of a good nursery school and a happy home. All children have to learn to become social beings, to live in society, and it is in the surroundings of the nursery school that this can best be learnt.

> "By the time the child is five . . . he has developed, to a remarkable degree, social habits which will stand him in good stead during later life. Nursery school children are seldom shy, timid, or retiring towards other children. On the other hand, they are seldom cruel, bullying, or unkind. The co-operation with adults which the child learns in the nursery school rests on the basis of the relationship between authority and conformity. He learns that the adult in authority never misuses it. He learns that he cannot use the difference in size between himself and others unfairly to gain an advantage. He must earn his status in the community and not expect it to be granted without effort." (Blatz, W.E.—**Understanding the Young Child**).

Only the most persistent pressure by all sections of the people will induce the Government to extend its responsibility, through the Education Department, to the education of the child from the age of two.

Since the State Government already spends on education more than half of the total of £15,000,000 a year allotted to it by the Comonwealth for all purposes, the only way to bring about the radical changes needed in the system is for the Commonwealth itself to enter the field with direct financial aid.

Neither the State nor the Commonwealth Governments will move in this direction unless they are pushed. The pushing must come from the people, in the form of organisation and agitation to demand the immediate implementing of the Parent-Teacher programme.

SUMMARY OF THE "NEW MASSES" CONTROVERSY ON "WHAT SHALL WE ASK OF WRITERS?"

MAX BROWN

IN February and March this year the American leftist weekly, **New Masses**, published several articles and many letters concerned with certain issues raised by novelist Albert Maltz in an article, "What Shall We Ask of Writers?" Left writer Howard Fast declares: "whether or not we like it, the position of Marxist writing in America must be stated in terms of the Maltz position." The controversy, extending over many pages and many writers in several issues, is relevant to Australian conditions and is summarised here.

Maltz commences his argument by defining its limits. He says, "the left wing has also offered a number of vital intellectual assets to the writer . . . Schneider enumerated these assets and I take them here for granted."

Within such limits Maltz states a case which I abbreviate by the following selections:—

1. "To the degree that works of art reflect or attack these values (i.e., class values), it is broadly —not always specifically—true to say that works of art have been and can be weapons in men's thinking and therefore in the struggle of social classes."

2. ". . . . as interpreted in practice for the last fifteen years of the left wing in America, it (i.e., the concept 'art is a weapon') has become a hard rock of narrow thinking . . . . the nature of art—how art may best be a weapon . . . . has been slurred over. I have come to believe that the accepted under-

standing of art as a weapon is not a useful guide but a straitjacket . . . . Finally in practice it has been understood to mean that unless art is a weapon like a leaflet, serving immediate political ends, necessities and programmes, it is worthless or escapist or vicious."

3. ". . . . under the domination of this vulgarised approach, creative works are judged primarily by the formal ideology."

4. ". . . . from this type of thinking comes the approach which demands of each written work that it contain 'the whole truth' . . . . This . . . . demand rests upon the psychological assumption that readers come to each book with an empty head."

5. "A creative writer . . . works intellectually in an atmosphere in which the critics, the audience, the friends he respects—while revering art—actually judge works on the basis of their immediate political end. If the end is good, it would be absurd to say that this may not be socially useful . . . . but he is led by his goal into idealistic conceptions of character, into wearing rose-colored glasses which will permit him to see in life that which he wishes to find in order to prove his thesis."

6. "I am convinced that the work-in-progress of an artist who is deeply, truly, honestly recreating a sector of human experience, need not be affected by a change in the political weather."

7. "In his appreciation of Balzac Engels understood two facts about art: First, the writer qua citizen making an election speech, and the writer qua artist, writing a novel, is performing two very different acts. Second, Engels understood that a writer may be confused or even stupid or reactionary in his thinking—and yet it is possible for him to do good, even great work as an artist—work that serves even ends he despises. This point is critical for the understanding of art and artists!"

8. "Writers must be judged by their work, and not by the committees they join."

9. "The political convictions of a writer or his lack of political convictions may have something to do with his growth or creative decline. Writing is a complex process . . . . There are many, many reasons why writers grow and sometimes retrogress."

10. "The great humanistic tradition of culture has always been on the side of progress. The writer who works within this tradition—is writing a political work in the broadest meaning of the term."

Such is Maltz' main thesis. In the same issue Isidore Schneider, New Masses Literary Editor, takes no exception to any of the above statements, but does stress the positive achievement of left criticism in establishing the analysis of the social relationships of a work of art as a standard critical procedure, against the bitter opposition of the American ruling class.

In reply to Maltz, novelist Howard Fast names Maltz as "The formal apostle of literary liquidation, not only of Marxist, but of all creative writing." He expresses no objection to Maltz' points 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. "Of course," he writes, "we are not free from critical mistakes, vulgarity, incompetence; this we know and the reasons for the situation are manifold. Some of these critical failings we have corrected; others we will correct. And if Maltz had merely intended to add his voice to the many that are already raised against our critical failings no one could have had any real difference with him."

Further, Fast agrees that "an artist can be great without being an integrated or logical or progressive thinker on all matters." But when Maltz names this point as "critical for an understanding of art and artists," Fast replies, "If it is critical . . . . then we are at least led towards presuming that confusion, stupidity, and a reactionary position are all qualities of art, and conversely clarity and understanding are detrimental to art."

From there he analyses Maltz' reactions to Steinbeck, Farrell, Koestler and others, and leads his argument to the point where he attacks Maltz' statement that "writers must be judged by their work, and not by the committees they join." From this he sums up Maltz' position as follows:—

"Art and politics don't mix. Therefore salvation—and of course achievement for the artist—lie only in separation from the Communist movement, the most highly political of all movements today." He sums up saying "underlying all Maltz' arguments is a rejection of the whole progressive movement of America, yet Maltz' own books are a direct refutation of the theory he now propounds."

New Masses Editor Joseph North comes to similar conclusions to Fast. "In his avowed intention to broaden that concept (i.e., 'art is a weapon') Maltz would abandon the weapon altogether." He attacks Maltz for his "mechanical division of politics and art," and points out that Maltz himself, writing of poet Ezra Pound, stated, "When a poet becomes the enemy of Man . . . . betrays his heritage and talents to fascist thieves . . . . then what is he? He is unspeakable—he is carrion."

North then says, "I do not ignore the real weaknesses of the literary left. But I do not think we are today making the blunders Maltz speaks of. He fails . . . . to credit the left with its achievements, its present attitudes . . . . no one has told him how much 'class struggle' he should put in, nor told him he must have a 'conversion ending' — nor have Marxist critics in recent times raised any such issues . . . . the Left does not now—nor does it intend to 'narrow' any writer's work . . . . . basically such errors flow from an insufficient mastery of Marxism."

"Yes," writes North, "we of the literary left fully agree with Lenin when he says, "There can be no doubt that literature is the last thing to lend itself to mechanical equalisation, to levelling, to domination of the majority over the minority. There can be no doubt that in this field it is absolutely necessary that the widest latitude be assured personal initiative and individual inclinations, to thought and imagination, to form and content. All this is beyond dispute, but all this proves only that the literary aspect of the work of a proletarian party cannot be identified in a stereotyped manner with the other aspects of its work."

Finally North stresses "the need for the mastery by all left writers of the Marxist science without which there will be further confusion and halting advance, if not retreat."

Contributing Editor, Alvah Bessie, novelist and veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, agrees with Fast and North in so far as they scarcely attack Maltz' first six points, although he contends that Maltz is flogging a dying horse. . . . . The approach Maltz castigates was never erected into a principle," he declares.

Bessie then claims that Maltz' division of the writer into artist and citizen is product of a bourgeois concept which regards artists as sacred idiots who should be protected from popular anger even when they are fascist traitors such as Pound, whom Maltz had condemned.

Now here Bessie comes to a point which neither Maltz, Fast, North, himself, or any other of the contributors have attempted to solve.

Referring to Engels' attitude to Balzac, Bessie states that the latter was a monarchist-aristocrat at a time when the rising French bourgeoisie was the progressive class. That made him reactionary for his time, declares Bessie, but the fact that his work castigates his own beloved aristocracy more bitterly than the bourgeoisie makes him progressive for Engels and us. He then asks if Maltz can cite a monarchist or fascist writer of today who can be progressive in the sense that Balzac was progressive, i.e., in spite of his political philosophy. He indicates an answer to his own question by stating that there is a correlation between the quality of a writer's work and his grasp of human history and Marxism, which is merely repeating Maltz' ninth point as above.

Finally, Bessie states that "if we accept Maltz' contention that all we need ask of writers is that they work 'deeply, truly, honestly recreating a sector of human experience'" within "the great humanistic tradition of culture," then surely the need for a Communist Party as far as writers are concerned ceases to exist—it would only cramp their style.

Writes Bessie, "We need writers who will joyfully impose upon themselves the discipline of understanding and acting upon working-class theory. They are the writers who will possess the potentialities of creating a truly free literature."

Correspondence following in the wake of the controversy supports largely the Fast-North-Bessie criticism. Typical statements are:—

"I don't believe for one moment that Maltz shows dangerous trends."

. . . . . "Writers like Albert Maltz vainly dream of escaping the hard necessities of a worker's life, because they hunger for a solution that will neither hurt the class whose struggles they want to abandon, nor benefit the enemy they despise—because they look on the Party as an alien thing—as still another force pulling on their unhappy souls—because they want to close their eyes and forget . . ."

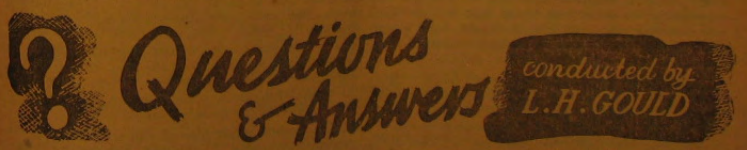
. . . . . "Let us show him how and why, not with rancor but with love as Lenin showed Gorky. Maltz, like Fast, is among the best we have."

One writer compares T. S. Eliot with Balzac—both royalists in politics, both brilliant illuminators of the "wastelands" of the ruling classes of their times. On the other hand, Mike Hecht writes: "The honest writer today cannot faithfully present even a slice of reality unless he has affiliated himself with the working class and its struggles for emancipation."

In all, it is apparent that while Maltz has to answer for obviously liquidationist statements, the editors of New Masses have themselves to answer for throwing so little light on the meaning of the dictum "art is a weapon"—at which point, theoretically at least, Maltz' deviation commences—and for failing to answer the question "can an artist be reactionary in his political philosophy yet great in his art?" They have almost completely confined themselves to a critique of Maltz' points 8 and 10.

In justice to New Masses, however, let us admit that there are many in the working-class movement of this country who have no clear views on the points on which Maltz, North, Fast, Bessie and Lenin himself appear to find common agreement.

That in itself is sufficient cause why the Maltz controversy is of value to us.



"Would you please comment on the statement in the 'New Times' editorial of March 1 which deals with the character of the Second World War 'from the very outset'?"—N. Mc.

The relevant paragraph reads:—

"Stalin's speech presented a profound analysis of the causes and nature of the Second World War, in the light of progressive social science. The war arose as the inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces in the conditions of present-day monopolist capitalism. Owing to the predatory nature of fascism, the Second World War against the Axis Powers, from the very outset, assumed the character of an anti-fascist war of liberation, which became more marked with the Soviet

Union's entry into the war against the fascist countries."

What you really want to ask is whether our Party was correct in branding the war between September, 1939, and the entry of the Soviet Union into the war as an imperialist war.

Yes, we were quite correct, and if the editorial suggested otherwise it would be wrong. But neither the editorial, nor of course Stalin's speech, presents the least argument that we took an incorrect stand. Stalin's speech (election meeting, February 9, 1946) includes the following words which should settle the issue once and for all. He said: "The situation in our country in this respect (industrial development—L.H.G.) was so much better before the Second World War, in 1940, than it was before the First World War, in 1913." Note the phrasing. This means that the Second World War, with its essential anti-fascist character, emerged finally and on a world scale only in 1941, when the Soviet Union (and later America) entered the war.

But does this mean that there was no anti-fascist military struggle prior to that year? Of course there was! Spain was such. And we may use the Spanish war to uncover the confusion and the perturbations of some people who lack "progressive social science," in other words, a correct method of historical study.

The Marxist method of historical materialism teaches that there are no "pure" events or processes in social evolution. The emergence of a new class, the advent of a political crisis, or the actual revolutionary seizure of state power, never occurs in an absolutely "pure" form. Every process exhibits, first, its own essential quality or character, but then associated with it are always certain exceptional features, admixtures and fortuitous occurrences. The 1917 Revolution, for example, made an extraordinarily clean sweep of the past; it was the most decisive, the most fundamental of all revolutions. But here, too, certain "admixtures" remained for some time, e.g., the survival of capitalist elements. As a matter of fact, the 1917 Revolution contained, in addition to the essential social transformation, features of a national liberation movement; for it is most likely that, but for the new Soviet power, old Russia would have been dismembered by the imperialists and converted into a series of colonial dependencies.

The Spanish war was truly anti-fascist. But it was also a war for national independence; a Republican triumph would have marked the completion of the long-deferred bourgeois democratic revolution: the war was also one of the first stages of the second imperialist world war. And the student will discover other ingredients.

Further, and with direct bearing on the subject under discussion, we should note Lenin's forecast after 1917 that the next period in history would be marked by tremendous upheavals, by struggle for national liberation, imperialist wars, civil wars, colonial revolts, etc., all following and interweaving with one another. Communists must be able to recognise the essential (as distinct from what is subordinate, incidental, etc.) in the complex of historical development, and to know in what direction nations and classes are moving.

The character of the war between September, 1939, and June, 1941, can be understood therefore only by examining the entire historical setting.

Two main trends in international politics battled for supremacy in the decade, and more, before Chamberlain's declaration of war. One was the efforts of the imperialists to destroy the Labor, democratic and Socialist movements all over the world — an aim which they pursued unremittingly even in the midst of their own inter-imperialist quarrels and the actual military struggles between the imperialist "haves" and "have-nots" for a new redivision of the world. The **History of the C.P.S.U.** states: "All these facts show that a second imperialist war has actually begun. It began stealthily, without any declaration of war. . . It was the three aggressor States, the fascist ruling circles of Germany, Italy and Japan, that began the war in various parts of the world."

The invasion of Manchuria in 1931, Japan's first move to subjugate China, signalised the commencement of the Second World War. After Manchuria came Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, etc. Munich was both an epitome of the years of appeasement of fascism and the open encouragement of fascist aggression, and a warning that no matter what happened the tories would always, by whatever means at their disposal, pursue a pro-fascist policy. They would be pro-fascist while the Axis remained in existence; they would be pro-fascist even when circumstances, which they couldn't control, compelled them to wage an objectively progressive war against the Axis; they would be pro-fascist following the defeat of the Axis.

The second tendency was evidenced, first and foremost, by the triumphant establishment of Socialism and the emergence of the Soviet Union as the world's bastion of peace and democracy; then, the United Front and People's Front movements, the anti-fascist and national liberationist struggles in Spain, China, etc., and in the widespread conscious desire among the people of the world for the creation of a fighting united peace front between the peace-loving Soviet Union and the capitalist-democratic states which, for whatever reason, favored the preservation of peace.

The second trend proved the stronger, and its consummation was the United Nations and the armed alliance which destroyed the military power of the fascist Axis. And this is true even though it came to pass only in the face of prodigious opposition, of delays, sabotage, plots and treasons.

What N. Mc. and others fail to understand is that the very success of the anti-fascist war demanded consistent struggle against each and every one of these plots and treasons.

Indeed, N. Mc. and the others argue, in effect, that what the Chamberlain-Churchill reactionaries said and did in the period under review should be regarded as "anti-fascist" in every instance because this was the period of the developing world-wide struggle against fascism! But if Churchill, for example, landed British troops in Greece in 1944 to crush the Greek democratic forces—was that "anti-fascist"? Did it expedite victory for world democracy over the Axis? Churchill deliberately delayed the Second Front, thereby endangering the whole Allied cause. Are we wrong in denouncing that two-year delay as imperialist provocation which directly aided the enemy? In short, they fail to distinguish between what is essential and what is exceptional and, as in these instances, contrary.

And so to the set question. Was the war, that "phoney" war, begun by Chamberlain's declaration on September 3, 1939, and which continued up to the Soviet entry, was it "anti-fascist" or imperialist? Were Chamberlain's ceaseless attempts to "switch the war" directed towards defeating fascism or defeating the Labor-democratic forces? Was his arming of Mannerheim, in the midst of the "phoney" war, intended to win the war for democracy? The answer is clear. In denouncing the war at that period as imperialist, the Communists took the only real step towards defeating the pro-Fascist and outright treasonable policy of Britain's tory class. It was a struggle between patriotism and treason, and in line with the general historic development, the traitor class was defeated.

It was precisely to strengthen the anti-fascist struggle that we opposed the imperialist war. Our course was dictated by every consideration of honor, patriotism and by the practical needs of the movement to defeat the fascists and their allies within the government circles in the western countries.

This was the general theoretical line adopted by the Communists, and history — including the history of the past few months—has brought its full vindication.

There remains only the need to explain our tactics. In brief, we strove to replace the pro-fascist regimes in Britain, France and Australia with governments responsive to the democratic desires of the people, governments that would wage, if necessary, and in alliance with the Soviet Union, a real, not a make-believe, war against Hitler and his partners and satellites.

[References: **Short History of the C.P.S.U.,** Chap. 12; Dimitrov's "War and the Working Class;" Stalin's election speech indicated above.]

FREEZING AND THAWING

Prof. J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

DURING the last month freezing and thawing have become matters of immediate interest to all of us. They are examples of the abrupt changes of quality which are fairly common in physics.

There are gradual changes as well. As we cool down water from its boing point, it becomes gradually denser till it reaches a maximum density at four degrees Centigrade. Then its volume increases by about one part in 7,600 until it reaches freezing point, but as it freezes it expands by nine per cent. When further cooled it contracts again, but never gets as dense as water.

The expansion due to freezing bursts our pipes, though we do not notice this until the ice melts again, and water leaks out. Water is unusual in this respect. Most substances contract when they freeze, but the way in which water molecules are packed in ice crystals is rather uneconomical of space.

Metallurgy would be a good deal easier if all metals behaved like water. But iron contracts considerably when it solidifies, so castings seldom quite fit their moulds exactly. On the other hand, if ice were denser than water, it would sink to the bottom of rivers, lakes, and seas on forming, and would not easily melt in spring. So the world would be a good deal colder.

Physicists find it hard to explain why most substances melt at a very exactly defined temperature, and do not behave like candle-grease, for example, which softens gradually. Melting is one example of a change from order to disorder. In an ice crystal each molecule has its place, in water it wanders about. Another similar change is demagnetisation by heat. Each iron atom acts as a little magnet, and if they are arranged in an orderly way a whole block acts as a magnet. But this type of order disappears on heating before the iron melts.

Physicists have given pretty complete theories of matter in the gaseous and crystalline states. That is to say, from a knowledge of the forces between atoms they can calculate fairly accurately how a gas or a crystal will behave. But they have not yet got a satisfactory theory of liquids. We know, as a matter of fact, how they do behave, and can make the necessary calculations about the flow of water, oil, or mercury, through the pipes, or the motion of a ship in water. But we cannot yet show why a particular liquid has just the properties that it has.

This is because a crystal is an almost perfectly orderly arrangement of atoms, and a gas an almost perfectly disorderly one, but a liquid is something in between. Similarly steel balls can be packed in an orderly way, or scattered at random, but when they are rolling over one another they are neither quite orderly nor quite disorderly.

Economic theory is in a similar position. The "classical" economic theory describes what would happen if thousands of producers competed with one another in a disorderly way, and thus determined the price of commodities. This theory was nearly true a century ago. One can also describe the economics of a socialist community, in which production is orderly, being controlled so as to give the maximum use value from the labour expended, instead of the maximum profit.

But our present economics are halfway between order and disorder. The State controls prices, and enforces the production of Utility goods. But the producing firms try to make as large profits as they can. And economic theorists are hard put to it to give a satisfactory account of such a system.

Chemical disorder favours the liquid state at the expense of the solid and gaseous states. Mixtures are on the whole harder to freeze or boil than pure substances, that is to say, they stay liquid over a greater range of temperature.

For example, the freezing point of water containing three per cent. of common salt is about 1¾ degrees Centigrade below that of pure water, and the boiling point about half a degree higher. So if you throw salt on to snow which is just at freezing point it will melt it, and if you add salt to boiling water it will allow it to get hotter without boiling off, and thus cook potatoes more efficiently.

Another curious feature of the liquid state is that a liquid can be supercooled or superheated. One can sometimes cool down water several degrees below freezing point without its freezing. Such water may start freezing for no obvious reason. But it will certainly do so if the tiniest crystal of ice is dropped into it. The temperature at once rises to freezing point, as the formation of ice releases some energy.

Similarly, if water is boiled for a long time in a smooth vessel, so as to drive out all the air, and to provide no point where steam bubbles form easily, it is often possible to heat it above boiling point. When it boils, there is something of an explosion. On the other hand, it is quite impossible to heat ice above its melting point, except under very high pressure.

A supercooled or superheated liquid is in what chemists call a metastable state, analogous to a revolutionary situation in politics. A small amount of ice will organise the supercooled water round it into crystals, just as a few determined revolutionaries will organise a mass of discontented people to take definite action to end their wrongs.

A great many substances can exist either as solid, liquid, or vapour; as H_2O can exist as ice, water, or steam. Some cannot, for various reasons. Solid carbon dioxide is quite well known as "dry ice." If you warm it, it goes off into gas without melting. It can exist as a liquid, but only under a pressure of five atmospheres or more. I am one of the very few people who have ever seen liquid carbon dioxide except through thick glass, as I happen to have opened cylinders of the liquid while working in air at a pressure of ten atmospheres, and seen it flow out.

Other substances, such as sugar, cannot be melted without changing their chemical composition. Others again explode before they melt.

On the whole, the harder a solid the higher its melting point, because the same forces which hold the atoms together against ordinary strains prevent them from moving off into a liquid. So melting points vary from about minus 272 degrees Centigrade for helium to three or four thousand degrees for carbon. Only in a few cases do the solid and liquid have different names, such as ice and water, fat and oil. But if we realise that all liquids will freeze, and most solids will melt, it helps us to think dialectically about Nature.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

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Many readers are unaware that small quantities of former Anvil stocks of important titles are still available. Among these are the reports to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. given by the leading members of the C.C. Each one of these booklets contains contributions which cannot be obtained from other sources, yet are a vital addition to Marxist theory, e.g., Stalin's statements on the questions of the withering away of the state and on the intelligentsia, and Zhdanov's witty contributions on many questions connected with Party membership. The following titles in this series are still available and may be purchased at our bookshops or wholesale from Current Book Distributors:—

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THE NINE-DAY TRANSPORT STRIKE IN VICTORIA

J. D. BLAKE

THE Victorian transport strike in October brought to a head a campaign for higher wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions, which had been carried on amongst the Victorian workers for many months.

The Federal election in September delayed somewhat the climax of this great movement, but it was clear that nothing short of the granting of the workers' demands could prevent the onset of open battle. Polling day on September 28th was not long passed when the real mood of the workers was made known. On Monday, October 7th, the railway workers carried out a twenty-four hours stop work action in support of their demands. The tramwaymen of Melbourne joined the railwaymen in solidarity, and advanced their own wages and hours demands.

Tramwaymen then planned to organise another twenty-four hour stoppage for October 14th, and the railway unions announced their intention of supporting the tramworkers by a simultaneous stoppage. This stoppage did not take place because the Tramways Board offered to negotiate on the following Thursday.

On October 15th Prime Minister Chifley rejected the A.C.T.U. proposals on wages and hours. Two days later the Melbourne Tramways Board rejected the demands of the tramway workers. The workers were stirred to anger by Chifley's rejection of their demands, and the assistance his action gave to the employers.

The tram workers meeting on October 20th decided to cease work on the following day. The railway workers decided to join the action and conduct the struggle jointly, and in common cause. On Monday, October 21st, Victoria's railway and tramway transport system came to a complete stop.

In the period leading up to this great strike the drive for increased wages was reaching its culminating point in two main directions, first among the transport workers and second in the metal trade among the foundry workers. The strike action of the foundry workers commenced four days after the launching of the transport strike.

This splendid struggle of the Victorian workers was the climax of a series of great struggles conducted by the Australian workers in the immediate post-war period, which commenced with the great steel strike in N.S.W. at the end of 1945, and continued with the meat strike in Queensland earlier this year.

The big struggles in N.S.W., Queensland and Victoria must be seen as one continuous movement. Although both the N.S.W. steel strike and the Queensland meat strike began as defensive actions, the fact remains that the underlying motive of both sides in these struggles was the inevitable battle over wages, hours and working conditions.

In both of those first two big strike actions the capitalist class, aided and abetted by the treacherous right wing in the Labor Movement, aimed to shatter the powerful militant trade unions and to break the influence of the Communist Party.

The bosses wanted to weaken, and if possible to paralyse, the will and ability of the militant Labor Movement to fight for better wages and conditions. The Communist Party and the fighting Unions were out to repulse and smash these blows of the employers, and to preserve their fighting positions and organisations for the big offensive battles yet to be fought. In the fight for these objectives they were successful.

Put in another way, it is an undoubted fact that if the Australian workers had suffered defeat in the N.S.W. and Queensland struggles the great offensive struggle in Victoria could not have taken place so soon, nor could it have resulted in such a decisive and speedy victory for the workers.

The N.S.W. and Queensland workers having won the struggles which prepared the way for the general offensive on wages and hours, it was fitting and proper that the Victorian workers should shoulder the responsibility for the first great offensive battle; this they did with the highest honour.

In the nine days transport strike the Victorian workers gave a display of magnificent offensive fighting spirit which was an inspiration for all who have the cause of the working class at heart. On the other hand it spread panic amongst the capitalists and it had a paralysing effect on the right wing agents of the capitalists within the Labor Movement.

The right wing reformist elements among Labor Party and Trade Union leaders were still preening themselves complacently about the significance of the Federal election vote, in the misguided belief that the workers would placidly wait for the gradual evolution of Chifley's golden age, when the transport strike hit them like a thunderbolt. Labor Party leaders had badly miscalculated.

Before two days of the strike had elapsed it was revealed that not only the transport workers, but vast numbers of workers throughout the State, and in other States as well, accepted the slogans of action of the Communist Party, and showed moreover an enthusiastic willingness to fight for the very demands which were the features of Communist election policy.

The Victorian transport workers had no great tradition of strike struggle. It was for this reason that the fine militant fighting spirit and the splendid solidarity displayed by these workers in the strike came as a rude shock to the right wing elements

headed by Stout and Clarey, and to the leaders of the Federal and State Labor Governments.

On the eve of the strike the State Labor Premier refused to do anything about the workers' demands, and condemned the policy of strike action, but after two days he found it necessary to use the mildest of terms when speaking of the strike.

J. V. Stout and other right wing leaders of the Melbourne Trades Hall Council early planned to bring forward a resolution sharply condemning the strikers and striking unions, but the mass enthusiasm was so widespread and at such a high level that they felt constrained to give up this idea. They limited themselves to a decision on the Melbourne Trades Hall Council that the dispute be placed under the control of the T.H.C. Disputes Committee. Even this was only done half-way through the strike after four days in which these right wing elements had stared with silent apprehension at this startling display of the fighting enthusiasm of the workers.

Having carried their resolution to control the strike, the Disputes Committee gave the impression of juggling a hot potato without any firm idea about what to do with it.

One of the outstanding things about this strike was the way it spread panic among the ruling class, and the paralysing effect it had upon the right wing reformists in the Labor Movement.

Throughout the strike the daily press and reactionary elements within the Labor Movement found it extremely difficult to develop the kind of violent anti-Communist hate campaign which was such a feature of the steel strike in N.S.W. and the meat strike in Queensland.

In spite of the inconvenience caused by lack of transport there was plenty of evidence of widespread public sympathy with the strikers. The popularity of the wages and hours demands, combined with the splendid spirit of solidarity and the fact that the leading officers of the Tramways Union were reformists, all tended to hamper the propaganda of the employers and their agents.

In a flash, as it were, the strike revealed to the workers where everyone stood on the issues involved; with the result that genuine unity of workers of all shades of opinion in the strike brought into clear relief the true meaning of the policy of the Stouts, Clareys, Cains and Chifleys.

The consequences of this were shown when the State Premier's own Labor Party branch at Northcote carried by an overwhelming majority a resolution expressing support for the strike and condemning the actions of both the State Premier and the Prime Minister in relation to the transport strike. One Labor Party worker, supporting this resolution, said he never thought he would live to see the day when he would support a move condemning a Labor Party Premier and Prime Minister in one breath, but the facts compelled him to do precisely that.

A resolution of censure was adopted by the Bendigo Trades Hall Council against a State Minister—Galvin—who represents the Bendigo electorate in the State Parliament.

From all areas reports flowed in of well known Labor Party workers openly welcoming the co-operation of local Communist Party branches in strike activity. There were many cases where local Communists expressed surprise, very agreeable surprise, when well known local Labor Party identities, who were considered to be anti-Communist in outlook, publicly welcomed the assistance of local Communists in the collection of relief and other strike activity.

The unity of Labor Party, Communist Party, and non-party workers was one of the fine features of this big strike struggle; unity which was carried through to the top leadership of the strike on the combined unions strike committee, where Communist and reformist trade union leaders, an exception here being Broadby, worked in the closest co-operation and unity from the beginning to the end of the strike.

Attempts were made to use for splitting purposes the situation which developed in Ballarat as a result of the strike-breaking efforts of a small group working under the direction of clerical reaction. These efforts failed in the first place because Ballarat was a small island in an ocean of solidarity. Secondly, as the strike progressed the persistent fight of the militants and honest workers of Ballarat began to repulse and overcome the disruptive efforts of this small group of strike-breakers. These splitters miscalculated rather badly and as a consequence found themselves sitting out on a limb. All their stock arguments about arbitration, about strike action getting nowhere, etc., were shattered by the progress and the results of the strike. Their temporary ascendancy culminated in their isolation from the workers.

The key issues in the transport strike were, of course, the immediate aims of all Australian workers: namely, to break through the wage-pegging regulations, increase the basic wage and speed the introduction of the 40 hour week.

In addition each of the Unions concerned advanced a programme of demands, which had specific application to the particular industry. It is unnecessary to recount these in detail here, but one outstanding feature of these demands is worthy of special mention: For the first time in such a large-scale strike action, the interests of young workers and women were brought to the forefront and featured. The A.R.U. put forward a demand for a twenty per cent. increase in all juvenile rates, 100 per cent. male rates for all females in male positions, and a minimum 75 per cent. of the male basic rate for all females. The Railways Union issued a special leaflet to all railway juniors. The Wonthaggi miners, who joined the strike after three days, also demanded special proportionate wage increases for youths. Much of the credit for this Union consciousness must go to the Eureka Youth League and its long campaign on this matter.

The result of all this was that many young workers were active in every kind of strike activity.

In a secret ballot on the eve of the strike the railwaymen decided in support of direct action by 7,000 to 3,000 votes. Similar feeling was evident among the tramwaymen.

That this willingness to fight was no mere flash in the pan was quickly revealed by the high level of activity which developed in the first days of the strike. Organised propaganda and publicity and the collection of strike relief funds were being conducted on a mass scale by the second day of the strike.

During the nine days of the strike 172,000 leaflets were issued by the Unions involved. A 4-page printed broadsheet of strike news was published in 25,000 copies. A total of 150 factory meetings were organised and carried out.

In every part of the Metropolitan area of Melbourne, and in all the main country centres, broadly representative relief committees were being organised and were collecting strike relief in money and foodstuffs for the relief of strikers from the second day of the strike onwards. All of these relief committees received assistance from local tradespeople and shopkeepers.

Picketing was only slightly behind these other activities in the first two days, but very soon this aspect of strike activity had also been stepped up to a high level of efficiency. So much so that already by the fourth day of the strike the emergency transport organised by the State Labor Government had been effectively driven off the special routes and confined to its normal working zones. The striking pickets showed fine initiative in effectively combining moral persuasion upon the majority of bus drivers, who were merely confused about the role they were playing, with more direct methods with the few who appeared to need something more than moral persuasion.

The road transport workers, whose union covers mainly trucks and lorry drivers, showed sympathy for the strike from the outset; and in spite of the efforts of the right wing secretary of their union they made it clear at their mass meeting on the day the strike terminated that they fully supported the demands of the strikers and desired to be directly involved in any future action.

This great strike enjoyed the support of workers throughout Australia. A direct expression of this was contained in the decision of the Albury railway workers refusing to handle goods moved over the Victorian border by scab transport. The Brisbane and Adelaide Trades and Labor Councils declared their support for the strike.

The Victorian transport strike concluded with a resounding victory for the workers; a victory not only for the strikers, but for workers throughout Australia. In addition to very important industry gains for the tramwaymen, railwaymen, and Wonthaggi miners, the settlement included undertakings to facilitate an increase in the basic wage and a speedy favorable determination of the 40 hour week.

The final mass meetings of the striking workers were notable for their tremendous enthusiasm, and the retention of the initiative in the hands of the leadership of the striking unions to the end.

At the mass meeting of railwaymen the A.R.U. secretary, J. J. Brown, avoided making any attack on the leaders of the T.H.C. Disputes Committee, but a small group of reactionary elements were foolhardy enough to move a resolution expressing appreciation of the work of the Disputes Committee. It received 20 favorable votes in a meeting of 7,000 railwaymen.

As was to be expected, after the termination of the transport strike Chifley, Clarey and Cain tried to wriggle out of the undertakings about the basic wage and 40 hour week, or at best to do some face saving. This brought to the forefront the significance of the strike action of the foundry workers which continued on and was beginning to produce its real effects throughout the metal industry at the moment when the transport strike terminated. Thus the ruling class had barely time to sigh with relief at the easing of pressure in the vital transport industry when they found themselves confronted with continued pressure in the metal industry, supplemented by threats of strike action at the Yallourn electricity supply centre and from the gas workers.

The Victorian transport strike of October was a turning point in post-war development which will lead to profound repercussions in the labor movement throughout Australia.

This strike dealt a great blow against reformism and reformist illusions; creating favorable conditions for further Communist struggle in this direction. It provided a devastating exposure of the true nature and role of the Arbitration Court which can now be followed up everywhere.

It clearly established the vital role of the transport unions in the working class struggle. The unity and co-operation of the striking transport unions showed the value of amalgamation of transport unions with the objective of one transport industrial union.

Favorable conditions for big progressive advances have been created in a number of unions directly and indirectly associated with the strike.

There is a healthy feeling among the workers that the struggles which lie ahead will be much more difficult than the one through which they have just fought their way so successfully.

Nevertheless, as at all moments when a great victory is celebrated, it is wise to utter warning counsel against the danger of becoming giddy with success. The more vigilantly we guard against complacent self-satisfaction now, the more certain will we be of consolidating our present victory, and multiplying our newly acquired strength for the more severe tests which still lie before us.

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From all areas reports flowed in of well known Labor Party workers openly welcoming the co-operation of local Communist Party branches in strike activity. There were many cases where local Communists expressed surprise, very agreeable surprise, when well known local Labor Party identities, who were considered to be anti-Communist in outlook, publicly welcomed the assistance of local Communists in the collection of relief and other strike activity.

The unity of Labor Party, Communist Party, and non-party workers was one of the fine features of this big strike struggle; unity which was carried through to the top leadership of the strike on the combined unions strike committee, where Communist and reformist trade union leaders, an exception here being Broadby, worked in the closest co-operation and unity from the beginning to the end of the strike.

Attempts were made to use for splitting purposes the situation which developed in Ballarat as a result of the strike-breaking efforts of a small group working under the direction of clerical reaction. These efforts failed in the first place because Ballarat was a small island in an ocean of solidarity. Secondly, as the strike progressed the persistent fight of the militants and honest workers of Ballarat began to repulse and overcome the disruptive efforts of this small group of strike-breakers. These splitters miscalculated rather badly and as a consequence found themselves sitting out on a limb. All their stock arguments about arbitration, about strike action getting nowhere, etc., were shattered by the progress and the results of the strike. Their temporary ascendancy culminated in their isolation from the workers.

The key issues in the transport strike were, of course, the immediate aims of all Australian workers: namely, to break through the wage-pegging regulations, increase the basic wage and speed the introduction of the 40 hour week.

In addition each of the Unions concerned advanced a programme of demands, which had specific application to the particular industry. It is unnecessary to recount these in detail here, but one outstanding feature of these demands is worthy of special mention: For the first time in such a large-scale strike action, the interests of young workers and women were brought to the forefront and featured. The A.R.U. put forward a demand for a twenty per cent. increase in all juvenile rates, 100 per cent. male rates for all females in male positions, and a minimum 75 per cent. of the male basic rate for all females. The Railways Union issued a special leaflet to all railway juniors. The Wonthaggi miners, who joined the strike after three days, also demanded special proportionate wage increases for youths. Much of the credit for this Union consciousness must go to the Eureka Youth League and its long campaign on this matter.

The result of all this was that many young workers were active in every kind of strike activity.

In a secret ballot on the eve of the strike the railwaymen decided in support of direct action by 7,000 to 3,000 votes. Similar feeling was evident among the tramwaymen.

That this willingness to fight was no mere flash in the pan was quickly revealed by the high level of activity which developed in the first days of the strike. Organised propaganda and publicity and the collection of strike relief funds were being conducted on a mass scale by the second day of the strike.

During the nine days of the strike 172,000 leaflets were issued by the Unions involved. A 4-page printed broadsheet of strike news was published in 25,000 copies. A total of 150 factory meetings were organised and carried out.

In every part of the Metropolitan area of Melbourne, and in all the main country centres, broadly representative relief committees were being organised and were collecting strike relief in money and foodstuffs for the relief of strikers from the second day of the strike onwards. All of these relief committees received assistance from local tradespeople and shopkeepers.

Picketing was only slightly behind these other activities in the first two days, but very soon this aspect of strike activity had also been stepped up to a high level of efficiency. So much so that already by the fourth day of the strike the emergency transport organised by the State Labor Government had been effectively driven off the special routes and confined to its normal working zones. The striking pickets showed fine initiative in effectively combining moral persuasion upon the majority of bus drivers, who were merely confused about the role they were playing, with more direct methods with the few who appeared to need something more than moral persuasion.

The road transport workers, whose union covers mainly trucks and lorry drivers, showed sympathy for the strike from the outset; and in spite of the efforts of the right wing secretary of their union they made it clear at their mass meeting on the day the strike terminated that they fully supported the demands of the strikers and desired to be directly involved in any future action.

This great strike enjoyed the support of workers throughout Australia. A direct expression of this was contained in the decision of the Albury railway workers refusing to handle goods moved over the Victorian border by scab transport. The Brisbane and Adelaide Trades and Labor Councils declared their support for the strike.

The Victorian transport strike concluded with a resounding victory for the workers; a victory not only for the strikers, but for workers throughout Australia. In addition to very important industry gains for the tramwaymen, railwaymen, and Wonthaggi miners, the settlement included undertakings to facilitate an increase in the basic wage and a speedy favorable determination of the 40 hour week.

The final mass meetings of the striking workers were notable for their tremendous enthusiasm, and the retention of the initiative in the hands of the leadership of the striking unions to the end.

At the mass meeting of railwaymen the A.R.U. secretary, J. J. Brown, avoided making any attack on the leaders of the T.H.C. Disputes Committee, but a small group of reactionary elements were foolhardy enough to move a resolution expressing appreciation of the work of the Disputes Committee. It received 20 favorable votes in a meeting of 7,000 railwaymen.

As was to be expected, after the termination of the transport strike Chifley, Clarey and Cain tried to wriggle out of the undertakings about the basic wage and 40 hour week, or at best to do some face saving. This brought to the forefront the significance of the strike action of the foundry workers which continued on and was beginning to produce its real effects throughout the metal industry at the moment when the transport strike terminated. Thus the ruling class had barely time to sigh with relief at the easing of pressure in the vital transport industry when they found themselves confronted with continued pressure in the metal industry, supplemented by threats of strike action at the Yallourn electricity supply centre and from the gas workers.

The Victorian transport strike of October was a turning point in post-war development which will lead to profound repercussions in the labor movement throughout Australia.

This strike dealt a great blow against reformism and reformist illusions; creating favorable conditions for further Communist struggle in this direction. It provided a devastating exposure of the true nature and role of the Arbitration Court which can now be followed up everywhere.

It clearly established the vital role of the transport unions in the working class struggle. The unity and co-operation of the striking transport unions showed the value of amalgamation of transport unions with the objective of one transport industrial union.

Favorable conditions for big progressive advances have been created in a number of unions directly and indirectly associated with the strike.

There is a healthy feeling among the workers that the struggles which lie ahead will be much more difficult than the one through which they have just fought their way so successfully.

Nevertheless, as at all moments when a great victory is celebrated, it is wise to utter warning counsel against the danger of becoming giddy with success. The more vigilantly we guard against complacent self-satisfaction now, the more certain will we be of consolidating our present victory, and multiplying our newly acquired strength for the more severe tests which still lie before us.

ABOLISH WAGE-PEGGING, CONTROL PRICES

R. DIXON

(Report to C. C. Plenum held 1st-3rd November, 1946)

THE outstanding feature of the present situation is the continuation of the strike movement. New sections of the workers are being involved in the struggle against capitalism. The big strikes since the end of the war embraced ironworkers, seamen, coalminers, meat workers, waterside workers and some others. Now we find the railwaymen, tramwaymen and other sections of the workers coming into action. Thus, the strike movement is broadening out and this has very important political implications inasmuch as the drawing in of what may be called the more backward sections of the workers, those who, in the past, have shown less inclination to struggle than the miners, ironworkers, waterside workers and seamen, means that the general political level of the working class movement is on the rise.

You will recall that at the last Central Committee meeting when we were discussing the Queensland Meat Strike, as after the big steel, coal and shipping strike at the end of last year, we were concerned with the fact that those struggles had been waged against victimisation, they were struggles that had really been forced upon the workers by the employers, provoked by them, and we considered then that it was necessary to avoid, as far as possible, such struggles and promote the struggle around wages, hours and basic conditions. We can say now that this change has been brought about. The transport struggle in Victoria and the struggles developing in the metal industry are struggles around wages and hours. This has placed the workers in an immensely stronger position, not only to deal with the Arbitration Court but with the reformists and bourgeoisie also.

We saw how difficult it was in the struggles around victimisation to line up the unions, broadly, behind the workers involved in those struggles. In the Victorian transport strike, however, it was not a question of what sections of workers might be drawn into the struggle, of lining them up, but what sections of the workers ought to be held back from the struggle; it was a question of the extent to which the spread of the strike should be limited so as not to throw large numbers of the workers on the Unions' funds, that is, workers who, by stopping work, would contribute little to the final outcome of the struggle.

What happened was that different sections of the workers not only gave moral support but wanted to down tools and come into the struggle too. You can see how much stronger is the position of the trade unions once the struggle develops around issues which effect all sections of the working class such as wages and hours. The union position in the struggle was immensely stronger and the attractive power of the struggle was ever so much greater than in the earlier disputes against victimisation.

These facts illustrate the importance of the struggle around wages and hours, and of the decisions of the last Central Committee meeting to try and avert struggles on victimisation and smaller issues and to bring forward the issues of wages and hours. This seems to me to be decisive for the further development of the strike struggles, the strengthening of the trade union movement, consolidation of the Left in the trade union movement and the building of the Communist Party.

Because of the way the transport struggle developed and the issues it developed around, it was not only much more difficult for the reformists to play their strike-breaking role, as they did in the big New South Wales and Queensland strikes, it was also much more difficult for the bourgeois press to wage a campaign against the workers that were involved in the dispute. The issues, wages and hours, attracted not only the workers but also the middle class. As I understand it, in Victoria, when the Party got on to the job and began to develop agitation and propaganda in the localities, the middle-class people also demonstrated their support.

The attractive power of struggles around wages and hours is immensely greater, broader than, say, struggles against victimisation and this hinders in every way, weakens in every way, the struggle of the opposition—bourgeoisie, reformists, Labor Party, arbitration judges—when they strive to defeat such struggles. So we must, therefore, pay more attention to these issues in the future.

As Comrade Sharkey pointed out, the victory in the transport struggle is very significant. I think it is one of the most outstanding wins the trade union movement has had in this country in decades, and the success itself has placed the working class in a very powerful position to force home their victory.

Consider the immediate successes of the transport strike. They won time-and-a-half for Saturdays for rail and tram workers, and double time for Sunday for the tramway workers. Time-and-a-half for Saturday establishes an important precedent. Although many workers do not work on Saturdays there are a vast number of workers who do and at ordinary rates. The Victorian decision establishes the principle that Saturday should be regarded as a Sunday or a holiday with additional rates for working. Thus, additional rates for Saturday work is a demand that should be taken up throughout industry in Australia.

Now that the principle of the 40-hour week is established we should say: If it is good enough in principle it ought to be good enough in practice. That should be the approach of the working class. In other words, just as the shearers in Queensland began to put the 40-hour week into practice before it was established in principle, the trade unions should work out for all industries the practical application of the 40-hour week without waiting for any further decisions on the part of the Court.

Thus we accept the principle, but as we believe that all abstract principles should lead to concrete, practical things, the immediate problem is the concrete application of the 40-hour week in industry.

In some industries it won't be possible to do this. If you take the rail workers on the basic wage, they have to get in one day's overtime a fortnight in order to meet their commitments. It would probably be wrong to propose to them that from now on they work only the 40-hour week.

All State Governments have opposed the application of the 40-hour week in State enterprises on the grounds that the Federal Arbitration Court must decide the issue. Now that the court has decided in principle, all workers in State enterprises should insist that the State Governments, and especially Labor Governments, proceed to its immediate application. I think our Victorian comrades are in a particularly strong strategic position to take up and enforce this demand.

Wage-pegging in general still persists. Chifley agreed that insofar as the basic wage is concerned there would be some relaxation, but, in general, wage-pegging continues. We must see that all possible pressure is kept up to break through the wage-pegging regulations as applied by the Chifley Government. In this connection, the successful conclusion of the transport workers' strike has not ended the movement for wage increases. Struggles are continuing in the metal industries. Foundry workers are on strike in Victoria, the A.E.U. is waging a struggle for £1 increase, gas workers in Victoria look like becoming involved, and no doubt other sections of workers.

There must be no weakening, but an intensification of the movement to secure relaxation of the wage-pegging regulations. It is an important military principle that once the enemy starts to retreat the attacking army should rapidly follow up its success and pursue him so as to completely defeat and rout him and win its objectives. The transport strike and other struggles have forced the employers, Government and court to admit the principle of the 40-hour week, have forced Chifley to relax wage-pegging on the basic wage. The task now is to move the whole trade union movement forward to achieve the immediate objectives of the workers, the 40-hour week and a substantial wage increase.

Wage-pegging is one of the corner-stones of Chifley's economic policy. The essence of this policy is to find the capitalist way out of all the problems of reconstruction confronting the bourgeoisie of this country. Wage-pegging, we are told, is essential to the system of price control and to avert, it is said, inflation.

Wages are pegged and prices are controlled. The different terms are significant because while wages are rigidly pegged at present levels, prices are merely controlled, and very flexibly controlled at that.

The result is well-known. Prices have materially outstripped wages. We are told the rise in the cost of living is about 24% but these figures are based on the rise in the cost of those items that go to make up the basic wage. There has been about a 24% increase in those prices and an increase in the basic wage by 24% or 25% since the war began.

The real position, however, is that all those commodities outside of those on the basic wage index have gone up ever so much more than those included in the basic wage. For instance, potatoes have been pegged for 5lb. for 6d., but green vegetables and fruit are four or five times as high as they were before the war.

From various estimates I have seen, economists claim that the rise in the cost of living, actually, is somewhere between 60 and 80%. If we take the figure of 60% as being closest to the mark, the position is that even if the workers obtained a £1 increase in the basic wage it still would not bring the purchasing power of their wages up to the levels of 1939.

Thus wage-pegging and price control, as applied in this country, has led to a lower standard of living for the working class and the Chifley Government's wage-pegging, in fact, means the pegging of wages at this lower standard of living, and it will be the capitalist class of this country that will benefit from this. During the war there was a considerable expansion of the productive capacity of Australian industry and the employers are beginning to wonder where the new markets will come from to dispose of the increased production. They speak of overseas markets and say that if we are to win these markets we must be able to compete with other countries, and they claim it is difficult to do this on the living standards of 1938-39.

Chifley informs us that if he were to relax wage-pegging the whole price structure would be seriously undermined and inflation would result. Some economists recently have been writing long articles supporting Chifley's view and even suggesting that,

if there were a £1 increase in the basic wage, that in a short time there would be an increase in prices of 30/- and they draw the conclusion that the workers are foolish to demand wage increases.

Is this true, is there anything in this argument ?

Marx has shown us that prices fluctuate around the value of commodities and the determining factor in the fluctuation is the relationship of the supply of goods to the demand. At the present time goods are in short supply, the demand is in excess of the supply of goods, and the tendency of prices, therefore, is in an upward direction.

To increase wages means to increase the purchasing power of the workers and, therefore, the demand for goods. An increase in the demand for goods will tend to cause an increase in prices quite apart from the fact that the capitalist class will seek to pass the increased costs on to the consumer.

The capitalists want price controls to go or to be made even more flexible than at present. Discussions have already taken place on the abolition of price controls. The Government claims they will have to consider the whole question of prices if there is any relaxation in wage-pegging, but this does not prevent them from increasing prices now. The price of meat is about to rise.

An increase in wages will increase the demand of the workers for goods and increase the pressure of the capitalist class to pass the increased costs on to the consumer. There are serious dangers here.

We have seen what happened in the U.S.A. There the working class at the beginning of this year forced considerable increases in wages. The American monopolists then conspired to do away with price control in America and were able, with the help of their stooges in the American Congress, to sweep away control, with the result there has been a tremendous increase in prices. The small war savings of the middle classes and workers in America have been more or less swept away.

The decline in the purchasing power of the American workers and middle class is the chief factor influencing the recent crash on the New York Stock Exchange and the present difficult position of the American capitalists. The workers and middle class of America are buying less and goods are piling up which ordinarily would have been disposed of, and in some industries all the features of the crisis of overproduction have appeared.

The decline in demand for goods will cause prices of some commodities to fall, and on the other hand will cause a diversion of capital from the less profitable to the more profitable industries. This is the basis for the crash on the New York Stock Exchange and the precarious position of American capital which is showing all the signs of a developing economic crisis.

The problem for us here in Australia is to take into account the movement of prices. It is quite clear that if wages go up the capitalists will exert terrific pressure for price control to be abolished or made more flexible to permit them to pass on the increased costs and then the prices of goods will increase rapidly. For this reason price control assumes much more significance for us and for the working-class movement than in the past.

We must point to the fact that profits in this country are soaring, while taxes are being reduced (which in present conditions means more profit) and both these changes are such that there is no need for increased prices. Prices must remain at their present level, or be reduced, so that wages can be brought to a level that will at least restore to the working class of this country the purchasing power they had in 1939. It is essential also to insist upon abolition of taxation on workers' wages and all small incomes.

In other words, side by side with the movement for increased wages we must develop a real mass struggle for the strict control of prices and to fight every attempt to increase prices. This campaign must be developed on a national basis.

Already we have started in N.S.W. The people everywhere are talking prices because they are hitting them hard. The lower income people, especially the women, are very discontented about high prices. We are charged with the task of organising a real mass struggle around prices, to organise the women to go to the shopping centres and discuss prices and to the markets—as our Sydney women did—and to see that this question is taken up through the unions. I think we should get a series of protests from the Unions against the increased price for meat, in addition to those from women's organisations.

Taking into account the whole economic situation our aim should be to bring the utmost pressure to see that all price controls are maintained and not only that but to have price-pegging so that as the wages are increased the workers will secure a real increase in wages, not just a monetary increase.

So our task then, it appears to me, is to develop the campaign to enforce the 40-hour week in industry now, to continue the fight everywhere for wage increases and to break through the present wage-pegging policy of the Chifley Government, and on the other hand to develop the mass struggle for control of prices and to insist that the Chifley Government will not relax price controls under pressure from the bourgeoisie.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, LEADER OF WORLD REACTION

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WORLD WAR I, from 1914 to 1918, was a struggle between two groups of imperialist powers for control of the world. After four years of the most terrible slaughter humanity had ever before experienced, a sigh of relief went up all over the world. Never again, hundreds of millions were convinced, would mankind be guilty of a similar suicidal folly. Surely an end would be put to imperialism and war. The League of Nations, formed shortly afterward, was hailed as the organisation that would maintain world peace. But hardly were the guns of World War I silenced than capitalist forces and trends began to operate which, only 21 years later, were to produce an even more terrible and devastating human butchery.

Now that World war II has barely concluded —indeed the peace treaties are not yet written and the United States has not even officially declared that the war is at an end—the world is once more alarmed by rumours of war. War-mongering is in full cry again. Particularly in the United States, millions of people have already decided that a World War III is a certainty, and many are conditioning themselves into accepting the death of at least one-third of our total population in the atomic war that they see as inevitable in the near future.

The world situation is indeed threatening. Reactionary forces are at work, making for economic chaos, fascism, rampant imperialism and war, similar to those that operated in the interim between the two great wars and which finally culminated in the catastrophe of World War II. We should not be astonished at the similarity of these developments, however. Lenin has taught us that we are living in the period of the decay of imperialist capitalism, in the era of wars and revolutions. Naturally, therefore, capitalism throughout its decline displays certain well-marked signs of increasing reaction and crisis.

But we must not make mechanical analogies between the period following World War I and the present one opening up after World War II, for that would lead to a fatalistic acceptance of a World War III. There are profound differences between the two periods. It does not follow that this post-war period, like the last one, must also end in fascism and war. We must view the whole picture dialectically, measuring the shifting relations between the forces of reaction and progress. If we do this, we shall see that the situation following World War II can have a totally different outcome from that which developed after World War I. Before analysing the present post-war situation, let us briefly review the period that followed World War I.

World War I was itself the manifestation of the ushering in of the general crisis of world capitalism. One of its most significant consequences was a broad revolutionary upheaval in Europe by the outraged working class. This produced the Russian revolution, as well as big revolutionary movements in Germany, Hungary and other countries. Had it not been for the betrayal of the revolution in Germany by the opportunist Social-Democrats, all Europe would undoubtedly have gone Socialist, the capitalist system would have received a stab in its heart, and there never would have been a World War II.

Desperately alarmed by this profound revolutionary upheaval after World War I, the capitalists of the world, in line with their reactionary trend, mobilised their strength for a general offensive against the forces of Socialism and democracy everywhere. The employers, with the help of Social-Democracy, centred their attack upon the Soviet Union, but they also assaulted every other phase of the peoples' political advance. The general result of this employers' offensive was not only to confine Socialism to the U.S.S.R., but to weaken the forces of democracy on a world scale. Even in the United States, which was far removed from the political storm centre, the employers' attack was so heavy that the trade union movement lost half its numerical strength in a series of desperately fought, unsuccessful post-war strikes.

The capitalist counter-revolutionary offensive after World War I did not halt, however, upon checking the spread of Socialism and democracy; it rolled on, with varying intensities and tempos, to new objectives. With the rise of fascism in Italy, followed eventually by its development in Germany and a number of other countries of Eastern and Central Europe, the employers' offensive everywhere took on a new quality. It began to aim at the complete destruction of democracy and the establishment of a tyrannical capitalist control such as the world had never before known. This fascist trend was enormously stimulated by the great world economic crisis of the early 1930's, beginning with the unprecedented October, 1929, crash in the United States.

Fascism was not confined simply to those countries that adopted outright fascist regimes. Capitalism all over the world was saturated with it, its mainspring being in the ranks of finance capital —among the big bankers, industrialists and landlords. These decisive capitalist forces—in Great Britain and France, and also to a large extent in the United States—began definitely to cultivate ("appease") the fascist regimes in Germany, Italy and elsewhere, as the tragic stories of China, Ethiopia,

Spain and Czechoslovakia made quite clear. Undoubtedly the big capitalists of the world were quite generally looking to fascism as their saviour, as the means by which they could destroy the hated and feared Soviet Union and put an end, once and for all, to trade unionism, democratic government, civil liberties, and the Socialist aspirations of the working class. For the most part they had come virtually to accept the perspective of a fascist world.

But, in the midst of this general, big capitalist drive towards fascism, another factor was at work that was destined to wreck the "fascist world" ambitions of the capitalists of all the big countries. This was the imperialist rivalries among the capitalist great powers themselves.

In the early post-World War I days, the world situation was dominated by the imperialist victors in the war — Great Britain, France, the United States, and to a lesser extent, Japan. These powers, particularly the first two, ran the League of Nations as an instrument to further their respective imperialist ambitions. They especially infused it with an anti-Soviet spirit. With the growth of fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan and their satellites, however, and particularly in view of the appeasement policy followed by the reactionaries in Great Britain, France and the United States, the militant leadership of the post-World War I capitalist offensive passed more and more into the hands of the fascist countries, which eventually formed themselves into the so-called Anti-Comintern Axis and quit the League of Nations.

The big capitalists in Great Britain, France and the United States also undoubtedly contemplated the establishment of a fascist world, one in which they would continue to play the dominant role. But evidently it did not suit the powerful German capitalists and their man Hitler to fulfil the role of smashing the U.S.S.R. (if they could) and then turn the fruits of victory over to the capitalists of London, Paris and New York. They had different plans. They and their Japanese allies wanted to run the world to suit themselves and to relegate the capitalists of the Western democracies to a secondary position.

It was this quarrel between the capitalist great powers as to which should dominate the contemplated fascist world that prevented the hoped-for, all-out capitalist attack, led by the Axis powers, against the U.S.S.R. And it was the realisation by the peoples of the world that a victory by the fascist Axis powers would subject them to an unheard-of slavery that made them fight so desperately for national freedom and a democratic life.

The reactionary capitalist offensive after World War I had, with its complex of economic chaos, fascism and imperialism, finally reached its climax in 1939, in World War II—although it was a very different type of war from that for which the capitalists had planned.

World War II, like World War I, constituted a deep intensification and climax of the general crisis of world capitalism. Not surprisingly, therefore, the capitalist system is now producing a reactionary offensive directed against everything progressive and democratic in the world. Moreover, this offensive, a master sign of capitalist decay, is manifesting itself much as it did in the interval between the two great wars, by an intensification of imperialism, by a gathering economic chaos, by a development of fascism, and by the growth of a militant war spirit. The differences, however, are that these reactionary manifestations are more pronounced after this war than they were immediately following World War I, and that they are taking place in a very changed world setting. Among the major phases of the present reactionary capitalist offensive are the following:

(a) **The drive of imperialism:** During the recent war the soothsayers of capitalism, among them Earl Browder, were busy telling us that imperialist capitalism had come to an end and that at the close of the war the world would enter into a new period of spontaneous friendly collaboration among the nations, great and small, capitalist and Socialist. The naive supposition of such people was that the finance capitalists, particularly the Americans, had finally learned the folly of war and, in the main, had concluded that the only way they could preserve their social system, not to mention garnering profits from it, was to maintain world peace and democratic relations among all the peoples of the world.

Post-war experience, however, has already shown the futility of this utopian conception of capitalism. Imperialism, far from being dead, is manifesting itself with a new virulence. This time it is the United States that is playing the decisive imperialist role. It has embarked upon a vigorous expansionist programme designed to bring the whole world under its sway. With its tremendous navy, air force and army; with its control of the atomic bomb; with its vast industrial system and great financial reserves, and also in view of the war-shattered state of affairs of other great powers, the United States Government, driven on by the big monopolists who control it, is pursuing an unprecedented imperialist course.

The heart of American imperialist policy is the gigantic finance-capital set-up, whose major political instruments are the G.O.P.-controlled Republican Party and the poll-tax and Northern ultra-reactionary bloc in the Democratic Party. Since the ending of the war, the Truman Administration has more and more identified itself with the Hoover-Vandenberg camp, and shaped its policies, foreign and domestic, along militant imperialist lines.

The major objectives of American imperialism are to reduce the British Empire to a subordinate position; to cow or smash the U.S.S.R.; to subjugate China to the status of a satellite country; to reduce Latin America to a semi-colonial system of the United States; to take charge of the internal economies of Germany, Japan and various other countries; to dominate the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans with its big navy and air force — in short, to establish American Imperialist hegemony over the other peoples and areas of the world. This drive of American imperialism, which is developing at a much faster tempo than British, French, German and Japanese imperialisms did after World War I, is the centre and rallying force of the present world offensive of reactionary capital.

(b) **Sowing the seeds of economic crisis.** One of the major aspects of the reactionary offensive after World War I, which culminated in fascism and World War II, was the devastating economic crisis of the 1930's. This crisis wrought havoc with the living standards of the toiling masses all over the capitalist world, and weakened capitalism everywhere. Now, especially in the United States, economic policies are being applied which threaten to produce an economic breakdown that will arrive more quickly and have far more disastrous consequences that did the one that followed the First World War. The reactionaries who dominate the United States, with a "boom and bust" outlook, are heading this country into inflation. They have rejected all legislation calculated to keep American industry in effective operation after the war boom has passed. Their foreign loan policy is also cut from a similar reactionary pattern. The loans or projected loans to Great Britain, France, China, Poland, the U.S.S.R., etc., are all based on political rather than economic considerations, and, with the domestic economic factors, they are tending to provoke an eventual collapse in this country, a cyclical crisis of unparalleled magnitude. American big capital's present domestic and foreign economic policies are leading straight to an economic crash within a few years, one that will not only ruin American mass living standards but will also shake the economic foundations of the capitalist world. But the capitalists, seeing the reactionary use Hitler made of German mass unemployment, believe they can also turn the coming crisis to reactionary ends.

(c) **Cultivating a regrowth of fascism:** In the current offensive of reactionary capitalism, spearheaded by American imperialism, strong tendencies for a renaissance of fascism are in evidence. In the United States there is the ultra-reactionary combination of Republicans and Southern poll-tax Democrats; the K.K.K. is rearing its ugly head once more, and there is a wide outcropping of fascist-like, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, and anti-labor tendencies. In the field of foreign policy also, American imperialism is providing aid to hard-pressed reactionary forces. Our State Department is definitely protecting Franco Spain and ultra-reactionary Turkey; it is shielding fascist businessmen in Germany, Japan and other former fascist states; it is the mainstay of fascist-minded reaction in Latin America and China and of the pro-fascist opposition in the new peoples' democracies in the Balkans; it is collaborating everywhere with the dangerous clerical fascism of the Vatican. In fact, reactionaries and fascists all over the world are looking to the United States and its British ally for aid, and they are getting it. This cultivation of fascism represents a major world danger.

(d) **Preparing for another war:** Although the Allied powers after World War I attacked the new Soviet Republic militarily, shortly following its birth, the real war drive of the imperialists which culminated in World War II did not get well under way until Hitler seized power in Germany in 1933. Thus, after the great shock of World War I, it took the war-mongers almost 15 years until they had the world definitely on the way to another world slaughter. This time, however, World War II is hardly over when the world reactionaries, led by American monopoly capital, are already beating the drums for a new war. Indeed, even while the anti-Hitler war was still going on, strategic plans were being laid by these reactionaries for another conflict.

The new world war threat, which is menacing all peoples, is aimed directly at the U.S.S.R. The anti-Soviet orientation of the imperialists after World War I, which wrecked the old League of Nations, which built up Hitler-Germany, and which led to World War II, is in evidence again, but now more virulently than ever. The great monopolists who control the United States see in the U.S.S.R. the major obstacle in the way of their grandiose imperialist plans of world rule and they are determined to overcome or destroy it. Only in the sense of war preparations against the U.S.S.R. can one understand the present huge imperialist peace-time military programme of the United States, the violent anti-Soviet campaign now raging in the American press and on the radio, and the State Department's officially stated policy of getting tough with Russia. The danger of war is rendered all the more acute because of the need of haste that the reactionaries feel to make use of the atomic bomb before the Soviet Union can devise for itself this lethal weapon.

The basic reason for this militant war drive against the U.S.S.R. by the American imperialists is that these reactionaries understand quite well that the Soviet Union forms the backbone of world democracy. They realise that a blow against the Soviet Government is at the same time a blow against the world labor movement, against the new democracies now springing up in Europe, against the far-reaching national liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and against the rising demand for Socialism throughout the capitalist world. They know too that a military defeat of the U.S.S.R. would open the way to a fascist world, with American imperialism in the saddle. In the war-mongering against the U.S.S.R., the post-war reactionary capitalist offensive takes on its most acute and dangerous aspects.

World reaction, led by the American monopolists, has already, even in this early stage of the post-war period, created a highly dangerous international situation by its reckless economic policies, its cultivation of fascism, its rampant imperialism and its

pro-war orientation. In these respects the tempo of the offensive of world reaction is now swifter than after World War I. At the same time, however, this offensive faces resistance and obstacles far more formidable than those which confronted the reactionary forces following World War I. The counter forces may well defeat all the scheming and plotting of reaction.

First, there is the weakened economic condition of the capitalist system itself. This is much more marked than in the period after World War I. The industries of nearly all of the important capitalist countries are war-ravaged. The people are impoverished and their purchasing power has been catastrophically reduced. The international gold standard is gone and trade is now being carried on almost exclusively on barter or quota systems. Many countries, including our own, also are suffering from galloping inflation. The United States, it is true, fattened on the war and experienced a spectacular industrial growth. But it is idle to expect, as capitalist economists are trying to convince us, that this country can or will re-invigorate the capitalist system of the world. Its monopolistic, imperialistic policies are choking, not developing, the capitalist world economy. This crippled condition of world capitalism definitely puts a damper on the plans of those American imperialists who would try to solve all their problems and make themselves masters of the world by overthrowing the Soviet Government.

Second, there is a definite dearth of potential allies for the war aims of the American imperialists. Germany, Japan, Italy, France, and many other capitalist states are war-ruined and could not, even if they wanted to, at present render material assistance to this country in an imperialist war against the U.S.S.R. Great Britain, it is true, is an ally of the United States and is following a virulently anti-Soviet line. But the people of Britain ardently desire world peace and co-operation with the U.S.S.R. Despite the failure, at the Labor Party Convention, to repudiate the Labor Government's imperialist policy, Britain may easily prove a most shaky ally in the general anti-Soviet enterprise of world reaction. The Labor Government, taking its lead from British big capital, is out to strengthen the British Empire wherever it can. And British imperialism accepts with very poor grace its "Number Two" position in the Anglo-American bloc and will lose no occasion to play its own individual game. The possibility of the United States being compelled to fight almost alone frightens the anti-Soviet war-mongers, even though they do control the atomic bomb.

Third, the Soviet Union is now incomparably stronger than it was during the period between the two great world wars. The Red Army, which met and defeated the Wehrmacht, could hold its own against any capitalist force that might be sent against it. With this in mind, General Eisenhower has seen fit to warn sharply of the futility of the U.S.A. trying to defeat the U.S.S.R. All this constitutes a very painful reality for the Anglo-American imperialists, and it may well be the decisive fact in maintaining world peace. Fear of defeat may accomplish what common sense cannot.

Fourth, the reactionaries who would again plunge the world into fascism and war also have to face a whole series of popular mass movements, which constitute a much greater menace to the imperialists' plans than existed in the period after World War I. These movements are alert to the dangers of economic chaos, fascism and war. Among them may be listed the new World Federation of Trade Unions, with its 66,000,000 members. There are also new and powerful national and international movements of veterans, youth and women. Then there is the rapid growth of the Communist Parties in many parts of the world, and also their tendency to combine or co-operate with a number of rejuvenated Socialist parties. This time there no longer exists the powerful and almost uniformly reactionary Social-Democracy that smoothed the way for the imperialists after World War I. Besides the popular movements enumerated above, there are the new peoples' democratic governments in Europe and Asia as well as the great national liberation movements now developing in India, China, and other colonial and semi-colonial countries. All these movements are formidable barriers to the American imperialist designs for world domination.

Fifth, there is the widespread war-weariness and anti-capitalist spirit prevailing among the peoples of the world. Mankind is appalled at the thought of another war, especially one that would be fought with atomic and other super-dreadful weapons. The masses are also determined to resist a regrowth of fascism and to prevent the economic system from being plunged into an even worse chaos than it is now in. Therefore, even the Anglo-American imperialists, for all their vicious anti-Sovietism, will think twice before defying the powerful anti-fascist, anti-war sentiments of the peoples. Even the big financial moguls in Wall street have seen that one-sixth of the world went Socialist after World War I, and that the indications are that, in the long run, even a larger section of humanity will turn to Socialism after World War II. Hence, they are haunted by the fear that a World War III that did not accomplish their fascist, imperialist objectives, might just about wipe out capitalism altogether.

From the foregoing it is clear, first, that world reaction, organised and led by American imperialism, is now conducting a militant offensive which is in many respects sharper than that which followed World War I and which is leading the world in the direction of economic smash-up, fascism, and a new world war; and, second, that this world drive of reaction has to deal with popular mass resistance forces on a far more extensive scale than existed after World War I. These great democratic anti-fascist, anti-war masses are potentially very much stronger than the imperialist forces that are

making for fascism and war. But whether or not the world will escape a new bloodbath at the hands of reckless imperialists will depend upon how well the democratic forces can mobilise and unite themselves to resist the new crop of world enslavers. No greater error could the peoples commit than to conform to Browder's criminally wrong notion that the fate of the world can be left to the "intelligent" monopolists to decide.

Naturally, the most urgent task of the democratic forces of the world is to stop the reactionary capitalist offensive, by insisting that Big Three unity be re-established; that the Moscow, Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam agreements be loyally carried out; that the fascist war criminals be vigorously punished; that the defeated fascist powers be thoroughly demilitarised; that the colonial peoples be completely liberated; that sane domestic and foreign economic policies be adopted; and that every defence be thrown around democracy and for the prevention of another war.

But such preventative measures are not enough. The progressive forces must go over on to the offensive themselves. The axe must be applied to the root of the evil. The power of finance capital, the breeder of economic chaos, fascism and war, must be systematically weakened and eventually broken. In this respect the new people's democracies of Eastern and Central Europe are blazing the trail by the seizure and division of large landed estates, by the confiscation of the industries of collaborators with the Nazis, by the nationalisation of the basic industries generally, and by the strengthening of the workers' representatives in the governments. But finance capital can be eliminated as a power for evil only when capitalism is abolished and Socialism established. It is to this goal that the workers all over Europe, despite many betrayals by Social-Democratic leaders, are steadily marching.

In no country have the workers and other democratic forces so great a responsibility in the present world crisis as here in the United States. The great trusts and monopolies of this country, with their political concentrations, are the centre of world reaction. It is they who are furnishing the main motive force for the present international capitalist offensive against democracy and peace. They are a menace to our country and the world. They must be curbed by the workers drastically strengthening their trade unions and vastly improving their political activities. They must be finally eliminated and a Socialist regime established.

Finance capital, in the United States and abroad, has been responsible for two devasting world wars, an unprecedented economic crisis, the growth of fascism, and the development of a world famine now involving at least a billion people—all in one generation. These great tragedies, not to mention the daily exploitation of the workers, would seem to be about enough damage to submit to from the obsolete capitalist system. Surely the democratic forces of the world will not allow the parasitic big landlords, industrialists and bankers to thrust upon humanity another round of economic crises, mass unemployment, wholesale pauperisation, fascist tyranny, and imperialist war.

THE GERMAN PROBLEM

PIERRE COURTADE

(From "Cahiers du Communisme," July, 1946)

THE German problem is constantly obscured in the eyes of many French people by various considerations and hypotheses concerning, in fact, the future, or if you like, the destiny of Germany alone.

In order to see clearly into this question, the first thing to do is to envisage it at first from France's point of view. That does not mean in any way that the problem of French security can be isolated from that of Germany and of Europe in general. IT SIMPLY SIGNIFIES THAT THERE EXISTS AN ORDER OF URGENCY, AND THAT AT THIS MOMENT THE PROBLEMS MUST BE SOLVED PRIMARILY FROM THE FRENCH NATIONAL POINT OF VIEW.

Envisaging the German problem as certain Socialists are doing, by placing first the demands of "internationalism" or of "Socialism," means not only putting the cart before the horse, but supplying as well an excellent opportunity to Anglo-American imperialists and German nationalists to affirm their very "realist" positions against the "idealism" of others.

Saying that the German problem must be solved primarily from the point of view of French security means above all adopting a definite method. This method is not merely in conformity with the interests of France as a nation, it is equally in conformity with the interests of all the peoples, and of the German people itself to the extent that it exposes the Anglo-American imperialists' policy, which is in fact linked in the western regions of Germany to the old German exploiters.

In other words, France in the present situation is the strongest bastion of democracy in the West. Therefore considering primarily the point of view of France, desiring that the German problem be tackled first on the ground of the requirements of French security, means not only acting as becomes a French citizen; it means also strengthening the stand of democracy in Europe generally and in Germany itself.

France is the most progressive nation in the West. In France there is a great Communist Party, the strongest in Europe after the C.P. of the Soviet Union. The resources that she can put at the dis-

posal of democracy are still relatively immense. From this aspect her national interests coincide completely with those of European democracy. This fact must not be lost from sight when certain "idealists" begin to say that the Communists, i.e., the obstinate defenders of the priority of the French point of view, are chauvinists.

Once it is admitted that the French point of view must always be considered first, it is evident that the defence of the French bastion entails security above all. Remember that France has been invaded by Germany thrice in less than a hundred years, and that the problem of French security is essentially a question of Germany.

This is obvious and yet some are tempted to forget it. **The basic idea of the promoters of the Western Bloc is that since the military crushing of Hitlerism, Germany has ceased to be enemy No. 1. The whole policy of these people corresponds in fact to a change of front.** The enemy being now, for them, the Soviet Union, they consider France's security in that light; the frontiers of France for them are no longer on the Rhine, but absolutely on the Elbe. As for us, we still think that the possible enemy continues to be Germany. That does not signify that we consider the situation as destined, or that we have become supporters of the "hereditary enemy" thesis. In no way. Still, as Marxists we do not consider Hitlerism an "inexplicable" accident in the history of Germany. On the contrary we consider that the political phenomena of the growth and triumph of National Socialism were closely linked to the particular economic situation of Germany; that National Socialism continued under other forms Bismarckian expansionism and Pan-Germanism; and consequently so long as the economic structure and the class relations remain unchanged in Germany, the danger of a recrudescence of German imperialism, under some form not yet perhaps predictable, exists; and that it must be guarded against, whatever hypotheses may be formulated with regard to the future of Germany.

Disarming Germany is the only way to ensure security to France. The experience of the years 1919-1939 has, however, tragically demonstrated the ridiculous inefficiency of all "control" procedures. Fundamentally Germany's strength lies in the immense concentration of mines and industries in the Ruhr. As Edgar Morin has clearly shown in his book **The Zero Year of Germany,** the Ruhr is not only the territory of which the extraordinary industrial wealth enabled Germany to rearm, but also the heart of German capitalism and the permanent source of the imperialist conflicts which periodically ravage Europe.

The quickest and surest way to break the power of German imperialism is to deprive it of the Ruhr. The effect of this operation would be double. On the one hand it would under all conditions effectively prevent any eventual rearmament of Germany; on the other hand, by breaking big German capitalism, it would enable the German democratic forces to develop. Here again the interests of French security, which demand that the Ruhr arsenal be taken from Germany, coincide with the interests of a future German democracy.

We must now consider how the Ruhr can be taken from Germany. The official French stand, which is also that of the French Communists, is for the internationalisation of these territories and their political separation from the rest of Germany. In our opinion, if international control of the Ruhr is to be efficacious, its political separation is automatically implied. We demand total internationalisation and not, like General de Gaulle, a condominium of France, Belgium and Luxemburg.

If it is true that all the countries upon whom the responsibility of maintaining peace devolves, must be concerned with breaking German power, it naturally follows that they must all conjointly hold the arsenal of that power. In other words, the Ruhr, if it is to be a danger to none, must serve all. All this is so evident that those who oppose the French stand have abandoned the frontal attack upon internationalism; but in order to weaken its scope, they have asserted that internationalism does not in any way imply political separation.

Then what would international control over a Zone, which would continue to depend administratively and politically on Berlin, amount to? Leon Blum, himself, though a bitter opponent of political separation, has perfectly understood what the above would mean. In his **Populaire,** July 23, 1946, he writes:

> "If the Ruhr continues in any degree to belong to the Reich, the German Government, whatever it may be, will be free, they say, to interfere at its will with economic management. Through local officials who would continue to be dependent, through local unions or parties which would remain attached to their respective national organisations, it would raise innumerable difficulties for the inter-allied direction."

When it is so clearly seen that internationalisation without political separation would be inoperative, how in the world can one demand one without the other? The fact is that at bottom the opponents of political separation are, despite their denials, opponents of internationalisation itself, or indirect partisans of a limited internationalisation, of a Western condominium over the Ruhr. What they do not like about complete and consistent internationalisation is that it would associate all nations in the exploitation, government and administration of the Ruhr. That means that it would very definitely imply the participation of the Soviet Union in the control of the Ruhr. The most specious pleas and subtle analyses are used, only to cover the determination to exclude Russia from what General de Gaulle calls "Western Europe."

But, they reply, the Soviet Union itself, is it not opposed to political separation? How can you label as an anti-Soviet manoeuvre an attitude which is that of the Soviet Union itself? In fact it is true that the Soviet Union has declared against political separation and on this point the French attitude and that of the Soviet Union are divergent.

They thought to embarrass the French Communists with this opposition. The French Communists have already replied that they are in no way responsible for the position taken in the international plane by the Soviet Government. Advocates since the beginning of political separation for the Ruhr, which they consider to be in conformity with French interests in the actual circumstances, they remained faithful to their thesis, even when Molotov seemed to be opposed to it. Their enemies who expected a sensational reversal of policy on this occasion are in secret bitterly disappointed that our Party has held its stand. Unable to denounce what they call the "recantations" of the Communist Party, they have, in order to mix the cards, tried to become defenders of the Soviet thesis in opposition to the Communists!

In fact, the coincidence of the Anglo-Saxon thesis and that of the Soviet Union is only seeming.

The U.S.S.R. in the zone that she occupies has, after profound economic and social reforms, implacably demanded all the reparations to which she was entitled, dismantled war industries, and carried out a pitiless purification. Thus the U.S.S.R. established herself in the eyes of the German masses as the champion of democratisation.

Under the circumstances, the stand that she has taken in favor of German unity signifies from her point of view in practice the democratisation of the whole of Germany.

On the contrary, the policy of the Western Allies in their zone has been a sequence of encouragements to all masked or open forms of reaction; economic collaboration, especially in the British Zone, with the still intact big German trusts, maintenance of notorious Nazis in responsible positions under the pretext of their technical capacity, support of "moderate" parties such as the Christian Socialists, which has rallied all the shamefaced Nazis, obstacles in the way of unity of the proletarian parties, and support for leaders of anti-Communist social democracy like Severing.

Unity of that sort of Germany **against** the Soviet Union is what the Anglo-Saxons want. In these conditions, the Soviet Union would have difficulty in disappointing the hopes of the German Communist Party which from a strictly national attitude has declared for the unification of Germany.

France, which on account of Anglo-Saxon opposition has not obtained in her West the guarantees that the Soviet Union has ensured in her East in all political, territorial and economic domains, could not and must not envisage the problem from the same angle.

She could not do so without playing into the hands of a policy of conserving the Ruhr arsenal to a Germany of a "Western" type, and she must not do it because, whatever may happen and whatever may be the ultimate development of Germany, the security of France demands that she take immediate precautions which will fit every possible case.

In addition the Soviet Union perfectly understands our national point of view and Moscow is not astonished by the attitude that we have taken.

In reality the French and Soviet attitudes, at the moment divergent, are in the end complementary. We have the same OBJECT as the Soviet Union but we demand more, and we demand more because our geographical position, the relative insufficiency of our military and industrial potential, the conflict of interests which divides the Western Allies, and by which only the Germans stand to profit in the end, place upon us the responsibility of meeting these particular difficulties and menaces by a particular means.

Our campaign for internationalisation and political separation will be found to be correct in any event. If the democratisation of all Germany is carried out at the same tempo, and in the same manner as in the Eastern Zone, nevertheless internationalisation and political separation of the Ruhr will continue to be the means by which we will be sure of receiving Ruhr coal, which is so necessary to our recovery. If, on the contrary, reaction wins in Western Germany, then more than ever political separation will guarantee our security.

It must also be noted that if reaction wins, German unity will be seriously compromised and that the Anglo-Saxons will probably go on, as they are already doing, towards certain forms of federalism which will enable them, while paying tribute to the principle of unity, to integrate their zones with a system, call it what you like, which amounts in reality to a new form of Western Bloc with German participation.

In that case, for far greater reasons, political separation and internationalisation of the Ruhr will function as a guarantee that not only Germany, but Europe and the world itself will not be cut in two, as those men secretly wish who have operated, as we have said above, a change of front since the military overwhelming of Fascism.

Whatever may come of the particular question of French security which is an essential question which must be solved in the first place independently of every other consideration, it is certain that the occupying powers and amongst them France must define their attitude to Germany and the German people.

The powers will not arrive at this definition by vague considerations of the German soul and by "historical" divagations of the kind that make the Socialist Charles Dumas of the Populaire regret that Koenigsberg is now part of Russia despite the city being the birthplace of Kant! The only way is to remain faithful to the decisions of Potsdam, which lay down that German militarism and Nazism must be extirpated.

By the scrupulous application of the Potsdam decisions just reparations will be obtained from

Germany for the devastated countries and at the same time German democracy will be strengthened. You can't have one without the other, for the rigorous exaction of reparations will mean that German heavy industry and in consequence big business will be strictly controlled and finally reduced to impotence, which is the essential condition for installation of democracy in Germany.

An implacable policy in this direction will hit the privileged far more than the German masses and in general strike the German bourgeoisie, who made a complete compromise with Nazism.

By applying the Potsdam decisions in her Zone, the Soviet Union has succeeded simultaneously in obtaining the reparations to which she was entitled and in meriting the confidence of the German people.

The Western Allies, on the contrary, by their soft policy are depriving themselves (or certain amongst them) of the benefit of reparations without gaining in return the sympathy of the German people, who are observing that the principal care of the occupiers is to save the bourgeoisie, the aristocracy and German big business.

Unfortunately France is not in possession of sufficiently important industrial zones to be able to remedy this criminal policy single-handed. Nevertheless in the Saar and elsewhere she could distinguish herself by her methods from the policy conducted by the English and Americans in their zones.

Unfortunately it seems indeed that up to now the French zone is administered almost without exception by reactionaries who are preoccupied with gaining the good graces of the bourgeoisie, the church and the German industrialists.

A great effort must be made in this direction and a double purification must be achieved of the French Vichyites and the German Nazis, whose collusion, if it is consolidated, will threaten both the external and internal security of France. It is clear that the problem of administration of the French Zone is closely tied to the internal problems of France.

And that is true of the whole German question, whose solution, on the bases which are those of our Party, viz., security, reparations, extirpation of Nazism, democratisation, demands that in France itself democracy, whose interests once again coincide with the national interest in the widest sense, be strengthened.

SOME ASPECTS OF REFORMISM

E. F. HILL

IN urging the vigorous pursuit of the tactics of the united front Dimitrov stressed the need for "an irreconcilable struggle against Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of compromise with the bourgeoisie and consequently also against any penetration of this ideology into our own ranks." The position of the Labor Party leadership throughout the Federal elections warrants a special analysis in this regard.

All of Mr. Chifley's propositions were based upon an acceptance of the permanence of capitalism. At no time did he raise the A.L.P. plank of socialism — he threw to the wolves the much less radical policy of nationalisation. Just how far this acceptance of permanence for capitalism extends can be seen from this extract from Labor's pledges:

"To implement Labor's policy of Full Employment. The plans for this are laid down and ready. They are not mere blue prints or abstract theories. Under Labor Government there will be **NO UNEMPLOYMENT** in Australia." . . .

"To keep prices and rents under control so that there shall be **no exploitation of the average man and woman.**"

With a policy of full employment we have no quarrel. On the contrary, we stand squarely for full employment. But it is ridiculous to say that under a Labor Government there will be no unemployment in Australia. That is precisely where the policy of the Labor Government is leading because of its stubborn refusal to base itself upon the trade unions, to curb the monopolies, to carry out a vigorous policy of nationalisation, to implement a socialist policy. Certainly we will demand that the Labor Government give effect to all these and certainly we will struggle with all our might to see that there is full employment. But that will be done on the basis of the struggle of the people against capitalism, and not on any calm acceptance that capitalism, under a benign Labor Government, is working for our salvation. Again, keeping prices and rents down is indeed an objective that all workers have. But obviously it is not the key to exploitation — exploitation of the average man and woman will never be prevented until the system of wage labor is ended.

Mr. Chifley distinguished himself by speaking of the "golden age" in which we are living and are about to live. And yet the hard reality of the situation is clear to anyone who frankly faces the facts. The crisis of capitalism has been accentuated. The destruction of the fascist centres of world reaction has been a blow to the capitalist system itself, the colonial upsurge threatens the lifestream of capitalism, the new European democracies constitute a further challenge to it, and the living demonstration of the power and success of Socialism in Soviet Russia constitute a challenge and comparison from which there is no escape. The glaring contradictions of capitalism remain unsolved, indeed, have been deepened. Who can deny that in the period of the war, the productive process has become more socialised whilst the appropriation of the commodities so socially produced has fallen into fewer and fewer private hands? Or again, who can deny that the period of the war has called forth a further gigantic step in the development of productive forces — productive forces which have to exist within production relations which have long since been strained to breaking point. Those gigantic productive forces can quickly bridge the present gap between supply and demand (upon which the present uneasy equilibrium largely depends). The jockeying for position in the imperialist world is clear for all to see.

Mr. Chifley partly derives his view of the "golden age" from his anticipation of the export of British and American capital to Australia, by virtue of which he sees large numbers of Australians employed, Australia competing on the world markets and various other rosy illusions. But Australia cannot be considered apart from the rest of the world. Imperialism is a world system. The markets of the world were seized long ago and bitter competition is already going on for them, even within the ranks of America's rapacious imperialists let alone as between Britain and America and other countries. Small hope for Australia!

In short, it is perfectly clear that the general crisis of capitalism has in no way been overcome and that within that general crisis, capitalism must inevitably enter a new acute crisis of over-production. Indicative of this general position was E. W. Campbell's article in the September issue of the "Review" which revealed the enormous and increased degree to which Australia is in pawn to the bondholders.

Further light is cast upon this problem by an extraordinary Labor Party advertisement which was extensively used during the election campaign. It read: "The most conservative and influential newspaper in the world gives the lie to R. G. Menzies" and then it quoted the London "Financial Times" which commented favourably upon the price and wage fixing policy, rationing, etc., of the Labor Government. The "Financial Times" (27th July, 1946) then went on: "In the light of past achievements, however, it might not be over-optimistic to expect the Australian Government to be more successful than the U.K. and still more the American Government in securing orderly transition from war to peace economy and warding off the threat of inflation. More and more British and American capital is likely to be impressed with the long term advantages of a stake in Australia. Such investment offers a share in the Commonwealth's development and expansion, and a means of acquiring suitable bases for a growing and prosperous trade with the Far East. Here is the beginning of movement which may swell to large proportions and bring great benefit both to Australia and investors of new capital." ("Melbourne Argus," Sept. 25, 1946.) It is indeed peculiar that a Labor Government should seek to impress its supporters with material from such a journal as the "Financial Times." Particularly is this so in view of that journal's blatant support of exploitation of Australia and Australians at the tender hands of British and American imperialism. In a period of imperialism (the last stage of which, as Lenin pointed out, was the export of capital) economic bases for exploitation of the Far East necessarily lead to war bases. Australian Labor leaders frankly conceive Australia as the "arsenal of the Pacific." To attempt to foist such a policy on the working class represents the high-water mark of opportunism—the adaptation of the working class to capitalism.

Mr. Chifley might be asked—does the golden age apply to the starving millions of India, the struggle for Indonesian independence, the struggle of the Greek people against the terrorism of British imperialism or to our own aborigines and natives of New Guinea. And if Mr. Chifley believes so earnestly in the golden age, why does he not abolish taxation on the lower incomes, why does he not raise the basic wage, why does he not introduce the forty hour week?

Like all petty bourgeois Labor leaders, Mr. Chifley is suffering from illusions based upon a fairly short-time and strictly limited upward trend of the capitalist cycle. But assuredly, as night follows day, so will the capitalist boom be followed by the capitalist slump.

But the most dangerous aspect of this sort of thing is the carrying into the labor movement of capitalist beliefs. If we accept the view of a golden age, then by that very fact we give up all notion of struggle. Obviously if it is a golden age then the workers need only assist in reaping the benefit of the golden age ; the Trade Unions can go out of business and the Communist Party may be liquidated. Such statements are calculated to disarm the working class at the very time when all its fighting strength is needed. The only effect this can have is to hand over the workers bound hand and foot to the B.H.P. and the other great monopolies.

Mr. Chifley is the logical successor to those people who claimed that Ford had refuted Marx. His position is that working class struggle is unnecessary ; that under capitalism there is enough for all. Mr. Chifley's colleagues are to be found in the reformist trade union leaders who attempt to dam back the struggle of the workers for a 40 hour week while an Arbitration Court with 5 judges each receiving £2000-£3000 a year and working 17 hours a week does "justice" to the claim of about a million workers who work upwards of 44 hours a week and receive about £5 each a week. Reformism is established in important positions in Australia. These positions provide a powerful base from which to launch the dangerous and treacherous ideas of reformism — the ideology of the bourgeois in the labor movement, as Lenin so patiently, persistently and vehemently pointed out.

In conditions of the temporary and, for that matter, highly unstable ascending phase of the capitalist cycle, it cannot be denied that the ground is fertile for these reformist illusions. That their ascendancy is temporary and insecure is demonstrated by the willingness to struggle as, for example, the struggle around wages. The important thing is the shattering of these illusions and showing the correct way forward. This demands an intensified campaign of political education not only amongst Communists (for these illusions influence our party members) but amongst the workers as a whole. The experiences of the last economic crisis have left a vivid impression : the spectacle of a society which can only solve the problem of unemployment in conditions of war and its aftermath, is not lost on the people. It is clear, therefore, that we need a tremendous intensification of the campaign to take Marxist theory to the masses.

In the presentation of demands for the 40 hour week, £1 wage increase, etc., it is necessary also that we should keep firmly in mind the difference between our approach and that of the reformists. We do not see these campaigns as ends in themselves but as part of the general struggle against capitalism. The perspective for us is the preparation of the struggle for the establishment of socialism. In that, the struggle to improve the conditions of the workers under capitalism is of vast importance. In the actual experience of struggle, coupled with drawing of the correct lessons, the working class will quickly shed the illusions sedulously fostered by the Labor Party leadership and will seek the only way out of capitalism — the revolutionary way. The perspective of economic crisis underlines the urgency of lifting the struggle to higher and higher levels, so that the initiative and offensive lies with the workers and renders it difficult (or impossible) for the burden of crisis to be placed upon the toiling people. With correct socialist propaganda and correct presentation of the issues of struggle, disillusionment with the Labor Party will not flow back into the frustration of "Liberal" leadership or some other "new" party but will flow freely to Communist leadership.

There is no doubt, in these campaigns around the immediate demands of the workers, unity of Communists and A.L.P. rank and file is reaching higher and higher levels. There is no doubt that in the election campaign a higher degree of unity and friendly relations than ever before was achieved. And further, there is no doubt that as the situation develops the Communists, Labor Party workers and non-party workers will be thrown closer and closer together. Side by side with that is the process of quite important Labor Party people moving closer to the Communists and the idea of unity, paralleled by the increasing isolation from the mass struggle and from mass influence of the extreme reaction in the Labor movement. This is a situation for which Communists have striven and worked. But it is also a situation which calls for the attainment by the Communist Party membership of Marxist clarity on fundamental questions and a merciless criticism and exposure of the false theories of reformism.

THE VALUES OF MR. GOLLANCZ

J. R. CAMPBELL

THE new book **Our Threatened Values**, by Mr. Gollancz, advances the proposition that the hard won values of our Western civilisation are in deadly peril. The peril does not come from any single source. It may arise from the stupidity and selfishness of the people of Great Britain, from the "national Socialist" approach of the British Labor Party to current problems, from the excessive nationalism of the liberated countries. Nevertheless, the main source of peril is to be found, according to Mr. Gollancz, in the policy of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Parties throughout the world.

Mr. Gollancz claims no originality for the latter discovery. How could he, when it was the master theme of the last batch of speeches delivered by Doctor Goebbels, of Mr. Churchill's Fulton speech, of the spate of anti-Communist propaganda which rushes out from the Vatican—and indeed is the commonplace of every reactionary party in the world?

Nevertheless Mr. Gollancz makes the claim that his book is written in a spirit of charity for all men —including Communists. True, it will seem to many that the charity is very unequally distributed. It seems, for example, to be too lavishly bestowed on the fascist enemies of the people. "In Streicher himself there was potentiality of a sort" (p. 15). "I am sorry for every man, woman or child who is in pain or distress, including Joyce and Amery before their execution, and the man Kramer of Belsen" (p. 23); the saving of Laval for the execution squad was an "act of detestable cruelty" (p. 25).

Tanner of Finland "acted for genuinely patriotic motives" (p. 47); Mihailovich "collaborated with the Nazis not because he liked them or wanted them to win, but because that seemed to him the best immediate way to save his country from Croat domination and Communism" (p. 48); and as for the Big Shots of Nazism on trial at Nuremburg "these men have committed sins unspeakable; but subject to correction from those who really understand these matters, I would say that many of the offences with which they are charged can be described as crimes only "by way of the corruption of language" of which the Attorney-General complains" (p. 58). True, the men in the dock at Nuremburg sent "millions upon millions of individuals with who can say what precious potentialities yet unfulfilled—to the gas and flames" (p. 16). Mr. Gollancz has no doubt that this was a sin. He is not quite certain whether it was a war crime.

Mr. Gollancz does not hesitate to draw practical conclusions from all this charity. He "will fight to the death for the right of fascists to express their opinions" (p. 32) and asserts that "to suppress opinion whether anti-Semitic or otherwise is precisely to produce this sort of world in which another six million Jews will be massacred" (p. 33).

Indeed, Mr. Gollancz expends so much charity on the fascists that his supply is somewhat exhausted when he reaches the Communists, the Resistance movements and the liberated peoples. Poles and Czechs, he argues, have behaved vilely and abominably to the Germans.

There is a danger of the normalisation of resistance traits like "violence, sabotage, deceit, and a preference for adventurous excitement to steady work of a less romantic nature" (p. 37). There is not the same danger of those traits persisting in the men of the Allied armies because they "looked upon their jobs as something necessary but unpleasant and exceptional which they would only be too happy to abandon as soon as they could" (p. 38). Evidently the men of the Resistance enjoyed every moment of it and wanted it to last for ever.

Coming to Communism, Mr. Gollancz brushes aside the danger of a resurgent fascism and declares that "Communism and the growing power of the Soviet Union are the strongest positive forces opposed to the stability and development of Western Civilisation" (p. 22).

Now before examining this point of view it is necessary to place on record that Mr. Gollancz has one standard of measurement—an elastic charitable one—which he applies to ex-enemy countries, and another—a cast-iron one—which he applies to the Soviet Union.

On a broadcast by Field Marshal Montgomery, Mr. Gollancz says:—

> "What is so horrifying in this document is its personalising of almost meaningless abstractions 'you,' 'Germany,' 'The Germans'—and its consequent depersonalising of actual men and women (p. 13). Abandon the concepts 'Germany' and 'India,' 'Germany' and 'India' simply do not exist" (p. 135).

But throughout the book the Soviet Union is personalised. "She" wants this and wants that. The Soviet Union, it is asserted, probably believes that "a war of atom bombs in, say four or five years' time, would damage her far less than ourselves who would be more or less wiped out, and considerably less than the United States of America" (p. 76). There is not a vestige of a quotation (and Mr. Gollancz can proliferate quotations when it suits his purpose) for this quite monstrous assertion. To personify Germany, according to Mr. Gollancz, is to open the way to every kind of human crime and folly, but to personify the Soviet Union and to make wild assertions about it is evidently to defend the threatened moral values of the West.

Of course, the charge of immorality and amorality levelled against revolutionary Marxists is not a new one. The Independent Labor Party, in the days when it was a political force, made a speciality of its superior morality to that of the Communists. Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden were the high priests of this ethical Socialism until the period of the second Labor Government drew near. We will readily concede that no Communist could rise to the ethical heights which those gentlemen attained in the autumn of 1931. The recent example of this "ethical" Socialism was Common Wealth. The Labor Movement, according to the founders of this body, was perishing for lack of a decent Socialist morality.

What the movement needed was new moral inspiration which only a new party could give. So the young and idealistic were gathered into the new party and were baptised in the new moral inspiration. They were just beginning to enjoy the new morality with its courageous insistence on "right" when a number of leading members, including Members of Parliament, left the party to become Labor candidates at the General Election. The General Election was hardly over when another group of leaders, failing to persuade the party to dissolve and join the Labor Party, left their followers (to whom they had surely some ethical responsibility) high and dry and joined the Labor Party themselves. Was this conduct "expedient" or was it "right"?

Far be it from the revolutionary Marxist to despise ethics, but sad experience has taught him to exercise vigilance when people appear on the scene beating the big drum of morality in an ostentatious way.

The fundamental value of Western civilisation which, according to Mr. Gollancz, Communists despise, is "respect for personality." The Communist, he alleges, regards other men, not as individuals in their own right, but as tools to be used to serve the purposes of the Communists. In order to serve their purposes the Communists lie, suppress the truth, conceal their real intentions behind facades and reject all the tenets of bourgeois morality. In the process of conducting a struggle to increase their influence the Communists become morally corrupt and as such are unfit to build, or participate in the building of a society that respects the human personality.

Now if these are the tenets of Communism one ought to be able to reveal them from the vast literature of the Communists. To say nothing of the literature issued by the Communist Party in this country, Mr. Gollancz had all the works of Lenin to draw upon. Yet he only produces one tiny quotation consisting of a report of a conversation between George Lukacz and a German Socialist in the year 1921, which is quoted from a book by Franz Bor-

kenau. "The Communists disdain to conceal their aims," Marx and Engels told us. Evidently they know how to conceal their means, since not one direct quotation can be produced from a Communist book, pamphlet or study course inculcating those immoral tenets in the Communist rank and file. Oh, super-clever Communists! It's all done by word of mouth.

May be, however, the immorality of the Communists is to be found in practice. Now let us admit right away that the Communists are prepared to lie to, and deceive the class enemy. The Communists (and for that matter the Socialists and the Catholics) were prepared to hoodwink and deceive the fascists and the quislings during the course of the resistance struggle, and who will blame them? The Communists are prepared to deceive the capitalist class, not as to their aims (which are well known) but as to their next move in a given tactical struggle; but I do not think Mr. Gollancz is building his case on the fact that Communists have been known to resort to political ruses against the class enemy.

The charge rather is that Communists seek to deceive the people in general or anyone who is prepared to associate with them politically in particular. There ought to be a rich crop of examples to prove this. In fact, aside from a few general assertions, none is offered.

If perfidy is the Communists' middle name, surely one ought to be able to produce examples from the Communist activity in the Resistance movement on the Continent or in the unions in Britain? Did the Communists in any of these spheres of activity conceal the fact that they were Communists, or hide their ultimate aims, or fail to pull their weight in the daily struggle, or betray their associates? The perfidy of the Communists was the theme of many Labor speeches and pamphlets in the recent affiliation campaign. Mr. Laski illustrated it by misquoting a speech delivered by Dimitrov in Bulgaria. There was a strange reluctance to produce examples from the British trade union movement in which members of the Communist Party are active.

The Communists "conceal their real intention behind facades," says Mr. Gollancz. As no examples are given, one is left guessing as to what this means. Perhaps we can interpret it something like this. Communists are out to organise the working class with the aim of conquering power. Yet one constantly finds them in all kinds of Committees and organisations fighting for less than this. You will find them for example active in Tenants' Associations compaigning against an increase in rent, or in a campaign against Franco Spain, yet their real aim is something vastly different from the issues they are raising in those campaigns. If Mr. Gollancz means this he has got himself into a needless muddle. The Communists aim to make the working class the dominant class in society in order that it can change the whole social structure, but as a means to this they encourage the workers to fight for every possible advantage within the framework of capitalism. There is no inconsistency in having as one's objective the struggle for power and struggling against an increase in rents. For both Communists and non-Communists want lower rents and neither is "using" the other for an ulterior purpose when they co-operate together to obtain this immediate aim.

The Communists will resort to any means to increase their influence, Mr. Gollancz contends.

> "If this could be done by the suppression of the true and the suggestion of the false, by taking as their criterion not the facts of any matter but how the matter might 'best' be 'put,' then methods like these are not merely permissible, they are obligatory."

There is much virtue in the little word "if." In point of fact, the Communists know that they can neither increase their influence nor prepare the working class for the great tasks which lie ahead by any such playing with truth. It is a commonplace (which has frequently caused some amusement in non-Communist circles) that Communists like, in long public documents and articles, to analyse the existing situation and explain what they are doing and what they would like the general body of the workers to do in the light of a particular situation.

So far from seeking to move the mass of the people into action for purposes which the Communists conceal from them, there is no party in politics which tries so much to explain the meaning and purpose of every action in which it engages. That is because the Communists reject with scorn the idea that other men should be used as tools. That is why they resort to methods which endeavour to induce the people to become conscious makers of history.

Associated with this is another characteristic of the Communists that is often made the butt of the witticisms of the politically cynical: namely, the Communists' criticisms of their own mistakes. This, we suggest, is a high test of political morality and of a responsible attitude to the political education of the peoples.

The Labor Party, for example, was set back for a decade when its principal leaders, Macdonald, Snowden and Thomas, stabbed it in the back in 1931. How was this debacle possible? Why should trusted leaders behave in this fashion? The world still awaits a responsible official Labor Party explanation of this terrifying betrayal. So far, however, from the Communists concealing their mistakes they discuss them publicly so that every worker taking an active interest in politics should appreciate why the mistakes occurred. This is the very opposite of treating other men as tools.

One can argue with a Tory but not with a Communist, Mr. Gollancz opines. With a Tory

> "your basic assumptions are the same, unless of course, he's a downright fascist. Both assume that the object of a discussion is, in theory at least, to discover the truth. Both may disregard the theory, but that is another matter. But in a discussion between a Communist and non-Communist the Communist does nothing of the kind. You, the non-Communist, are engaged in what you think is a joint investigation. He, very often brilliantly 'putting it across'" (p. 65).

Perhaps it is because I am a person of low morality that I find this passage exceedingly pharasaical. Does Mr. Gollancz change his point of view every time he is in discussion? Does he never try to get his opponent to accept the point of view that he (Gollancz) has formed before the discussion took place? If this passage means that Communists go into discussions prepared beforehand to concede nothing, to arrive at no modus vivendi with non-Communists, it is complete nonsense. All over Europe today Communists and non-Communists are co-operating together on the basis of a common policy arrived at after discussion. It is completely unlikely that this policy is based on the Communists always succeeding in "putting it across" those with whom they are co-operating. There must have been a considerable measure of give and take on both sides. That too is clearly the case in all local organisations—Tenants' Defence Leagues, etc. — in which Communists and non-Communists co-operate. But maybe Mr. Gollancz thinks that the European Socialists would have been better employed searching for truth with open-minded Tories?

Maybe the aim of the Communists is one that takes no account of the human personality.

Well, take some of the great aims of the British Labor Party at the moment. It is just introducing a National Health Service. Surely this proposal was first given flesh and blood in the Socialised Health Services of the Soviet Union. It is discussing the 40-hour week. In 1927, the Soviet Union introduced the 7-hour day. It is demanding an extension of holidays with pay, a policy that was first made universal in the Soviet Union, and so we could go on. Most of the great measures to enrich human personality now being put forward, were first tried out in the Soviet Union.

Now, Mr. Gollancz's essay is in its way a programme of action. He wants Socialists everywhere to treat Communists as the main enemy; to oppose the policy of the Soviet Union, to refuse co-operation with the Communists. All this is being done, he asserts, with the aim of defending Western values. Nevertheless we are justified in asking what kind of a world will result if this highly moral programme is carried out. No one can doubt that when Communists and Social Democrats engaged in a dog fight inside pre-Nazi Germany they did not do so with the object of helping the advance of Hitler — nevertheless that was the practical outcome of their fratricidal struggle. Will the result be any better this time?

For though fascism has sustained a heavy military defeat, the economic roots of fascism have by no means been liquidated. American monopoly capitalism has come out of the war temporarily rejuvenated. It is using its vast economic and political power to secure the restoration of capitalism everywhere. It brings economic and political pressure on the new Governments in Eastern Europe and tries to strengthen the forces of reaction which are in opposition to them. It seeks to strengthen the reactionary parties everywhere and to split the working class movement. Its general attitude to Communism is such that Mr. Gollancz suggests that any extension of Soviet influence in Europe may well hasten an American-Soviet war.

Now this terrific pressure for the restoration of capitalism in Europe is being exerted at a time when the new Governments are facing extremely difficult economic problems — the aftermath of war's devastation. If on top of these problems there was a dog fight between the Socialist and Communist parties, the way would be opened in many countries for a capitalist and reactionary restoration, and there can be no more dangerous illusion than to suppose that a reactionary restoration in Europe would long remain within a democratic framework. That is the real danger to all human values and to the very existence of the working class movement in Europe—a danger arising from the fact that the power of the monopolists has not been definitely broken and reactionary forces in the world are seeking to restore that power.

Of course, no one is going to rally to the slogan "restore monopoly capitalism." It is necessary for reaction to coin a slogan which will unite the maximum number of people. So the food speculators in America, the U.S. advocates of a preventive war against the Soviet Union, the Vatican which supports "democratic" Catholic parties on one hand and Franco and Salazar on the other, are all seeking to build a common front on the basis of "the defence of Western civilisation," and here is Mr. Gollancz rushing to their aid. Some one is sadly mistaken as to the results of such a crusade, and we suggest that it is more likely to be Mr. Gollancz than Wall Street or the Vatican.

Far be it from us to despise moral feelings as a driving force. But the direction of one's effort can only be arrived at after a close estimate of the actual class forces at any given moment. A morality that leads one to line up with the forces of capitalist restoration, that provides an ethical justification for perpetuating the split in the working class movement, is blind, and can lead only to disasters. Moral feeling must be at the service of reasoned analysis, if the dark forces of monopoly capitalism, the real enemy to all human values, are to be overcome.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM

N. V. VECSENYI

THE year 1946, and many years to come, confront the Australian people with an immense housing problem which has to be tackled and solved.

When Engels was confronted with the same problem, more than 70 years ago, he wrote: "The so-called housing shortage, which plays such a great role in the press nowadays, does not consist in the fact that the working class generally lives in bad, overcrowded and unhealthy dwellings. This shortage is not something peculiar to the present; it is not even one of the sufferings peculiar to the modern proletariat in contradiction to all earlier oppressed classes. On the contrary, all oppressed classes in all periods suffered more or less uniformly from it. In order to make an end of this housing shortage there is only one means: to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class. What is meant today by housing shortage is the peculiar intensification of the bad housing conditions of the workers as a result of the sudden rush of population to the big towns; a colossal increase in rent, a still further aggravation of overcrowding in the individual houses and, for some, the impossibility of finding a place to live in at all. And this housing shortage gets talked of so much only because it does not limit itself to the working class but has affected the petit-bourgeoisie also."

Whereas the problem and the general approach to it have remained the same in the 70 years that have passed, conditions have changed in the sense that we are much nearer to our final objective, consequently to the objective of solving the housing problem, than 70 years ago. Hence when the matter was taken up in our recent publication **Housing, Slums, Private Enterprise and the Future** we could not only approach the subject from the general political angle, but also put forward both immediate and long-range practical proposals, knowing that in its implementation we will have to play a very important role.

This article merely attempts to throw further light on certain aspects of the housing problem, notably on two: home ownership and the most immediate tasks.

If the worker wants to become the owner of his home, then he has at the same time to fight for his emancipation. In fact, should he be acquiring a home under capitalism and fail to struggle for his economic and political emancipation, he would not only lose his home, but he also would lose his position as a free laborer.

The illusion that I own my home (at least I have a roof over my head) come what may, is a dangerous one. Practically every serf, or slave for that matter, had a roof above his head and it was precisely this roof that chained him, more than anything else to his master.

Experience has shown that whenever a worker has plucked sufficient courage (or rather has fallen into the hands of some "dream-home" building society) to become a home owner, in the majority of cases he has never achieved it. But rather what happened was that, as a result of unemployment, illness, etc., he lost the deposit, paid more in instalments and interest than what the rent would have been, paid for repairs or repaired it himself and eventually was kicked out to make room for the next victim.

In a street in Alexandria, Sydney, out of 18 of such workers' "dream-homes" (shabby weatherboard buildings) not one is owned by the original owner and the houses were erected 14 years ago. This state of affairs can be improved by the Government housing scheme as proposed in our publication on housing, but it cannot be eliminated.

Supposing, however, that a worker had acquired his home, consequently he has not got to pay any rent. The question is, has he materially improved his conditions? Is he better off? Not according to Engels: "Expenses for rent no longer enter into the value of his labor power. Every reduction in the cost of production of labor power, that is to say, every permanent price reduction in the workers' necessities of life is equivalent — 'on the basis of the iron laws of political economy' — to a reduction to the value of labor power and will, therefore, finally result in a corresponding fall in wages." This, by the way, partly explains the lower wages in the countryside.

In other words, if the workers do not struggle for higher wages, and get them, they gain nothing by acquiring a home, in the way of a higher standard of living — at best this remains static.

It does not even remain static, but rather deteriorates, if all the consequences of the worker owning his home under capitalism are allowed to be driven home. The worker is not only hampered in his free movements to sell his labor power to the highest bidder at a given time and place. Since he is chained to his home, when it comes to the question of fighting matters out with the employing class, then, in order not to suffer the possible loss of his home, he may be forced to agree to terms which he would reject if he were in the position to move about freely.

So it becomes quite evident that the real solution of the workers' home ownership lies in their consistent and unified struggle with all progressive forces, for an ever increasing standard of living and greater political freedom. And so that the gains may be consolidated and extended the establishment of socialism is absolutely imperative.

In order to overcome, to some degree, the most appalling features of the present housing shortage, the following can be the approach:

Temporary buildings are to be run up at once with the use of all available cheap material (from army huts, etc.) within reasonable distance to good communications, anywhere at all. In the meantime on the basis of scientific planning buildings of a permanent nature should be immediately begun. And the balancing of these two methods should be carefully maintained. At the same time the immediate division of big homes into small self-contained flats (and requisition in certain instances) should be implemented.

The solution to the post-war housing problem is on the cross roads. All aspects of it have to be vigorously campaigned for. And to overcome the most urgent needs a very definite and resolute mobilisation is required of all the people who are most directly and painfully affected by the housing shortage.

DIMITROV'S TRIUMPH OVER GOERING

W. S. CLAYTON

ON the evening of November 6th, 1933, Herr Reichminister Hermann Goering, jackbooted and blustering in the Leipzig Court, shouted at George Dimitrov: "I'm not afraid of you! You belong to the gallows! Wait till I get you outside this court!"

On October 1st, 1946, in Nuremberg, the International Military Tribunal, after finding him guilty for his part in the most terrible crimes ever committed against society, sentenced Hermann Goering to death by hanging.

Today, George Dimitrov continues his great work, loved the world over by all progressives and fighters for progress, while his one-time torturer, hated and spurned by all that is decent in the world, has chosen the coward's way out to escape the hangman's noose.

These are landmarks in the unfolding of history, but the terrible lessons of the past fifteen years must never be forgotten if, in the days that are ahead, we are to avoid such tragedies as befell the German working class and the working class of the whole world.

There have been and will continue to be apologists for Fascism — weak-kneed and simpering scribes who parrot-like say, "It can't happen here," in this way breaking down the will to struggle of the workers. Then there are those portraying Fascism as the rule of gangster groups who, running away with the State machine, converted it to their own purposes.

At no time will the working class learn from bourgeois writers, spokesmen and politicians that Fascism was the rule of the old capitalist class by new methods, by open terrorist dictatorship; by the abolition of bourgeois democratic rule when this method no longer served the interests of capitalism, and its replacement by brutal force, the torture chamber and the concentration camp.

The same class ruled under the Weimar Republic as under Hitler's Third Reich. The method of rule differed; nothing else. Only the Communists have laid bare these facts of life.

As to the opiate "It can't happen here," how often have we heard rumblings that could herald a coming storm, as, when Postmaster-General, Thorby quite shamelessly expressed his sympathy for fascist methods. Menzies has spoken in praise of Hitler, Cameron, Harrison of New Guard infamy, Fadden the spokesman for the landed monopolists — all are essentially Fascist in their sympathies and in their outlook on life. For these people and their class, democracy is a means of maintaining their positions as the ruling class. When it fails to fulfil this role they will not hesitate to adopt the same measures as did German, Italian and Japanese capitalism, if the opportunity is given them.

This is one lesson the working class, in the interest of its very existence, must never forget.

But it is necessary to go much further than this. The workers expect reaction from reactionaries. The recent elections show their distrust and the hatred felt towards such people not only by the labor movement but by large numbers of middle class people. It remains yet to be understood that Fascism came to Germany not so much through the struggle of the bourgeoisie as through the weakness and spinelessness or outright reactionary character of many of the so-called Labor leaders of that country. They hamstrung the working class, they prevented labor unity, they stifled initiative and struggle against the monstrous force that was being created. It should be recalled also that Mussolini was at one time a member of the Italian Socialist Party and Editor of a Socialist paper.

There can be no doubt that there are such potential betrayers in the ranks of the Australian labor movement. One labor "leader" had in his office a large photograph autographed "To my friend, From Benito." Others are as outspokenly imperialist in their actions as Menzies.

What faith can the workers have in a man claiming to be the voice of Labor who takes full page advertisements in his paper from the millionaire steel monopolists? The ranks of the ALP are riddled with lickspittles of capitalism, police spies and racketeers. These people are an abomination to Labor, and if left alone, as in Germany and elsewhere, will pave the way for the inevitable victory of reaction over the people. Serving their masters well, they are in the forefront of the attack on the militant, class-conscious sections of the workers. They show their illiteracy by speaking parrot-like about "Red Fascism"; being dumb ignorant brutes they would not be able

to understand, let alone solve, the contradictions in this term.

This dross must be swept into the discard; the workers' ranks must be cleansed of such rubbish so that the way will be cleared for united struggle against the enemies of progress, for victory not only of a military character over Fascism, but of a moral and political character also.

Then there is a third lesson to learn from the experiences of past years.

Even with two million Storm Troopers at his back Goering's exclamation to Comrade Dimitrov, "I am not afraid of you" proved his fear. It was the unflinching courage of Dimitrov, his exposure and damning indictment of Nazism hourly and daily throughout a trial that lasted months, that made Goering expose himself in this way.

Dimitrov set a standard for all time of how Communists must conduct themselves in face of the class enemy. In his dignity and challenging indictment of Fascism he appeared as the personification of the incorruptible and inevitably victorious working class.

When his beloved Bulgaria was slandered, Dimitrov appeared as the true patriot defending the national honour of his country. "It is true," he said, "that Bulgarian Fascism is savage and barbarous. But the working class, the peasants and the culture of Bulgaria are neither savage nor barbarous. True that the level of material well-being is not so high in the Balkans as elsewhere in Europe, but it is false to say that the people of Bulgaria are politically or mentally on a lower scale than the peoples of other countries. Our political struggle, our political aspirations are no less lofty than those of other peoples. A people which lived for five hundred years under a foreign yoke without losing its language and its national character, a people of workers and peasants who have fought and are fighting Bulgarian Fascism —such a people is not savage and barbarous. Only —such a people is not savage and barbarous. But I Fascism in Bulgaria is savage and barbarous. But I ask you, Mr. President, in what country does not Fascism bear these qualities? . . . The Bulgarian people has fought obstinately and with all its strength against foreign oppression. Therefore I protest here and now against these attacks on my people. I have no cause to be ashamed of being Bulgarian, in fact I am proud to say that I am a son of the Bulgarian working people."

And in rebuttal of the hysterical slanders about terrorism directed against the Communists, Dimitrov spurned the charge with the words: "Mass work, mass activity, mass opposition and the United Front —no adventurism—these are the elements of Communist tactics."

Dimitrov's last words in his defence ended on a note of courage and hope. "A time will come when these accounts will have to be settled, with interest! The elucidation of the Reichstag fire and the identification of the real incendiaries is a task which will fall to the people's Court of the future proletarian dictatorship. . . The wheel of history moves slowly on towards the ultimate, inevitable, irrepressible goal of Communism. . ." (Here the Court forbade Dimitrov to speak further.)

His stand in Court and the inspiration it was to the people all over the world saved Dimitrov from the Fascist trap. He was freed and proceeded to Moscow, where, from the Socialist Fatherland, he continued his inspiring struggle against the dangers of Fascism and war.

Today the Nazi hangman has taken rat poison and George Dimitrov, an outstanding figure in the World Labor Movement, takes his proud place as the leader of the liberated Bulgarian people.

NEW WAYS OF KILLING

DYSON CARTER

(From "New Masses," September 3, 1946.)

WE have all read emotional predictions of what an atomic war would be like. But it is now admitted by informed scientists that the atom bomb is a "merciful" weapon, of limited killing power, compared to the arms of biological warfare.

These incredibly barbarous weapons have received little attention in the press. However, enough information has been released from censorship to give us a clear if not a complete idea of what biologists and biochemists have already achieved. Stripped of technical disguises the facts show us vividly how we shall die if a World War III comes. We need to examine these facts not in a spirit of horrified curiosity but because they teach us simple and powerful truths about the urgency of the struggle for peace. Here knowledge can be forged into our super weapon. If we can give the people an understanding of biological warfare we shall greatly strengthen our weapons, the armaments of peace.

Any nation could wage biological warfare. The weapons are fundamentally superior to atom bombs, technically and strategically, because they are very cheap, they can be turned out in small factories modestly equipped and manned by few scientists, and they could be prepared in absolute secrecy. Unlike the atom bomb, poison gases and all previous weapons, many biological arms cannot be called off by an armistice, and some will enormously increase their own killing power after they have been set in action, without further effort by the attacker. It is even realistic to conceive of the ultimate in horror: devastating biological destruction breaking out weeks or months after

the warmaking nation had actually started the attack, with the victims remaining for some time in ignorance as to who was the aggressor.

As is well known, disease has played a decisive part in many wars. In fact, up to World War I epidemic diseases usually caused more military casualties than did weapons. As early as 1870, when bacteriology was still groping toward basic knowledge of disease, Bloxam, the English chemist and military adviser, seriously advocated that the British army experiment with artillery shells loaded with small-pox germs. During the first world War the American doctor Davis revealed to the University of Illinois' College of Medicine that some attention was being paid to germ warfare, which he condemned as "repellent to every sense of honor and fair play." He was referring to the long-censored attempt by German agents in 1915 to infect Allied horses and cattle with virulent diseases.

That attempt was a failure. Much earlier, during attacks on Crimean cities in the fourteenth century, the Tartars are reliably said to have hurled upon the defenders parts of corpses dead from plague. And Pizarro's troops deliberately gave Indians clothes from small-pox victims, starting uncontrollable epidemics which caused some 3,000,000 deaths in Mexico and Central America.

Germ warfare was relegated to the realm of science fantasy for two opposite reasons; plagues may attack friend and foe indiscriminately, and the advance of immunisation made disease dissemination increasingly difficult. As late as 1941 eminent American scientists considered biological warfare to be completely impractical. However, that same year the National Academy of Science and the National Research Council presented new confidential facts to the Secretary of War who already had Allied spy reports concerning German and Japanese experiments in biological warfare. The facts were not alarming, and the scientists simply urged that the "debatable question" should be investigated by planned research.

Suddenly in the summer of 1942 a super-secret committee took over that work. This "War Research Service" drew specialists from all over the nation. Their findings were decisive. Within twelve months the Chemical Warfare Service of the Army was called upon to organise large-scale development. The next year mass production laboratories were started at Camp Detrick in Maryland, followed by plants in Mississippi, Utah and Indiana.

Few people — including technicians — have grasped the enormity of this work. Its secrets have been more rigidly and successfully guarded than the atomic bomb. Canada and Britain participated in restricted projects, but some 3,900 scientists and military technicians were mobilised in America alone, backed by very heavy cash expenditures. But the extent of the work is less significant than the results achieved.

We must understand that biological warfare is much broader than germ warfare. It now covers three general types of weapons. First: living disease organisms such as bacteria, fungi, viruses and rickettsias. Second: toxins extracted from such organisms. Third: synthetic chemicals which destroy or distort life in ways quite different from the action of poisons. In general, there are varieties of these weapons which can be used against human beings, animals or plants.

Some publicity has been given to the toxins. The significant fact here is that for the first time biochemists have isolated in pure form the "poisons" by which certain disease organisms produce illness and death in our bodies. These substances are so incredibly potent that newspaper readers have dismissed the popularised reports as fantastic. But recently in "Science" a statement by Lamanna, McElroy and Eklund gave facts regarding a toxin extracted from the botulinus organism. One gamma of this protein substance will kill half a dozen adults. About 30,000,000 gammas make up one ounce. Hence one ounce of the pure toxin would be more than sufficient to kill almost every man, woman and child on this continent.

We know this is cold fact because comparable substances, of opposite effect, have already been used to give immunity against certain diseases. For example a pure vaccine has been extracted from pneumococcus organisms. Injected into human beings this gives protection against more than fifty types of pneumonia. Tens of thousands of people have already been given the vaccine, and these tests show that one ounce will immunise half a million. A more potent vaccine was developed by men from Western Reserve University for use against tetanus. On the other hand, there is also a tetanus toxin, one ounce of which could provide fatal doses for more than 100,000,000 people.

Last May, Rep. Albert Thomas told Congress that the Navy had a weapon "far more deadly than the atomic bomb." He was probably referring to the extraordinary project completed by the most secret of all our scientific bodies, Naval Medical Research Unit No. 1, headed by Capt. Albert Paul Krueger. This dealt with pneumonic plague, the disease caused by the same germs as bubonic plague but spread directly through the air from victim to victim, instead of through fleas. Quite likely NMRU No. 1 has mass-produced both pneumonic plague toxin and the infecting agent, each of deadliness similar to that of the botulism and tetanus proteins.

Therefore we can foresee a war in which the aggressor would secretly or openly spread fearfully potent toxins or infectious agents within the victim nation. Meanwhile the aggressor's population might be immunised against the disease used.

In this latter notion there is no comfort. For us, biological warfare differs in a real and ghastly way from atomic war. While it is possible that no other nation may have an atomic weapon for some

time, we can be certain that a number of other countries possess biological arms now. We can also be sure that if our imperialists carry us into another war, for every atomic bomb we hurl, our opponents will reply with infinitely worse weapons. The majority of us would perish before our scientists could develop protective measures.

And their efforts would be useless, because the enemy would change his diseases or toxins before immunising means could be found. What has happened can be simply expressed: science has discovered how to develop new types of disease organisms—giving us new plagues and new poisons—in a way not remote from the breeding of new flowers, vegetables and grains. This is an exceedingly complex and largely secret subject, but we have an inkling of what has been achieved in this year's Eli Lilly award to Dr. Maclyn McCarty. At a meeting of bacteriologists, immunologists and pathologists, McCarty told how he used natural enzymes like desoxyribo-nuclease to change disease germs from one type to another. It is reasonable to presume that such experiments were primitive in the WRS and NMRU. Today synthetic chemicals and radiations are employed to create new strains of virulent organisms. The number of possible diseases cannot be estimated.

In everyday language this can be viewed two ways. First, just as the sulfa drugs are enormously more effective against disease and previously known chemicals, so the new "synthetic diseases" kill with awesome power. Secondly, each disease of this kind represents a weapon strategically comparable to the atomic bomb—a secret weapon possessed for the time being by only one nation. Hence, nations warring with biological arms would be on an equal footing. But the weapons would be so destructive that in striving to murder each other all would be committing siucide.

By way of contrasts we should note that this research is of bewildering peacetime value to humanity, for it gives wholly new ways to eliminate serious diseases. At present the military censorship guards these lifesaving secrets behind machine-guns. The only beneficial discoveries so far disclosed are of use to poultry and cattle!

If the direct destruction of human life were not enough, another branch of biological research has concentrated upon methods of mass starvation by means of wiping out basic crops. Included are new kinds of rusts, bacterial rots and virus diseases. The most spectacular results were obtained with synthetic hormones which selectively distort the growth of certain plants. One of these is the weed-killer 2-4-D. Its military counterparts lay waste to useful plants like the cereals and legumes, while with diabolical selectiveness they allow ragweed and thistles to grow unharmed. The Authorities admit that we were ready to use one such chemical on a mass scale against Japan. Spread early in the rice reason with no apparent effect, this "growth regulator" would have permitted the crop to approach the harvest stage, when vast areas would have withered away suddenly. In a recent issue of "Science" men of the Special Projects Division (Chemical Warfare Service) admitted that the results reported thus far are "only the beginning."

Once again in contrast, biochemists have been allowed to say that many of the hormones are of revolutionary importance to farming. One withers away potato leaves at harvest time, improving the yield and gathering of the tubers. Others enable us to produce fruits without pollination or seeds. George W. Merck summarises the perspective thus: "Every agricultural or horticultural practice which affects growth, development, ripening or storage, can be influenced to economic advantage."

Suppose we go beyond this exciting vision. Science has produced a pure substance, one ounce of which will kill a hundred million people. A handful of another chemical will rid a thousand farms of weeds. Still another will change bacteria when diluted 400,000,000,000 times. What do these facts mean? Research has begun to probe the secrets of life, growth and death. We are approaching the hitherto unknown substances which control the living cell in health and sickness, its reproduction and inheritance factors, the catalyst of life.

We are on the verge of reversing the course of disease, not with "medicines" or even antibiotics like penicillin but by using catalysts which counteract the very catalysts causing the symptoms of illness. What is more, other catalysts show us that we may soon begin to control evolution and heredity, at first in plants and animals, later in respect to man's heritable defects. From explorers our scientists are about to become creators on a scale as majestic as the poetry of Genesis.

But the realities of research harnessed by imperialism are nauseating. Seventeen million people now living in North America will die of cancer if medicine does not advance its knowledge of this disease. Yet we find biological war research seeking the "growth regulators" of cancer with the aim of winning horrifying new substances which would doom whole populations with uncontrollable cancer, as surely and swiftly as methyl cholanthrene produces the diseases in laboratory animals.

To repeat: for us as people the really incisive fact is that other nations have and are developing biological weapons. This is the essence of Joliot-Curie's warning to the British Association of Scientific Workers in February when he said that America's atomic energy secrecy drives other countries to "produce more treacherous and more terrible weapons." The reactionaries and their propagandists must be aware of the menace. But should we be surprised that they continue the drive to war? Here we see the pattern of Munich repeated. On the chance that the Soviet Union might be overwhelmed by bombs and toxins they are willing to stake our cities and towns, our crops and cattle, our lives by the tens of millions.

Over and above all other facts about biological warfare we must understand, regardless of vague assurances in the press, that science positively does not hold out any hope of protecting ourselves against the new weapons. Some of these are self-propagating. Today science is still unable to control outbreaks of long studied diseases such as pneumonic plague, polio, potato blight and rusts. With these, as Dr. Frank Thorne points out, "Their mischief is wrought blindly and spontaneously, they have no aid from a malicious enemy in getting started." Uniquely new plagues, together with radically effective means of spreading them, would cause slaughter appalling even to the eyewitnesses of Hiroshima.

Certainly the Soviet Union is engaged in research of this kind. The Academy of Science's Microbiology Institute ranks among the world's most advanced institutions. Its director, Vitali Rischkov, recently won a Stalin Prize for his basic studies of virus disease. In my files I have just found a clipping which describes Rischkov's work on ribosenucleic acid and viruses — three years old. But we would be making a ridiculously naive mistake to pose the problem of biological warfare in terms of American vs. Soviet science. Many other nations, not a few of whom rightly consider themselves grimly shadowed by Truman-Attlee-King diplomacy, are frantically spurring their laboratories in the race for super catalysts of death.

Watson Davis, director of Science Service, early this year described the situation with admirable simplicity: "The only hope is to bring germs and atoms alike into the open so that they may be controlled in the interest of all peoples."

It is a tragedy that many scientists have supported the State Department plan for atomic energy "control" or have subscribed to the utopian scheme of "World Government" put forward to further American imperialism, to sabotage Big Three unity and the United Nations. These actions reflect on the political level the intolerable tragedies unfolding in the personal lives of our most talented researchers. Would that Shakespeare and Gorky were alive now . . . to dramatise the conflicts of scientists who, having found the secret of banishing polio or the plagues of Asia, must lock that miracle in a War Department vault each night, and then seduce their minds to conceive its opposite: a pestilential deformer of chromosomes, or a key that will unlock cancer in the cells of everybody, or a neurosyphilis toxin with power to send millions to a madhouse death!

Only the people can save our scientists from the maniacal plot which, unless it is halted, will surely destroy them along with world peace. Now the upholders of exploitation are starkly revealed as literally the enemies of life. And upon the people, organising for the defence of peace, rests our only hope of rescuing all the world's intelligence and culture.

[A great many references were consulted. Among these were:,

Waksman, S.A., to the Westinghouse Centennial Forum, May 17, 1946 (original paper sent to author).

Merck, G.W., to the W.C. Forum, May 16, 1946 (original paper).

Release from Camp Detrick (USCWS) of May 16, 1946, and May 25, 1946.

Release from NAMRU, Washington, January 4, 1946.

Release from Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, re Eli Lilly award, May 24, 1946.

War Department Report released January 3, 1946.

Various items in "Science" and the biochemical press.]

THE PRESS AND THE EDUCATION OF WORKERS' CHILDREN

H. ROSS, B.A.

ALLEN SHORT agrees that he was guilty of careless formulation in his article in the September Review when he hoped that the daily press would give support to the "New Deal in Education" for the children of the people as they gave some support to the Salaries Campaign of the teachers. He states that the remark gives no indication that anything favourable to this New Deal would only find place in the capitalist press after the most strenuous campaign and that any impression given that the press was genuinely interested in educational progress of the masses except insofar as it made them more useful to their rulers, was quite incorrect. This latter attitude is more understandable, considering the trouncing he usually gives the capitalist press in his radio sessions!

In the Salaries Campaign conducted by the Teachers' Federation, the press did give more favourable notices than might at first glance have been expected. The truth is that this occurred when the strength of the campaign was well evident and, anyway, they have not been altogether opposed to higher salaries for teachers, for the police and the judiciary. Their hopes to win back the many teachers who had become thoroughly disillusioned by their earlier attacks were not realised — teachers have not such short memories.

The capitalist press did not, and does not, support the demand for an all-round increase in the basic wage or any raising of the living standards and on this other matter of education of the workers' children, it might be interesting and profitable to examine its role.

"Gentlemen," said a prominent New York journalist at the dinner given to him on his retirement, "There is NO Free Press!" thus disconcerting those who hoped to preserve this hypocritical veneer. And what is "Free"? Who owns and thus, who controls the press?

The **Sydney Morning Herald** was glad to report (on 20/8/1891) "A proposal to establish a State newspaper (expected to yield a profit of £50,000 a year) was rejected by 55 votes to 17." These, and greater, profits were secured by those wealthy people who not only own the press, but who therefore see to it that the press serves their interests. These interests are not served by the distribution of too many of these profits to raise the living standards of the people.

The New Deal for Education is something more basic than the question of the salaries of teachers, and on this issue the attitude of the capitalist press, and of the class that owns it, needs examination.

When in England in 1807 a proposal was made that parish schools should be supported at public expense, it was met by the objection that giving education to the working class would be "found prejudicial to their morals and their happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments to which their rank has destined them. Instead of teaching them subordination it would render them fractious . . . . enable them to read seditious pamphlets and publications against Christianity."

The same source quoted above goes on to say that, in 1833, the Government voted a grant of twenty thousand pounds for primary schools. Six years later, this was increased to thirty thousand for three million children at the same time that seventy thousand was voted for stables for the new queen!

With the increasing complexity of the means of production, the ruling class came to see that some education, and more technical education, was necessary for the efficiency of the workers, however horrifying the idea of these workers reading seditious pamphlets must have been.

Here in N.S.W. the Public Instruction Act of 1880 laid down the principle of State responsibility for education. This was opposed, as in England, by those conservative and religious bodies who had their own schools and the conservative press was used to dress up all sorts of "moral" and "social" objections to its free and compulsory primary extension. While parents and teachers realise that increasing Government responsibility is the only way in which education will be maintained and improved so that it will burst out of its narrow bounds and open up wider vistas of mental and physical growth to the children, the press continues to preach its "moral" objections to such expenditure. "To be valued, it must be paid for." Surely, we say, and by the country that should be concerned to develop its assets—its future citizens! The old argument that it must be paid for means that the wealthy get the best, the useful people don't.

Again, the **Herald** (surely the most worthy mouthpiece of the capitalist press?) says on 14/8/1906 against free education:

"The Government, we understand, is to submit proposals for free primary education . . . the remission of fees means nothing to parents who are able to pay for their children's education. But particular parents are relieved of the payment of £75,000 for value received."

Later, on 3/9/1931:—

"People paid small fees towards the education of their children in primary schools up to 1906, and in secondary schools up to 1911. It was good for them to pay."

And in the same year:—

"The raising of the school age would accomplish nothing of any permanent value."

The press has always been ready to grumble at State Education, not because it is inadequate, not because some schools are old, unhealthy, overcrowded and badly equipped, but because all typists can't spell perfectly, or because pupils don't show a slavish joy at hard and poorly paid manual work. And when the system produces juvenile delinquency, there are not lacking those who find it encouragingly easy to appear in the columns of the press blaming the schools. After all, not all delinquents who win front page fame are products of the State (public school) system of education!

The recent New Education Conference further exposes the capitalist press. First of all, there was the insulting ratio of space given to racing and crime to that allowed education. Emphasis was given to a metaphysical approach to a mysterious thing called vaguely education, praise to "individual" efforts, no lauding, hardly a mention even, of the Children's Charter of the New Education Act of 1944 of England, a general belittling of State (public school) education. And these attacks directly, or by implication, on the campaign for a New Deal for Education here, were general in all sections of the capitalist and the sectarian press, though the country press, in places where the campaign has been strong, has given good support.

Compare the attitude of the A.C.P. and of those workers' organisations which are not dominated by right wing or clerical reaction. At once there was the realisation that the New Deal was something they had always wanted for their children. There was no need to fight for a little space in the press of these bodies!

Nor is their support limited to press space. These people will actively join in with the move for a better school and for better opportunities for their children. The Communist Party, in particular, makes of education, not an election issue merely, but a vital part of those things for which it fights, day by day, in every sphere and place in which are to be found the useful people of this world, until at last the world's wealth is won not by exploitation of man by man, but for his advancement and his enjoyment.



Questions & Answers

conducted by L.H. GOULD

"WHAT is meant by the expression, 'Freedom is the recognition of necessity'? Is it a purely philosophical conception? How would you relate it to man's freedom in Socialist Russia?"—W.J.W.

The expression comes from the great German philosopher, Hegel. It is another rendering of his thought: "Necessity is blind only in so far as it is not understood." By necessity is meant nature and nature's laws, society and the laws of social development, objective fact, the outer world and its law-governed processes. The problem may be stated as follows:—Can man better the world? Is he free to do it? Have not many thinkers asserted that the world cannot be changed, and that, for example, "there will always be wars," and, "you cannot change human nature"? Further, do the laws of nature and society exist independently of our understanding, or are not these laws something which our minds have given to nature? And finally, isn't there free will? Isn't man free to be good, moral, pious, obedient to his "natural superiors," or free if he chooses to be sinful, disobedient and rebellious?

We are thus dealing with a conception which, most definitely, is not "purely philosophical"; if it had no practical meaning for mankind, it would not be worth discussing. The first thing to note is the difficulty in arriving at an understanding of such socially significant words as freedom, democracy, justice, etc. This is due to the concealment of meaning, or the half-and-half or double meaning, given these words in class-divided society throughout history. The governments of Britain and Australia, for example, are labelled labor; but apart from unessentials, their home and foreign policies are capitalist. Dr. Evatt has been blethering about small nations during the past twelve months, but not a word of protest came from him while British imperialism was shooting Greeks, Indonesians, Egyptians, Jews and the peoples of a dozen more colonial and dependent countries. "'Freedom' is a grand word," said Lenin, "but under the banner of Free Trade the most predatory wars were conducted; under the banner of 'free labor' the toilers were robbed."

Of all the words that have been misused and juggled around to deceive people and weaken their desire for social change, none perhaps has been more useful to the parasites and their publicists than the word necessity (in the meaning, of course, of the laws of the objective world, both of nature and society). Why strive against the "blind forces of nature"? — argue the exploiters and their apologists. Alternatively, social discontent is attributed to "original sin," or inherent perversity, or ways or characteristics which had "no sanctions or warrant in nature." Philosophers who defend in one way or another the interests of the exploiters deny objective necessity, adopting the viewpoint of the ancient Protagoras that "man is the measure of all things." This is incorrect. The universe and its laws are not the "image" of man. The necessity of nature is primary, and that of human consciousness and volition, secondary. The latter, said Lenin, "must operate in conformity with the former," not vice versa.

The oppressors and their ideologists did more, of course, than argue, and scold and philosophise. Countless millions of humanity's best died in the cause of freedom.

Against this mysticism, ignorance and persecution, Marxism states that man becomes free, not by wishing or waiting, not by ignoring the facts of life (necessity), and not by subjecting himself helplessly and hopelessly to alleged overpowering forces of nature. Nature can be controlled to an ever-increasing extent; man can change his world. The essential is to learn, to know, to master the secrets of the processes of nature and society, and thus change the world to desired ends. Here is Engel's splendid presentation:—

"Freedom does not consist in an imaginary independence of natural laws but in a knowledge of these laws and in the possibility thence derived of applying them intelligently to given ends. This is true both as regards nature and as regards those forces which control the spiritual and physical existence of man himself — two classes of laws which we can distinguish as an abstraction, but cannot separate in reality. Freedom of the will consists in nothing but the ability to come to a decision when one is in possession of the knowledge of the facts. The freer the judgment of a man then in relation to a given subject of discussion, the more necessary is it that he arrive at a positive decision . . . freedom, therefore, consists in a mastery over ourselves and

external nature founded upon the knowledge of the necessities of nature."

The statement by Engels supplies the answer to the third question, on freedom under Socialism. The Soviet people won their emancipation, not by ignoring the laws of nature and of social development, but by recognising objective fact, by a scientific study of needs and opportunities, and by organised struggle for given aims. Again from Engels, as he envisaged in the 1880's the Socialist society to come:

"The seizure of the means of production by society puts an end to commodity production, and therewith to the domination of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by conscious organisation on a planned basis. The struggle for individual existence comes to an end. And at this point, in a certain sense, man finally cuts himself off from the animal world, leaves the conditions of animal existence behind him and enters conditions which are really human. The conditions of existence forming man's environment, which up to now have dominated man, at this point pass under the dominion and control of man, who now for the first time becomes the real conscious master of Nature, because and in so far as he has become master of his own social organisation. The laws of his own social activity, which have hitherto confronted him as external, dominating laws of Nature, will then be applied by man with complete understanding, and hence will be dominated by man. Men's own social organisation which has hitherto stood in opposition to them as if arbitrarily decreed by Nature and history, will then become the voluntary act of men themselves. The objective, external forces which have hitherto dominated history, will then pass under the control of men themselves. It is only from this point that men, with full consciousness, will fashion their own history; it is only from this point that the social causes set in motion by men will have, predominantly and in constantly increasing measure, the effects willed by men. It is humanity's leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom."

Of first importance is practice. Lenin observed: "For Engels the whole of human practice is part of the theory of knowledge, thus giving an objective criterion of truth. Until we acquire knowledge of the laws of nature, which exist and act independently of our mind, we are slaves of 'blind necessity.'"

Finally, the problem of necessity confronts the Communists in capitalist lands in theory and practice under the following main heads:—

1. The criminal warmongering policy of imperialists plotting World War Three. 2. The coming economic crisis. 3. Slums, famines, terror. 4. The still ist suppression of colonial peoples. 4. The still enormously powerful capitalist ideology among the masses. 5. Social-Democracy and its special role of keeping the workers disunited. 6. The objective opportunity for mankind to achieve social change by peaceful democratic methods, an end desired by the Communists, but with the evident intention of the exploiters to resist change by violence. In the Soviet Union, necessity is manifested primarily in the survivals of the past, such as low productive technique, and also in the imperialist threat of attack.

Every one of these conditions constitutes a basic problem, and every one exists objectively, i.e., independently of our consciousness, will or desire. The solution can be only as indicated above, namely, by recognising their objective necessity, mastering their secrets, and applying policy accordingly.

(References: Engels, **Anti-Duhring, Part Three;** Lenin, **Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Chap. 3;** Marx, **Critique of the Gotha Programme, with Appendices by Marx, Engels and Lenin;** Lenin, **The Deception of the People by the Slogans of Equality and Freedom;** R. Dixon and L. Sharkey, **A Free World Without Violence.**)

BOOK REVIEW

PROBLEMS OF LENINISM (STALIN)

L. HARRY GOULD

WHEN the Red Army met, held and then shattered Hitler's Wehrmacht, the capitalist world gaped in wonder and jabbered about "miracles." There are no miracles. Communists and their supporters knew what was happening. The stupefaction of the "experts" was not because they had fallen victims to their own propaganda. Something more was involved.

The simple truth was that a new civilisation had emerged in the world, a civilisation with a philosophy, theoretical sanctions and practices which few among the upholders of the old society really understood. Minds clouded by hatred and fear of the Socialist challenge are incapable of honest thinking and sober assessment. It was further alleged that Soviet power was the result of carefully-guarded secrets which came to light only after Hitler's attack. There were no secrets (apart of course from the ordinary military secrets common to all States). Years ago, Stalin revealed the source of Soviet defensive might, and significantly he listed the Red Army only fourth (the first three were (1) the economic, political and cultural power of Socialism; (2) the moral and political unity of Soviet society; (3) the mutual friendship of the nations in U.S.S.R.). But anti-Sovieteers couldn't learn, however "sincerely" their tried.

The book under review offers, more than any other, the basic account, the full picture of Soviet power in peace and war. The title is important. Why not "Problems of Marxism"? Is there a difference between Marxism and Leninism? None whatsoever, in all the fundamentals of the revolutionary working class movement. Introducing the subject, Stalin writes: "Expounding the foundations of Leninism does not yet mean expounding the basis of Lenin's world outlook . . . Lenin was a Marxist, and Marxism is, of course, the basis of his world outlook." In brief, Lenin applied the teachings of Marx and Engels to the solution of the problems which arose in the new epoch of imperialism. Stalin defines the term: "Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the proletarian dictatorship in particular."

In their day, Marx and Engels had worked out all the basic revolutionary principles, and had given the practical leadership to the workers in the day-to-day struggles. But the period of the death of the founders of Communism witnessed the change from free competitive capitalism to monopoly-capital, to the dominance of the financial oligarchy, or, imperialism. The particular problems which Lenin so brilliantly solved included the analysis of imperialism, the building of a workers' party "of a new type," elucidating the role of the peasantry as allies of the proletariat, the possibility of building Socialism in a single country or a few countries first, the link between the workers' struggle at home and the national liberation movements abroad, and many more issues of world historical importance. Following Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin further developed Marxist-Leninist theory. Under his leadership, Socialism was triumphantly established in Russia. To the toilers all over the world Russia is the beacon light, the bastion of peace, democracy, progress and culture. Stalin is the Lenin of today.

The **Problems of Leninism** provides the "know-how," but a "know-how" which is a force for humanity's further advance. There is no secret. The lessons, experiences, methods are there for all the toilers to learn. And Bolshevism, the victorious theory and practice of the great Party of Lenin-Stalin, is a "model tactic for all."

The Foundations cover every important aspect of Leninist-Stalinist theory and practice. The style, peculiarly Stalin's own, is terse and brilliant, its compactness enhancing the effectiveness of presentation. Didn't Wendell Wilkie compare every one of Stalin's questions and comments to a "depth-bomb charge"? The student should easily discern the red threads running throughout the volume: every issue subordinated to working class power—"the fundamental question of revolution is the question of power" (Lenin); his demand for inflexible devotion to principle, to Marxism, to defence of revolutionary theory, and to deeds as against bare doctrine; the need for resolute struggle against reformism, and also against Trotskyism, anarchism and all other alien trends ("the fight against opportunism was and remains an essential preliminary condition for a successful fight against capitalism"); the unity of the toilers in the home "civilised" countries with their exploited brothers in the colonial and dependent lands. This "generic quality," as the scientists might term it, is also to be noted, of course, when the volume as a whole is compared with all other basic Marxist writings. Stalin's letter in 1931, **Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism,** exhibits the same revolutionary vigilance against the class enemy as Marx's polemics against the Anarchists (and it is worth recalling that the anarchist leader, Bakunin, ended up as a police agent just as did Trotsky whose ideas were being smuggled into Party journals at the time Stalin wrote). Or, Stalin's statement on Comintern questions in 1929 compared with, say, Engels' letter to Kautsky on the colonial struggles. They are "all of a piece," except for the different periods and local conditions and the new developments.

This latest edition follows the Eleventh Edition, some copies of which were obtained in Australia during the war years. The contents also include Dialectical and Historical Materialism, On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and Stalin's Political Reports to the 17th and 18th Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The print, paper and binding are excellent, a handsome addition to one's library shelves; the big improvement is another tangible proof of the rapid restoration of Socialist economy since V-P Day.

(Problems of Leninism, by J. Stalin, 642 pp., New Foreign Languages Publishing House Edition, Moscow, 1945, price 10/6, Pioneer Bookshops.)

LIGHT AND SOUND

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

IF Londoners learned nothing else between June and September, 1944, they learned that light travels faster than sound. The most striking demonstration of this fact was to stand on Parliament Hill and watch the bombs bursting in London. One saw a doodle-bug burst in Wandsworth, and heard the burst half a minute later.

Light travels at the enormous speed of nearly 190,000 miles per second. If you had a system of mirrors going round the world, a flash of light would take under a seventh of a second to go round them and return to its starting point. The time taken for light to cross London can be neglected for all practical purposes.

This does not mean that we see a thing as soon as it happens. When the light strikes the back of our eye it breaks down a purple substance called rhodopsin. This starts messages along a number of nerve fibres, and these are switched over to other fibres, finally reaching the area at the back of the brain concerned in vision. This takes about a twentieth of a second.

Sound travels at the moderate speed of 750 miles per hour, or roughly a mile in five seconds. So with a stop-watch one could quite easily estimate the distance of a doodlebug burst within 400 yards.

The doodlebug travels at about half the speed of sound. So its sound precedes it and gives a warning. A howitzer or mortar shell also travels slower than sound. On the other hand, a field-gun shell or bullet from a rifle or machine-gun, let alone an anti-aircraft shell, travels quicker than sound, and gives no warning. A rocket may travel either slower than sound, or faster. V2 goes a good deal faster, and therefore gives no warning. A hooter on a car travelling as fast as sound, or faster, would be useless.

If the sound track of a cinema film were exactly synchronised with the pictures, the sound would always arrive late. Some time is taken in generating it, and some in its travel through the air. So the sound track is put forward, and the sound of a man's voice starts out a fraction of a second before his lips are seen to move. Sound and sight are thus synchronised for people sitting near the back of an ordinary hall. But if you sit in the six-penny seats in front, the voice arrives before the lips move, and if you sit at the far end of a large hall the voice arrives late, unless it is relayed by a loud-speaker at the back.

Sound consists of series of pressure waves moving through the air. The air consists of rapidly moving molecules. They are travelling at many different speeds. Some are moving in the same direction as the sound; others in the opposite direction, sideways, or obliquely. So the speed of sound is a good deal less than the average speed of the molecules; in fact, about 74% of it.

In a gas the molecules are far apart, but in a liquid there is not much space between them. So the sound travels much quicker. Roughly speaking, the time taken is equal to the length of the gaps between the molecules, divided by their average forward speed. In fact, sound travels four and a quarter times as fast in water as in air. This has an important bearing on the hunting of submarines by the "Asdic" method, which depends on sound.

Sound is not much good for locating an aeroplane. The sound from a plane three miles away takes 15 seconds to reach our ears. During this time a plane moving at 300 m.p.h. has gone a mile and a quarter. But a submarine under water moves at about 10 or 15 m.p.h., and sound travels faster in water. So sound location is about 100 times as efficient against submarines as against aeroplanes. It is in fact very useful, even though a corvette or frigate chasing a submarine aims a small distance behind it.

Except in dealing with distant objects producing a great noise, such as aeroplanes, the lag in transmission of light or sound makes very little difference to our actions. The lag between ea of a sense organ and muscular action is much more serious. (One cannot determine the lag between sensation and action, because there is no way of measuring, within a split second, when a sensation begins.)

Simple reactions to simple stimuli do not take very long. If a man is told to press the button when he sees the light, the reaction time is about a tenth to a fifth of a second. If he is told to press the button when he sees a red light and the pedal when he sees a green one, about two-fifths of a second are needed, and a good deal longer for more complicated reactions, though these times can be reduced by training.

Societies react very slowly to new situations, and religious bodies are even slower than political ones. In particular, States react very slowly to changes in productive forces. In England we still have large vestiges of feudalism, such as the House of Lords and hereditary ownership of land.

Feudalism worked well enough when every manor produced its own food and clothes. It was already out of date when traders could use pack-horses or ox-carts, but it survives into the age of aeroplanes and railways.

Over most of the world capitalism survives. This again was quite efficient in the early stages of the development of trade and manufacture, but was already out of date a century ago. Today it will only work at all if its "normal" working is interfered with by an elaborate system of controls.

Socialists are aware that capitalism is out of date, and most Socialists desire to sweep away many other out-of-date institutions. But they do not always realise the full possibilities of technical progress. For example, prefabricated houses far larger and more durable than the Portal house have been made in small numbers, and should form a part of our housing programme. Our methods of heating houses could be overhauled, with a great saving of coal and gain in cleanliness. Our cleaning methods, both in the house and the scullery, are still in the feudal stage.

A Socialist should make himself aware of the improvements which technical progress has made possible, not only in society as a whole, but in the details of life. If he does not he is in the position of an anti-aircraft gunner who, instead of aiming ahead of a bomber, aims in the direction from which its sound comes.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

Theoretical Literature

Many readers are unaware that small quantities of former Anvil stocks of important titles are still available. Among these are the reports to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. given by the leading members of the C.C. Each one of these booklets contains contributions which cannot be obtained from other sources, yet are a vital addition to Marxist theory, e.g., Stalin's statements on the questions of the withering away of the state and on the intelligentsia, and Zhdanov's witty contributions on many questions connected with Party membership. The following titles in this series are still available and may be purchased at our bookshops or wholesale from Current Book Distributors:—

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EDITORIAL

THE struggle for world peace was advanced a further step by the proposals of Molotov to U.N.O. to reduce armaments and outlaw atomic weapons. This proposal met with all manner of specious opposing arguments from the British and American representatives. They declared that there were other weapons equally terrible in existence.

This attempt to obscure the issue is easily met by extending the ban to such weapons—germicidal warfare—which is the aim of the Soviet Union and progressives the world over. The precedent for outlawing such weapons has already been established by the international prohibition placed on the use of poison gas in warfare. It is true that the Hitlerites decided not to use poison gas for fear that their opponents possessed the secret of more potent poison gases.

It can be said with certainty that the various arguments used by Byrnes and Sir Hartley Shawcross were aimed at preserving the atomic bomb as an instrument of "Anglo-Saxon" diplomacy, of "atom bomb blackmail." However, they were forced in the end to agree to the general principle of disarmament and consideration of the proposal to prohibit atomic warfare. Disarmament of the type proposed by Molotov is a further safeguard to peace.

An armaments race imposes enormous burdens on the economy and finances of the powers mainly concerned in it. Expenditure on huge military installations constitutes a formidable barrier to improved standards of living in the capitalist countries. It would hamper the construction of Communist society in the Soviet Union and divert economic strength from the tasks of reconstruction of devastated areas and the implementing of the new, magnificent Five Year Plan.

Reduction of armaments is to an extent a guarantee that a new war is not immediately being prepared. Piling up armaments means that a time is reached where the strain reaches breaking point and an acute danger arises that the weapons will be used in a crazy effort to solve the problem by means of war.

Recently, Generalissimo Stalin indicated that war was not an immediate issue. That statement must be properly understood. It did not mean that the war danger has been removed forever. It does not mean that the labor movement must abate one iota of its struggle against war and warmongers of the Churchill type. On the contrary. If the warmongers are powerless to start war at the moment, nevertheless while capitalism is still strong the danger of war must ever remain with us.

War in our time is the outcome of monopoly capitalism, the striving of the monopolies to divide the world.

In the U.S.A. there exist today the biggest monopolies world capitalism has yet produced. The Morgan, Rockefeller, Du Pont and Mellon monopoly groups control no less than 64 per cent of the wealth of the richest country in the world. Since the conclusion of the anti-fascist war in particular, American monopoly capitalism, through MacArthur's dictatorship, works in the direction of converting Japan into its satellite, in effect its colony. Through assistance to Chiang Kai Shek's reactionary dictatorship, thereby promoting civil war, Yankee monopoly-capital strives to convert China into its economic and financial dependency. In China and Japan American monopoly capital endeavours to bring more than 500,000,000 people under its economic and financial, and, consequently, political sway. American imperialism is invading the Middle East, the former preserve of British and French imperialism. It strives to put an end to the forward march of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. It wages a political and diplomatic offensive against the Soviet Union and the European democracies. It interferes, in one way or another, in the affairs of most capitalist countries. American imperialism, in a number of respects, has already reduced the British Empire to the position of "junior partner," a role which the ruling-class and its Bevins welcome just as Chamberlain once welcomed Hitler as an ally in the crusade against "Soviet influence." British imperialism, visibly weakening, struggles desperately to maintain its rule in Asia and the Middle East.

It is easy to understand, then, the menace that the Anglo-American monopoly-capitalists and their representatives, Churchill and the Tories and the Vandenberg Republicans, constitute to peace and freedom in the long run. Three Civil Wars of vital importance to the whole world are raging as a result of the material assistance and prompting of the reactionaries, on the part of the Anglo-American pretenders to world domination. These civil wars are being waged in China, Greece and Persia.

The Anglo-American imperialists are striving by all means in their power to promote similar civil wars in Poland and Roumania and wherever they can contact sufficiently powerful forces in the Balkans and elsewhere. Such is the policy of Anglo-American imperialism which clearly is a threat to the future peace of the world.

At least equally dangerous is the approach of a new economic crisis in the United States, which will profoundly affect capitalism the world over and more especially Britain and the Dominions. We understand only too well, as the result of two world wars and Lenin's genius, the connection between the general crisis, the cyclical crisis of capitalism and imperialist war.

The anti-war struggle must therefore be waged with greatest vigor. While disarmament and the outlawing of certain weapons cannot end the war-making proclivities of monopoly-capitalism in the period of general crisis, nevertheless, these and

similar measures can be regarded as the "partial demands" around which the masses can be rallied and organised and led along the path of struggle against war and against capitalism itself, in order to remove the basis of war.

It is time that many of our comrades realised this significance of the struggle for disarmament, for the outlawing of the atomic bomb and imperialist intervention in China, Greece and Persia, instead of sinking to the level of "Mechanical Marxists" parroting phrases about the "inevitability" of war while capitalism lasts. They merely assist the warmongers by such passivity.

REPORTS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING, NOVEMBER 1-3, 1946

E. ROWE

TWO dangers flow from the present situation; the one Comrade Wright emphasises that the reformists are already saying: you achieved what you set out to do, the Government has given the assurance of introducing the 40 hour week, there is going to be an increase in wages, and we can give them a breathing space in order for them to carry through the promises. We must impress upon the workers that eternal vigilance is the price of the 40 hour week and increase in wages. We must do everything in our power to see that there is no swindle.

I do not know what the general reaction to the 10/- a week on the basic wage and 40 hour week is, but it is certainly no solution from a craft point of view. Most craft unions argue on what is to be the margin above the basic wage for the various crafts they represent and it seems to me it will be very easy, even after the 10/- increase in the basic wage and the 40 hour week comes in, to argue still that this solves nothing for the craft unions and big metal unions.

We have to aim not at a relaxation of the Wage Pegging Regulations in the developing period ahead, because one of the tentative proposals discussed with Chifley was that he should lift the wage ceiling percentage and if we accept that we face the danger of the Government saying "all right, we lift the wage ceiling say 5 or 10% and peg it again."

So we have to envisage this struggle against wage pegging as aimed at abolition.

On the question of price control: The whole of the reformist argument at the present time is, in addition to the desire to wait, being switched to the question that price control and a drop in prices would be as advantageous as an increase in wages. Most of the amendments that the L.C. Council gang are putting forward, that they put forward at the A.E.U. stop work meeting, have a clause around the question of a drop in prices and that this would be a solution to our question of wages.

I think we must not just meet that in a negative fashion, but we must bring out very clearly what we mean by price control and how the necessity for it goes sharply side by side with any increase in wages; and at the one time answer Chifley's arguments about inflation and of the other necessity that there should be a tightening up generally of the attitude towards price control and its application here in this country.

As Comrade Wright pointed out in the last issue of "Tribune," price control has been a much more potent weapon in their hands than have been the wage cutting proclivities of the Arbitration Court. It has been a real weapon whereby they have been able to lower very sharply the wages of the Australian working class and the average worker understands very clearly an argument on the comparison of nominal wages to their purchasing power, and we are able to demonstrate very clearly that there has been robbery.

E. THORNTON

I WANT to refer to this big wage struggle that is taking place. We must see the remarkable transformation in many sections of the Australian working class, particularly in Victoria and especially in the railways industry. From reports we received we know that there is a completely new feeling among the workers in our industry in Melbourne since the foundry strike. Small foundries have joined the strike and the Union, without the Union making any approach to them.

There have been great gains and big blows have been struck against the structure of wage-pegging on which the Federal Government was sitting so tightly and it seems to me that an increase in the basic wage is certain. In discussions with the A.C.T.U. executive it has become clear that the Federal and State Labor governments and people like Clarey and Stout now feel that, if there is going to be a 10/- increase in the basic wage, that will satisfy the workers for a time and there won't be any hurry about the 40 hour week. The declaration of Judge Drake-Brockman in approving the 40 hour week was mainly to delay getting it; we have information that the attitude of the Court will be that Australian industry in general cannot afford the 40 hour week and an increase in the basic wage. Secondly, they will leave this matter to be battled out with the individual unions.

There is one important question that I think we should all have clear in our minds: there has been no change whatsoever in wage pegging and any suggestion along these lines should be eliminated from our propaganda. The 40 hour week and an increase in the basic wage could have been granted under the old structure, and Chifley has not shifted one bit.

There is no likelihood that the Australian workers will be satisfied with a 10/- increase, or that plus a 40 hour week. Many of the workers involved in strike struggles for increased wages are already getting more than is offered by the basic wage increase. The 40 hour week, although it will be very acceptable to the workers, will not increase wages and that is the issue at the present time. They are not getting enough money and they will not be satisfied with the 10/- increase.

So a struggle still faces the workers in the very near future and there is no need to worry about whether there will be a long period of peace and the workers might be satisfied with the gains already achieved.

Alongside this great struggle for wage increases, for a decent standard of living for the Australian working class, is going on the biggest struggle that has taken place between us and the right wing for leadership of the Australian working class, and I think we must appreciate that a continuation of Labor Government and reformist officials constitutes a very powerful force, and the reformists are at their old game. Reading the reports about the Victorian strike took me back to what the right wing there did from 1928-34, although the attempts they made to sell-out the struggle of the tramwaymen and railwaymen, weak and ineffective as they were, nevertheless indicated they were following the same line as was followed in the sell-out of the tramway men on previous occasions.

These people slander the workers, say the workers will not fight and when they do fight they say "wait for me, I'm not ready" and that is the whole attitude of the right wing and indicates their philosophy.

But there are big differences between the activities of the right wing today and 1928-34. In those days we had to fight them generally from outside the trade unions; today we hold positions in most important unions — yesterday we were inexperienced, today we are more skilful than the right wing — and finally we have educated the working class in the unions we lead so they are people who are able to discern treachery more rapidly than they could a few years ago.

We need more initiative, more vigor in this struggle; we need to be more ruthless than we have been up to the present time; we want to get rid of liberalism.

The fight is very hectic; it is going to be still more hectic, but there is no doubt that we are going to win.

THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A. LEONTIEV, Moscow.

THE second World War, only recently ended, left deep traces in the life of all nations involved in it. The war brought about radical changes in the international situation. It is therefore clear that questions concerning the causes and nature of this war assume for us a very real importance. In fact, these questions are in every way very closely connected with any attempt to evaluate the most burning problems of today's reality.

On February 9 of this year, Comrade Stalin, reporting on the activities of the Party for a recent period, turned the bright spotlight of Marxist-Leninist science upon the questions concerning the origin and character of the Second World war. Comrade Stalin's speech is a most valuable contribution to the treasury of Marxist-Leninist theory. The speech sums up the experience of the historic developments of recent times, a period overflowing with events of great significance. Comrade Stalin's speech not only arms the Soviet people with full knowledge and understanding of the sum total of recent experiences, and the perspectives and tasks connected with socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., but it also furnishes the key to a correct understanding of international relations in the recent past, as well as the tendencies of the post-war period.

Can the Second World War be looked upon as an accident, something that happened independent of the laws of development of contemporary capitalism? To consider that an event of such gigantic significance could have been brought about by accidental causes would be to deny any scientific explanation of social life.

The advent of the Second World War cannot be considered accidental. It arose, as Comrade Stalin demonstrated, as the inevitable result of the development of world-wide economic and political forces on the basis of contemporary monopoly capitalism. Marxists have repeatedly pointed out, as Comrade Stalin said, that the capitalist system of world economy is characterised by crises and military catastrophes.

It is explained by the fact that, during the contemporary epoch of monopolistic capitalism, individual bourgeois countries develop unevenly and by leaps. Because of this situation, the correlation of economic, political and military forces

between the individual states is constantly and inevitably changing. Some states may spurt forward, outstripping their opponents, while others may lag and gradually remain behind.

At the present time, under present-day conditions the complete territorial division of the world has already been accomplished. There are no free, unowned territories. Meanwhile, the highly developed capitalist countries, in which the system of monopoly capitalism rules, need raw materials, fully secured foreign markets, and profitable spheres of capital investments. Therefore, every major capitalist power constantly strives to extend its sphere of influence. But under existing conditions, with the whole world already divided, with all colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries already ruled by one capitalist power or another, any extension of a sphere of influence is possible in only one way — by capturing someone else's possessions. Thus, the completion of the division of the world merely serves to pose the question of the re-division of the world.

Those two conditions—(1) the uneven development of individual capitalist countries and (2) the completed territorial division of the world—bring about the inevitability of clashes and conflicts between groups of capitalist powers. Because of the unevenness of development, the existing division of spheres of influence from time to time inevitably enters into contradiction, into a conflict, with the correlation of the economic, political and military forces of individual countries. The equilibrium within the world capitalist system is thrown off balance. The given group of capitalist countries which considers itself less secured with sources of raw material and foreign markets undertakes an attempt to change the situation in its favor and bring about a corresponding re-division of spheres of influence.

In the abstract, it is possible to conceive of avoiding wars, granted there existed a possibility of peaceful, periodic re-division of spheres of influence by agreement, a re-division based upon the changing correlation of forces between individual countries. But as long as capitalism continues to exist, such means are impossible.

Even during the First World War, Lenin underscored the fact that under capitalism there is no way to re-establish the often upset equilibrium except by crises in economy, or by wars in politics.

The following is a brief, factual record of the changes in the political map of the world, caused by the uneven development of capitalist countries during the epoch of imperialism. In 1860 England held first place in the world's industrial production. This oldest of all capitalist countries held an undisputed monopoly in the world's industrial production. It used to produce more textiles, steel, cast iron, and coal than France, the U.S.A., Germany, Italy, Russia, and Japan combined. England was the world's industrial workshop. It ruled the seas and the world's markets. It was the world's greatest colonial power. France held second place. The U.S.A. and Germany were making only the first serious steps in the sphere of industrial development.

Within a mere decade, the rapidly growing land of young capitalism, the U.S.A., outstripped France and changed positions with her. But England still held first place. Within another decade, in the 80's of the past century, the U.S. surpassed England and firmly took up first place in the world's industrial production. At the same time, Germany outstripped France and took up third position, following the U.S. and England. Within the first decade of the 20th century, Germany managed to crowd England out, and took up the second position, behind the U.S. Then Germany became second in the world's industrial production, and first in Europe.

German imperialism was late in its arrival upon the arena of colonial politics. The best tidbits had already been captured by the powers. German imperialism, brought up in the historic traditions of Prussian robber-militarism, from the very beginning conducted an extremely aggressive policy. Its aim, as expressed by Von Buelow, one of the chancellors of Germany, was to capture for itself "a place under the sun." For this purpose Germany established a tremendous war machine, ready for aggressive actions. Kaiser-Germany feverishly built a navy capable of disputing England's sea supremacy.

In summing up the historical experiences of this, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the First World War resulted from the first crisis of the capitalist system of world economy, and that the Second World War was caused by a second, similar crisis.

It is clear that we are not at the moment talking about the economic crises of "overproduction" which periodically shake the capitalist world, even though it is certain that the First World War broke out in a situation when the economic crisis was ripening, while the Second World War developed in the conditions of the economic crisis which began in a number of countries in 1936-38. Neither are we speaking about the general crisis of capitalism, representing the whole historic epoch, even though the two world wars reflecting this general crisis of capitalism undoubtedly contributed to the further deepening of the crisis. We are speaking of very concrete crises, representing the forced explosion of contradictions accumulated in the process of development of the world-wide economic and political forces of present-day capitalism. In the existing conditions of contemporary capitalism, each of these two wars was the only way of solving the ripened contradictions and re-establishing the upset equilibrium within the world system of capitalism.

The First World War was an imperialist war on the part of both coalitions participating in it. It was produced by a basic antagonism between Germany on one side and England on the other. The contradictions between the other participants in the war, particularly between Germany and Czarist Russia, were of a secondary character.

Under capitalist conditions, an economic crisis temporarily re-establishes the equilibrium between the advanced industrial productive capacities, and the limited markets. Similarly, the First World War re-established the equilibrium between the correlation of economic, political and military forces on one side, and the division of spheres of influence between the capitalist countries on the other. This equilibrium was re-established through the defeat of the Germany of the Kaiser, which thus temporarily deprived Germany of its fighting strength.

However, it is commonly known that German imperialism, though defeated in the First World War, was not completely vanquished. On the contrary, the new international situation enabled the German capitalist robber-state to get on its feet again within a short time, and even to grow new tusks. It is characteristic that even the least attentive observers noticed and understood very soon that in this situation lurked the most serious menace, for England first of all.

After Hitler's advent to power, it became perfectly evident that Germany was preparing for a new war. The new war became inevitable.

We must, however, bear in mind the fact that, ever since wars have existed, their true causes are always found deeply hidden within the complex labyrinth of social and political relations, as well as in the ideological concepts of the given epoch. During the First World War, Lenin repeatedly stressed the fact that the origin of the war was wrapped up in secrecy, and that it was essential to teach the masses to understand and analyse this mystery.

This principle is applicable, not only to contemporary, but also to more remote epochs. Even in remote epochs there existed a clear contrast between the real nature of wars, and the ideological guise in which wars were presented to the active participants and to the peoples of the times.

Thus, the Second World War, as well as the first, was not an accidental event. It would be entirely superficial to assume that it came about merely as a result of the errors of any given statesman of the bourgeois countries. Is it possible then to conclude that these errors have had no significance, and therefore may be discarded from historic considerations? Not at all! The short-sighted, greedy, narrow-minded policy of the reactionaries, ruling during the period between the two wars, especially in England, as well as in other bourgeois-democratic countries, to a very great extent eased the Hitler murderers' task of realising their conspiracy against the freedom and the very life of other nations. These errors secured for the German and Japanese imperialists the most favorable conditions for unleashing the Second World War, gigantically sharpened its danger to the peace-loving nations, extended the length of the war, and increased the number of its victims and the volume of devastation.

This chain of fatal errors began with the Versailles peace treaty, when the political leaders of the victorious countries, blinded by their enmity against the new world born in Russia, left the economic and political base of German imperialism intact. These ruinous errors led to Locarno, the Four-Power pact, the sadly remembered farce of "non-intervention" during the Italo-German fascist intervention in Spain, and the disgraceful Munich agreement between Chamberlain, Daladier, and Hitler.

At the root of the policy of encouraging the German aggressor in Europe, as well as the Japanese aggressor in the Far East, there lay the short-sighted calculation that it would be possible to direct the aggression against the Soviet Union. The further development of events showed Chamberlain, Daladier, and their followers in the camp of international reaction, that nobody had as yet invented such guns, tanks, and airplanes that would work only in an eastern direction and that could not be turned westward as well. Thus, the people of Western and Eastern Europe had to pay very dearly for the errors of the reactionary rulers of the bourgeois-democratic countries. Nor is there anything surprising in the fact that these people want no repetition of past errors.

But if Marxists assume that wars are the inevitable result of the development of contemporary monopoly capitalism, can it be concluded therefrom that it is hopeless and unnecessary to fight for the longest period of peace, to fight for the security of peace-loving nations? Any such conclusion would be tantamount to posing the question upside down.

It is well known that opponents of Marxism, unable to produce any essential arguments, prefer to caricature Marxist theory. We can think back to the Russian Narodniks, who, toward the end of the past century, seriously asserted that, from the point of view of the Marxist concept of the inevitability of the capitalist development of Russia, all that the advanced people had to do was to open more saloons in the villages, and thereby help to speed up the inevitable historic development. We can also recollect another, a different type of sophistry, often advanced as an argument against the materialist conception of history. These people said that, if the social revolution is inevitable, why fight for it? Do the astronomers who assert the inevitability of an eclipse of the moon, establish a political party to organise this eclipse?

Following the authors of such and similar sophisms, a certain sector of the foreign press is at present likewise trying to distort the essence of the Marxist concept of the causes of wars. They make broad use of somewhat hazy, but sufficiently biased, arguments purporting to show that in the Soviet Union there exists a certain amount of pessimism concerning the possibility of a stable peace,

insofar as they (the Soviet Union) assume the inevitability of wars under the existing capitalist system.

Hence, with a great deal of hypocritically assumed regret, they come to the conclusion that the Soviet Union is not inclined to participate in the common fight for a stable peace, insofar as it considers the task hopeless. Of course, all such assumptions are unpardonable distortions of the true meaning of the Marxist-Leninist concepts dealing with the causes of wars, or else they are nothing but clumsy attempts to transfer the burden of guilt to someone else's shoulders.

Certainly no one would think of accusing a doctor or a lawyer who has discovered the origin of a disease or a crime, of producing diseases or crimes through these very activities. But it is just as senseless to accuse Marxist science of discovering the actual contradictions of the capitalist system, and then charge this science with the responsibility for the existence of these contradictions. Of course, the groups which are interested, not in the exposure of the contradictions of contemporary capitalism, but rather in concealing them, prefer to deny the inevitable character of wars. Thus, reactionary fomenters of a new war maintain that in all history there has not been a war which could have been more easily prevented than the recently ended Second World War. In fact, they assert that this war could have been prevented without the firing of a single shot, and that Germany could today still be a mighty, prosperous, and respected power. Unfortunately, however, nobody as yet has stated by just what magic means they could have resolved the contradictions between the altered Anglo-German correlation of forces and the division of spheres of influence of these powers. We do know that there are people who counted on German imperialism satisfying its appetites in the East at the expense of the Soviet Union. However, the years of pre-war experience, as well as the war itself, have amply demonstrated the absurdity and unreality of any such expectations.

When Marxist-Leninist science exposes the deepest roots of wars, it not only does not necessarily follow that nations must cease to fight for the longest and most stable possible peace. On the contrary, exposure of the true causes of wars arms the broad masses with a true knowledge of the laws of social development; it enables the people to get rid of illusions which help only those who seek to provoke a new war, who seek to dull the vigilance of the fighters for a stable peace. It exposes the proponents of an ostrich-like policy, who prefer to hide their heads in the sand rather than face any danger. It shows to the common people of all countries, vitally interested in the longest and most stabilised period of peace, the true sources of the menace of a new war, the true sources of renewed attempts upon the security, life, and liberty of the people. Is it not clear that all this mobilises all of the sincere friends of the peaceful existence of nations, mobolises them for active struggle for a just and stable peace? And least accidental of all is the fact that the Soviet Union, which builds its policy on a scientific foundation, upon knowledge of the laws of social development, always has been and continues to be a true guardian of peace between the nations, a consistent fighter against all attempts to instigate wars, wherever they come from.

Even if the roots of the origin of the Second World War are to be found within the correlations of present-day monopoly capitalism, just as with the First World War, it still does not mean that the Second World War was merely a copy of the first in its character. On the contrary, as Comrade Stalin showed in his February speech, the character of the Second World War differed materially from that of the first.

The First World War, as we know, was an imperialist war on the part of both sides. The Second World War was primarily a predatory, robber, murderous undertaking on the part of Germany, Japan, Italy, and their satellites. At the same time, it was a just, liberation war on the part of those countries which fought against the fascist aggressors.

An indifferent, nihilistic attitude towards the question of the character of wars is alien to Marxism. Our great teachers always emphasised the thought that it is necessary to differentiate between two types of wars. There are just, liberating wars, whose purpose is either to repel the invading enemy, or to liberate a nation from foreign enslavement. There are also unjust wars of acquisition, whose purpose is to grab foreign lands, to enslave other nations. Lenin showed that even during the imperialist war of 1914-18 the struggle of small countries like Serbia against foreign invaders was a struggle for liberation, even though this fact could in no way affect the character of the war as a whole. It should be noted that a very reverse situation existed in the Second World war, when even the fact of the presence of imperialistic elements within the camp of the anti-Hitler coalition could not change the just, liberation character of this war against fascist aggressors.

Communists hold sacred the traditions of wars of liberation, such as Russia's patriotic war against the Napoleonic invasion, the Soviet people's patriotic war against foreign intervention during the first years of Soviet power, the war of the North American States for independence, the war of the Slavonic peoples against German and Turkish enslavement, the war of the French Jacobins against the Austro-Prussian coalition, etc. Hence, it was not an accident that the Communist Party became the organiser and inspirer of all-national resistance against the German-fascist invaders, not only in the Soviet Union, but also in all European countries and in the colonies, where Communists were in the front ranks of the difficult underground and partisan war against the fascist oppressors.

The character of the Second World War was determined by the entire direction of the fascist aggressors' internal and foreign policy, the continuation of which resulted in the war. The fascists strangled all progressive elements within their own countries, destroyed the remnants of bourgeois-democratic liberties, established the rule of unheard-of tyranny, violence and murder, and then began the war in order to gain mastery of the world and spread their rule of terror and medievalism all over the world.

Under these conditions, the fight of the freedom-loving nations against the fascist aggressors became a fight for liberty and independence, for the very existence of nations.

From the very beginning, the Second World War assumed the character of an anti-fascist, liberation war. As Comrade Stalin emphasised in his February speech, this anti-fascist, liberation character of the Second World War became even stronger after the Soviet Union joined in the war against the axis powers.

Even at the very beginning of the Soviet-German war, in his radio broadcast of July 3, 1941, Comrade Stalin pointed out that it was not an ordinary war. He pointed out that it was not merely a battle between two armies, but a war of the whole Soviet people against the German-fascist invaders.

If the First World War in Europe in its very progress and outcome decided the question of the fate of the colonies and the distribution of foreign spheres of influence, the Second World War was to decide the fate, the very existence, of the European nations themselves. The question at issue was whether these nations would be able to preserve their national freedom and state independence, or be transformed into slaves of the ill-famed German "Master race."

Fascism was the product of the most aggressive, man-hating, cannibalistic forces of international reaction of our epoch. Fascism personified extreme reaction, whose roots were deeply imbedded in the contemporary system of monopoly capitalism. It became a deadly menace to human civilisation, to the very existence of human society. Hence, all progressive and democratic forces united in the fight against the fascist invaders.

Even during the First World War, Lenin wrote in exposing people who denied the significance of the contemporary struggle for the democratic rights of the broad masses:

> Capitalism generally, and especially imperialism, transforms democracy into a mere illusion. At the same time, capitalism is forced to introduce democratic tendencies among the masses, is forced to establish democratic institutions. It thereby sharpens the antagonism between imperialism, negating democracy, and the masses who are striving for democracy.

The Second World War demonstrated with unexampled force this antagonism between imperialism, negating democracy, and the masses striving for democracy. The Soviet Union's decisive participation in the fight of the anti-fascist coalition against the armed forces of the Hitlerite bloc gave an especially sharp expression to this antagonism.

For this reason, as Comrade Stalin noted, the Second World War could not be of short duration, of the blitzkrieg type, because it was a war in which nations fought for their very existence. With truly remarkable blindness, the Hitlerite leaders worked out the plans of their infamous blitzkrieg without realising that they were building on sand, for even the temporary victories of the blitzkrieg did not bring Germany's victory any nearer, but only delayed the moment of her inevitable defeat. Furthermore, the Second World War could not end in a draw, or a stalemate, even though there were many who would have been in favor of such an outcome, many not only in the camp of the Hitlerite murderers, but even among the reactionary groups in other countries. This war could not end in any form of a compromise, a cession of any territory, or any other kind of peace, under which both warring sides could survive. This war could end only in the destruction of one side or the other, and as we know, it did end in the destruction of the fascist aggressors.

So much for the question of the character of the Second World War.

But not all by far did or do recognise the anti-fascist character of this war. If the broad masses of the democratic countries did consider this liberation war as the vital task of the fight against the fascist aggressors, this cannot be said about the influential reactionary circles in England, the U.S. and other countries. It would be utterly ridiculous to imagine reactionary Republican and Democratic senators, opponents of Roosevelt and his policy in the U.S., or the seasoned Munichites in the ranks of the Conservative Party in England, as men inspired by anti-fascist ideas. On the contrary, before the war these reactionaries did not spare any effort in praising the Hitler and Mussolini regimes. They looked upon fascism as a reliable "barrier against Bolshevism." Of course, "Bolshevism" for them included any progressive movement, any tendency of the broad masses toward the realisation of their vital rights, any attempt of the enslaved peoples of the colonial world to escape from the foreign yoke. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, these people openly expressed their hope that Germany and Russia would bleed each other to death, and thereby would eliminate any obstacle to the establishment of Anglo-American domination the world over. With this purpose in view, they used their influence to create the maximum of delay in England's and America's participation in the war, and especially in the opening of the Second Front in Europe.

But even some of the other politicians, who considered it advisable to separate themselves from such an openly pro-fascist position, maintained even in the midst of the war that this war was not ideological, i.e., anti-fascist. English conservatives looked upon fascism with more than a little favor, but even they could not continue with these views when they became convinced that the fascist

aggressors threatened the very existence of England and its empire. This point of view reflected the concept of those ruling groups of England who would not have found any reason for war if Hitler had only confined himself to grabbing such territories which would not directly menace the vital interests of the British Empire.

Representatives of this point of view ignored, or more correctly, attempted to hide from their people the indisputable fact that fascism is not merely an "ideology," but that fascism represents, first of all, a definite physical force, inseparable from war, from aggression, and that, because of this, fascism becomes a deadly menace, not only to the countries where it is in power but also to the security of all nations, to the cause of world peace. Reactionaries in Anglo-Saxon countries have maintained that there could supposedly exist a non-aggressive, peaceable, and absolutely respectable fascism. And these very circles, even today, continue, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, to defend the bloody, fascist hangman Franco.

It is interesting to note that only recently, on March 9, the reactionary newspaper, the **New York World Telegram,** carried an article by Randolph Churchill, son of Great Britain's ex-premier, in which it was specifically stated that the past war was not against fascism as such, but merely a war against some aggressors who intended to conquer Europe.

But whether these particular groups in England and certain other countries did or did not want it, the war, in reality, did assume the character of an anti-fascist war. The freedom-loving nations conducted it as a war against fascism, against the most monstrous product of international reaction, and this war ended with the defeat of the major bases of world fascism and world aggression.

As a result of the war, serious changes took place in the correlation between the forces of democracy and reaction in the international arena.

The anti-fascist coalition won the war. The world press again and again poses the question now as to whether this coalition will also be able to win the peace. They usually refer to the experience of history. They cite historic examples to show that as a rule, after victory over the common enemy, coalitions usually fall apart.

We must, however, take into consideration the fact that the anti-Hitler coalition has a number of peculiarities, which make it slightly different from other coalitions. These peculiarities proceed from the just, liberation character of the Second World War. The process of the anti-fascist war not only united the governments of a number of countries, but led the broad masses to feel the necessity of marching shoulder to shoulder to fight against fascist aggression, mankind's enemy. As a result of this, millions of people in all countries, who lived through the deprivations of war and brought their sacrifices to its altar, are now ready to defend peace with as much resolution as they demonstrated yesterday in the fight against the common enemy.

Even during the war, the leaders of the allied powers made repeated individual and collective statements to the effect that their aim was not only victory over the common enemy, but also the establishment of such a world order as would effectively prevent the danger of a new aggression on the part of enemy countries and secure for the world prolonged peace and safety.

But it is one thing to announce principles, and quite another thing to bring them into life, not only according to the letter, but also according to the spirit of adopted resolutions. The period since the end of the Second World War has shown that these principles and resolutions from time to time become subject to serious tests and trials. Without dwelling on details, but considering events from the standpoint of their basic significance, we may come to the following conclusion.

In approaching any solution of international questions, two different tendencies are becoming more and more clear. Representatives of one tendency are trying to arrange things so as to have some powers set the tone, while others would have to submit to decisions forced upon them. These are the new pretenders to world rule. The war against the fascist aggressors was not yet over, when the reactionary American press already began to proclaim loudly and often that America must dominate in all international affairs and in all corners of the globe, that America has been called upon to establish her "ideological hegemony" and her "moral leadership" all over the world. In order to leave no doubt about the real basis for this "moral" and "ideological" leadership, all these declarations are supported by quite plain hints at the destructive force of the atom bomb.

The English imperialist circles, evidently realising that they can no longer hope for their own rule of the world, are for this reason ready to satisfy themselves, as shown by Churchill's Fulton speech, with the role of a junior partner in the Anglo-American firm set up to dominate the whole world.

But the idea of domination by the "Anglo-Saxon" race, as promoted by English and American reactionaries, does not seem to suit the other peoples of the world, who constitute the world's majority, in comparison with whom the English-speaking people become merely an insignificant minority.

But along with this distinctly imperialistic tendency in contemporary world politics, there also exists another, a democratic tendency, based upon recognising the necessity of co-operation among all peace-loving nations, great and small, in the interests of peace, security, and social progress. This tendency is clear to the Soviet people, because during the pre-war years the Soviet Union proved to be a resolute fighter for peace among the nations. During the war, the Soviet Union played a decisive role in the defeat of the major bases of world fascism and world aggression. Since the war, the Soviet Union has been conducting a constant struggle for establishing international relations on a basis of democracy and for the solution of international questions through international co-operation.

As a result of the war, the Soviet Union's international prestige rose enormously. The Soviet Union puts the whole weight of its authority on the side of favoring stable peace and security among nations, in favor of consistent application of democratic principles in the relations between countries, great and small. The Soviet Union looks upon the United Nations as an organisation of great importance, judging it as a serious instrument for the preservation of peace and international security. This is shown in a number of Comrade Stalin's statements made during the war and after it was over. In reply to questions by a correspondent of the Associated Press, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the strength of this international organisation lies in the idea that it is based upon the principle of the equality of states, and not on the principle of the domination of some states over others, and that if it will be able to preserve this principle of equality in the future it will undoubtedly play a great and positive role in the maintenance of general peace and security.

Sane, thinking people have always understood that at the basis of successful activity of the U.N. lies the preservation of unity among the leading powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, these powers being the initiators of the U.N., who are responsible for the work of this organisation. It is also well known that this principle of the unanimity of the great powers, as an essential condition for the existence of the U.N., has been fixed in this organisation's charter. Naturally, in connection with a number of questions, there may arise differences of opinion, disagreements and contradictions among the great powers, in which case, of course, the task is to overcome these difficulties, and find common solutions of international affairs. In order to achieve this, it is, of course, necessary to counteract any propagandists of new wars, who often abuse freedom of speech in acting against the interests of peace; it is necessary to expose their plots and repel them. It is also clear that a "war of nerves" directed against the Soviet Union never brought any laurels to its initiators. The nerves of defenders of just tasks are much too strong.

Notwithstanding the ceaseless anti-Soviet campaigns of lies and slander which the many-voiced foreign reactionary press is developing, and which at times reaches the stage of hysteria and insanity; notwithstanding every possible attempt to distort the true meaning of Soviet foreign policy, the Soviet Union attracts the sympathy of millions of common people who are everywhere guarding the peace.

The Soviet Union stands high above the world, as the most important and resolute defender of the peaceful co-existence of peoples. It was the Soviet Union which played a decisive role in the victory over the common enemy. Now, too, the Soviet Union has no more important task than that of confirming and strengthening this victory. Following the defeat of its enemies, the Soviet Union began the task of peaceful construction, the renewal of the great task of building communism in our country, a task temporarily interrupted by the fascist invasion. The Soviet Union now stands as a mighty obstacle against instigators of a new war. The just task of maintaining the freedom of nations and peace among the nations is firmly and consistently defended by the Soviet Union under the brilliant leadership of the great Stalin.

THE W.A. LOCO DISPUTE

THE Locomotive Engine Drivers, Firemen and Cleaners' Union of Western Australia after a 16 days' strike, won their fight against the W.A. Labor Government for withdrawal of the Garratt engines.

Terms of settlement announced on Friday, November 22, were:—

Immediate resumption of work.

Reinstatement of suspended members without punishment or loss.

The Government to support an application for re-registration of the union.

Commissioner of Railways not to oppose an application by the union for annulment of all current legal proceedings against the union and its members.

No Garratt engines to be returned to service until fitted with certain safety devices and approved by the board of five (to be appointed) consisting of two representatives of the union, two technical men and a non-technical independent chairman.

Highlights of the struggle were:—

(a) Role of the Labor Government.

The Labor Government after delaying tactics since 1945, after breaking promises, denounced the strike and strikers; supported the Court in its attacks and threats; tried to influence the rest of the workers against the strikers; used its control of the A.L.P. machine and of the A.L.P. Disputes Committee to attack the Loco Union and its officials; rallied the right wingers in the unions in opposition to the Locomen; gave the lead to the attacks and abuse by the reactionary politicians, employers and press. While negotiations were proceeding, railway employees received notices of suspension, indicating that the Government had had no intention of allowing a settlement.

(b) Exposed the right wing of the Labor Movement.

Right wing unionists rushed to justify the Labor Government despite the fact that the Loco Union is itself considered an "A.L.P." union. At a stage when they thought the Loco men were losing, weaker elements among the union leaders went over to, or came out openly in support of, the right wing.

(c) Exposure of the anti-working class role of the State Arbitration Court.

The President of the State Arbitration Court proved himself a worthy successor to Judge O'Mara.

Lessons of the struggle were:—

Willingness of the workers to struggle. Government and Court threats, right wing sabotage and treachery — these failed to intimidate the workers. Their fighting spirit increased as the struggle progressed. When it was realised that the Government had moved from merely defending the Garratt engines, to attacking Trade Union democracy the whole political level of the struggle was raised.

Gains are made by the working class through struggle—not through Labor Governments or Arbitration Courts.

Progressive leadership of the Trade Unions is essential if struggles in favorable economic conditions are to be broadened; are to be moved on to an offensive basis. With conditions so obviously favorable (Victorian victory; labor shortage; general prosperity; members in fighting mood) the struggle should have been broadened to include improved conditions and increased wages.

Protracted negotiations and long conferences —normal employing class technique — reacted against the workers.

Necessity of planning before a strike. The Union's lack of clear-cut policy regarding the Government's emergency measures caused confusion among the workers.

Necessity of drawing rank and file members into activity — leaflet distribution — addressing union meetings — organising relief — in order to maintain interest and enthusiasm.

Necessity of amendments to the State Arbitration Act, including removal of the President.

Establishment of a Trades and Labor Council and closer Federal Union relationship.

The Union struck as from midnight on Wednesday, November 6. The issues were: Withdrawal of the Garratt engines; reinstatement, without loss of pay, of the six men suspended for carrying out union instructions and refusing to work Garratt engines as from midnight, Sunday, November 3.

These are the developments which led to the strike: In 1943, the W.A. State Labor Government purchased 25 Australian Standard Garratt engines from the Commonwealth Government. The Garratt engine is viewed far more favorably by Labor Governments than by engine-drivers who have to run them.

In Queensland a dispute centred around the Garratt engines, just as in W.A., and the workers were successful, the engines being withdrawn.

In a very short time after being put on the track in W.A., the Garratt engines revealed deficiencies which engine-drivers held made their working unsafe and uneconomical.

The W.A. Government has sidetracked the union since 1945. In that year the withdrawal of the Garratts on safety grounds was demanded. This demand was withdrawn after the Government agreed that Garratts should not be used for passenger service, the speed limit be reduced to 25 miles per hour, and a Royal Commission investigate the engine. The Royal Commissioner found that the engines were unsafe, listed about 50 measures of modifications necessary to make the engines serviceable and safe —and then recommended that the Garratts be used!

The Government agreed that modifications be carried out. It did not honor this agreement. Consequently the Union issued its second ultimatum to ban Garratts as from a date in October last. This was withdrawn after a special conference convened by the Arbitration Court.

Finally, on October 31, the General Committee and the Triennial Conference of the Union decided that, unless the Garratts were immediately withdrawn, members would be instructed not to work Garratts as from midnight, November 3.

On October 30, Premier Wise and Railways Minister Marshall conferred with Dunphy, President of the Arbitration Court. Dunphy convened a compulsory conference and read a long typewritten statement. Events indicated that the judgment reflected the attitude of the Premier and the Railways Minister. This judgment ranks with the most vicious anti-working class judgments ever issued by an Arbitration Court. Dunphy advised all engine-drivers not to obey the union's instructions; that union funds were liable to penalty; that the union was liable to deregistration; that members were liable, individually, to prosecution. It was clear that W.A. was to be no exception to the general pattern of methods used by Courts and employers in other States.

The effect of the judgment was the reverse of that which the Government and the Court expected. It immediately lifted the level of the struggle and completely consolidated the union leadership. Where earlier there had been a division of opinion, now was unanimity.

The reformist A.L.P. domination of the Trade Unions and the fact that the Loco union leadership viewed the struggle from the narrow craft instead of the working class angle, made the organisation of the struggle, particularly in its early stages, difficult.

As no strike would take place until Wednesday, November 6, and then only if the Government suspended drivers, the immediate needs were pledges of support from other workers and pressure on the Government to concede the Union's claims. There was ample discontent had the unions wanted to broaden the struggle. The discontent of the W.A. Government railway workers is much wider than the question of the Garratt engine. The administration is so bad that unrest is rife from workshops to traffic workers. Further, the Victorian Transport workers' victory had supplied the best of reasons why the W.A. unions should take the offensive. Certainly this victory encouraged the rank and file. However, attempts to broaden the struggle did not succeed.

A big factor in the Government's determination to fight was fear of the development of the struggle for better wages and conditions. In this, the W.A. Labor Government lined up with the employers just as Labor in the other States and in the Commonwealth had done. Also, as in other States, the Labor Government received the endorsement of anti-working class forces. The W.A. Government counted on its Ministers and agents to side-track the demands, and weaken the militant unions.

In Western Australia this plot to smash militant unions was actually planned in detail some time ago. Of this there is evidence. Until the dispute on the Garratt question the Court's consistent attacks on the unions had not met with any strong opposition. Thus it was understandable that the Government, the A.L.P. right wingers, and the Court itself, felt confident of handling the Loco men.

The Government refused to withdraw the engines. The union members refused to work them. On Monday, the Department suspended six men. The fight was on. Meantime the rank and file of the unions, incensed at the Court's tactics, encouraged by the success of the militant Victorian unionists and led by the progressives amongst them, moved into action. Resolutions began to come in from job meetings. The Tramways Union executive pledged full support, introduced the question of hours and wages and a clean-up of the administration.

The A.L.P. Disputes Committee had been brought into the picture by the Railways Officers (membership 1141) and the Railway Employees' Association (membership 4489). Both are dominated by the Right Wing, but there are good progressive elements in the Railway Employees. The Loco Union, remembering past experiences, had decided not to put the matter entirely in the Disputes Committee's hands.

Events quickly justified the decision. The Disputes Committee convened a special meeting of Trade Union representatives (about 200) to hear members of the Cabinet. At the outset, H. Graham, M.L.A. (Chairman, Disputes Committee) stated that there would be no comment, no questions, no discussion on the Ministers' reports. The delegates' reaction to this impudent dictation may be imagined. Support for the Government lessened still further when a Loco man attempted to reply to a particularly abusive speech by Panton, Minister for Works, and was told to sit down. The Loco men walked out in a body in protest.

The meeting demanded that the Disputes Committee hear the Loco men. This was done. After the Loco men put their case, support for them increased considerably. The Government was forced to put forward terms of settlement. The Loco men discussed these terms, but negotiations broke down after hours of discussion.

It was here that the Loco men made a serious tactical blunder. They continued discussion with the Government long after the time set for the commencement of the strike. In doing this they lost time and a valuable ally in the Tramways. The Executive of the Tramways Union had decided to call a stop-work meeting the next morning if the Loco men went on strike. When there was no news of settlement or strike at 12.40 a.m. the idea of a stop-work was abandoned.

Late on Wednesday afternoon (during the period of the negotiations) Railway employees received notices of suspension, and, early on Thursday morning, the Tramways got theirs.

The Government's plan now became clear. Refusal to deal with the Locomen's grievances. Judgment by the Arbitration Court. Futile negotiations to goad the union to the only alternative—strike. The right wing to weaken, confuse and betray the struggle. Then the Government, aided by the Court, to smash the strike and weaken the union and thereby deter any later and broader move for better wages and conditions.

Employers' Federation, Government officials and individual employers joined in action against the strikers. Electric power was cut off at 6 a.m. The Railway Commissioner said no more trucks could be supplied, and Collie coal-owners obliged by immediately closing down the mines. The press did its usual vicious, anti-working class work.

Some weaker elements succumbed to the barrage. The W.A.A.S.R.E. executive passed a motion deprecating the action of the Loco men. It was promptly rejected by five branches, to be increased later to a majority.

Leaders of the Road Transport Union stood with the A.L.P. Disputes Committee. Without consulting their members the Clerks' Union Executive (two dissenting) condemned the Loco men.

The mass meeting of the Tramwaymen on Friday reflected the confusion. Representatives from the Loco men were well received. A motion was passed condemning H. Graham, Chairman of the Disputes Committee. And then a motion was moved to hear a representative of the Disputes Committee! In seconding this, Chamberlain, Secretary of the Tramways Union, who had been in hospital and had risen from his sick bed to "do his bit" for the Government, spoke for one and a quarter hours!

Payne, President and Acting Secretary, opposed the motion and it was lost.

Chamberlain immediately launched into an attack on the Loco men, urged loyalty to the Government, etc., then read out a long resolution. By this time the men were thoroughly confused; im-

patient to get away. They had been meeting since 10.45 without a break until 4 p.m. One member opposed the motion. Payne rose to speak. It was the signal for deliberate and sustained uproar led by a clique of disruptors. So well was it organised that Payne couldn't get a hearing. The motion was carried and the meeting closed.

The Executive resigned in a body as a protest. They later got a vote of confidence, 260 to 10. Meantime the Loco men's solidarity grew.

The next move against the strikers was deregistration of the union, and fining of the union and of individual officials.

The obvious counter to the anti-working class attitude of the Government and Court and the threats and oppression was more and more mass pressure. The Loco men decided to issue leaflets and to organise public meetings.

Action was necessary to expose the right wing leadership of the W.A.A.S.R.E. and the Tramways. The result in the case of the W.A.A.S.R.E. has been mentioned. Midland District A.L.P. Council, by 20 votes to one, supported the Loco men. At the Metro Council meeting on Tuesday, November 12, the majority support, although side-tracked obviously was for the Loco men. And the Council unanimously passed a resolution for a clean up of Railway administration!

Mass pressure was having effect. As the dispute developed additional unions declared support. Collie miners and the Lumpers were solid. After conferring with the Loco men the miners rejected a proposal by the Government that they hew sufficient coal for emergency measures to be transported by truck.

Public meetings called on the Mayors of Fremantle, Perth and Midland to get the Government to accept the union's terms. Attempts were made also to get the Mayors to convene public meetings to set up broad committees to organise relief for distressed women and children. This form of relief organisation is the only one open, as it is illegal in W.A. to organise relief for strikers.

The union was de-registered on November 18 and the Court convicted the union and 22 of its members of having instigated a strike.

Earlier Dunphy warned that any suggestion of linking up with other unions in the dispute "amounted to a conspiracy under the criminal code" a penalty . . . of three years with hard labor."

On the 21st the Court announced the fines: Union £100; 22 members, each £10. The Court continued its threatening role, pointing out that an order could be obtained against every striker, the penalty being £100.

However, the Government had made its final gesture on behalf of the employers and bondholders and against the working class. The following day the settlement was announced.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

L. AARONS.

THE development of the class struggle in Australia over recent months is having great effect on the labor movement in South Australia. The factors making for the development of great offensive struggles for wages and hours are present in marked degree in S.A., and the Victorian transport workers' victory has given great impetus to a movement which was already developing.

The labor movement in South Australia is rapidly coming of age. The heritage of a backward past, due to industrial weakness and the predominantly agrarian nature of the State, still influences the labor movement. Evidences of immaturity still remain, but rapid industrialisation is rapidly changing the labor movement; the working class today is an industrial—and a mainly heavy industrial — working class. Till quite recently, this was an agrarian State. What industry there was consisted of small industry, with but few exceptions.

What a change has taken place! Even before the war forced industrial development, big changes were taking place. Under a deliberate policy of L.C.L. Governments, industries were encouraged to the State. This policy was based upon special circumstances — available raw materials (e.g., iron ore of great purity and concentration), low wage levels and deliberate L.C.L. policy of giving attractive concessions. Best example of the latter is the complete monopoly of the Iron Knob-Whyalla area given to B.H.P., giving this most powerful Australian monopoly a virtual Steel Empire in this area.

Some figures will give an illustration of the radical change that has taken place in S.A.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN S.A.

	No. of factories.	No. of fact. workers.	Value of fact. land, Bldgs, Plant & Mach. million.	Value of output.
			£14.4	million.
1924-5	1211	37714		£32.14
1941-2	2187	65252	£38.46	£89.89

These figures do not show the full picture of the growth of the working class since transport workers, watersiders etc. have also increased in numbers, due to the increasing demands of industry.

S.A. industrial development is not only a normal increase, the rate of industrialisation is ahead of national industrial growth. Here are comparisons between national and S.A. industrial development.

Factory Employment	Value of factory land, bldgs, plant & machinery		Fact. workers per 10,000 of population.	
	Aust.	S.A.	Aust.	Vic.	S.A.
1924-5 100	100	100	215	302	88
1941-2 141	173	162	236	1916	1322	1075

As was to be expected, industry developing at this period is big industry, monopolist in trend. This is shown in the figures:

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

	Factories employing 1-100 workers.		Factories employing over 100 workers.	
	No. factories.	No. employed.	No. factories.	No. employed.
1938-9	1803	29,422	41	25,073
1941-2	2083	15,391	84	40,917

Comparison with Australian trends are as follows:—

FACTORIES EMPLOYING OVER 100 WORKERS.

	Percentage of Factories.		Percentage of total factory workers employed.	
	1928-9	1941-2	1928-9	1941-2
S.A.	2.3	3.8	40.3	62
Aust.	3.1	4.7	49.7	58.8

Although these figures are only to 1941-2, later war years intensified the trend, while big industrial developments have taken place since the war ended.

In the circumstances of the early growth of the labor movement, it is not surprising to find considerable weaknesses in the movement. Reformism and class-collaboration are still strong; there are some amazing illustrations of careerism and bureaucracy (e.g. Union "secretaries" who "run" three unions). At the same time, S.A. is a State in which anarcho-syndicalist and socialist sectarian theory and practice penetrated deeply, remained relatively strong for longer than elsewhere and still have a minor influence. This bears out Lenin's statement "the error of anarchism is often a kind of punishment for the opportunist sins of the labor movement." It is no accident that the I.W.W. influence was strong among the most industrialised workers in the circumstances of a most strongly marked reformist and class-collaborationist labor movement.

Whilst recognising the errors of the I.W.W., we must still pay due credit to the struggles of the workers influenced and sometimes led by the I.W.W. The Watersiders of Port Adelaide waged fierce battles against the capitalist class and its State in 1919 and 1928; it was in the industrialised Port area that the O.B.U. move was strongest, and it was from the Port that a strong contingent of unemployed marched in their demand for beef on the dole ration, only to be attacked by the police "defending" the "Labor" Government from the people whom they were starving.

In spite of a deep-seated reformism, the labor movement here has produced few strong right-wing leaders. Lack of maturity is evidenced in the right wing. In part, this is due to the general hangover from a recent past of weakness; in part to past weakness of the Communist Party. The aggressive gangsterism of the right wingers on Sydney and Melbourne Labor Councils and the A.W.U. bureaucracy in Queensland is missing; but the same forces are there, eager to show the same "strength" in defence of capitalism when our Party more strongly threatens the capitalist class and therefore the bourgeois influences in the labor movement. This trend has already commenced.

Recent developments in the labor movement show the growing militancy of the workers and their determination to struggle.

Three months ago, 1200 workers at Richards' Industries won a dispute over speed-up methods. Railwaymen recently developed a really amazing display of strength, in which, for the first time, a solid united front of A.R.U. and A.F.U.L.E. was achieved and maintained. A 24-hour stoppage was followed by a ban on overtime which threw railway services into chaos. The ban was applied and maintained under difficult conditions, men finishing work and remaining in the country, away from their homes for days. It has since been removed and the men's case taken to Court, not due to lack of militancy but more due to lack of a farseeing leadership. The railway dispute is still in progress. Failure to win concessions — and quickly — will result in a new outbreak of the struggle, at a higher level. Already a mass meeting has decided to call a further mass meeting "to consider the Court's decision on their claims."

Trammen are consumed with grievances; only right wing leadership has so far succeeded in keeping them back from action.

The foundry workers' struggle has been a highlight of the whole movement for wage increases. Under Communist leadership, the struggle has been carefully planned, has brought a high level of militancy under planned guidance, with a concentration upon break through by selecting weak links in the employers' front. Employers have now locked out all foundry workers, and indications are that they will find it difficult indeed to get workers back without a general wage increase. The foundry workers' struggle is the centre of the wages struggle in S.A. at the moment.

The Amalgamated Engineers have now imposed an overtime ban, although a mass meeting would not agree to a follow-up stopwork meeting before Xmas, leaving it till January if claims are not satisfied. The engineers are a strong reserve for the foundry workers.

The right wing union officials, led by Thompson and Trevorrow (E.T.U.), are doing their best to sabotage the struggle. After forcing the foundries dispute into the hands of the Disputes Committee, against the wishes of the two unions, Thompson and his supporters now refuse to accept the Disputes Committee decision to ban overtime, to support the foundry workers, and are organising to upset the decision.

The Ironworkers and A.E.U. still intend to carry out their overtime ban, while the foundry workers are solid in determination to hold out until victory is won. After the employers' lockout, the

general demand has been raised for the £1 increase and for improved amenities, which are even more primitive in S.A. foundries than in other States.

In spite of a vicious attempt by the Chamber of Manufactures to prevent employment of new workers for "the next month," most of the foundry workers have found jobs at higher pay and under better conditions.

The Waterside Workers are also participating in the strike wave, protecting working conditions. Victory after victory has been won by the wharfies in struggle for better conditions.

Groups as widely removed as the gantry-workers (who unload all coal for Adelaide) and the mental hospital workers, who are combined in one union (with many other categories), the A.G.W.A., are in a fighting mood. The mental hospital employees have just won big gains in a short, sharp struggle.

Building workers have recently gained big increases and are determined to wage struggles for new improvements. Fibro-plasterers are waging an "efficiency campaign" which has resulted in a lock-out by employers. The past struggles of the building workers for shorter hours makes it probable that building workers will take the lead in transforming Drake-Brockman's "acceptance in principle" of the 40-hour week into practice.

The widespread unrest has spread to clerical and professional workers.

Labor shortage is having a big effect. Turnover of labor is tremendous, particularly in big industrial establishments, such as General Motors' Holdens and Richards' Industries. Men at these two huge motor body-building plants are coming and going in droves, some even failing to pick up two or three days' pay due to them.

Under these circumstances, the employers are doing their utmost to halt the movement, to hold it back, force claims into Arbitration Court channels and stave off the movement for as long as possible.

Immediately, they are trying to call a halt by illegally locking out the foundry workers and plasterers and at the same time asking for and obtaining the help of the Courts. They are trying to stop labor turnover by refusing to take on men who tell the boss what "he can do with his job"—and there is reason to believe this is a deliberate and organised policy.

They are waging a propaganda campaign for "more production," "efficiency" and "harder work," stressing the dangers of inflation, etc., along the well-known lines of international capitalism. They are also commencing a campaign for "immigration" as the only solution to the labor shortage in S.A. — meaning a return to the "more men than jobs" conditions so favourable to them.

Under these circumstances, employers are obtaining invaluable support from the right wing in the labor movement.

In the labor movement in S.A., we have a position slightly different from the other States. It is true that the extreme right wing finds its main basis in the smaller unions, but three of the largest unions in the State provide a mass basis for them.

The A.S.E. is one; S.A. is the only State in which this union is stronger than the A.E.U. The A.S.E. leadership here is probably more class-collaborationist than any other. Reason for its growth, apart from certain A.E.U. weaknesses, is the conclusion of special agreements with employers under which they receive the employers' support for their union in return for concessions to employers, which means agreements favourable to the latter. Agreements include the provision of secret ballots before strikes (Pope's, Finsbury), bonus systems (Vactric), etc.

As part of the A.S.E.'s drive for membership they are waging a body-snatching campaign against the Ironworkers. In this, of course, they have the support of the employers.

In return, Thompson and Co. have attempted to discredit the Ironworkers and their leadership. In one such attempt, they made charges against C. J. McCaffrey, which recoiled on their heads. Thompson, in debate on the T. & L.C., admitted that Pope, leading metal trade employer, preferred dealing with the A.S.E. instead of the Ironworkers. He said this was because the A.S.E. was "honourable" in their dealings with employers!

Thompson is the leading retailer of employers' arguments inside the union movement. In private, it is alleged, he has said that "there is only a certain pool of goods produced and we cannot take more out until more is produced."

Whether this is true or not, he has made more than enough public utterances to show his beliefs. Just two examples: the A.S.E. Executive has dissociated itself from the A.E.U. overtime ban. Thompson appealed to his members not to be "stampeded" into action for the £1 increase and 40-hour week. When the A.E.U. imposed the overtime ban, Thompson was invited down to one factory by the boss "to explain A.S.E. policy" — i.e., why we shouldn't fight for the £1. (And the boss moved a vote of thanks to him!)

When the Metal Trades Council was discussing the campaign for the economic demands, Thompson's line was: "I have been in touch with the employers and they assure me that, if any increase is given as a result of other unions' action, the A.S.E. members will get it. Besides, it costs money for stamps to send a demand to employers."

But the A.S.E. bureaucracy is not having things its own way. With their undemocratic rules, they have been able to maintain their position, but only at the cost of constantly flouting the votes of their rank and file. Crick, an organiser, elected by the membership, has been "stood down" for months; a recent meeting of the members demanded his reinstatement — but the Executive has appealed to the Federal Council against this decision!

A mass meeting of A.S.E. men at the Tramway Workshops decided unanimously to support the A.E.U. men in their overtime ban and similar movements are expected in other metal shops.

Several hundred signatories to a petition by A.S.E. members urge their State Executive to take action to win the A.C.T.U. demands.

There is a somewhat similar position in the V.B.U. Lawn, the Secretary, has, up till now, succeeded in holding back the rank-and-file demand for action to win wage increases.

The A.W.U., under the leadership of Cameron, though not as completely in the hands of the right wing as in other States, is still a source of right wing strength. Cameron recently attacked the A.E.U. decision to ban overtime and has taken a prominent part in right wing plotting to divert and stifle the developing movement of struggle.

The Trades and Labor Council has proved a testing-ground for the rival conceptions of reformist class collaboration and militant struggle.

When the Ironworkers' and Moulders' struggle in the foundries was developing, the press carried hints of moves to discipline "certain unions" who were taking action "on their own." Such moves were in the wind, but were defeated on the T.L.C.; instead, a motion was carried (with only two dissentients speaking up) endorsing the actions of unions who had commenced the fight, and calling upon all unions to serve the £1 and 40 hours demands on all employers. Those who most loudly deplored the "lack of unity" were most conspicuous by their failure to do anything to maintain fighting unity in terms of this resolution.

After the Victorian transport victory, Tom Garland, Secretary of the T.L.C. and A.C.T.U. Executive member, gave the Council an excellent full report of the developments. Pointing out the promises made as a result of the transport strike, he urged action now to force the implementation of the promises, and, even more important, preparation for action to force the full demands of the union movement.

A proposal was made for an immediate and full ban on all overtime — working of the standard hours only.

The right wing appeared as "militant" demagogues, proposing a "general strike" — but in January "if demands are not met." They took additional safeguards — it would be a "recommendation" to the A.C.T.U. Executive to "recommend" such action to the Labor Councils. It is safe to say that if a miracle occurred and the A.C.T.U. and Labor Councils endorsed such a step, the movers would find "good" arguments against their own move. It is not worthwhile to say more about this transparent fraud, except to quote a police delegate who, asked how the police could take part in a general strike, replied: "It's alright — we know these jokers don't mean it, but you fellows do mean your overtime ban." A perfect commentary on the move—and explanation why some centre elements voted for the move and ensured its adoption by a narrow margin.

Mover and seconder of the "general strike" resolution were Messrs. Lawn and Thompson, who pursue the policy of aiding Playford and the S.A. bourgeoisie in urging overseas capital to come to this State. A few months ago, these two "general strikers" urged capitalists to come to this State "because of the lower basic wage and the more stable labor position."

The right wing is still strong in the union movement, but their strength is waning. The militant mood of the workers, the resistance of employers, Court and Government to the legitimate demands of the workers and the struggles this will produce will further this development, exposing the right wing and building the left.

Many union officials and leading rank and filers who are by no means Communists or even leftists are disgusted at the right wing policy and they will respond the more readily to the mass movement.

The position is, however, much different in the A.L.P. The recent Labor Party convention was a right wing victory, though a barren one. The Labor Party here has always been weak. The parliamentarians are far out of touch with the unions. At only one period have the industrial wing assumed leadership, when the Premiers' Planners were expelled from the Party. At this period, there were three parties — the Premiers' Planners, the Official Party and the Langites. Richards, Opposition Leader, and A. V. Thompson, new M.H.R. for Hindmarsh, are among many politicians still in Parliament who were expelled in 1931.

The fact that the L.C.L. is still in power in S.A. cannot alone be explained by gerrymandering of electorates, though this is a factor. More is it to be explained by A.L.P. weakness—especially weakness of the parliamentary party.

Right wing A.L.P. leaders often state that Playford has done a good job for the State; Richards himself said in Parliament recently: "This is one of the few times I do not see eye to eye with the Premier." For some reason, the A.L.P. politicians seem to think they will defeat Playford by time after time "accusing" him of — carrying out A.L.P. policy!

To maintain their position, right wing majorities are needed to stifle the mass movement, even the demands of genuine A.L.P. members for a fighting A.L.P. policy. This they had at the Convention. The A.L.P. membership is given by the Secretary as 49,000 — but of these, the vast majority are members of affiliated unions. There has been a falling off in Local Committee membership; yet at the Convention the Local Committees, etc., had more delegates than the Unions. The balance sheet shows that unions paid £2,312 in sustentation fees, Local Committees but £124. With hand-picked Local Committees, plus some right wing Union delegations, it was quite a safe Convention;

in fact, the most surprising feature was the strength displayed by the left wing.

There were several major features of the Convention, which illustrated the right wing domination and its policy trends, and the left wing strength.

First was the "Fighting" Policy for the State Elections. Not a mention of hours and wages — excuse by Richards on the 40 hours was that we might have the 40-hour week by then and we must be prepared to advance the 36-hour demand! The whole fighting platform, while containing some good features, does no more than illustrate most effectively the bourgeois-liberal character of the A.L.P. In fact, it will probably not differ much from L.C.L. policy.

A passing reference was made to the most vital question of the day — a resolution was carried "supporting" the unions' demands for highe. wages and shorter hours. This shows very clearly the difference between a reformist and a revolutionary party. The Communist Party has been giving leadership to the struggle, its leadership in the Victorian transport strike made the first big break through, will benefit all workers. The A.L.P. carries a vote of "support"!

Bardolph, Past President, did give lip-service to the workers' demands — but no plans for winning these demands were laid; in fact, the only real decisions made on industrial matters were those which will weaken the industrial movement if the right wing A.L.P. leadership has its way.

One was the decision on the bogus Chemical Workers. Declared bogus by unanimous vote of the T.L.C., this scab body was affiliated to the A.L.P. When the affiliation was made, the A.L.P. Executive was notified of the union movement's attitude. Strong moves were made at Convention to have the affiliation cancelled, with the support of almost all the union delegates. It was defeated by a small margin, Convention deciding to wait on the decision of the litigation in the Arbitration Court. In the meantime, the affiliation stands.

Another, and perhaps more far-reaching decision, was that to set up "A.L.P. Industrial Groups" on N.S.W. pattern. It is significant that J. J. Graves, M.L.C., was in Adelaide while he should have been at the Legislative Council to vote on the Coal Bill. These groups were formed, not to fight for the workers' demands, nor even to propagandise A.L.P. policy, but, it was freely stated, to "combat" the Communist Party. It is certain that the right wing will use these groups as in N.S.W., to attempt disruption and promote faction fighting in the union movement.

They were rebuffed in their efforts to gain union support for their "anti-Communist Manifesto" early this year, but vigilance will be needed to see that these plotters do not weaken the union movement when its strength is most needed.

Another move was the alteration of rules to prevent the continued affiliation of the Socialist League. This was carried only by 102 votes to 97. It can scarcely be said that the Socialist League is a body with any mass influence, though it counts a number of sincere and honest people in its ranks. Two reasons influenced the decision — a precautionary move to make more difficult any possible future move for A.C.P. affiliation, and the well-known right wing and particularly C.A. hatred of the very term Socialism.

The ballots for Executive positions were interesting, though almost wholly right wing successes. F. J. Walsh, A.L.P. Federal President, was elected Junior Vice-President, but defeated as a Federal Conference delegate. This can be attributed to his close link with the union movement. Though by no means a left or militant, he has refused to be tied up with the extreme right wing.

The Executive, except for Walsh, is even more an extreme right wing body. One of the members is J. J. O'Grady, Industrial officer of a big business concern — that very Vatric Co. mentioned earlier.

There is much disgust in the union movement and among progressive A.L.P. members at the convention and its results. One union delegate, an old militant, former A.W.U. organiser in that union's good period, said he had been to 19 Conventions, had seen all the struggles between the political and industrial wings, including the Premier's Plan split. But he was of the opinion that another, a bigger, split would develop soon as a result of the present ruling clique's policy and its divergence from the union movement.

Undoubtedly, the struggle between right and left in the whole labor movement will grow sharper as the conflict between labor and capital sharpens and reaches new levels. For the struggle against the right wing is part of the struggle between labor and capital. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in S.A. where the right wing is more open in its class collaboration than in most places, less skilled in its manoeuvring and demagoguery.

Great responsibility rests upon our Party. Already S.A. is the third most important heavy industrial State; the creation of new industry creates a bigger and a qualitatively new working class. The dialectics of life will turn — indeed, are already turning — capitalist dreams of "lower incidence of strikes," etc., into a horrible capitalist nightmare of developing class struggle.

Our Party grows strong in struggle. We must speed this growth by special attention — indeed almost a new turn — to development of factory organisation, to strengthening militant forces in the trade union movement.

Linked with this is the development of the united front: the capacity to work with honest reformists, both officials and rank and file who abhor class collaboration; unity with the A.L.P. membership, and continued struggle against the theory of reformism, the "ideology of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement."

DECLARATION OF THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

THE principal objective of the Communist Party of Japan is to accomplish the bourgeois-democratic revolution now in progress in a peaceful, democratic way. Therefore, our Party does not maintain that the capitalist structure as a whole should be abolished immediately in order to realise socialism. The following are the aims that we, the Japanese Communists, want to realise.

(1) Abolition of the Tenno system as a feudalistic-despotic-military-police political structure.

As for the Imperial family, the question of its continuance should be decided by referendum after the establishment of a Popular Republican Government. However, the war responsibility of the present emperor should be prosecuted. Furthermore, the Party asserts that the war criminals and those guilty of violation of human rights should be ousted from important posts they occupy in society in economic and political circles.

(2) Establishment of democratic institutions which should take the place of the Tenno system, based upon the sovereignty of the people, and establishment of a Popular Republican Government on the basis of the one-chamber system; ousting of reactionary officials from central as well as local administrative structures and the institution of a system in which all Diet members, Government representatives, and members of local committees who have the right to exercise power, should be elected by the people, while those elected should have the duty of reporting their actions to the voters, whereby the people are in a position to keep a strict watch over their exercise of power so that, should they neglect the duty of reporting or act dishonestly or wrongfully, they may be replaced by newly elected members.

(3) Reduction of land rents and the prohibition of the taking away of lands by landowners and establishment of the right of cultivation; and confiscation and distribution among peasants by a democratic government of the lands owned by the emperor, temples, shrines, peers and idle landowners; confiscation of the lands owned by huge landowners without compensation and compulsory purchase of the lands owned by small landowners. As for the question whether a landowner is a huge or a small one, a peasants' committee will take the local situations and the character of the landowner into consideration, and the Popular Government will finally decide the matter.

We propose to confiscate idle fields and woods without compensation and to bring them under cultivation at State expense by the use of machinery and to increase arable lands through adjustment of arable lands and irrigation system, and through reclamation of marshes, and to start upland and dry-land farming at State expense and thus distribute newly cleared lands to peasants and to increase their own lands. We also advocate the mechanisation of agriculture at State expense, establishment of state-operated model farms, and co-operative cultivation. We are opposed to overburdensome taxation imposed upon peasants. In this way, the livelihood of peasants will be stablised as well as quickly improved.

(4) Nationalisation of the property of the war criminals and dissolution of finance capital. Intensification of control of big capital by the Popular Government, and management of industries through establishment of "managing councils" in which the workers participate. Unification of banking institutions and their management by the Popular Government. Liberation of medium and small industrialists from monopoly capital and bureaucratic interference, and guarantee of their freedom of enterprise. Utilisation of managing councils and improvement of their efficiency. Co-ordination of the whole production system and maintenance of balance in production. Prevention of panics in production through increased purchasing power and improved living conditions of the masses.

(5) Unification of banking institutions and their management by the Popular Republican Government, and freezing of funds of landowners and capitalists in order to prevent their wasteful expenditure and cornering of goods for dealing in black markets, thereby to eradicate the cause of inflation and stabilise the price system. Utilisation of state income derived from property and war profit taxation for the recovery of war-destroyed industrial communications, social institutions and for the rebuilding of houses and for the relief of the unemployed, war-sufferers, demobilised servicemen, and repatriates. The present corrupt, bureaucratic government is not in a position to increase the ration of foodstuffs and daily necessities and to uncover concealed goods. Therefore, the people's councils based on the combinations of trade unions, peasants' unions, citizen's foodstuff control committees, must undertake the task of co-ordinating the rationing system. When this system has attained a nation-wide development and a democratic Popular Government has been established, then this government will further the development of people's councils and will absorb them into the administrative structures of the government.

(6) Institution of the minimum wage for the workers. The amount of the minimum wage must be enough for the stabilisation of the people's livelihood. Same wages for the same work. A seven-hour day (with the maximum of one hour overtime). Protection of working women and

minors. Institution of a complete factory law. Institution of social insurances, including unemployment and endowment insurance. Management of the rations of foodstuffs and daily necessities by the trade unions. Intensification of the system of managing councils. Establishment of the right of the worker by the Constitution and the Labor Law.

(7) Liberation of women from feudalistic subordination. Establishment of equal rights for men and women. Reformation of the neighbourhood association organisation which imposes heavy burdens upon women. Institution of scholarship and opportunities for higher education for young men and boys. Democratic education for young men and boys and abolition of feudalistic interference with them.

What we have in view after the accomplishment of a bourgeois democratic revolution, is to make the capitalist system develop into a higher social organisation, or into a Socialist structure in which there no longer exists the exploitation of man by man, in a peaceful, democratic way, with the approval and support of the majority of the people. We are convinced that this is the natural and necessary course of social development.

In realising this form of society, we, Japanese Communists, will neither use violence, nor adopt dictatorship, but will make use of the peaceful way of education, and attain our objective by a democratic Popular Republican Government which is best fitted for the realities of our social development.

Our Party has never maintained the abolition of private property. The abolition of private property is impossible in any form of society. Since the end of primitive communism, private property has undergone changes varying in form and nature with the ages. Private property exists in a Socialist society in a form adapted for the society.

It was the scheme of the intriguing Tenno Government that spread an unwarranted rumour that the advocacy of the abolition of private property was in the supreme programme of our Party. This government also framed the Peace Preservation Law. We hope that the people will not be deceived by this scheme intended to separate them from our Party. Our ultimate aim is to abolish private ownership of lands and capital owned by idle landowners and capitalists and to do away with the exploitation system through their conversion into common ownership. We are also convinced that in this way alone the livelihood of the people will be stabilised, enriched, and constantly improved through increased means of production and abundant supply of goods for their consumption.

AMERICAN LABOR HISTORY AND THE CALL FOR A THIRD PARTY

V. BOURKE

THE furore created by Henry Wallace's speech to a C.I.O. meeting in U.S.A. has been followed by a strengthening of the demand for a "third Party" to challenge the power and policy of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

Why is it that no mass working-class party has yet appeared on the American scene? What are the prospects for such a break with political dependence of the working class on the big capitalists and their parties? The answers to these questions are found in this history of the American labor movement.

America struck out for nationhood with the War of Independence of 1776. This blow by the new American bourgeoisie against the imperial autocracy of Britain sounded the tocsin for the French bourgeoisie to smash feudalism in the great French Revolution of 1789.

The American bourgeois revolution did not lead to the appearance of a revolutionary working class movement as in England (the Levellers), and in France (Babeuf). But where there is a bourgeoisie there is an exploited proletariat, and working class organisation and struggle is inevitable. The first trade union, of Shoemakers, appeared in 1792. By 1827 organisation was strong enough in Philadelphia to stage a general strike for a ten hour day. In 1829 a Working Men's Party was formed both in Philadelphia and New York.

Up to 1850 the working class was distinguished by great fluctuation, and did not have a constant composition due to the continuous renewal of the frontier, and the opening up of new lands. This meant a constant renewal of classes by successive sectional development which prevented the combination of the workers as a conscious and independent class. Workers in the older regions might begin to develop a class programme and ideology, but their development was retarded, distorted and upset by the emergence of workers in the newer regions influenced by and subservient to petty-bourgeois ideology.

The agrarian class was much larger and grew more rapidly than the working class, hence the latter was considerably influenced by petty-bourgeois agrarian movements—Agrarian Radicalism.

In this lies a feature of the development of the Labor Movement peculiar to America; explaining its failure to throw up a strong centralised trade union movement and an independent working-class party despite the rapid growth of capitalism.

Agrarian radicalism in America during the nineteenth century expressed itself in the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson—in Henry George's Single Tax schemes—the Bryan "free coinage of silver plan" and the "Greenback Party," which later received sufficient support from workers for its financial reform programme to be renamed the "Greenback Labor Party."

In order that American capitalism could fully develop industry the bourgeoisie was forced to destroy the political power of the Southern landholding slaveowners. This completion of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution that commenced with the War of Independence was achieved in the American Civil War of 1861-65.

The Civil War was conducted under the leadership of the radical bourgeoisie under pressure from the working class and farmers. This historically progressive war, waged by the North under Lincoln, was supported by Marx and Engels, and the First International.

The workers played an important part in the war. Following the defeats of 1862 under General McClellan, the Northern armies were fleeing in disorder. Workers' and farmers' protest meetings throughout the North forced a change in the indecisive policy of Lincoln to waging of the war in a revolutionary manner. The workers forced a purge of counter-revolutionary elements and proceeded to organise Workers' Regiments (Printers—Building Workers, etc.) and immigrant regiments according to nationality.

The workers selected their own commanders among whom were a number of Socialists, e.g., Weidemeyer (a friend of Marx); Willich, a member of C.C. Communist League; and Seigal, a German Socialist. The workers' regiments under General Grant waged the decisive battles, and won major victories on all fronts.

The defeat of the South in the Civil War cleared the decks for industrial capitalism, strengthening it in relation to commercial and landed capital and the petty-bourgeoisie, and opening the way for the development of America as a powerful industrial country.

In this period the workers took advantage of the labor shortage to demand higher wage rates. In turn the higher cost of labor power stimulated mechanisation. The free lands making it possible for a worker to become a farmer facilitated the struggle for higher wages.

"In the peculiarity of the United States which consists in the presence of unoccupied free lands is explained the exceedingly broad and rapid development of capitalism in America." (Lenin.)

The stormy development of American capitalism was paralleled by a flourishing of the Labor movements and militant class struggle. In 1869 the Knights of Labor commenced as a secret society. The Knights of Labor admitted all workers, including Negroes, but declared for—"No conflict with legitimate enterprise, no antagonism to necessary capital." Its membership grew rapidly from 28,000 in 1880 to its peak of 703,000 in 1886, but its leadership failed the workers in the great struggles for the eight hour day in that year, and within two years its membership fell to 260,000.

During this period strife and dissension among the reformist leaders of the Knights of Labor led to the emergence of the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, who strongly influenced the American Trade Union movement, directing it along lines which rejected political independence for the working class, on the contrary practising class collaboration, winning concessions for the organised skilled workers at the expense of the mass of unskilled workers.

This period saw the formation of the Socialist Labor Party. Following the dissolution of the First International at Philadelphia in 1872, Socialist groups which split off from the American section of the International formed the Working Men's Party of the United States. In 1877 its second convention renamed it the Socialist Labor Party of America, and two years late, it claimed 10,000 members. Its leading figure was Daniel DeLeon, a Syndicalist who was opposed to the reformism of both the Knights of Labor, and American Federation of Labor. DeLeon advocated "dual-unionism." In 1895 the Socialist Labor Party established the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, consisting of a few left wing trade unions.

This theory of "dual-unionism," a belief that the old unions were static and unchangeable, and it was therefore necessary to establish new pure "socialist" unions, became a disease in the American Labor Movement, maintaining divisions and leaving the field to the reformists headed by Gompers, and isolating the revolutionaries from the mass of organised workers, shutting them off into sects. As Anthony Bimba says: ". . . loudly chanting their principles, diligently guarding their revolutionary innocence and integrity, but hopeless, helpless and without any influence on the masses."

Despite the political weaknesses of its leadership, this period saw the working class engaged in great mass movements and sharp class battles, the great strikes of 1877 assuming the character of a mass insurrection; 1886 witnessed great struggles for the eight hour day from which May 1st has ever since been celebrated as the international day of labor. The great Pullman railroad strike of 1894 became known as "Debs' Rebellion" after Eugene Debs, leader of the railroad brotherhoods.

These struggles demonstrated the violence and ruthlessness of so-called capitalist democracy in its suppression of the workers' movement. An example is that of the Chicago Anarchists who, unlike the European Anarchists, were not concerned with arming small groups and liquidating individuals, but advocated the necessity for the violent overthrow of capitalism by the working class as a whole. The Chicago Anarchists organised a mass movement leading 80,000 in a general strike on May 1st, 1886. Following this, at a peaceable demonstration in Haymarket Square, the police launched an attack on the workers in which a provocateur killed a

policeman. Ten Anarchists were charged with the murder and given a farcical trial. Seven of them were condemned to death, and one to fifteen years' imprisonment. Some of them begged a pardon, and their sentences were commuted, but Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engel refused to beg mercy and on November 11th, 1887, all four were hanged. These working class heroes defied capitalism to their last breath. From the scaffold Fischer declared: "This is the happiest moment of my life," while Spies said: "The time will come when our silence in the grave will be more eloquent than our speeches."

Debs' railroad strike was broken in battles with Federal troops. This struggle witnessed the use for the first time of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, which "forbade combinations in restraint of trade," to legally hamstring and shackle the unions.

Despite the militancy and heroism of the workers in these great struggles, unionism was unequal to its tasks. It was isolated from the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled trades, which embraced large masses of immigrant workers of all nationalities, being limited almost wholly to sheltered trades and comprising mainly American-born workers. And there was no independent Working Class Party or ideas.

Frederick Engels had noted this weakness of the American Labor Movement and understood the reasons for it—the absence of any nationwide democratic tasks facing the proletariat as in Europe, the complete subjection of the proletariat to bourgeois politics and the sectarian isolation of the Socialists from the working class. In a letter to American Socialists in 1886 he wrote—"The first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement is always the organisation of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party." . . . "No matter in what form so long as it is their own movement in which they are driven further by their own mistakes and learn wisdom by hurting themselves" . . . "the great thing is to get the working class to move as a class" and ". . . in anything that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the working men's party —no matter what platform—I should consider a great mistake." (Marx-Engels correspondence.)

But whereas the Australian working class made the break in 1895 and formed its "distinct workers' Party," the Labor Party, although on a bourgeois liberal platform, the American Labor Movement was not destined to be as fortunate, for it continued to be dominated by the rank opportunism of Gompers, which opposed the formation of a workers' Party, and the secretarianism of the anarcho-syndicalists, DeLeon and Debs. The American workers failed to establish an independent working-class party, and continued to tail behind the two bourgeois parties — the Republicans and Democrats.

In 1898, following differences in the Socialist Labor Party over working in conservative trade unions, the majority broke away and in 1901 formed the Socialist Party of the United States, Eugene Debs becoming its leader. Debs, whose leadership of the railroad unions had taught him the value of working in the established trade unions, differed with the sectarian "dual-union" policy of DeLeon, but he was a syndicalist and denied the need for a political party of the working class. By 1914 the Socialist Party had 118,000 members, but it was dominated by petty-bourgeois intellectuals who condemned it to a policy of sectarianism and opportunism.

By 1900 class relations in America had altered. There was no longer any frontier, with its renewal of classes and instability of class relations. America had entered the stage of monopoly-finance-capital. Agrarian radicalism was dead, and now the working class and capitalist class were face to face as antagonistic and hostile classes. The drive for monopoly super-profits led to intense exploitation, and sharp class battles, particularly during the 1914-18 war, but only a minority of the workers were organised, and there was no revolutionary party to lead their struggles.

Tired of the class collaboration policy of the Gompers A.F. of L. leadership, the militant trade union leaders convened a conference of unions in 1905 from which was formed the Industrial Workers of the World. Its leading figures were DeLeon, Debs, and Bill Haywood, the famous Miners' leader.

The I.W.W. was anarcho-syndicalist, i.e., it denied the necessity for a workers' State, and considered the trade unions would be the organs of administration under Socialism. In 1908 DeLeon led a faction split and there were two I.W.W's, the Detroit and Chicago. However, the I.W.W. played a militant role in organising the unskilled workers — it exposed the reformists and fought against the 1914-18 imperialist war. In 1917 its membership reached the peak of 130,000.

After the U.S.A. entered the war in 1917 the I.W.W. was savagely attacked. It was declared illegal and one hundred of its leaders gaoled. Its leader, Haywood, attending a conference of Red Unions in Moscow, was sentenced to twenty years in his absence. He was directed by the American workers to remain in the Soviet Union. This outstanding American working class leader died in 1928, and was buried alongside John Reed under the Kremlin wall. The I.W.W. was unable to withstand the attacks of the ruling class, its membership dwindled and following the war its leadership degenerated into a small anti-Soviet clique.

W. Z. Foster, who broke with Syndicalism, attributed its influence in America to three main reasons. First, the favourable economic conditions, free land, higher wages, the development of a large labor aristocracy and a corrupt trade union bureaucracy, the passage of many workers into the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie and even the bourgeoisie in the period of industrial expansion. All these factors created strong petty-bourgeois illusions, blurred

class lines and stifled class struggle. Secondly, the democratic rights accorded by the bourgeois revolution no longer provided cause for acute political struggle, hence the working class did not see the necessity for political struggle or a mass political party. The principal demands of the working class were economic, hence the main struggles were economic, predisposing the working class to Syndicalism. Thirdly, the decentralisation of American Government (48 States) scattered the political effort of the working class, while the presence of masses of disfranchised immigrants, and the heterogeneous character of the working class (national, religious, tradition) made class solidarity difficult, and in addition the petty-bourgeois control and reformist policy of the Socialist Party drove militant workers to Syndicalism.

1918 saw the first successful attempt to organise workers in the mass production industries. Under the leadership of William Z. Foster the meat packing workers were organised as a result of a strike for higher wages and shorter hours, but two years later the organisation was smashed by Gompers and the A.F. of L. leaders.

Foster next attempted to organise the steel industry. In 1919, 365,000 steel workers in ten States struck. Twenty-two workers were killed and thousands bashed and arrested by the Company thugs, and State Police. The strike ended the twelve hour day, but the attempt to unionise the industry failed. This would not be achieved until 1936 by the C.I.O.

The early twentieth century gave further examples of the brutality of American capitalism. In 1910 the MacNamara brothers were framed and charged with dynamiting a newspaper office during a strike. They languished in prison for over thirty years. In 1916 Tom Mooney and Billings were framed with a bomb outrage. Despite proof of the frame-up Mooney was only released in January 1939. This working-class hero died in 1942. In 1927 Sacco and Vanzetti were framed, and in 1927, when the Labor Movement was too weakened by opportunism to resist, they were burned to death in the electric chair despite protests from all over the world.

The stormy post-war years saw the birth of the Communist party, which marked an historic break with the isolation of the American labor movement from scientific socialist theory and practice. Internal struggles between left wing elements in the Socialist Party resulted in 1919 in two groups splitting off, and forming the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. These Communist groups were immediately attacked, and declared illegal by the Government, and hundreds were arrested. However, a legal form was maintained in the "Workers' Party."

The strong influence of Syndicalism was seen in the first Communist programme which, while declaring for parliamentary activity, also declared support for "dual-unionism."

Refusal of recognition by the Communist International resulted in the two Communist groups uniting in 1921, and forming the Communist Party of America. The programme of the united Party reflected the teachings of Lenin in **Left Wing Communism,** by declaring against "dual-unionism."

The Communist Party immediately launched a campaign to organise all workers into the trade unions, particularly in the mass production industries. It also called for the formation of a third Party—a workers' Labor Party.

In 1922 a Conference for Progressive Political Action was convened consisting of Rail and Clothing Unions, Socialist Party, Workers' Party (C.P.) and Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. The Conference declared for the establishment of a Labor Party, but the move was sabotaged by Gompers and collapsed.

The temporary stabilisation of capitalism with its post-war boom swept the American Labor Movement with illusions about capitalism. There were cries for "Union-Management Co-operation." Ford's "profit sharing" and "Labor banking" schemes. Abe Cahan repudiated Marx and all references to class struggle were struck out of the Socialist Party application forms.

The ballyhoo about "prosperity" and "class peace" covered vicious exploitation. From 1923 to 1929 industrial output increased 29% per worker, while profits rose 200% and 300%, but average real wages increased not more than 4½%, and most wage increases only went to the skilled workers.

"For the first time in a period of boom the trade unions failed to grow, they actually lost members. The A.F. of L. lost about one third of its members, and in 1927 there were only about three million workers organised of a total industrial labor force of 28 millions.

While the reformist union bureaucrats urged "class peace," the capitalists waged war on unionism by means of "welfare" clubs and company unionism. The hitherto relatively strong craft unions were further undermined by the rationalisation of industry, and technical developments abolishing the skilled trades. Meantime the left wing struggled to maintain militant unionism. In 1922, under the leadership of W. Z. Foster, the Trade Union Educational League was established, and became the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions. In 1929 the name was changed to Trade Union Unity League. The Trade Union Educational League conducted a vigorous drive to unionise the unskilled workers in the face of A.F. of L. opposition, which even used gunmen to attack and intimidate militant workers and leaders.

In 1928 a faction fight which existed in the Communist Party from its inception came to a head with the expulsion of the right wing leadership headed by Lovestone. The Lovestonites were infected with the ideology of American "New Capitalism," and "eternal prosperity." They declared the 6th Communist International Congress resolution

or the coming economic crisis did not apply to U.S.A. which was in an "exceptional" position in world economy.

Their theories of exceptionalism, as with those of their counterparts in the Australian Party, were blown kite high by the blast of the crisis which hit U.S.A. in 1929. America counted thirteen million unemployed. There was starvation, demonstrations and violence.

The Communist Party was in the forefront of the workers' struggles, but sectarianism prevented the organisation of an effective mass movement before 1933, which year saw a working class offensive launched against the terrible effects of the crisis. A great strike movement developed under the leadership of the Communists and left wing unionists. Proportionate to membership the Trade Union Unity League led eight times more strikes and organised four times more members than the American Federation of Labor.

The upsurge against the A.F. of L. reformist bureaucrats led to a demand that the mass production industries be organised (steel, motors, textile). This resulted in 1935 in a Committee for Industrial Organisation being formed within the American Federation of Labor headed by Lewis, Hillman, and Murray against the opposition of Green and Woll. The establishment of the C.I.O. transformed the American trade union movement. In view of this development the Communists and left wing trade unionists moved for the liquidation of the American section of the R.I.L.U., the T.U.U.L.

The C.I.O. organised great strikes in the steel industry, and despite unlimited violence won higher wages and conditions and recognition of trade unions. In 1937, after an historic six weeks "sit-down" strike, General Motors was organised and finally Ford Motors also.

The effect of the C.I.O. is seen in the fact that in 1933 only 7.8% of workers were organised in unions, in 1935 10.6%, and in 1937 21.9%. But the right wing leaders continued their traditional union-smashing policy by expelling the left wing unions from the American Federation of Labor. In November 1938 these unions formed a separate trade union centre, and changed the name to Congress of Industrial Organisations. The C.I.O. had a membership of 3¾ million, i.e., more than the American Federation of Labor could muster after fifty years of existence. In 1942, after the defection of Lewis and under the leadership of Murray, the C.I.O. had five million members. The effect of struggle and growth of union consciousness was reflected in the growth of both the C.I.O. and American Federation of Labor unions. The total membership for both bodies today is fourteen million.

The A.F. of L. leadership still plays a reactionary role. It rejects unity with the C.I.O. and refuses to join the World Federation of Trade Unions. It carries on a bitter anti-Soviet campaign, and aids the worst American reaction.

The upsurge of struggle and organisation during the past decade has again brought forward the question of the political independence of the working class. Movement to this end was expressed during the war in the establishment by the C.I.O. of Political Action Committees to work for the return of the late President Roosevelt for a fourth term. The Political Action Committees proved to be a decisive factor in the defeat of Republican and Democratic reaction on that occasion.

Unfortunately it was precisely at this stage of American Labor history that the leadership of the Communist Party failed to seize the initiative and raise the movement to higher levels. Dazzled by the phenomenal power of American capital expressed in the production miracles of the war, Browder, Communist Party Secretary, preached an end to class struggle — for class collaboration, and not only against the formation of a third Party, but denied the need for Socialism in our time, and proceeded to the liquidation of the workers' revolutionary party, the Communist Party itself.

The opportunism of Browder seriously weakened the Communist Party. In 1939 there were approximately 90,000 members, 80% of whom were in New York State. At the end of 1945 there were only approximately 50,000 and factory organisation had been almost liquidated.

But the realities of the struggle against capitalism have disproved Browderism. The strike wave which struck America in 1945 and is still continuing has embraced millions of workers. At one time early in 1946 two million were on strike. These strikes have drawn in most of the organised workers, and a large number of the unorganised, among whom "white-collar" workers are actively struggling for the first time.

Under the leadership of William Z. Foster the Communist Party has broken with Browderism and is reviving and growing rapidly, leading the struggle against the American warmongers, both Democratic and Republican. It is leading the fight against the union-smashing policy of Truman and vigorously supporting the mass movement for formation of a powerful worker-farmer Labor Party. Party policy on this was clearly stated by Stachel in **Political Affairs**, March 1946: " . . . The Labor and progressive forces, while guarding against sectarianism, premature organisational steps, or indifference to the developments within either of the old parties, should boldly promote the building of local and state third parties where the conditions are favourable and should aim toward the formation of the national anti-fascist peoples' third party in time for it to be a factor in the 1948 election."

The struggle for a third party is essentially a part of the struggle to break the political domination of the reactionary bourgeoisie over the working class, but if and when such a party is established it cannot end the rule of capital with its crises and wars. The working class will still need its own revolutionary party to lead the struggle for Socialism.

The American Communist Party is still relatively small and not yet a mass party of the American working class, but it is the vanguard of the working class expressing, and actively leading the fight for the fundamental and immediate interests of the working class. Paraphrasing Corey:—"A century ago the American Abolitionists were isolated and spurned by the very class whose interests they served, yet that class was eventually compelled to wage a civil war to end slavery. The working class will increasingly accept the programme and leadership of the Communists, the Abolitionists of today who are waging war to abolish Capitalism, wage-slavery, the menace of fascism and a third world war."

The American Imperialists savagely use machine guns and tear gas, riot sticks and prisons, company thugs, private police, spies, provocateurs and lynchings, but the ringing challenge of heroic struggle is heard in the voice of the Chicago Anarchists, the courage of Tom Mooney, and the last words of Sacco and Vanzetti who declared:—"Only two of us will die—our ideal, you, our comrades, will live by millions. We have won. We are not vanquished. Just treasure our sufferings, our sorrows, our mistakes, our defeats, our passion for future battles for the great emancipation—Long live Liberty."

The American Communists are amplifying that call to struggle and are leading the march to Socialism under the slogan of Peace, Democracy, Security.

CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE LIGHT OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

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THE development of philosophy and psychology has presented Soviet psychology with problems which involve the basic question of philosophy, that of being and consciousness. In psychology, the problem is to find a concrete solution by means of scientific research.

The chief shortcoming of the old idealist psychology of consciousness was that it "isolated the psychic," to use I. M. Sechenov's phrase. They separated the psyche from its connection with concrete material reality and turned it into a detached realm, instead of treating is as one element in a unified process which begins with the impact of reality upon the human being and ends with an action.

This isolation of the psychic element has a long history, which runs all through idealist philosophy. It finds its most complete formulation in the Cartesian conception of consciousness, and appears most sharply in his antithesis of consciousness and behavior.

The exclusion of consciousness from the real, concrete context of human life, its "alienation," to use a term employed by Marx, was expressed even in the definition of the content of consciousness. In the idealist treatment, the following features stand out:—

Consciousness turns in upon itself in introspection, and becomes self-consciousness. This self-consciousness either takes the rationalistic form in which consciousness, the spirit, becomes "thought about thought," or assumes an experimental, empirical form, such as Locke's "reflexion," or the self-observation of subsequent psychology. Historically, this introspective conception of consciousness was formulated by Descartes, who defines thought as "all that which so takes place in us that we of ourselves are immediately conscious of it." His conception, refracted through the empirical interpretation of Locke, determines the tradition of subsequent empirical psychology.

Here self-consciousness appears as the point of departure and the basis of all trustworthy knowledge, as with Descartes, or, in Hegel, as its end and culmination. Thus again consciousness is absorbed into self-consciousness, the self-consciousness of the "absolute spirit."

In the Cartesian tradition, the leading tradition of idealist psychology, the existence of the psyche coincides with awareness of its existence. The essence of the psyche is that it is immediate knowledge of itself; the psychic becomes identified with consciousness; consciousness in turn, with self-consciousness. As a result, the psychic is limited to the sphere of consciousness; its perception and cognition is limited to the immediately given contents. Consequently, introspective psychology takes the evidence of self-consciousness for what it represents itself to be and for what it appears to be. Introspective psychology does not assess what the evidence is in relation to its objective conditions in real life, where men very often are quite different from what they imagine themselves to be. Therefore, an entirely different approach to the evidence of consciousness is necessary. Man's behaviour, severed from his consciousness, thus appears as a mere aggregation of reactions. Behaviourist psychologies (such as Bechterev's reflexology and American behaviourism), which in the crisis of psychology offered themselves as alternative to the idealist psychology of consciousness, actually constituted only the reverse of the very same idealist psychology of consciousness. The inactive consciousness of idealist psychology and the unconscious actions (blind reactions and "habits") of the behaviourists were in effect two manifestations of the same separation, the same isolation of consciousness.

Concretely, this divorce of consciousness from the life and activity of the individual has the following result: the consciousness of the individual excludes experience of whatever is of actual significance to him and can serve as a motive for his behaviour. The entire inner plane of man's life is reduced to an aggregate of "concepts" or "ideas," which deploy, in accordance with associative or some other such ties. All that is retained in psychology is the problem of the "mechanisms," supposed to be instrumental in effectuating the succession of "concepts" or "ideas" which takes place against this ideal background. The question of motives, of motivation forces, of men's real needs and interests, is dropped from psychology, as in the classical, intellectualistic psychology of the nineteenth century. Man's consciousness is reduced to an abstract contemplation indifferent to the vicissitudes of life, a mere hypostasized function of "pure" consciousness. As James picturesquely describes it:

> . . . the spiritual principle attentuates itself to a thoroughly ghostly condition, being only a name for the fact that the "content" of experience is known . . . (and he continues): I believe that consciousness, when once it has evaporated to this estate of pure diaphaneity, is on the point of disappearing altogether. It is the name of nonentity, and has no right to a place among first principles. Those who still cling to it are clinging to a mere echo, the faint rumor left behind by the disappearing "soul" upon the air of philosophy . . .

Thus the isolation of consciousness from the real life of the individual results in the liquidation of consciousness, clearing the way for the mechanism of the behaviourists, which negates consciousness altogether. The theoretical activity of the concrete subject elicited by human needs is transformed into an autonomous ideal agent (as we see in Hegel). On the other hand, as in the case of old and new variations of Platonism, the content of thought assumes the aspect of "ideal being," as opposed to subjective consciousness. As a result the objective content of knowledge loses its vitality and effectiveness, while the consciousness of the real, concrete individual becomes a purely subjective, immaterial experience.

Something similar occurs when the objective social content is detached from the motives of human behaviour. In idealist ethics — with especial clarity in Kantian ethics wherein that which should be is counterposed to what is, where duty is counterposed to impulse—the content of the socially important factor in the human will appears alienated from the concrete individual and becomes transformed into a transcendental subject or an ideal imperative which is counterposed to every real impulse of the individual. As a result, what remains within the sphere of concrete motivation is merely narrow personal elementary sensual impulses and organic needs. Paradoxical as it may seem at first glance, it must be admitted nevertheless that the crudely naturalistic position of the psychological school, which in the beginning of the twentieth century set out to investigate the dynamic aspect of the psyche and the motives of behaviour, and reduced them to elementary sensual impulses and organic needs (Freud), was nothing but the reverse side of the Platonist or Kantian theory of the transcendental Ought.

This is why the imperative, the moral, the socially significant—which is counterposed extremely to the individual's consciousness—has dropped out from the sphere of psychology and psychological research. The alienation of the basic social content of human consciousness has produced the inevitable result that everything of living significance, and all the motives of behaviour and its dynamic tendencies, were submerged in the obscure depths of the instincts, the irrational, the subconscious (Bergson, Freud).

Thus the isolation of consciousness from the concrete activities of the individual resulted in the distortion of consciousness, in theoretical sterility representing a more or less indirect reflection of the actual sterility of life in a society based on private property and exploitation. The interests of the ruling classes of such a society foster and fortify the subjectivism and one-sidedness of the idealist conception whose gnoseological roots were expounded by Lenin in his Materialism and Empirio-criticism.

The first task of present-day Soviet philosophy and psychology is to further the development of the new theory of consciousness on the basis of Lenin's theory of reflection. The development of this theory is in a considerable measure interwoven with investigations in the physiology of higher nervous activity (in the tradition of Pavlov and Sechenov), and the Soviet theory of language, which sheds light on the forms of consciousness in the historical development of language.

"Consciousness," said Marx, "can never be anything but consciousness of being." It is primarily the perception of the objective world existing independently of it; but when consciousness turns from the world, as perceived through the senses, conception, etc., and to these conceptions themselves, that is something secondary and derivative. Man gains knowledge even of himself only in an indirect way, as a reflection, through others; and through actions and behaviour he manifests his relation to others and to himself. Our own experiences, no matter how direct their impact, become known in consciousness only indirectly, through their relation to the object. Thus the awareness of an experience is not confined to the inner world, but is always and inevitably interrelated with the external, material world which is its basis and source. The material content of consciousness, contrary to Hegel, is never in reality eliminated from self-consciousness. This postulate was one of the most vital points of departure in Marx's early criticisms of the Hegelian concept and in the structure of Marxian dialectics and the Marxian theory of cognition. It retains its force today, especially for psychological theory. As in the matter of investigating the psychology of others so in the case of self-consciousness, the immediate data are inseparable from the material context. Thus data furnished by introspection require interpretation; they may be checked and verified or may be discredited in the light of the objective conditions which gave rise to them.

Consciousness, in essence, is not the narrow personal possession of the individual, locked up within his own inner world; it is a social formation. It arises and develops on the basis of human activity within the sphere of social labor and is indissolubly bound up with the development of speech and language. Marx's formula concerning consciousness and language implies that the practical form of consciousness which is real for others and therefore real for myself, expresses not only the common origin of consciousness and language, but also their common structure. Man's consciousness is cloaked in words; it is conditioned by social relations and serves a cognitive purpose.

Man's concrete consciousness is not merely theoretical, but primarily practical, inextricably connected with the conscious practical activity by which man transforms the world. "Man's consciousness," says Lenin, "not only reflects the objective world, it also creates the objective world. As the reflection of being, consciousness also represents man's practical relation to being. Thus man's consciousness includes not only the knowledge, but also the experience, of the world as significant to him, as answering his needs and interests. This explains the dynamic tendencies and forces with the human psyche, the active function and selectivity which makes of consciousness not a mere passive reflection but an attitude, not merely a perception but an evaluation, an affirmation or negation, an impulsion or rejection. Real consciousness has no resemblance to the empty abstraction of "pure" consciousness as conceived by the idealists, for it embraces the motives of man's practical and theoretical activity.

Within the consciousness of the individual the objective content of knowledge and social morality lives in all the fullness of the concrete individual life, inseparably bound up with real motives and impulses. Knowledge, the content of social consciousness, ceases to be detached and formal; the consciousness of the individual is no longer a purely subjective formation. The penetration of this objective content into individual consciousness does not subjectivise or "psychologize" it. There is consequently no justification for the false antithesis between psychologism and anti-psychologism which corroded the idealist philosophical and psychological theories of the beginning of the twentieth century.

Stating that man's consciousness can be nothing but consciousness of being, Marx continues: "man's activity is the rich process of his life." Every experience, each phenomenon of consciousness represents data of being, which are the object of consciousness, and bears testimony about the subject himself. Consciousness reflects the being of the object and expresses the life of the subject in his relation to the object. To be genuinely understood, the evidence of consciousness, the "immediate data" of experience, require the same sort of interpretation as the text of a speech. In order to understand a speech—not merely as a subject of grammatical exercise but as a factor of life in its essence—in order to understand the speaker, not merely the formal text of his speech, it is necessary to go beyond the text, it is necessary to decipher his "subtext" and to bring out not only what the individual formally said, but also what he wished and intended to say. In other words, it is necessary to bring to light the motive and purpose which underlie the speech's inner content. In the same way, we discover the meaning of man's experience, the phenomena of his consciousness.

This, incidentally, is the way a practical psychologist, like an actor or stage manager, would act in the performance of his professional duties. Taking as his basic material the part of an actor in which the hero expresses his thoughts and feelings, the stage manager makes him a "subtext," as Stanislavsky did. In the "subtext" the psychology of the dramatic character is revealed by the thoughts and feelings expressed by the character in relation to his concrete situation.

Present-day psycho-physiological research discovers a psychological content in every allegedly arbitrary movement of the individual. It shows how the sensory signals which are constantly moving from the periphery to the centre, indicating the position of the motor organ in relation to the aim of the given movement and correcting the motor impulses, regulate the motor process along its entire course. A movement as a whole represents a sensori-motor unity which, even in the simplest responses, cannot be divided into two separate parts, one an exclusively sensory process, and the other an exclusively motor process. Their dependence is reciprocal.

Psycho-physiological research shows that motor tasks, which differ in psychological content, involve actually different neurological motor mechanism as well. Thus the psychological and physiological data are included in a unified psycho-physical context. We thus eliminate the dualistic conceptions according to which those movements are purely physical, while the psychological factors are treated as external forces in relation to those movements. In reality, however, the sensory, psychic components become an integral part of the motor process and regulate its course from within in accordance with the objective external conditions.

Every human performance has psychological content. Every so-called arbitrary action of the individual proceeds from given impulses and is directed towards the accomplishment of a more or less completely and adequately conscious objec-

tive. Yet no matter how essential the objective, a conscious realisation of the purpose alone is not enough. To accomplish a given objective it is necessary to take into consideration the conditions under which the action is to take place. The interrelation of the objective and the conditions determines the problem which is to be solved through action. Man's conscious action represents a more or less conscious solution of a problem. But in order that an action be effected it is not sufficient that the subject understand the problem, he must also accept it. And for this purpose it is necessary that the problem should find a response and a source in the subject's experience, directly or indirectly, either through its results or through some phase of it.

The experience of something that is of importance to the individual becomes a stimulus for action, a motive. A motive includes the attitude of the individual to his problem—to the objective, and to the circumstances in which the problem presents itself, and the action is initiated. This attitude gives form to the psychological content of action. A human action is not merely an external fact which is to be correlated externally with the individual's experience and consciousness. In reality, every human action, every deed constitutes a unity of the external and the internal. Since every deed is an act of the subject, which expresses his attitude to reality, and is an instrument for dealing with reality, it already includes, as a component, a psychological content; a tension, an emotion, a cognitive element; it is an intuitively presented and palpably given psycho-physical unity.

For Soviet psychology, which eliminates the idealist isolation of consciousness, investigation of the psyche is a study of man's consciousness in action. Soviet psychology today carries on its investigations of psychic processes such as perception, memory, thinking, by investigating man's action, his concrete activity both practical and theoretical, by analysing the context of the real motives and objectives underlying action; thus breaking with the treatment of traditional functional psychology.

The focal theory of personality has found itself in a blind alley and has become the most stagnant and reactionary part of traditional psychology because, in harmony with the philosophical postulates upon which this psychology is based, the concept of the individual has lost its relation to the individual's activity. Everything, in the theory of aptitudes or of characterology, has come to a dead stop before the allegedly immutable biological and spiritual attributes (arising no one knows how) of the individual, on the one hand, and the external environment on the other.

All the endless and futile argumentation going on in present-day psychological literature (particularly in America) about the variability or constancy of abilities and whether they are determined by heredity or environment, is merely the outcome of the basically faulty philosophical positions in present day literature.

"Philosophers," remarked Hertzen in his **Dilettantism in Science**, "have neglected positive activity." It is in this neglect of practical "positive activity" that Hertzen found the principal defect of the philosophy of Hegel and of German idealism in general. In his **Theses on Feuerbach** Marx, too, pointed to the neglect of human practice, and of human material activity, as the chief shortcoming of all preceding materialist philosophy. And that included Feuerbach's own materialism, an essentially contemplative philosophy. Marx continues, "the materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that circumstances are changed precisely by men. The coincidence of the changing circumstances and of human activity can only be conceived and rationally understood as revolutionising practice" (**Theses on Feurbach**, iii).

Central to the theory of Soviet psychology with respect to the ways of development of the individual and the formation of his psychic attributes is the thesis of the interdependence between man's psychic attributes and his activity. In man's activity, in learning and in labor, his psychic traits—his faculties and traits of character—not only manifest themselves but also form themselves on the basis of hereditary traits which condition his development but do not predetermine it.

We constantly observe in life around us how human faculties are formed and cultivated every day, in work or study, on the job. This is attested to by the continuous rise of new talents in scientific and artistic creation from the midst of the working class, from among the broad masses, from the nationalities which had been oppressed in tsarist Russia. These talents were stultified and perished when they were not allowed to assert themselves. Today, when they are free to come out, they are developing rapidly.

As a result of special, planned research, Soviet psychology has been recently bringing out data obtained through observation and laboratory experimentation which prove the dependence of faculties upon activity. The thesis which has been formulated by Soviet psychologists concerning human faculties applies also to characterological attributes. Between characterological attributes and human behaviour there exists, not a mere one-sided dependence of behaviour upon character, but a mutual dependence produced by the two-sided continuous interdependence between traits of character and motives. An act performed by a man is a concrete fact which reacts upon the man himself. As a result of a given act there may occur a change in the motivation which gave rise to the act; but the motive of behaviour constitutes a potential future trait of character, a trait in its genesis as it were. An objectively brave deed by a timid man, performed in a given situation under the influence of a motive resulting from that situation, may change that man's attitude to danger and may even become the starting point in the formation of a brave character. To use the words of Aristotle in his Nicomachean Ethics: "We become just by doing just things, temperate by doing temperate acts, brave by doing brave acts . . . the virtues we acquire by first having actually practised them . . . ."

Characterological traits manifest themselves in man's actions and are formed in those actions. It is not an accident that in the Soviet Union the formation and transformation of man takes place in the course of socialist construction. Contrary to the Utopian socialists and to the idealist enlighteners, men do not have to fit themselves by special training to acquire special traits corresponding to the demands of a socialist society before they may begin to build socialism. It is only in the process of building socialist society, by including themselves in that process, that men form such traits.

Questions & Answers

conducted by L.H. GOULD

"What is meant by basic criticism, by criticising the reformist ALP in a basic way? How would you apply basic criticism to the press reports of the 'Left vs. Right' struggles in the NSW Labor Council?"—A.T.

THE yellow press reporting of Labor Council events provides a very useful object lesson in distinguishing the superficial from what is basic and real. What is the aim of the press barons? First, of course, to discredit the Communists and praise their right wing servitors; second, to discredit the Labor Movement as a whole by its pictures of endless brawls and incidents among the trade union delegates. It is quite true that a struggle is proceeding between the militants and reformists (the "Left" and "Right"); and without doubt the disgraceful behaviour of the right wing (such as creating a bogus "union") does injure the whole Labor Movement. But much more is involved than that.

The Labor Council events are, basically, an expression of the class struggle between the employers (here aided by the right wing) and the workers. The Labor Council represents one sector of the extended battlefront between exploiters and exploited.

By basic criticism, therefore, is meant the disclosure of the underlying reality, the ability to reveal the inner content, the essence, of the class struggle in its various stages, to analyse the main contradictions which divide capitalist society, and to understand the conflict between the old that is dying and the new that is emerging.

Only Marxist-Leninists are capable of basic criticism, because of their mastery of dialectics. In his foreword to **Capital**, Marx writes:

"In its rational form dialectic is a scandal and an abomination to the bourgeoisie and its doctrinaire spokesmen, because, while supplying a positive understanding of the existing state of things, it at the same time furnishes an understanding of the negation of that state of things . . . because (dialectic) lets nothing overawe it, but is in its very nature critical and revolutionary."

To continue: Is the struggle on the NSW Labor Council (also of course on the Melbourne Trades Hall Council) a "quarrel" between the progressives and the right wing splitters? Superficially, yes. But the true significance is the fight between the working class for higher wages, etc., against the combination of employers and the right wing "lieutenants of capital in the army of Labor."

The capitalists and their scribes understand this just as well as we do, but naturally they will not, they dare not, admit the truth. Take the stamping out of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites in Soviet Russia. The capitalists are fully aware of the fifth-column role of Trotskyism, but they still portray the arch-traitor Trotsky as one who was "persecuted" merely because of "some differences in interpretation of Marxist doctrine"!

Similarly with all the decisive questions — war and peace, economic crises, democratic liberty, culture, national freedom. Capitalists must conceal the truth; Communists examine every label, brush aside every mask.

During the Federal election, several Party members did not criticise, in a basic way, the reformist government and its failures. It was not sufficient to say that Chifley had failed to implement the 40-hour week. Our policy required an explanation for Chifley's shortcomings, namely, that his government is only a liberal capitalist government, one concerned with the defence of capitalist profit-making and not with weakening capitalism to benefit the workers. Further, in presenting our own programme little or nothing

was said by these Comrades about our Socialist objective. In short, they appeared only as "electioneers," but not as what they really are — revolutionary political leaders of the toiling masses.

Every issue requires a basic approach. Here are a few good examples, the first about Lenin during the imperialist World War:

1. Just before the October Revolution, a certain Alexinsky slandered Lenin, alleging that he was a German spy, a traitor to the Revolution, and so on. Lenin replied, first, by pointing to the record and policy of the Bolshevik Party, and his own personal record in the Russian and international Labor Movement. Then Lenin went on to examine Alexinsky's record and activity, his connections with the bourgeoisie, the press facilities so freely given him by the enemies of the people (just like the lengthy SMH columns at the disposal of the Ormondes, Langs, Kennys, Junors and Origlasses!), the reasons for Alexinsky's "adoption" by the Russian capitalists, and so forth, thus proving to the Russian workers that slanders against him were intended, basically, to trap them into continued support for the imperialist slaughter!

2. The Fabians. In their recent Jubilee celebrations, these gentlemanly "Socialists" complimented themselves upon all sorts of things they claim to have done in the past 75 years. They did nothing, of course, except in the early years when, as Engels remarked, "they produced amid all sorts of rubbish some good propagandist writings as well." Engels said: "The Fabians are an ambitious group here in London who have understanding enough to realise the inevitability of the social revolution, but who could not possibly entrust this gigantic task to the rough proletariat alone, and are therefore kind enough to set themselves at the head. Fear of the revolution is their fundamental principle. . . . Hence their fanatical hatred of Marx and all of us, because of the class struggle."

The answer to the Fabians and their childish pretensions is that their charming, polished, so-very-educated and cultured "Socialism" was possible all these years only because of the wealth that flowed to the British bourgeoisie from their inhuman exploitation of countless millions of colonial slaves as well as from the overworked and undernourished toilers at home. The master class of Britain, which exercised its monopoly control in the world, could afford the luxury of Fabianism which no more threatened the system of exploitation than did the Salvation Army.

3. Basic criticism of atom bomb diplomacy discloses the danger in the scare publicity emitted, perhaps quite sincerely, by various nuclear physicists. The argument that defence against the bomb is "impossible" is extremely harmful in that the imperialists skilfully use the bogey thus created for their own ends.

Finally, basic criticism presupposes a certain effectiveness in its presentation, whether oral or written; for example, the opinions we express cannot always include basic analyses along with the appropriate references and quotations. Nor does basic criticism mean that the details, the secondary or incidental features of any issue are to be ignored. Far from it. Lenin said: "The aggregate of all the aspects of a phenomenon, their actuality and their mutual dependence — that is the source of truth."

(References: All Marxist-Leninist writings provide innumerable splendid examples. Foremost would be Marx, CAPITAL.)



BOOK REVIEW



THE STEEL STRIKE

NORMAN FREEHILL

THE story of the steel strike of 1945 is a story of courage and cowardice, of loyalty and treachery, of provocation and plotting.

Inspiring courage and solidarity of workers fighting a class fight — a fight against victimisation of a fellow worker and in protection of basic union principles.

Shameful cowardice of Labor politicians who give lip service to working class ideals in order to climb into power, and then refuse to face up to the employing class when the latter attack the workers.

Loyalty of union to union, loyalty of unionists to fellow unionists. Loyalty of miners, of seamen to the Ironworkers. Loyalty of all true unionists, of the useful people, of the masses to those who were bearing the brunt of the battle.

Treachery of Red-baiters and right wingers, back-stabbing their fellow-unionists, seizing eagerly the employers' propaganda and using it against the workers.

Provocation by the Courts, plotting by the B.H.P.

All these are contained in the story of Australia's greatest strike since 1917. "The Story Of The Steel Strike Of 1945" is given just that title in an 80-page illustrated booklet just issued by the Illawarra Trades and Labor Council and Newcastle Trades Hall Council. It gives the history of the fight from its beginning, exposing the anti-working class actions of the Courts, the servility of Labor Party heads to the B.H.P. It exposes the ruthlessness, the insolence, the arrogance of Australia's biggest monopoly, a monopoly built up by gifts of millions of pounds from Federal and State Governments.

These were the beginnings: The A.W.U. (which possesses Australia's most reactionary union bureaucracy) applied for an award covering chemical workers at Newcastle whose pay and conditions the Ironworkers' Federation was seeking to improve. Judge de Baun, who was handling the matter, decided, against warnings, to visit two works, although the A.W.U. had no members engaged in production at either place. The workers stopped work in protest and a Full Bench on September 18 deregistered the Federated Ironworkers' Association.

Next step was the dismissal (September 22) by the B.H.P. of Don Parker, a shop delegate at Port Kembla. The B.H.P. ordered him on to coke oven lids against union practice. It followed with a series of acts which it was obvious would extend the dispute. It put non-union labor on the ovens, sent "black" coke to the blast-furnaces (other coke was available), refused to negotiate with the Illawarra Trades and Labor Council or with the Ironworkers' Union.

On October 15, 15,000 workers in B.H.P. Newcastle industries held a 24 hours stopwork meeting and recommended an extension of the dispute unless settled within 14 days. On October 18, the Port Kembla men asked the Metal Trades Federation to consider extending the dispute to the Newcastle works and offshoots.

Meantime the B.H.P. continued its provocative actions, and on November 3 steel production in N.S.W. had practically ceased.

The ironworkers were given the loyal support of other unions. On December 3, the miners and seamen approved a strike recommendation in support of the ironworkers. The Federal (not N.S.W.) A.R.U. Executive declared its full support, praising the courage and unity of the striking ironworkers, miners and seamen.

Against that picture of class loyalty was the cowardice and the treachery of the right wing Labor leaders and the Red-baiting union leaders. Prime Minister Chifley refused throughout to intervene. McKell, on November 29 said "certain organised elements" were seeking to dictate to Governments. He didn't mean the B.H.P.! A.L.P. Secretary Stewart declared that "present strikes were benefiting only the employers."

In general the right wing echoed the propaganda of the daily press.

The steelworkers won through struggle. The Arbitration Court merely put the seal on what they had won. They won because of unity within their ranks, because of the support of the miners and seamen and the solidarity of workers throughout the Commonwealth.

The ironworkers' strike was against victimisation; was in protection of trade union principles. It was, to that extent, a defensive struggle. But the organisation of the strike may well be a blueprint for future struggles, for it contains invaluable lessons of organisation, of mass participation in the detail of the struggle, of planned effort to maintain the morale of the strikers and their families.

Within a short time of the dispute 21 Area Committees were set up in the N.S.W. South Coast towns. These Committees organised fishing, rabbiting and wood-collecting parties. Staple foodstuffs — potatoes, other vegetables, eggs, fruit — were collected or purchased as crops. Distribution was organised.

Morale was maintained by regular distribution of strike news, organisation of concerts, dances, toy-making (5,000 children received toys), and all manner of money-raising efforts. Actors' Equity gave great help. Individuals showed unexpected talent. The sick were cared for. A dentist, a hairdresser, an artist gave services.

Similar organisation was promptly set going when the B.H.P. carried the dispute to its Newcastle plant.

Speakers were sent over Australia. Soldiers sent money from the island outposts. In all £78,058 was paid out.

From every important angle the fight was a victory. Parker was reinstated. The unions went back united with bands playing, the B.H.P. plan to break the militant Ironworkers' Union having failed. And the workers learned in struggle lessons which will be invaluable in the critical times that lie ahead.

A booklet which every Party member, every unionist should study.

(Obtainable wholesale from Current Book Distributors. Retail from all Progressive bookshops and Party branches. Price 1/-.)

CATS

Prof. J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

THE cats of any town are an extremely interesting sight to a geneticist, that is to say, a student of heredity, like myself.

They vary a good deal in color. So do the dogs. But the dogs mostly belong to some definite breed and their matings are arranged for them, as the Nazis would presumably have arranged those of human beings had they conquered the world.

Almost all cats choose their own mates, though we interfere with them by castrating many males, and trying, usually in vain, to keep the females from mating when they want to.

The result has certainly not been a drab uniformity, which some people suggest will be the fate of humanity unless we prevent people of different races from intermarrying. But except for the length

of hair, and occasional taillessness and extra toes, almost all cats are fairly alike in structure. It would perhaps be possible to produce cats as different from the standard type as bulldogs and greyhounds are from the primitive type of dog, but it has never been done.

On the other hand, one can learn the laws of inheritance very simply from the colors of cats.

Let us begin with a simple case, the white cat. White cats are often born with a small patch of colored fur which they may lose, or keep through life. Their eyes are blue or yellow, and they are often deaf.

Whiteness is due to what is called a dominant gene. This means that on an average a white cat will hand on whiteness to about half its children.

Of course in a litter of four you may get four whites or four non-whites, and you are very likely to get three of one kind and one of the other. But if your white cat has a dozen litters you will get quite close to half and half. As it happens, my white cat has borne just two whites and two tabbies.

The only exception is when two whites mate. In this case each kitten has an even chance of getting whiteness from one or other parent, so only one in four will not be white, that is to say, on an average three kittens out of four will be white. And those whites which got a gene for whiteness from both parents will give nothing but whites with any mate. However, if you let your white cat choose her own mate, she is very unlikely to pick another white, so true-breeding whites are very rare except in pedigree animals.

There are two common types of tabby. The commonest of all is the blotched type but the striped kind with narrow bands of grey and black fur, as in wild cats, is not at all unusual.

The striped type is dominant. That is to say, a striped tabby will always have some striped kittens in the long run, but it is rather difficult to get striping to breed true. On the other hand, two blotched tabbies never have striped kittens.

Tabby is dominant over black. This means in practice that a tabby will always have some tabby kittens, if you breed from her long enough, though she may rarely produce a litter of four or five blacks. But two blacks will never give tabbies. However, if you let your black puss out, she may very well mate with a tabby, and give a whole litter of tabbies, or a mixture of tabbies and blacks.

When we come to yellow or "ginger" cats, things are a little more complicated. Yellowness is a good deal commoner in males than females, and the sexes inherit it differently.

The key to the problem is the tortoiseshell cat. Tortoiseshell cats are almost always females. The show type has patches of black and yellow fur, and is unmistakable. But the tabby tortoiseshell, with yellow patches on a tabby ground, is not so easy to pick out.

A yellow female cat, no matter to whom she is mated, has only yellow sons, whereas half the sons of a tortoiseshell are yellow. But a cat with no yellow in her fur can never have yellow sons or daughters, unless she is a white, with the yellow hidden by the dominant gene.

It is not so simple to produce yellow female cats. To make one you must get the yellow gene from both parents. The father must be yellow. The mother may be yellow or tortoiseshell. That is why yellow females are comparatively rare. If you want a yellow female kitten it is not enough to get a yellow or tortoiseshell mother. You must see also that she mates with a yellow male. Easy.

There are a number of rarer colors, such as blue and its yellow version cream, smoke, silver and Siamese. They are all recessive to the common colors. That is to say, they generally disappear on crossing with ordinary cats, but may occasionally turn up in the litters from two ordinary parents.

Of course there are plenty of unsolved problems in cat breeding. My wife is tackling one at the moment, and we have just made the first really yellow cats I have ever seen, that is to say, cats which are a uniform yellow all over, like lions, instead of with orange and yellow stripes like the ordinary ginger.

Some readers will object to my writing that we have made cats. I use the word deliberately. If I make a chair, I don't create it out of nothing. If I make a fire, I am merely setting certain chemical reactions at work after arranging the wood and coal. So with the yellow cats. We predicted that they would appear from certain matings, and so they did.

Science has now got to the stage when one can to some extent design an animal or plant beforehand, and make it to specification.

Naturally we don't yet know how to make a cat with wings or a horse with a single toe. It may be impossible to do so, as it is known to be impossible to make a transparent metal or an oil which will dissolve freely in water. But in two hundred years we ought either to have made such animals or found out why they cannot be made.

The trouble about cat breeding is that one can't rear all the kittens, and I dislike drowning them. So one object of this article is to find readers who will take unwanted kittens.

But the other is to get them to look at the cats which they meet every day, and which are just as scientifically interesting as stars or atoms.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 693 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY, AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIRST OF THE MONTH.

STRIKES AND LABOR'S ECONOMIC POLICY

R. DIXON

THE strike wave, which reached such heights in 1946, shows no signs of abating. Everyone, from the Prime Minister, Arbitration Court judges and employers down to the worker in the factory, knows and admits that the cause of the struggles is low wages and long hours, although there are still those who maliciously blame the Communists.

The Communist Party has always insisted that what is needed to meet the discontent is improved wages, shorter hours and reduced taxes, combined with effective price control and measures to deal with black marketeers that will put an end to the racket of rising prices.

When the war ended Labor Party supporters looked to the Labor Governments to achieve these things, but they are precisely the things the Labor Governments have not done and have no intention of doing.

The year 1946 has been very instructive to Labor supporters. More and more they have come to question the Federal Government's economic policy and where it is getting the working class. The Chifley Government has opposed all proposals for nationalisation of banks, mines or industries, it disposed of Government war factories to private capitalists, attacked the Trade Unions for striking and raising demands for improvement in wages and shorter hours, and combined these anti-working class acts with a wage-pegging and price-fixing policy that has resulted in lower living standards for the working class.

Ever since the Labor Party was founded in 1891, one of its chief aims was the raising of living standards, not by revolutionary struggle or strike action, but by a gradual process of reforms. The Chifley Government has reversed this policy. On the one hand, it pegged wages and resisted the efforts of the unions to raise wages. On the other hand, it firmly controlled the prices of goods included in the basic wage regimen, any upward movement of which would have resulted in an increase in the basic wage, but permitted the prices of all other goods, many of which are essential to the workers' existence, to fluctuate considerably. As a result the purchasing power of wages declined and living standards were lowered. Thus another major aim of the Australian Labor Party, the raising of living standards, has been sacrificed by Labor's leaders in the interests of capital.

It was inevitable that the workers would revolt against Chifley's economic policy and so, following Labor's victory at the Federal Elections, a new series of strikes broke out which culminated in the big struggles in the metal industry and the all-important Victorian Transport Strike.

These struggles achieved important gains. Mr. Chifley saw the economic house of cards he was tediously building up about to collapse. Reluctantly he was forced to intervene and make concessions in the hope of allaying the discontent. The Arbitration Court, which had wasted months on the 40-hour week case and planned to delay any decision until the end of 1947, acted with truly amazing speed for that institution and within a matter of days declared "in principle" for the 40 hours and granted the 7/- interim increase in the basic wage, and the Federal Government "amended" the wage-pegging regulations.

Thus, the first major breach in the reactionary economic policy of the Federal Government, which was reducing living standards, was made. But the Government's action, which was a sop intended to allay the industrial strife, misfired. It was another case of too little, too late. The 7/- wage increase, so belatedly granted, was received contemptuously by the Trade Union Movement, which was already resolved on the need for a £1.0.0 rise in the basic wage, and instead of dampening the strike ardour of the workers, if anything, helped to inflame it.

It was not only the smallness of the wage rise and its belatedness which stirred the workers. There was also the announcement of the Government that, instead of firmly controlling prices to enable the workers to get the full benefit from the wage increase, the capitalists were to be permitted to pass the higher wages on in the form of increased prices. Finally, when the amended wage-pegging regulations were examined, they were found to be nothing but a swindle. They did not meet the demands of the unions, and their application to some sections of the workers would result in wage reductions while for some other sections the best the workers could expect would be a few shillings increase in marginal rates.

The Government therefore has by no means abandoned its anti-labor economic policy and the workers must face up to the fact that the only way in which they can achieve their demands is by job action. There is no other way and even right-wing T.U. leaders (e.g., Tramways Union N.S.W.) are forced to admit this.

Having made the meagre concession on wages, the next step of the Government was to set in motion moves for an Industrial Peace Conference.

In his Christmas message, Mr. Chifley, after declaring that strikes produce inflation and weaken the economic position of the country, an argument which is both piffling and anti-working class, went on to praise arbitration and the virtues of industrial peace. Mr. Cleary, who, more than any other

C.T.U. leader, is the voice of the Government, lled for an Industrial Peace Conference represen- tive of the inner circle of the A.C.T.U. leader- ip, the Government, and employers' organisations. ow such a Conference could produce industrial ace only Mr. Cleary knows and he was not dis- sed to say.

Meanwhile the employers were busy. Mr. Oberg, esident of the Australian Council of the Employ- Federation, forwarded a statement to the Prime nister setting out the employers' plan for peace industry. And what a plan!

The way to Industrial Peace, according to the ployers, is to enforce the law against the unions striking against Arbitration Court awards, to e compulsory ballots before strikes, to introduce ce work and other speed-up methods on a more veloped and intense scale, and to enforce labor cipline and the rights of the boss in industry.

Full responsibility for the present state of af- s in Australia is unloaded onto the unions by employers, who condemn higher wages on the unds that they will force prices up. But who is hat is forcing prices up whether wages rise or ? Who is behind the black market racket but Australian capitalist, on whose behalf Mr. Oberg acks the Trade Unions and demands more pro- tion and industrial peace?

In the long statement Mr. Oberg submitted to Prime Minister on Peace in Industry, nothing aid on the mundane subject of profits. There ot a word to suggest that the employers, in the rests of industrial peace, are prepared to dis- ge some of the immense profits resulting from exorbitant prices they are charging and their rns from the black market, in order to improve standards of their workers. They demand peace ndustry and more production because that means e profit.

It is no accident that, almost simultaneously, Government, employers and reformist Trade on officials have started the agitation for indus- l peace. The economic policy of the Government the treachery practised by reformist officials ng strikes shows how closely they are linked h the employers.

What the working class must face is the fact behind all this talk of Industrial Peace plans being worked out to attack and shackle the de Unions. It is no use believing that the Fed- Government will not stoop to such things. The attitude of Labor leaders is well demonstrated by legislation the Queensland Labor Government has just passed amending the Arbitration Act, providing for secret ballots before strikes and penalties that have their equal only in the Union-smashing legis- lation of the Bruce-Page Government in the 1920's.

The capitalist class are demanding draconic measures against the unions not only here in Aus- tralia but in other countries as well. In the U.S.A. the Republican Party and many Democrats are in- sisting on legislation to outlaw strikes and break the power of organised labor. The economic and or- ganisational gains of the working class during the war years must be swept away, the worker must become a submissive wage slave. The employers regard the "banishing of unemployment" as a "dubious blessing (S.M.H., 6/1/47) because the workers are more independent and the Unions have greater bargaining power than in the years of de- pression. Hence their demand for the shackling of the Unions.

These are the issues the Trade Unions are now confronted with. The Government intends to push on with an economic policy that has already cut deeply into the living standards of the workers. The meagre increase in the basic wage, and the In- dustrial Peace discussions that are now proceeding, constitute an all-out effort to stifle the struggles of the working class which are forcing the Government and the employers to concede wage increases and other improvements.

To meet this challenge the labor movement must fight for a fundamentally new approach to the economic problems of Australia on the part of the Labor Party. The big issues of production and in- dustrial discontent can only be successfully met and solved by raising living standards and shortening the hours of work, measures that must be under- taken at the expense of the capitalist class, which can well afford it. This much is certain, these prob- lems will never be solved at the expense of the working class and every effort the Government and employers make in this direction will only result in greater conflict and more unstable economic con- ditions.

Higher wages, tax cuts, shorter hours and ef- fective price control — these are fundamental if standards of living are to be raised and the fight for them, which is progressive and necessary, is at the same time a fight to end the reactionary economic policy being pursued by the Chifley Government.

ON THE ERRORS OF SOVIET LITERARY JOURNALS

A. A. ZHDANOV, Moscow

FROM the ruling of the Central Committee it is clear that the grossest error of the journal **Zvezda** is the opening of its pages to the literary "creations" of Zoshchenko and Akhmatova. I think there is no need for me to cite here the "work" of Zoshchenko, "Adventures of a Monkey." Evi- dently you have all read it and know it better than I. The meaning of this "work" by Zoshchenko consists in this, that he depicts Soviet people as idlers and monsters, as silly and primitive people. Zoshchenko takes absolutely no interest in the labor of the Soviet people, their exertions and heroism, their high social and moral qualities. With him this theme is always absent. Zoshchenko, like the philistine and vulgarian that he is, chose as his permanent theme digging in the basest and pettiest sides of life. This digging in the trivialities of life is not accidental. It is characteristic of all vulgar philistine writers, and hence of Zoshchenko. Gorky said a lot about this in his time. You remember how at the congress of Soviet writers in 1934 Gorky branded—excuse my saying so—"men of letters" who see nothing beyond the soot in the kitchen and bathhouse.

For Zoshchenko "Adventures of a Monkey" is not something that goes beyond the framework of his usual writings. This "work" has come into the focus of criticism only as the clearest reflection of the whole negative tendency that exists in the "creative genius" of Zoshchenko. It is known that since the time of his return to Leningrad from evacuation Zoshchenko has written several things characterised by the fact that he is incapable of finding in the life of the Soviet people one positive phenomenon, one positive type. As in the "Ad- ventures of a Monkey," Zoshchenko is accustomed to mock at Soviet life, Soviet ways, Soviet people, covering this mockery with a mask of vacuous diver- sion and pointless humor.

If you read attentively and think over the story "Adventures of a Monkey" you will see that Zosh- chenko casts the monkey in the role of supreme judge of our social customs and forces one to read something on the order of a moral lesson to the Soviet people. The monkey is presented as some sort of rational element, whose job is to evaluate the behaviour of the people. Zoshchenko needed to give a deliberately deformed, caricatured and vulgar picture of the life of the Soviet people in order to insert in the mouth of the monkey the nasty, poison- ous, anti-Soviet maxim to the effect that it is better to live in the zoo than at liberty, and that it is easier to breathe in a cage than among the Soviet people.

Is it possible to reach a lower stage of moral and political decline, and how can the people of Leningrad tolerate on the pages of their journals such filth and indecency?

If "works" of this sort are presented to Soviet readers by the journal **Zvezda,** how weak must be the vigilance of those citizens of Leningrad in the leadership of **Zvezda** for it to have been pos- sible to place in this journal works that are poisoned with the venom of zoological hostility to the Soviet order. Only the dregs of literature could produce such "works" and only blind and apolitical people could give them entry.

They say that Zoshchenko's story went the rounds of the Leningrad platforms. How greatly must the leadership of ideological work in Leningrad have weakened for such things to have taken place!

Zoshchenko, with his loathesome moral, suc- ceeded in penetrating to the pages of a big Lenin- grad journal, and in settling himself there with all the conveniences. And the journal **Zvezda** is an organ whose duty it is to educate our youth. But how can a journal reckon with this task, which gives shelter to such a vulgarian and un-Soviet writer as Zoshchenko? Can it be that Zoshchenko's physiognomy is unknown to the editorial board of **Zvezda!**

Yet, quite recently, in the beginning of 1944, Zoshchenko's tale, "Before Sunrise," written at the height of the liberation war of the Soviet people against the German invaders, was subjected to sharp criticism in the journal **Bolshevik.** In this tale Zoshchenko turned his vulgar and mean little soul inside out, doing so with delight, with relish, with the desire to show everyone: look, see what a hooligan I am.

It would be hard to find in our literature any- thing more repulsive than the "moral" preached by Zoshchenko in "Before Sunrise," which depicts people and himself as vile, lewd beasts without shame or conscience. And this moral he presented to Soviet readers in that period when our people were pouring out their blood in a war of unheard- of difficulty, when the life of the Soviet state hung by a hair, when the Soviet people endured countless sacrifices in the name of victory over the Germans. But Zoshchenko, having dug himself in in Alma-Ata, deep in the rear, did nothing at this time to help the Soviet people in its struggle with the German in- vaders. With complete justice Zoshchenko was publicly spanked in the **Bolshevik** as a libeller and vulgarian alien to Soviet literature. He spat on public opinion then, and here, before two years have passed, before the ink with which the **Bolshevik review was written has dried, the same Zoshchenko**

makes his triumphal entry into Leningrad and begins strolling freely in the pages of Leningrad journals. Not only **Zvezda,** but the journal **Leningrad** also prints him eagerly. They eagerly and readily present him with theatrical auditoriums. More than that, they give him the opportunity to occupy a leading position in the Leningrad division of the Writers' Union and play an active role in the literary affairs of Leningrad. On what basis do you allow Zoshchenko to stroll in the gardens and parks of Leningrad literature? Why have the party activists of Leningrad, its writers' organisation permitted these shameful things?

The thoroughly rotten and corrupt socio-political and literary physiognomy of Zoshchenko was not formed in the most recent period. His contemporary "works" are by no means an accident. They are only the continuation of that whole literary "heritage" of Zoshchenko which takes its start in the 1920's.

Who was Zoshchenko in the past? He was one of the organisers of the literary group of the so-called "Serapion brothers." What was the socio-political physiognomy of Zoshchenko in the period of organising the "Serapion brothers"? Permit me to turn to the journal **Literaturnye zapiski,** No. 3 for 1922, in which the founders of this group set forth their credo. Among other revelations, Zoshchenko has his "articles of faith" there also in a piece called "About Myself and About Something Else." Feeling no constraint before anyone or anything Zoshchenko strips publicly and quite frankly expresses his political, literary "views." Listen to what he said there:

> In general it is very troublesome to be a writer. Let us say, that ideology . . . Nowadays a writer is required to have an ideology . . . such a nuisance, really, to me . . .
>
> What sort of an "exact ideology" can I have, you will say, if not one party attracts me as a whole?
>
> From the point of view of party people, I am an unprincipled man. All right. I myself shall speak for myself; I am not a Communist, nor an S.R., not a monarchist, but simply a Russian and furthermore a politically immoral one . . .
>
> I give you my honest word. . . I don't know to this day, well here, let's say, Guchkov . . . what party is Guchkov in? The devil knows what party he's in. I know; he's not a Bolshevik, but whether he is an S.R. or a Cadet — I don't know and I don't want to know. Etc., etc.

What will you say, comrades, of such an "ideology"? Twenty-five years have passed since Zoshchenko published this "confession" of his. Has he changed since then? Not noticeably. During two and a half decades not only has he not learned anything and not only has he not changed in any way, but, on the contrary, with cynical frankness he continues to remain a preacher of ideological emptiness and vulgarity, an unprincipled and conscienceless literary hooligan. This means that now, as then, Zoshchenko does not like Soviet ways. Now, as then, he is alien, and hostile to Soviet literature. If, with all this, Zoshchenko has become practically the coryphaeus of literature in Leningrad, if he is exalted in the Leningrad Parnassus, then one can hardly be amazed at the degree of unprincipledness, looseness, slackness and unsqueamishness achieved by the people who pave the way for Zoshchenko and sing eulogies to him.

Permit me to bring in another illustration of the physiognomy of the so-called "Serapion brothers." In the same **Literaturnye zapiski,** No. 3 for 1922, another Serapionist, Lev Lunts, also tries to provide an ideological grounding for that tendency, harmful and alien to Soviet literature, which the "Serapion brothers" group represented. Lunts writes:

> We have gathered in days of revolutionary, in days of powerful political tension. "He who is not with us is against us" — we are told from right and left — whom are you with, Serapion brothers—with the Communists or against the Communists, for the revolution or against the revolution?
>
> Whom are we with, Serapion brothers? We are with the hermit Serapion.
>
> Too long and painfully has public opinion ruled Russian literature. . . We do not want utilitarianism. We do not write for propaganda. Art is real, like life itself, and like life itself, it is without purpose and without meaning, it exists because it cannot not exist.

Such is the role which the "Serapion brothers" delegate to art, taking from it its ideological content, its social significance, proclaiming the ideological emptiness of art, art for art's sake, art without purpose and without meaning. This is indeed the preachment of rotten apoliticism, philistinism and vulgarity.

What conclusion follows from this? If Zoshchenko does not like Soviet ways, what is your bidding: that one adapt himself to Zoshchenko? It is not up to us to reconstruct our tastes. It is not up to us to reconstruct our way of life and our social order for Zoshchenko. Let him reform. But he does not want to reform—let him get out of Soviet literature. In Soviet literature there is no place for rotten, empty, unideological and vulgar works.

This then was the point of departure of the Central Committee in adopting its decision on the journals **Zvezda** and **Leningrad.**

I pass on to the question of the literary "creative genius" of Anna Akhmatova. Recently her works have been appearing in Leningrad journals along the lines of "extended reproduction." This is just as surprising and unnatural as if someone were now to start republishing Merezhkovsky, Viacheslav Ivanov, Mikhail Kuzmin, Andrei Belyi, Zinaida Hippius, Fedor Sologub, Zinovieva Annibal, and so forth, i.e., all those who have always been considered by our advanced public opinion and literature to be representatives of reactionary obscurantism and renegacy in politics and art.

Gorky in his time said that the decade 1907-1917 deserved to be called the most disgraceful and most untalented decade in the history of the Russian intelligentsia, when after the 1905 revolution a considerable part of the intelligentsia turned away from the revolution, slid into a swamp of reactionary mysticism and pornography, proclaimed ideological

emptiness as their banner, covering up their renegacy with the "beautiful" phrase: "And I burned everything to which I bowed, and bowed to what I burned." This was the decade in which there appeared such renegade works as **The Pale Horse** of Ropshin, the works of Vinnichenko and other deserters from the camp of revolution to the camp of reaction, who hastened to uncrown those high ideals for which the best, the advanced, part of Russian society was fighting. These swam into view the symbolists, imagists, decadents of all hues, who repudiated the people, proclaimed the thesis "art for art's sake," preached ideological emptiness in literature, covered their ideological and moral corruption by chasing after beautiful form without content. All of them were united by animal fear of the approaching proletarian revolution. Suffice it to recall that one of the biggest "ideologists" of these reactionary literary currents was Merezhkovsky, who called the approaching proletarian revolution the "approaching lout" and greeted the October Revolution with zoological malice.

Anna Akhmatova is one of the representatives of this ideologyless reactionary literary swamp. She belongs to the so-called literary group of acmeists which in its time emerged from the ranks of the symbolists and is one of the standard bearers of empty, ideologyless aristocratic-salon poetry, absolutely alien to Soviet literature. The acmeists represented the extreme individualist tendency in art. They preached the theory of "art for art's sake," "beauty for beauty's sake," they did not want to know anything about the people, its needs and interests, about social life.

In its social sources this was a nobility-bourgeois current in literature at that period when the days of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie were numbered and when poets and ideologists of the ruling classes were striving to seek shelter from a hostile reality in heights beyond the clouds and mists of religious mysticism, in wretched personal experiences and digging in their own petty little souls. The acmeists, like the symbolists, decadents and other representatives of decaying nobility-bourgeois ideology, were preachers of decadence, pessimism and belief in another world.

The subject matter of Akhmatova is individualistic throughout. The range of her poetry borders on squalor — the poetry of a frenzied lady, dreaming between the boudoir and the chapel. Basic with her are amorous-erotic motifs, intertwined with motifs of sorrow, yearning, death, mysticism, a sense of doom. The feeling of being doomed — an understandable feeling for the social consciousness of a dying group; gloomy tones of death-bed hopelessness, mystical experiences coupled with eroticism — such is the spiritual world of Akhmatova, a splinter from the world of the old nobility culture, the "good old times of Catherine," that has passed into eternity, never to return. Not exactly a nun, nor exactly a harlot, but rather nun and harlot, with whom harlotry is mixed with prayer.

> But I swear to you by the garden of angels
> By the miraculous ikon I swear
> And by the smoke of our flaming nights . . .
> (Akhmatova, "Anno Domini.")

Such is Akhmatova with her little, narrow personal life, her insignificant experiences and religio-mystical eroticism.

Akhmatova's poetry is altogether remote from the people. This is the poetry of the ten thousand-strong upper crust of old nobility Russia, the doomed for whom by this time nothing remains, except to sigh over "the good old days." Landlord country seats of the days of Catherine, with avenues of age-old lime trees, with fountains, statues and stone arches, hot houses, love bowers and shabby coats of arms on the gates. Nobility Petersburg; Tsarskoe Selo; the railway station in Pavlovsk and other relics of nobility culture. All this has vanished into the past, never to return! For the splinters of this remote culture, alien to the people, preserved by some miracle to our times, there is now nothing left to do but to shut themselves in and live by phantasies. "All is despoiled, betrayed, sold out" — thus writes Akhmatova.

Concerning the socio-political and literary ideals of the acmeists one of the eminent representatives of this group, Osip Mandelshtam, wrote, not long before the revolution:

> Their love for the organism and organisation the acmeists share with the physiologically brilliant middle ages . . The middle ages, determining in its own way the specific worth of a man, felt and recognised him for everything, quite independently of his merits. . . Yes, Europe has gone through a labyrinth of open-work-delicate culture, when being in the abstract, unadorned personal existence was valued as a feat. Hence the aristocratic intimacy that links all people and is so alien to the sprit of "equality and brotherhood" of the great revolution. . . The Middle Ages is dear to us because it possessed in the highest degree the sense of border and partition. . . The noble mixture of rationality and mysticism, and the sensation of the world as a live equilibrium, relates us to this epoch and prompts us to draw strength from works that arose on the romance soil of about the year 1200.

In these utterances of Mandelshtam are unfolded the hopes and ideals of the acmeists. "Back to the middle ages" — such is the social ideal of this aristocratic-salon group. Back to the monkey is the antiphonal cry of Zoshchenko. Needless to say, the acmeists and the "Serapion brothers" derive their genealogy from common ancestors. For both acmeists and "Serapion brothers" the common progenitor was Hoffman, one of the founders of aristocratic-salon decadence and mysticism.

Why was it suddenly necessary to popularise the poetry of Akhmatova? What relation has she to us, the Soviet people? Why must one offer a literary rostrum to all these decadent and profoundly alien literary tendencies?

From the history of Russian literature we know that more than once or twice have reactionary literary currents, including both symbolists and acmeists, tried to declare campaigns against the great revolutionary democratic traditions of Russian litera-

ture, against its advanced representatives; have tried to deprive literature of its high ideological and social significance, to lower it to the swamp of ideological emptiness and vulgarity. All these "fashionable" currents vanished into Lethe and were thrown into the past together with the classes whose ideology they reflected. All these symbolists, acmeists, "yellow shirts," "jacks of diamonds," "nothingists" — what remains of them in our native Russian, Soviet literature? Exactly nothing, although their campaigns against the great representatives of Russian revolutionary-democratic literature — Belinsky, Dobroliubov, Chernyshevsky, Herzen, Saltykov-Shchedrin — were planned with great uproar and pretentiousness and their collapse was equally spectacular.

The acmeists proposed: "To introduce no corrections in existence and undertake no criticism of it." Why were they against introducing any corrections whatever in existence? Because they liked the old nobility, bourgeois existence, whereas the revolutionary people were getting ready to disturb this existence of theirs. In October, 1917, both the ruling classes and their ideologists and songsters were shaken out into the trash pit of history.

And suddenly in the twenty-ninth year of the socialist revolution there reappear on the scene some museum rarities from the world of shadows who begin to teach our youth how one must live. Before Akhmatova the gates of a Leningrad journal are opened wide and she is freely provided with the opportunity to poison the consciousness of the youth with the baneful spirit of her poetry.

In one of the issues of the journal **Leningrad** there was published something in the order of a resume of works written by Akhmatova in the period from 1909 to 1944. There, along with the other rubbish, is one poem written in evacuation during the Great Patriotic War. In this poem she writes about her loneliness, which she was obliged to share with a black cat. The black cat looks at her, like the eye of the century. The theme is not new. Akhmatova was writing about the black cat even in 1909. Moods of loneliness and futility, alien to Soviet literature, link together the whole historical path of Akhmatova's "creative genius."

What has this poetry in common with the interests of our people and State? Exactly nothing. Akhmatova's creative genius is a matter of the distant past; it is alien to modern Soviet actuality and cannot be tolerated in the pages of our journals. Our literature is not a private enterprise calculated to please the varied tastes of a literary market. We are not at all obliged to provide space in our literature for tastes and tempers which have nothing in common with the ethics and qualities of Soviet people. What in the nature of instruction can Akhmatova's works give to our youth? Nothing, besides harm. These works can only sow despondency, low spirits, pessimism, the inclination to turn away from the burning questions of social life and activity for the narrow little world of personal experiences. How is it possible to turn over to her the upbringing of our youth? And yet Akhmatova has been published with great readiness, now in **Zvezda,** now in **Leningrad,** has even been put in separate collections. This is a crude political error.

In view of all this, it is no accident that in Leningrad journals there have begun to appear the works of other writers who have started to slide down to the position of ideological emptiness and decadence. I have in view such works as those of Sadofev and Komissarova. In some of their poems Sadofev and Komissarova have begun to sing in harmony with Akhmatova, have begun to cultivate the moods of despondency, yearning and loneliness so beloved of Akhmatova's spirit.

And what would have happened if we had brought up our youth in the spirit of despondency and unbelief in our cause? In that case we would not have been victorious in the Great Patriotic War. Precisely for this reason the Soviet state and our Party with the aid of Soviet literature have brought up our youth in the spirit of cheerfulness, of confidence in its own powers, and precisely for this reason we overcame the greatest difficulties in the building of socialism and achieved victory over the Germans and Japanese.

What follows from all this? From this it follows that the journal **Zvezda,** having inserted in its pages, along with fine, sanguine works with ideological content, works that are ideologically empty, vulgar, reactionary, became a journal without direction, became a journal that helped enemies to corrupt our youth. But our journals have always drawn their strength from their sanguine, revolutionary direction, not from eclecticism, not from ideological emptiness and apoliticism. The propaganda of ideological emptiness was given equal rights in **Zvezda.** More than that, it has been ascertained that Zoshchenko acquired such power in the Leningrad writers' organisation that he even yelled at those who disagreed with him and threatened to write up critics in one of the periodicals. He became something on the order of a literary dictator. He was surrounded by a group of worshippers building his glory.

The question arises, on what basis? Why did you permit this unnatural and reactionary business?

It is not accidental that in the literary journals of Leningrad one began to be infatuated with the base contemporary bourgeois literature of the West. Some of our writers began to look upon themselves not as teachers, but as pupils of bourgois-philistine writers, began to take on a tone of obsequiousness and worshipfulness before philistine foreign literature. Is such obsequiousness becoming to us, Soviet patriots, to us, who have built the Soviet social order, which is a hundred times higher and better than

any bourgeois social order? Does it become our advanced Soviet literature, the most revolutionary literature in the world, to bow low before the narrow philistine-bourgeois literature of the West?

A big shortcoming in the work of our writers is also withdrawal from contemporary Soviet themes, a one-sided infatuation with historical themes, on the one hand, and, on the other, an attempt to occupy oneself with vacuous subjects of a purely diverting nature. Some writers, in justification of their neglect of great contemporary Soviet themes, say that the time has come when one must give the people empty, diverting literature, when one cannot pay heed to the ideological content of works. This is a profoundly untrue notion of our people, their demands and interests. Our people are waiting for Soviet writers to comprehend and generalise the tremendous experience gained by the people in the Great Patriotic War, for them to portray and generalise the heroism with which the people are now working on the restoration of the national economy of the country after the expulsion of the enemy.

A few words on the journal **Leningrad.** Here, Zoshchenko's position is even more "stable" than in **Zvezda,** as is also Akhmatova's position. Zoshchenko and Akhmatova have become an active literary force in both journals. Thus the journal **Leningrad** is responsible for opening its pages to such vulgarians as Zoshchenko and such salon poetesses as Akhmatova.

But the journal **Leningrad** has made further errors.

Take, for example, the parody on **Evgeni Onegin,** written by one Khazin. This thing is called "The Return of Onegin." They say that it was frequently performed on the boards of the Leningrad platform. It is incomprehensible why the people of Leningrad allowed their city to be defamed from the public rostrum, as was done by Khazin. For the sense of this whole so-called literary "parody" does not consist in empty grimaces in connection with the adventures of Onegin on his appearance in contemporary Leningrad. The sense of the lampoon composed by Khazin is that it tries to compare our modern Leningrad with the Petersburg of the Pushkin epoch and prove that our age is worse than the age of Onegin. Glance at even a few lines of this "parody." Everything in our modern Leningrad displeases the author. He snorts with malice and slander against the Soviet people, against Leningrad. How different the age of Onegin — a golden age, in the opinion of Khazin. But now — housing control, ration cards, permits appear on the scene. Girls, those unearthly ethereal creatures, in whom Onegin delighted before, have now become traffic regulators, repair Leningrad's houses, etc. Permit me to quote only one passage from this "parody":

Now in the tram sits our Evgeni
The gentle, O the poor dear man!
Such forms of rapid locomotion
His unenlightened age knew not.
Some fate looked out for our Evgeni.
His foot alone was somewhat tra..pled.
And then just once a belly poke
Delivered with the words: "You fool";
He, mindful of the ancient custom,
Thought by a duel to end the feud.
He felt his pocket . . . But a thief
His gloves some time before had pilfered.
And so for lack of such as these
Onegin had to hold his peace.

There you see what Leningrad used to be and what it has now become: nasty, uncultured, crude, and what an unsightly appearance it presents to poor dear Onegin. This is how Leningrad and the people of Leningrad are presented by the vulgarian Khazin.

There was a wrong, vicious, rotten idea in this slanderous parody!

How is it possible that the editorial board of **Leningrad** should overlook this malicious slander against Leningrad and its excellent people? How is it possible to let Khazin into the pages of Leningrad journals?!

Take another work — a parody on a parody of Nekrasov, put together in such a fashion as to constitute a direct insult to the memory of a great poet and public figure, such as Nekrasov was, an insult over which any enlightened person should feel indignant. Yet the editorial board of **Leningrad** readily gave room to this dirty concoction in its pages.

What else do we find in the journal **Leningrad?** A foreign anecdote, flat and vulgar, taken, evidently, from old hackneyed anecdote collections of the end of the last century. Can it be that the journal **Leningrad** has nothing to fill up its pages with? Can it be that there is nothing to write about in the journal **Leningrad?** Take even a theme like the restoration of Leningrad. In the city magnificent work is going on, the city is healing the wounds inflicted by the blockade, the people of Leningrad are full of the enthusiasm and pathos of post-war restoration. Has anything been written about this in the journal **Leningrad?** Will the people of Leningrad wait indefinitely for their laborious feats to find reflection in the journal's pages?

Take another theme, the Soviet woman. Surely one cannot cultivate among Soviet men and women readers the shameful views inherent in Akhmatova on the role and vocation of woman without giving a really truthful general notion of the modern Soviet woman, of the Leningrad girl, of the woman heroine, particularly those who bore on their shoulders the enormous difficulties of the war years, and now labor self-sacrificingly on the solution of the hard tasks of restoring the economy.

As we have seen, the state of affairs in the Leningrad section of the Writers' Union is such that at the present time there are plainly not enough good works for two literary-artistic journals. That

is why the Central Committee of the Party decided to close the journal **Leningrad,** so as to concentrate all the best literary forces in the journal **Zvezda.** This of course does not mean that under appropriate conditions Leningrad will not have a second or even a third journal. The question is decided by the quantity of good works of high quality. If a sufficient quantity of them appears and there is no room for them in one journal, it will be possible to create a second and a third journal — only let the production of our Leningrad writers be good in respect to ideology and artistry.

Such are the crude errors and shortcomings that have been uncovered and recorded in the ruling of the Central Committee of the Communist Party relative to the work of the journals **Zvezda** and **Leningrad.**

What is the root of these errors and shortcomings?

The root of these errors and shortcomings lies in the fact that the editors of the journals named, who play an active role in our Soviet literature and also are leaders of our ideological front in Leningrad, have forgotten some fundamental postulates of Leninism on Literature. Many writers, including those who work in the capacity of responsible editors or occupy important posts in the Writers' Union, think that politics is the business of the government and the Central Committee. As for writers, it is not their business to occupy themselves with politics. A person wrote well, artistically, beautifully — give the work a start, regardless of the fact that it has rotten passages that disorient our youth and poison it. We demand that our comrades, both those who give leadership in the literary field and those who write, be g.ided by that without which the Soviet order cannot live, i.e., by politics, so that our youth may be brought up not in a devil-may-care, unideological spirit, but in a vigorous and revolutionary spirit.

It is known that Leninism embodies in itself all the best traditions of the Russian revolutionary democrats of the 19th century and that our Soviet culture arose, developed and reached its flowering on the basis of the critically reworked cultural heritage from the past. In the sphere of literature our Party, through the words of Lenin and Stalin, has more than once recognised the enormous significance of the great Russian revolutionary-democratic writers and critics — Belinsky, Dobroliubov, Chernyshevsky, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Plekhanov. Beginning with Belinsky, none of the best representatives of the revolutionary-democratic Russian intelligentsia recognised so-called "pure art," "art for art's sake," but were the spokesmen of art for the people; of its high ideological content and social significance. Art cannot be separated from the people's fate. Remember Belinsky's famous "Letter to Gogol," in which the great critic, with all the passion that was inherent in him, lashed Gogol for his attempt to betray the cause of the people and go over to the side of the tsar. Lenin called this letter one of the best products of the uncensored press, which has preserved a tremendous literary significance even for the present time.

Remember the literary-publicist articles of Dobroliubov, in which the social significance of literature is demonstrated with such power. All our revolutionary-democratic publicists are saturated with mortal hatred of the tsarist order and permeated with a noble striving to fight for the basic interests of the people, for their enlightenment, for their culture, for their liberation from the bonds of the tsarist regime. A fighting art, conducting a struggle for the best ideals of the people — this was the conception of literature and art held by the great representatives of Russian literature. Chernyshevsky, who of all utopian socialists came closest to scientific socialism and from whose works, as Lenin pointed out, "there breathed the spirit of the class struggle," taught that the task of art is, besides perception of life, to teach people to evaluate correctly the various social phenomena. His closest friend and collaborator, Dobroliubov, pointed out that "it is not life that proceeds according to literary norms, but literature adapts itself to the trends of life," and energetically propagandised the principles of realism and nationality in literature, considering that the foundation of art is actuality, that the latter is the source of creative genius and that art has an active role in social life, in forming social consciousness. According to Dobroliubov, literature must serve society, must give the people answers to the sharpest questions of contemporary life, must be abreast with the ideas of the epoch.

Marxist literary criticism, the continuator of the great traditions of Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, Dobroliubov, was always the champion of realistic, socially directed art. Plekhanov did a lot of work to expose the idealistic, anti-scientific notion of literature and art and defend the positions of our great Russian revolutionary democrats, who taught that one should see in literature a powerful means of serving the people.

V. I. Lenin was the first to formulate with utmost precision the attitude of advanced social thought to literature and art. I remind you of Lenin's well-known article "Party Organisation and Party Literature," written at the end of 1905, in which he showed with characteristic force that literature cannot be non-partisan, that it must be an important component part of the general proletarian cause. In this article by Lenin are laid all the foundations on which the development of our Soviet literature is based. Lenin wrote:

> Literature must become partisan. To counterbalance the bourgeois mores, to counterbalance the bourgeois entrepreneurial, commercial press, to counterbalance bourgeois literary careerism and individualism, "gentleman's anarchism," and the drive after gain—the socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of Party literature, develop this principle and bring it to life in the most complete and integral form possible.

> What constitutes this principle of Party literature? Not only the fact that for the socialist proletariat the literary cause cannot be an instrument of gain to persons or groups, it cannot in general be an individual cause, independent of the bourgeois writer, artist, actress is only a disguised (or hypocritically masked) dependence on the money-bag, on the bribe, on the salary.

The Leninist point of departure is that our literature cannot be apolitical, cannot be "art for art's sake," but is called upon to fulfil an important vanguard role in social life. Hence the Leninist principle of partisanship in literature — a most important contribution of V. I. Lenin to the science of literature.

Consequently, the best tradition of Soviet literature is a continuation of the best traditions of Russian literature of the 19th century, the traditions created by our great revolutionary democrats — Belinsky, Dobroliubov, Chernyshevsky, Saltykov-Shchedrin — carried further by Plekhanov and scientifically elaborated and grounded by Lenin and Stalin.

Nekrasov called his poetry "the muse of vengeance and sorrow." Chernyshevsky and Dobroliubov looked upon literature as a sacred service to the people. Under the tsarist regime the best representatives of the Russian democratic intelligentsia perished for these high and noble ideas, went into penal servitude and exile. How is it possible to forget these glorious traditions? How it is possible to neglect them, how possible to permit Akhmatovas and Zoshchenkos to propagate surreptitiously the reactionary slogan "art for art's sake," and, taking cover behind a mask of ideological emptiness, to get in ideas that are alien to the Soviet people?!

Leninism recognises that our literature has enormous significance for social transformation. If our Soviet literature were to permit a reduction of its enormous educational role — this would mean development backward, a return "to the stone age."

Comrade Stalin called our writers engineers of human souls. This definition has deep meaning. It speaks of the enormous responsibility of Soviet writers for the education of the people, for the education of the Soviet youth, for not tolerating wastage in literary work.

To some it seems strange that the Central Committee adopted such severe measures on a literary question. We are not used to this. They think that if wastage is permitted in production or if a production programme for articles of mass consumption or a wood storage plan is not fulfilled — then to pronounce a reprimand for this is a natural thing, but if wastage is permitted with respect to the education of human souls, if wastage is permitted in the business of educating the youth, here one must be tolerant. Whereas actually, is not this a more bitter fault than the non-fulfilment of a production programme or the disruption of a production assignment? By its decision the Central Committee has in view the bringing of the ideological front into line with all the other sectors of our work.

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In the recent period big breaches and shortcomings have been exposed on the ideological front. Suffice it to remind you of the backwardness of our film art, of the littering of our theatrical-dramatic repertoire with bad-quality productions, not to speak of what went on in the journals **Zvezda** and **Leningrad.** The Central Committee was obliged to interfere and introduce decisive corrections. It did not have the right to soften its blow against those who forget their obligations towards the people, toward the education of the youth. If we want to turn the attention of our activists to questions of ideological work and introduce order here, give clear direction in the work, we should be sharp, as befits Soviet people, as befits Bolsheviks, in criticising errors and shortcomings in ideological work. Only then will we be able to correct matters.

Other writers reason thus: inasmuch as during the war the people were starving for literature, and few books were published, it follows that the reader will swallow any commodity, even with rot in it. But actually this is altogether not so, and we cannot tolerate any literature that unscrupulous writers, editors, publishers will palm off on us. The Soviet people expect from Soviet writers genuine ideological armament, spiritual nourishment that would aid in fulfilling the plans for the restoration and further development of our country's national economy. The Soviet people make high demands on writers, they want satisfaction of their ideological and cultural claims. The situation during the war made us unable to secure these burning needs. The people want to comprehend the events that have taken place. Their ideological and cultural level has grown higher. They are frequently dissatisfied with the quality of the products of literature and art that we put forth. Some workers in literature, workers on the ideological front, have not understood this and do not want to understand it.

The level of the demands and tastes of our people has risen very high, and he who does not want to rise, or is incapable of rising to this level, will remain behind. Literature is called upon not only to keep abreast of the demands of the people, but more than that — it has an obligation to develop the people's tastes, to raise higher their demands, to enrich them with new ideas, to carry the people forward. He who is incapable of marching in step with the people, of satisfying their growing demands, of keeping up with the tasks of development of Soviet culture, will inevitably be retired.

Ideological inadequacy among the leading workers of **Zvezda** and **Leningrad** leads to a second big error. This is that some of our leading workers have set up as a guide in their relations with writers not the interests of the political education of the Soviet people and the political direction of the

writers, but interests of personal friendship. It is said that many ideologically harmful and artistically weak works have been let through the press because of a desire not to offend one or another writer. From the point of view of such writers it is better to yield on the interests of the people, the interests of the state, in order not to offend some writer or other. This is absolutely incorrect and politically erroneous. It is just like exchanging a million for a penny.

In its decision the Central Committee of the Party points out the very great harm involved in substituting relations of friendship for relations of principle in literature. Relations based on friendship rather than principle among some of our writers have played a profoundly negative role, have led to the lowering of the ideological level of many literary works, have facilitated the admission into literature of persons alien to Soviet literature. The absence of criticism on the part of leaders of the ideological front in Leningrad, on the part of leaders of Leningrad journals, the substitution of relations based on friendship for relations based on principle at the expense of the people's interests, has done great harm.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that if we want to preserve cadres, to teach and educate them, we should not be afraid of offending anyone, we should not be afraid of principled, bold, frank and objective criticism. Without criticism, any organisation, including a literary organisation, can decay. Without criticism, any disease can be driven deeper in and it will be harder to deal with it. Only bold and open criticism helps our people to improve themselves, rouses them to march ahead, to overcome shortcomings in their work. Where there is no criticism, staleness and stagnation take root and there is no room to move ahead.

Comrade Stalin frequently points out that a most important condition of our development is the necessity for every Soviet person to take stock of his work every day, fearlessly check on himself, analyse his own work, courageously criticise his own shortcomings and errors, consider how to achieve better results in his work, and continuously work on his own improvement. This applies to writers as much as to any other workers. He who is afraid of criticising his own work is a contemptible coward, not deserving of respect from the people.

An uncritical attitude to one's own work, substitution of relations with writers based on friendship for relations based on principle are widespread also in the administration of the Union of Soviet Writers. The administration of the union and in particular its chairman, Comrade Tikhonov, are guilty of the same mishap as those disclosed in the journals **Zvezda** and **Leningrad**, are guilty not only of not impeding the penetration into Soviet literature of the harmful influences of Zoshchenko, Akhmatova and other un-Soviet writers, but even of conniving at the penetration into our journals of tendencies and mores alien to Soviet literature.

Among the shortcomings of the Leningrad journals a certain role was played by the system of irresponsibility that evolved in the leadership of the journals; the situation on the editorial boards of the Leningrad journals was such that it was unknown who was responsible for the journal as a whole and for its departments, and there could be no elementary order. This shortcoming has to be corrected. This is why the Central Committee in its ruling appointed an editor-in-chief to the journal **Zvezda**, who is to be responsible for the direction of the journal, for the high ideological and artistic qualities of the works placed in the journal.

In journals, as in any business, disorder and anarchy are intolerable. There must be a clear-cut responsibility for the direction of the journal and the content of published materials.

You must restore the glorious traditions of Leningrad literature and the Leningrad ideological front. It is bitter and offensive that the journals of Leningrad, which were always seed-beds for advanced ideas, advanced culture, became a refuge for ideological emptiness and vulgarity. One must restore the honor of Leningrad as an advanced ideological and cultural centre. One must remember that Leningrad was the cradle of the Bolshevik Leninist organisations. Here Lenin and Stalin laid the foundations of the Bolshevik Party, the foundations of the Bolshevik world outlook, Bolshevik culture.

It is a matter of honor for the Leningrad writers, the Leningrad Party activists to restore and develop further these glorious traditions of Leningrad. The task of workers on the ideological front in Leningrad and principally of the writers, is to drive ideological emptiness and vulgarity out of Leningrad literature, to raise high the banner of advanced Soviet literature, not to let slip a single opportunity for their own ideological and artistic growth, not to lag behind contemporary subject matter, not to lag behind the demands of the people, in every way to develop a bold criticism of their own shortcomings, a criticism that is not servile, not based on cliques or friendships, but a genuine, bold and independent, and ideological Bolshevik criticism.

Comrades, by now it should be clear to you how crude was the blunder permitted by the Leningrad City Committee of the Party, especially by its propaganda and agitation department and the secretary for propaganda, Comrade Shirokov, who was placed at the head of ideological work and with whom in the first place is lodged responsibility for the collapse of the journals. The Leningrad Committee of the Party permitted a crude political error in adopting at the end of June a decision on the new composition of the editorial board of the journal **Zvezda**, into which Zoshchenko was introduced. Only political blindness can explain the fact that the secretary of the Party's city committee, Comrade Kapustin, and the propaganda secretary of the city committee, Comrade Shirokov, passed such an erroneous decision. I repeat that all these errors

must be corrected as quickly and decisively as possible, so as to restore the role of Leningrad in the ideological life of our Party.

We all love Leningrad, we all love our Leningrad party organisations as one of the advance detachments of our party. In Leningrad there should be no refuge for literary hangers-on and rogues who want to make use of Leningrad for their own purposes. Soviet Leningrad is not dear to Zoshchenko, Akhmatova and their ilk. They want to see in it the personification of different socio-political customs, a different ideology. Old Petersburg, the Bronze Horsemen as the image of this old Petersburg — that is what oscillates before their eyes. But we love Soviet Leningrad, Leningrad as the advanced centre of Soviet culture. The glorious cohort of great revolutionary and democratic figures that issued from Leningrad — these are our direct ancestors, from whom we derive our genealogy. The glorious traditions of modern Leningrad are the continuation of these great revolutionary democratic traditions, which we will not exchange for any other. Let the Leningrad activists boldly, without a backward glance, without the benefit of springs under them, analyse their errors, so as to set matters right as best and as rapidly as possible and move our ideological work forward. Leningrad Bolsheviks must once more occupy their proper place in the ranks of the pioneers and advanced workers in the cause of shaping Soviet ideology, Soviet social consciousness.

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How could it happen that the Leningrad City Committee of the Party allowed such a situation on the ideological front? Obviously it was distracted by current practical work on the restoration of the city and the raising of its industry and forgot about the importance of ideological-educational work, and this forgetfulness cost the Leningrad organisation dear. One cannot forget ideological work! The spiritual wealth of our people is no less important than their material wealth. One cannot live blindly, without care for the morrow, either in the sphere of material production, or in the ideological sphere. Our Soviet people have grown to such an extent that they will not "swallow" just any sort of intellectual product that might be dumped on them. Workers in culture and art who do not reorganise themselves and cannot satisfy the needs of the people can rapidly lose the confidence of the people.

Comrades, our Soviet literature lives and should live by the interests of the people, the interests of our Motherland. Literature is a cause native to the people. This is why your every success, every significant work is looked upon by the people as their own victory. This is why every successful work can be compared with a battle won or with a big victory on the economic front. Contrariwise, every failure in Soviet literature is deeply offensive and bitter to the people, the Party, the state. The ruling of the Central Committee had just this in view in looking out for the interests of the people, for the interests of its literature and in being extremely disturbed by the state of affairs among Leningrad writers.

If people without ideology want to deprive the Leningrad detachment of workers in Soviet literature of its foundation, if they want to undermine the ideological side of their work, to deprive the creative genius of the Leningrad writers of its socially transforming significance, then the Central Committee hopes that the Leningrad writers will find in themselves the forces to set a limit to all attempts to divert the literary detachment of Leningrad and its journals into the channel of ideological emptiness, unprincipledness, apoliticalness. You are posted on the advanced line of the ideological front, you have enormous tasks of international significance, and this ought to heighten the sense of responsibility of every genuinely Soviet writer toward his people, state and party, and make him conscious of the importance of his duty.

The bourgeois world is not pleased by our successes both within our country and in the international arena. As a result of the second world war the positions of socialism have been fortified. The question of socialism has been placed on the order of the day in many European countries. This displeases imperialists of all hues; they are afraid of socialism, afraid of our socialist country, which is a model for the whole of advanced humanity. The imperialists and their ideological henchmen, their writers and journalists, their politicians and diplomats strive in every way to slander our country, to present it in a wrong light, to slander socialism. In these conditions the task of Soviet literature is not only to reply, blow for blow, to all this base slander and the attacks on our Soviet culture, on socialism, but also boldly to lash and attack bourgeois culture, which is in a state of marasmus and corruption.

However outwardly beautiful the form that clothes the creations of the fashionable modern bourgeois western European and American writers, and also film and theatrical producers, still they cannot rescue or raise up their bourgeois culture, for its moral foundation is rotten and baneful, for this culture has been put at the service of private capitalist property, at the service of the egoistic, selfish interests of the bourgeois upper layers of society. The whole host of bourgeois writers, film and theatrical producers is striving to distract the attention of the advanced layers in society from the acute question of the political and social struggle and divert their attention into the channel of vulgar ideologically empty literature and art, replete with gangsters, chorus girls, eulogies of adultery and of the doings of all sorts of adventurers and rogues.

Does it become us, representatives of advanced Soviet culture, Soviet patriots, to play the role of

worshippers of bourgeois culture or the role of pupils? Certainly our literature, which reflects a social order higher than any bourgeois-democratic order and a culture many times higher than bourgeois culture, has the right to teach others a new universal morality. Where do you find a people and a country like ours? Where do you find such magnificent qualities in people as our people displayed in the Great Patriotic War and as they display every day in their labors of transition to peacetime development and restoration of their economy and culture? Every day raises our people higher and higher. Today we are not what we were yesterday, and tomorrow we will not be what we are today. We are already not the same Russians we were before 1917, and our Russia is different, and our character. We have changed and grown together with the great transformations that have radically altered the face of our country.

To exhibit these new high qualities of the Soviet people, to exhibit our people not only as it is today, but also to give a glimpse of its tomorrow, to help illumine with a searchlight the road ahead — such is the task of every conscientious Soviet writer. The writer cannot jog along at the tail of events, he must march in the forward ranks of the people, pointing out, to them their path of development. Guided by the method of socialist realism, conscientiously and attentively studying our reality, striving to penetrate deeper into the essence of the processes of our development, the writer must educate the people and arm it ideologically. While selecting the best feelings and qualities of the Soviet man and revealing his tomorrow, we must at the same time show our people what they must not be, we must castigate the remnants of yesterday, remnants that hinder the Soviet people in their forward march. Soviet writers must help the people, the state, and the party to educate our youth to be cheerful and confident of their own strength, unafraid of any difficulties.

No matter how bourgeois politicians and writers strive to conceal from their own peoples the truth about the achievements of the Soviet order and Soviet culture, no matter how they try to erect an iron curtain, through which it would be impossible for the truth about the Soviet Union to penetrate abroad, no matter how they endeavor to belittle the actual growth and dimensions of Soviet culture — all these attempts are doomed to collapse. We know very well the power and advantage of our culture. Suffice it to recall the stunning successes of our cultural delegations abroad, our physical culture parade, etc. Is it for us to bow low before every foreignism or occupy a position of passive defence?

If the feudal social order and then the bourgeoisie in the period of their flowering could create an art and a literature that affirmed the establishment of the new order and hymned its flowering, then we, who represent a new, socialist order, the embodiment of all that is best in the history of human civilisation and culture, are all the more in a position to create the most advanced literature in the world, which will leave far behind the best examples of the creative genius of former times.

Comrades, what does the Central Committee want and demand? The Central Committee of the Leningrad party organisation will, in the shortest period, be raised to the height that is required today in the interests of the Party, the people, the state.

The Central Committee of the Party wants the Leningrad activists and the Leningrad writers to understand well that the time has come when it is necessary to raise our ideological work to a high level. The young Soviet generation is faced with the task of intensifying the power and might of the Socialist Soviet order, of fully utilising the motive forces of Soviet society for a new, unheard-of blossoming of our well-being and culture. For these great tasks the young generation must be educated to be steadfast, cheerful, unafraid of obstacles, ready to meet these obstacles and overcome them. Our people must be educated people of a high ideological level, with high cultural and moral demands and tastes. To this end our literature, our journals must not stand aside from the tasks of contemporary life, but must help the Party and the people educate the youth in the spirit of unreserved devotion to the Soviet social order, in the spirit of unreserved service to the interests of the people.

Soviet writers and all our ideological workers are today posted in the advanced line of fire, for in conditions of peaceful development there is no reduction, but on the contrary, there is an expansion of the tasks of the ideological front and principally of literature. The people, the state, the Party want, not the withdrawal of literature from contemporary life, but its active invasion into all aspects of Soviet existence. Bolsheviks value literature highly. They see clearly its great historical mission and role in the strengthening of the moral and political unity of the people, in the welding and education of the people. The Central Committee of the Party wants us to have an abundance of spiritual culture, for in this wealth of culture it sees one of the main tasks of socialism.

The Central Committee of the Party is confident that the Leningrad detachment of Soviet literature is morally and politically healthy and will speedily correct its errors and occupy its proper place in the ranks of Soviet literature.

The Central Committee is confident that the shortcomings in the work of the Leningrad writers will be overcome and that the ideological work of

CRISIS IN THE METAL INDUSTRY

E. J. ROWE

WHILE certain leaders of the A.C.T.U., reformist Union leaders in general, the Press, the employers, and Mr. Chifley are avidly, even if academically, discussing the prospects of peace in industry and increased production, workers in the metal industry are preparing action to cut sharply across the "front of words" that the employers and, one is forced to conclude, the Chifley Government also, are erecting to avoid any real approach to increased wages, shorter hours, and a generally higher standard of living for metal workers.

The demand for increased wages has been steadily growing since the end of the war and is based upon the powerful growth of the metal unions in this expanded metal industry, their increased fighting efficiency and the very important development of trade union unity and cohesion that the Metal Trades Federation is bringing about among Metal Unions. Indeed, the big steel strike in the closing period of 1945 was in fact an attempt by the employers to smash the growing strength of the Unions while they were still "off balance" in the early transitional period from war to peace.

The attack failed and until the middle of 1946 a species of guerilla warfare was conducted, particularly by the Ironworkers' Union where the shortage of labor in the industry was used by the unions to shift members from factory to factory, thus forcing the employers to offer increased wages to retain their labor. The employers attempted retaliation by introducing a black list, but this reply was largely ineffective because of the competition engendered among them by the very shortage of labor upon which the union's tactics were based.

But while these tactics succeeded in winning increases for sections of the workers and were a big help in the struggle to remove the barrier of wage-pegging regulations, they were not, of course, the final solution to a substantial general wage increase. The employers, too, were now commencing to counter with the use of the lockout and so secure some unity in their own ranks.

The Communist Party and progressive unions had during this period also been campaigning for the implementing of our Party programme and that of the A.C.T.U. for a £1 per week increase in wages.

In Melbourne last May the Interstate Conference of the A.E.U. unanimously affirmed the demand for the relaxation of wage-pegging and after instructing its Commonwealth Council to make another attempt with the Government, declared that if this attempt failed the union "would have no other alternative but to use its organised strength to secure wage increases." The Negotiating Committee of the Metal Trades Federation took the matter up with Chifley in Canberra, but he refused to move.

Aggregate meetings of A.E.U. members were held in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide and by big majorities endorsed the demand for £1 per week increase. They instructed the District Committees in these centres to limit overtime to four hours per week pending the employers' reply. A small section of the employers agreed to pay the increase, but the majority, through the Metal Trades Employers' organisations, declared they were bound by the Wage-Pegging Regulations and that the wage demands were a matter for the Government and the Arbitration Court.

Further aggregate meetings, after considering these replies, placed a complete ban on overtime and decided upon stop work meetings in these States to decide further action.

The stop work meeting in Sydney in October was attended by 6500 members and rejected by a huge majority the right wing's attempt to lift the overtime ban and "place our trust in the Labor Council Disputes Committee, the Labor Government and the Arbitration Court." Instead, the meeting empowered the District Committee to continue the campaign and to call further stop work meetings of all or any section of the industry. It also instructed that the Metal Trades Federation be approached to enlist the support and co-operation of all Metal Unions.

Early in November the Federation considered this request and, after endorsing the campaign for the £1 increase, decided to organise combined meetings of Branch Executives and Shop Stewards of all metal unions in each metropolitan centre, plus Newcastle and Wollongong, with a view to similarly endorsing the campaign and organising common action.

These meetings have been held, were largely attended and after endorsing the demand for £1 increase, demanded a speedy decision on the 40-hour week case and instructed the Metal Trades Federation to meet early in January, 1947, to organise the common action envisaged by the meeting and resolutions.

Late in 1946 the Victorian transport strike took place, involving also quite a big section of metal workers. This strike, winning substantial concessions for transport workers, and considerably hastening the interim basic wage and shorter hours decision, also lifted to a much higher level the general struggle of the workers, including of course those in the metal industry.

In Victoria too, the Ironworkers and Moulders in the foundry section had been negotiating with the employers for higher wages and finally struck to secure these. The A.E.U. overtime ban was also beginning to prove effective and the employers, aiming at a black Xmas, decided to lock the

members of these three unions out of the foundries and some sections of the engineering industry. Similar action was taken by employers on the Sydney waterfront and some 62 plants were closed down by the employers there. The Unions have replied to this by declaring that their members will not now return to these industries until their demands for wage increases have been met.

Discussions took place between a delegation from the A.C.T.U. Executive and the A.E.U. on the one hand, and a full meeting of the newly organised Federal Metal Trades Employers' Association and the Australian Metal Industries Association on the other, and the A.E.U. wage demands were put forward. Next day the employers replied urging the unions to go to the Arbitration Court. An aggregate meeting of A.E.U. members in Melbourne rejected this and, joined by the Ironworkers, demonstrated through the streets, ending up with a mass meeting in front of the Chamber of Manufactures.

The employers then asked the A.C.T.U. Executive to accompany employers' representatives to wait upon the Prime Minister and try to secure a settlement of the dispute. The A.C.T.U. Executive refused, stating they rejected the employers' reply to the A.E.U. demands and would be prepared to negotiate only on terms satisfactory to the Union.

So 1947 opened with considerable sections of metal workers either locked out or on strike.

In Sydney and in Melbourne the attempts by the employers to end their own lockouts are being met by demands for wage increases before the unions will allow their members to return.

The farcical interim increase in the basic wage, the delay in the 40-hour case has had superimposed upon it the obvious swindle that Mr. Chifley has dignified by the name of "formula" under the amended wage-pegging regulations.

When one poses against the mass union demand for £1 per week increase the fact that the new "formula" will give a toolmaker an increase of 2/-, a tradesman 4/6, process worker 2/- and will lose a tradesman's assistant 9d per week, one can understand the scorn heaped upon the Government's "relaxation" by the unions and the increasing demand from them that now we must have no more such "tinkering" but instead the abolition of wage-pegging.

And it is becoming increasingly clear that bigger struggles, more pressure yet are necessary before the Government will step aside and allow the workers to enforce their just demands.

Both Sydney and Melbourne District Committees of the A.E.U. have carried unanimously resolutions demanding that the unions now take the offensive, and the Commonwealth Council has endorsed this demand and will ask the Metal Trades Federation for the practical support of the other unions comprising the Federation.

In view of this request, and the undoubted desire of the 200,000 workers in the Federation for substantial wage increases, a review of the attitude of the Metal Unions is of some interest.

The campaign for the £1 increase has been endorsed fully and the demand served on the employers by the Ironworkers', Sheetmetal Workers' and Blacksmiths' Unions. Other unions have in varying degrees endorsed it and taken action to organise support for it.

The most negative reaction has been that of the A.S.E., the Executive of which, despite the resentment of the members, has refused to support the A.E.U. ban on overtime and has in many cases allowed its members to do work declared black by the A.E.U. In some cases the employer has dismissed A.E.U. men and replaced them by A.S.E. members without protest from that Union.

There are, however, signs of some more positive approach, but it cannot be too strongly stressed that in the struggles we are now entering there is no place for such dangerous divisions. Rather does it call for the highest degree of unity and co-operation among metal unions.

The post-war period following the war of 1914-18 has some lessons for us today. The metal unions grew during that war too and made some gains in wages, but these were swept away by the offensive of the employers in 1922. For example: Engineers' wages were 120/- in 1920, dropped to 101/- in 1922. The Unions forced them back to 115/- by 1930, and then came an all-time low of 88/- in 1932. It was not until 1941—20 long years after—that they reached 120/- again and then were pegged fast in 1942 while prices rocketed. Surely at once a bitter commentary on reformist leadership and "Arbitration" strategy, and a solemn warning against any purely defensive strategy now.

The metal industry is the heart of any economy, either socialist or capitalist. The metal unions hold a key strategical position therefore. They have a shortage of labor in the industry, an expanding demand for its products, and the unions are more powerful, more united, and better equipped than at any period in their history.

That is why the employers, the Government and the enemies of the workers are "trading space for time," are attempting desperately to stem, to canalise the drive for increased wages.

The unions therefore must, as indeed the workers already have, reject any attempt to sidetrack the campaign and by their united strength ensure that the developing struggle in the metal industry not only ends successfully for the workers but, more than that, is made a real step towards ensuring that this post-war period bears the imprint of a workers' victory offensive from which they can pass to ever greater victories.

This is a much more substantial perspective than the "golden age" of the reformist politicians here in our country.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

(Proposed by the Executive Committee for the Nineteenth Congress, C.P.G.B.)

THE Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party declares that the main objectives before the people of this country now are:—

(1) To ensure peace and security and defeat all attempts which would rebuild fascism and reaction, disrupt the United Nations and lead to a new war.

(2) To speed up reconstruction at home, breaking through the resistance of monopoly interests, so as to win improved standards for the people and prepare the way for the advance to Socialism.

(3) By the united pressure of the Labor movement and the people to bring about such changes in the policy of the Labor Government as are necessary to fulfil these aims.

The period now facing us is marked by the increasing bankruptcy of capitalist society, the great advance of the working class and subject peoples, and the desperate struggles of monopoly capitalism to hold back that advance.

1. The Deepened Crisis of Capitalism.

The war — itself the outcome of the general crisis of capitalism — has deepened that crisis.

Economic: The conflict between the growth of the productive forces and the existing capitalist relations of production has been enormously intensified. There is extreme unevenness of development and disproportion between war-ravaged Europe, suffering from under-production, famine-stricken Asia, and surplus-ridden United States already facing problems of overproduction.

United States monopoly-capitalism has enormously increased its predominance, and now controls three-fifths of the production output of the capitalist world. But with the closing of the war market, this enhanced productive power is faced with the limited absorption possibilities arising from existing social relations in the United States and in an impoverished world. The reckless lifting of all controls has accelerated the development by which the feverish boom already begins to give place to signs of approaching depression. The Republican victory in the American elections has further strengthened the domination of the most aggressive anti-working class sections of American capitalism.

British capitalism has been further weakened as a result of the war. Its hold on the Empire is shaken by the advancing struggle of the colonial peoples and the pressure of American penetration. The economic problems arising from the decline of capitalism are acute, and find expression in the deficit in the balance of payments, the dependence on the American loan, the chronic crisis of the basic industries and agriculture, and the relative obsolescence of plant and lower level of productive power in contrast with the United States.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union, despite its heavy losses through the war, on the basis of its Socialist economy, is able to carry through a great plan of reconstruction and development which ensures rising standards for its people. In Eastern Europe the new people's democracies are developing their countries' resources on a secure economic basis that will not be at the mercy of capitalist crisis. In all countries the working people are pressing forward for the control of monopoly and planned measures to ensure a rising standard of living.

Political: Politically, the hold of imperialism in the world is weakened by the collapse of the Axis powers and the strengthening of the Soviet Union and the new democracies in Europe. The bourgeoisie in all European countries is weakened as a result of its connection with treacherous capitulation to Nazism, and the working-class parties have won government position in a number of countries.

The strength of socialism and the peoples has enormously grown. This strength is shown in:

(i) The influence of the Soviet Union, now the second leading World Power alongside the United States, and rallying the world democratic and peace forces;

(ii) The new democracies in Europe, comprising one hundred million people, who have ended the domination of feudalism and big capital, and advanced along the path of popular social and economic reconstruction;

(iii) the electoral victory of the Labor movement in Britain, and the advancing militancy shown in the Trades Union Congress and in the working class generally; the electoral victories of the Communist Party in France and of the Communist and Socialist Parties in Italy; the trade union militancy and beginnings of a progressive movement in the United States;

(iv) the advance of the colonial liberation movements, especially in India, South-East Asia and the Middle East;

(v) the consolidation of the democratic forces in China, despite armed foreign intervention on the side of reaction;

(vi) the increased strength of the working class movement, with the advance of Communist Parties to a leading position in the major European countries, extension of Socialist-Communist co-operation, and achievement of world trade union unity through the World Federation of Trade Unions, comprising 71 million members.

2. The New Reactionary Offensive.

In opposition to this advance of the popular movement, an intensified offensive of world reaction is taking place.

United States monopoly capitalism seeks to find scope for its vast accumulated capital and enhanced productive power by a policy of aggressive world expansion to conquer markets in all countries, break down all barriers of planned economy, and subject the world to its domination.

British policy today in general combines with American imperialism in a block in opposition to the Soviet Union, the new democracies in Europe and democratic advance over the world. British imperialism in many cases even takes the principal anti-democratic initiative, as over Greece, Spain, the Middle East, Indonesia, etc. The Anglo-American block reveals itself in practice in the diplomatic field, in all international conferences, with the ranging of a majority of satellite and client States against the Soviet Union and new democracies, and with the parallel dispatch of notes and protests to the new democratic States; and in the military field, with joint staff co-operation. The Anglo-American block seeks to build up the reactionary forces all over the world against popular advance. This offensive, fanned and stimulated by the most extreme anti-working class elements and war incendiaries in both countries, endangers peace and international co-operation.

At the same time, sharp divisions of interest of British and American imperialism are revealed, especially in the economic field, as in the proceedings of the International Trade Conference and the question of imperial preferences, and in special spheres of rival penetration, as in the Middle East.

3. The Fight for Peace and Democracy.

To defeat this new offensive and prevent the menace of a third world war will require the combined strength and activity of all the Socialist working class and progressive movements throughout the world.

The representatives of the Soviet Union and the new European Democracies are playing a foremost part in international conferences for the peace settlement and in the United Nations to rally the peoples against the war-mongers and against all attempts to limit democracy and the freedom of nations and impose Western monopoly-capitalist domination.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is similarly rallying the world working class for the aims of democracy and peace against the war-mongers and backers of fascist revival.

Within Britain and the United States there is growing opposition of progressive opinion against the aims of the Anglo-American block. This has found expression in the United States in the campaign led by Wallace and by the progressive labor movement represented by the CIO; in Britain within the ranks of the Parliamentary Labor Party and in the Trades Union Congress.

4. The Situation in Britain.

The changed situation of Britain in the new world after the war makes imperative far-reaching economic and political changes. The old basis of British capitalism and imperialism is bankrupt. The only solution for the problems before the British people today lies along the path of the advance to Socialism.

The basic choice opens out more and more clearly before the British people:—

Either to go forward along the path of radical social and economic reorganisation, breaking the power of monopoly and building up planned economy, and establishing close co-operation internationally with the Socialist Soviet Union, the planned economies of the new democracies in Europe and the advancing colonial peoples.

Or to sink to dependence on American monopolist reaction, surrender to the monopolies at home, succumb to economic crisis and depression spreading from America, and be engulfed in war as the outpost and vulnerable advance base of American reaction against European democracy.

Britain holds a pivotal position in the present world situation, and the action of the British people can play a decisive part for the future of humanity.

Economic: Economically, Britain is faced with acute problems. The old parasitic imperialist basis, by which tribute flowed to Britain in the shape of vast imports, only half of which were paid for by exports of goods, can no longer be maintained. To meet the deficit requires both an increase of exports and an increase of home production to meet home needs. This is of exceptional importance in agriculture, which is capable of great development. But the drive to increase exports is faced with the intensified American exports drive and the greater competitive power of American industry in many fields.

This situation, no less than the need to raise social standards at home, requires a radical reorganisation of industry, agriculture and the whole field of economy to increase production and lower production costs. But such reorganisation comes up against the heavy obstacles of monopoly, the obsolescence of existing plant and the heavy capital costs of new equipment. The base industries, coal, iron and steel, textiles, and also agriculture, all reveal critical problems.

There is an overall shortage of manpower, but it is felt with special force in the basic industries, as a result of generations of technical backwardness and low wages. The shortage is intensified by the withdrawal of over a million women from industry, and the rejection of a policy of equal pay to encourage the participation of women in industry.

The economic outlook for Britain is closely linked with the policy carried out in foreign and colonial affairs. The manpower shortage is intensified so long as great military forces are maintained abroad to protect the interests of British imperialism in exploiting other peoples, and to prevent the growth of democracy.

Social: War conditions, with full employment and higher family earnings, coupled with rationing and price controls, and the stronger position of the trade unions, brought about a certain improvement in conditions for the working class. Since the war ended, however, these conditions have deteriorated, and the limitation of many needs, accepted as inevitable during the war, is becoming more oppressive for working people.

In fulfilment of Labor's programme, measures have been carried out which have brought social gains for the people through the raising of Old Age Pensions, the provision of Family Allowances, and extended Education and Health Services. The maintenance of rationing and price controls for necessaries has protected the people from economic anarchy such as has developed in the United States.

However, there is a substantial fall in average family earnings; large-scale unemployment has reappeared in the distressed areas; many workers, especially women, are compelled to take jobs at reduced rates; prices and fares are rising, and the continued short supply of necessaries is forcing workers to buy substitutes at high prices. As yet, there is no extension of education or of health services, although the need is greater than ever as a result of the war. The housing shortage is growing more acute in spite of the use of camps, requisitioned houses and the small number of new houses completed. The working class is conscious of the extent of licenses issued and Black Market building and repairs for the rich, while most Local Authorities do little to improve the state of existing working-class houses, and are even raising rents. In industry, with few exceptions, hours, wages and working conditions show no improvement; there are growing signs of a tendency on the part of the employers to attack privileges gained in the war years, to threaten workshop organisation and to victimise active shop stewards.

This general deterioration in conditions for working people is in striking contrast with the rising profits and luxurious living of the rich, whose influence and money enable them to evade controls, cut right across the housing programme by the selfish use of labor and material, and inflate prices and profits by monopoly and speculation.

Political: The electoral programme on which Labor was returned raised the immediate issues of democratic reforms in the economic and social field, the fight for which can further strengthen working class political consciousness and influence against monopoly and vested interests.

In its operation of this programme, however, the Labor Government, representing the outlook of Social Democracy, is not taking those decisive measures which rouse the enthusiasm of the working class, and strengthen its fight against monopoly, but is seeking to apply its programme without inroads into capitalism and by agreement with vested interests, thus transforming it into a programme to reorganise capitalism at the cost of the working class. Its foreign policy is a continuation of Tory imperialism, and seeks to maintain imperialist interests, even where the strength of Liberation movements forces political concessions to the colonial peoples.

While these tendencies have aroused the concern of active sections of the labor movement, the response has been shown in increased militancy and not in surrender to moods of passive disillusionment or reaction. All attempts of Toryism to take advantage of current difficulties in order to stage a come-back have so far been unsuccessful, although note needs to be taken of the attempts of Mosley fascism to take advantage of the free play allowed it by the Government in order to regather its forces for a future offensive.

5. The Policy of the Communist Party.

In the present critical situation in Britain the Communist Party fights to promote all measures which will safeguard peace, win the rapid improvement of working and living conditions by the controlled use of Britain's resources, and strengthen the working class for the advance to Socialism.

The Communist Party supports the Labor Government against Toryism and the monopolists for the fulfilment of Labor's electoral programme. It opposes all policies which endanger peace, surrender to the monopolists and worsen the social and living conditions of the people.

The Communist Party fights for basic changes in the present policy of the Labor Government which are necessary to ensure the fulfilment of these aims.

Reconstruction: Only a resolute programme of overall economic planning, overriding the resistance of monopolist interests, can ensure the rapid improvement of the standards of the people and defeat the menace of a new economic crisis.

The Communist Party places in the forefront the need for the most rapid all-round increase of production. This will require strengthened Government action in close co-operation with the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Movement along the following lines:—

Drafting and publication of a production plan covering the most urgent needs and ensuring full use and expansion of industry in the Development Areas.

Government control of prices and supplies, and bulk purchases to safeguard production of priorities.

Immediate nationalisation of steel, railways and privately owned transport services, electricity and gas; compensation to be scaled down for big owners and paid in terminable annuities.

Physical and financial control of investment, to ensure its direction into useful channels.

The energetic development of all forms of agriculture, cutting through the rings controlling supplies and marketing, and ensuring full use of the country's land.

Planned control of exports and imports so as to ensure priority of essential imports for the people before luxury imports and develop trading relations, especially with those countries which are building planned economics.

Improved Living and Working Conditions: In order to win a rapid improvement in working and living conditions for the people, it is necessary to press forward on the following main issues:—

Higher wages in all sections of industry and trade, equal pay for women, the establishment of a £4/10/- minimum wage, and participation of all workers in the proceeds of greater productivity.

The 40 hours five-day week, with shorter hours for special sections of industry and for young workers. Minimum two weeks' paid holiday, in addition to paid Bank Holidays.

One hundred per cent. Trade Unionism, the strengthening of workshop organisation, the defence of established privileges. Effective trade union participation at all levels in the running of nationalised industries and in the operation of all Government plans and controls; workers' participation in solving production difficulties and in improving working conditions and the technique and methods of production.

Introduction, without delay, of the full benefits under the Government's social measures; speeding-up of educational advance.

Abolition of income tax on incomes under £250 a year, and raising of allowances on lower incomes.

No higher prices, fares or rents; imprisonment for speculators and black market operators.

Housing: Speed up the housing programme under a separate Ministry for Housing; stop licenses for luxury building and repairs; improve conditions for building workers, and draw them into the drive for houses; concentrate labor and materials on housing and repairs for working people; cut housing costs by nationalisation of the land and effective Government control of the building materials industry.

Foreign Policy: To defeat the aggressive imperialist plans and to bring Britain into association with democratic and progressive peoples throughout the world, the Communist Party sets out the following immediate aims:—

(1) To re-establish effective co-operation of the three leading Powers — Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States — and to build up international co-operation through the United Nations under the leadership of the three principal Powers.

(2) To ensure that Britain supports all progressive policies in UNO and other international organisations, defending Socialist and democratic countries against interference by British and United States imperialism.

(3) To end British subservience to United States imperialism and support for reaction in Europe, and to establish friendly political and economic relations with the Socialist Soviet Union and all countries whose Governments are seeking to develop their resources on a planned and stable basis.

(4) To carry through the denazification of Germany, the break-up of the estates and trusts in the western zone, and establish a unified political and economic Germany based on democracy and peaceful progress.

(5) To end British military, financial and political support of reaction in Greece.

(6) To end British diplomatic and trade relations with Franco-Spain, and to give British support for U.N.O. action to end the Franco regime and establish a representative democratic Government in Spain.

(7) To end British imperialist policy in India and all colonial and mandated territories, and enable the peoples of these countries to establish democratic governments and develop their countries for their own benefit.

(8) The application of this policy also requires the immediate demobilisation of our present excessive armed forces; far-reaching democratic reforms as the basis for compulsory military service; and changes in the Foreign Office and Embassies, and the use of people with a consistent democratic outlook as Britain's representatives abroad.

6. Social Democracy and Communism.

The Labor Government attempts to justify its policy as a "Social-democratic middle way" between capitalism and Communism. To make this argument more convincing, it sets up a bogey of Communism as dictatorial, undemocratic and violent, and presents Social Democracy as the democratic and peaceful way of achieving Socialism.

Under cover of similar arguments, Social Democracy has never hesitated to support the use of violence against the militant sections of the working class or peoples struggling for their freedom, while it has condemned the forcible suppression by the peoples of the big landowners and capitalists who stand in the way of freedom.

Nowhere has the path of Social Democracy led to the achievement of Socialism. Its record in Europe has shown that, in country after country, it has led to the strengthening of capitalism and prepared the way for fascism.

In fact, there is no "middle way" to Socialism. There is only the way of struggle against the exploiting classes. That struggle is at all times democratic, embodying the will of the great majority of the people for a new order of society, for Socialism. Whether at any stage it is "peaceful" or "violent" depends not on the desires of the working class or its political parties, but on the resistance of the exploiting classes to the democratic will of the people.

The question at issue for the working class is not a "middle way." It is a Socialist way, as against a capitalist way. That is why the search for the "middle way" leads the Labor Government inevitably into surrender to capitalist interests and hostility to the democratic advance of the people.

This is shown in its foreign and colonial policy by its defence of British imperialist interests; its subservience to American imperialism, its support of reaction in Greece and Spain; its use of Indian troops in Indonesia and Iraq while proclaiming India's freedom; its maintenance of huge armed forces in the Far and Middle East; its settled hostility to the countries where the people, rejecting the "middle way" conception of Social Democracy, have won their freedom by the Socialist way, under the leadership of the Communist Party or the united Socialist and Communist Parties.

The "middle way" surrender to capitalist interests shows itself also in the Labor Government's home policy. Nationalisation is carried through slowly, by agreement with the capitalists and with excessive compensation which leaves the parasitic burden on the working class unchanged; the "best capitalist brains" are put in control of the nationalised industries. Instead of being tackled as an urgent military operation, housing is retarded by fear of interference with profit-making interests at every stage. Prices and profits are allowed to rise; while the workers are discouraged from fighting for wage increases and shorter hours.

Against this alleged "middle way" policy, which leads only back to the path of capitalism, the Communist Party, together with the best sections of the labor movement, is fighting for a Socialist policy; a rejection of British imperialist interests; withdrawal of troops and rapid demobilisation; friendship with the Socialist Soviet Union and the new democracies in Europe; freedom and help for the colonial peoples. At home, nationalisation on terms that reduce, and within a short term end, the parasitic burden on the people, and administration of the nationalised industries by Socialists. A planned programme that sets production the task of improving conditions for the people, and overrides the monopoly interests; higher wages, shorter hours and reduced prices.

These are the real issues of today for Britain's advance along the path to Socialism, as against the "middle way" that never leads out of the jungle of capitalism.

It is the special task of Marxism, of Communism, to bring clearness of understanding as to the class issues involved; to bring into the fight for a Socialist policy all supporters of democracy, progress and peace; and to strengthen working-class confidence in its ability to solve present problems in the Socialist way, and harness the gigantic new production forces released by modern science for the limitless advance of humanity.

7. How to Carry Forward the Fight.

The working class and progressive sections of the people have become increasingly aware, in the 18 months of the Labor Government, that the situation in Britain and of Britain in the world is not what they hoped and voted for in the General Elections. The struggles against rent increases, the squatters' movement, the fight for Trade Union organisation, the strikes for higher wages and against victimisation, show a growing understanding of the need for action to defend and improve working and living conditions. The votes cast at the Brighton Trades Union Congress for progressive policies also show growing appreciation of the class issues at home and abroad. At the same time, Trade Union and co-operative organisations continue to grow stronger.

The mood of the workers is increasingly militant; dissatisfaction with the reactionary trends in the Labor Government's policy, and with its failure to break through the vested interests that are holding up improvements in the lives of the working people, is overcoming passivity and becoming an active force.

The problem at present is how to develop this active force in the working class and strengthen its influence in order to bring about sharp changes in the Government's policy and direct it towards radical, social and economic reorganisation at home and alliance with the progressive peoples abroad. It is this decisive policy of carrying forward the fight against monopoly and its imperialist policies that alone guarantees the consolidation of victories won, and lays the basis for further advance towards Socialism. The alternative is surrender to monopoly and the "continuity" of Tory-imperialist policy, losing the working-class initiative and seeing the advance to Socialism overwhelmed by economic crisis and a new war.

There is increased political awareness within the Labor movement, and a growth of influence and activity by the progressive sections of the labor organisations. The task of Communist political leadership is to help this rising working-class militancy and political consciousness to develop and strengthen its influence in the labor movement.

This requires increasing vigilance and initiative of the Communist Party and quick reaction to events, so that in the industries and localities the correct issues are raised at the right moment and help given to the mass movement on those issues. This fight must be conducted on every issue of concern to the working class, whether local, home or foreign, economic or social or political, in response to events.

The Party must overcome tendencies to concentrate on limited issues, or to fail to give adequate response to issues that develop. For the development of such movements, which draw in all sections of the labor movement, steady and widespread propaganda is essential, explaining the issues in factory, street and working class organisations, exposing lies and distortions and showing how the workers' aims can be achieved. Party pamphlets and periodicals and the **Daily Worker** are invaluable for this purpose. The effective development of our propaganda requires the political education of our members on a greater scale than ever.

United action, based on a clear understanding of the issues, can win important gains for the working class and bring effective pressure on the Government for a progressive policy. Communist initiative is the key to united action, and it is necessary to increase the membership and activity of the Communist Party to help the movement forward. The present mood of the workers, as well as the urgent issues of today, requires a mass Communist Party, with a high level of political understanding inspiring the whole working class, and preparing the ground for achieving unity of the labor movement, which remains the indispensable basis for far-reaching social changes.

The struggle between rising Socialism and moribund capitalism has reached a new stage. Britain is in a key position. The Communist Party has the responsibility, in association with all that is best in the labor movement, of winning Britain for a positive, progressive policy in this struggle, and so helping the British people themselves to move forward to Socialism.

CHINA'S CIVIL WAR

RUPERT LOCKWOOD

"IF you keep your men and lose some land, you can get the land back again. But if you keep the land and lose your men, you will lose both land and men."

Thus the famous Chinese Communist strategist, General Liu Po-cheng, explained the strategy of the Liberation troops now defending the Chinese people's independence and social gains against Chiang Kai-shek's American-backed onslaughts. It's the kind of strategy that has driven Chiang Kai-shek to darker treachery and fear and America's General George Marshall to fury and frustration.

Knowing the future is theirs, Chinese democrats do not hesitate to load their goods and chattels on donkeys and ox-carts and sling babes on backs, to take refuge in the hills until the Liberation armies march in again. General Liu Po-cheng said in November: "Within the past three months in the Lunghai Railway area, we have exchanged 17 empty towns for more than 60,000 of Chiang's troops. It is said that Chiang considers this a good trade and intends to continue making such exchanges. That is fine. Let him keep on. Soon we will sum up our account with him. His offensive has already reached its peak, and when we have wiped out additional numbers of his troops, then we will go over to a general counter-offensive."

The tasks of Chinese democrats have always been formidable. In our era, they have had to fight three revolutions rolled into one—a revolution against feudal landlordism, brutally supported by the war-lords; a revolution against foreign imperialism and its compradores; and a revolution against the big native capitalists like the Kungs and Soongs.

After 100 years of imperialist looting, 30 years of intermittent civil wars and 14 years of Japanese invasion, beginning with the 1931 Manchurian "incident," China appeared sufficiently devastated, weakened and confused to be an easy target for the mighty new power of American imperialism. General Marshall, President Truman's Special Envoy and former US Army Chief of Staff, organised for Chiang's puppet armies a material superiority over the Communist-led Liberation armies that was far greater than the material superiority of Nazi-mobilised Europe over the Red Army in 1941. Toward the end of the war, American Lend-Lease equipment began to pour into China, some of it flown over the Himalayan Hump at enormous cost in blood and money. A few months after V-J Day, the Americans had equipped 57 Kuomintang divisions with tanks, bazookas, machine-guns, heavy artillery and motorised equipment. Fifty-seven divisions is no mean force, even by World War II standards, when it is remembered that Field-Marshal Montgomery deployed 25 divisions for the invasion of Normandy.

The Soviet Red Army had not finished routing the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria and the Americans had not yet occupied Japan when Chiang began moving these American-equipped divisions to battle. Promises of democratisation and broad coalition governments for China were cynically discarded by Chiang and his American sponsors. US planes, ships and trucks transported 300,000 of Chiang's civil war troops to North-East China and 160,000 to North China, to name only two fronts. Others were transported by the Americans to Central, South and coastal China and to Manchuria. US Marines took over the guarding of railways, because Chiang's troops could not hold them against the Liberation guerillas. This put the Americans in the category of Lines of Communication troops, serving as combatants in the foreign KMT army. These American troops have been in action against Chinese Liberation troops.

By all the rules of war, as known to Chiang and General Marshall, KMT administration, under American overlordship, should have been imposed on all China in months or weeks. But there is an imponderable force seldom understood by "military experts"—THE PEOPLE. General Marshall, in June, 1941, had used that corny phrase, "like a hot knife through butter," when asked how the Nazi armies would fare in Russia. The Soviet peoples blunted and broke the hot knife, and rammed the pieces down Hitler's throat in Berlin. Likewise in China the "imponderable force"—counted there in hundreds of millions—beat back the KMT-American attacks of 1945. Chiang and Marshall found no desire among the Chinese people to exchange their hard-won freedom for corrupt Kuomintang fascists and Wall Street colonisation. In Manchuria and Japanese-occupied China, Chiang hadn't even been able to find reliable Chinese to take over the administration when Japan surrendered. With American approval, Chiang called on the Japanese troops and quisling puppets to "maintain law and order" and continue ruling till his KMT thugs arrived. But the Communist-led partisans, who hadn't stayed a few hundred miles from the anti-Japanese war like Chiang's best divisions, were on the spot everywhere. Supported by the people, they overthrew this Japanese and puppet rule, tried the quislings, took what Japanese arms they could and established democratic governments. Wages were lifted, industry reorganised, the workers unionised, clothed and fed and the peasants freed from usurers and rent racketeers.

To meet this popular upsurge of China's millions, the American imperialists had to provide Chiang with still more aid. Already Wall Street had given its pliant KMT tool 1,335,632,000 dollars in postwar aid, which was about double the Lend-Lease aid given to KMT forces for their "war" on Japan. To this was added another 2,000 million dollars worth of supplies. US arms stockpiles came from Iwo Jima, Okinawa and the Philippines. Many of these arms had been mustered to equip a million Allied soldiers for the invasion of Japan. In quantity and modernity the arms should have been more than sufficient for General Marshall to smash "a bunch of goddam Chinese Reds," particularly as US Marines had already taken over Tsingtao, the Shantung capital liberated by the Communists, and had poured other troops and air units into areas like Shanghai, Tientsin and Peiping and on to the vital rail lines. This was in flagrant violation of Chinese sovereignty, but for the big-time gamblers of Wall Street and the tinhorns of the Kuomintang the stakes seemed sufficiently high to warrant aces in the sleeve.

Equipped, transported, fed and shoved forward by the Americans, the KMT troops made penetrations of the Liberated Areas, which had embraced nearly half China's population at one stage. The Communist-led troops could not prevent some advances, but, as Communist General Chu Teh explained, the KMT troops got the cities, only to have the Communist-led troops and the local populations close a trap around them. The KMT troops, mostly conscripted peasants, deserted in large numbers to the people's armies. KMT progress was dangerously slow, supply problems intensified, morale wore down. Marshall and Chiang decided to mobilise vast forces for an all-out assault on Yenan, the capital of the Communist-led Border Region, which had provided an embarrassing example of social progress to the Chinese living amid the hunger and chaos of KMT China. The latest information from the excellent bulletins of the Communist-led East River Column and Yenan showed the Communists confident of holding Yenan, but evacuating some of the population in case of accidents. Applying typical Chu Teh strategy, the Liberation troops launched victorious offensives in KMT zones that had been weakened to provide troops for the Yenan battles. There is every possibility of the initiative passing to the Communists and a series of heavy defeats for the KMT-American forces.

Hence General Marshall's angry outburst against the "provocative policies of the Communists" on his departure from China to become a militarist Secretary of State. Any policies which prevent China's 430 millions being turned into colonial slaves of Wall Street would be rated "provocative" by an American envoy who has seen billions of good dollars going down Chinese drains.

General Marshall made the curious admission that there is a "dominant reactionary group" in China's KMT Government. The US militarist hypocritically deplored military influences in Chiang's Government and declared that KMT cliques were "interested in the preservation of their own feudal control of China." Thus General Marshall admits that he has been backing with American money and arms a regime which he knows to be reactionary, feudal and anti-democratic.

The endangered American stake in China is already colossal. The 2,000 million dollars of arms in the big deal were given to Chiang at the knock-down price of 500 million dollars, in return for virtual surrender of China's air sovereignty to the Americans. The Americans have just about pushed the British out of Shanghai and the rich Yangtse Valley, and, through KMT agencies,

are trying to edge the British out of the opium-smelling colony of Hong Kong. Vast Wall Street capital has been invested in China since the war's end.

The Americans made their economic grab in China so blatant that they roused the native Chinese merchants to revolt, and thus broadened the national front against Chiang and his interventionary backers. Chinese merchants and middle-class intellectuals are joining workers and peasants in organised opposition to the bartering of China on the Wall Street Stock Exchange.

When the Sino-American Trade and Commerce Treaty was signed three or four months ago, Chinese merchants got very hot under their silken gowns. The treaty granted "equal rights" to both countries in export and investment. As China has very few goods to export and no capital to invest abroad, the "equal rights" applied only to the mass-producing export industries of America.

Echoing the opinion of Shanghai merchants, the Shanghai **Ta Kung-pao** said: "Just as an unequal treaty with England after the Opium War governed the semi-colonial future of China for 100 years, so this Sino-American unequal treaty threatens to exercise the same influence over China's future for another 100 years." Speaking for the intellectual groups in KMT areas, the famous Chinese author Mao Tun said: "No treaty in the history of China has so nakedly and thoroughly damaged the sovereignty of the nation." Ma Hsu-lun, famous educator and former official of the Kuomintang Ministry of Education, said that "the result of this treaty will be that China travels the road to American colonisation."

Ta Kung Pao revealed that the treaty does not even allow the myth of "equal rights." Articles 2 to 5 open all Chinese commercial and industrial enterprises to American investment, development and management. Articles 6 to 8 establish the right of free entry and exit to and from China for all American citizens. On the other hand, Chinese citizens will still be subject to the harsh restrictions of the American immigration laws and of various US State laws. Articles 9 to 21 prohibit customs barriers and protective tariffs—meaning a free go for US exporters. **Ta Kung Pao** points out that 'China has neither goods to export nor ships to carry exports.

This American policy, of course, is not as smart as it looks. American exporters are already driving Chinese merchants out of business and closing Chinese factories, by their flood of export goods. This leads to mass unemployment and lowered purchasing power. On top of this the American-sponsored civil war has disrupted communications and trade and impoverished the people, thus destroying the export market the Americans have paid so much to monopolise. The East River Column bulletin points out that this Marshall policy is against the true interests of the American people and the average American trader. "Chinese economists," says the bulletin, "say that making a silk purse from a sow's ear is a light task compared to making a good market of KMT-controlled China, where the entire economy is being crushed and the buying power of the people driven lower and lower by the semi-feudal and semi-colonial civil war regime."

Now even General Marshall fears an impending political and economic collapse in Kuomintang China. He leaves behind him a sticky mess in which America's name has been muddied in the eyes of the democratic world. Perhaps if General Marshall and his running dog Chiang had studied more closely the history of the "Long March" of the Chinese Red Army, he would have been less optimistic about pushing over Yenan and Chinese democracy with dollar bills and a mechanised Kuomintang horde. Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Po-cheng and other Communist leaders arrived in Yenan in the 'thirties, after the "Long March" of 6,000 miles. "Long March" battles were counted in hundreds and skirmishes in thousands. Only 10,000 Communist troops were left, with two rounds of ammunition per man.

The total Border Region population supporting them was only 300,000 and there was practically no industry. Chiang sent 100,000 of his crack troops against this footsore, bleeding remnant of Communist heroes. The 10,000 Communists—plus the people—smashed the 100,000. Today, the Yenan Border Region is eight times greater in size, four times greater in population. In addition the Communist-led armies hold vast areas of Manchuria, of North and Central China and they hold formidable "islands" of territory far below the Yangste.

Chiang may have the empty shells of cities; the Americans may have their military and economic bases. But the Communists have the people of China—the most impregnable base of all.

THE SHAPE OF WORLD POLITICS

EUGENE VARGA, Moscow

THIS essay does not propose to analyse the causes of the Second World War. I shall limit myself to mention of the fact that the Second World War differed from the first in that it did not begin between countries similar in type. On one side stood the fascist aggressors and one the other the democratic countries, while on the democratic side there were both highly developed capitalist countries and the Soviet Union. Obviously this circumstance was bound to have a tremendous effect on the whole domestic and foreign policy of the capitalist countries.

The fact that the Soviet Union and highly-developed capitalist countries were together in one group of powers fighting against the fascist aggressors meant that the struggle between the two systems in the democratic camp eased up temporarily, was suspended, although this, of course, did not mean the end of the struggle. At the same time the struggle between the two systems entered its sharpest phase when the fascist aggressors attacked the Soviet Union. The allies helped the Soviet Union but it cannot be said that in doing so they had forgotten the difference in social systems. One example of this is the manner in which the atomic bomb was kept secret. In the sphere of domestic politics the Communist Parties of the countries in the democratic camp, Great Britain, America, etc., in view of the just nature of the war, helped their governments against the fascists, urged them to open the second front, which was opposed by the reactionary elements in the allied countries. They defended their people from the danger of German fascism.

It goes without saying that the Anglo-American contradictions—the major contradictions between imperialists — were relegated to the background while the contradictions between the democratic countries and the fascist aggressors came into the foreground. The Anglo-American contradictions did not disappear, however, and even during the war the struggle between England and America continued. During the war the Americans took good care that the goods exported from Great Britain did not contain more than ten per cent of those items which Great Britain obtained by lend-lease. During the war American capital tried —and not without success—to drive British capital out of the position it had held in the Latin American countries, and to obtain markets in India and the British dominions. The Americans included in their black list of firms not only purely Argentine firms but also enterprises in which British capital played a part. In the Middle East the struggle for oil also continued during the war.

After this war the struggle for the preservation of the capitalist system once more assumed the proportions of a major problem in the domestic policy of the capitalist countries, just as it had after the First World War. The bourgeoisie is scared by the general leftward trend in the working-class movement of the whole world since the war. The leftward trend has developed to varying degrees and takes different forms in different countries. If we examine such leading capitalist countries as Great Britain and the US we see that the leftward trend took the form primarily of a strengthening of the reformist labor movement. In Great Britain the Labor Party won a victory in the parliamentary elections. In the US there have been mass strikes and the trade union movement has become stronger. Although the Communist Parties of these countries have grown, they are still not an important factor in domestic politics. The capitalist system in these countries was not shaken as a result of the war. The reason for this is clear. The bourgeoisie of those countries that emerged victorious from the war was not discredited, the state apparatus remained unchanged and the army was even increased in strength as compared with the pre-war army. One of the characteristic features of post-war policy is the increased militarism of the Anglo-Saxon countries, especially of the US, which has become the most powerful military state in the capitalist world.

The situation is quite different in the countries on the European continent. The bourgeoisie of these countries has been discredited. Within the life span of one generation the peoples of the countries in continental Europe have experienced two wars. Now the people are hungry; naturally it is primarily the industrial workers, intellectuals, the townspeople, who suffer hunger and not the bourgeoisie and well-to-do farmers. Under such circumstances a radical leftward swing of the working class and the working people in general was inevitable. Another factor which must be added to this is the marked polarization which took place in capitalist society during the war. Millions of middle class people, craftsmen, shop-keepers, lower bourgeois ranks, lost their independence during the war and became workers. Inflation during and after the war is devaluating the savings of the middle classes. The tendency towards polarization, the formation of two camps, the big bourgeoisie and its immediate adherents on the one hand and the workers, clerks, intellectuals—those who possess no property—on the other, is a very strong one in modern society. This tendency was reflected in the defeat of typical middle class parties in town and country, as, for example, the Radical Socialists in France and the Liberals in Great Britain.

The bourgeoisie of the countries that suffered German occupation was discredited to a greater extent than others because of the fact that in the main the bigger bourgeoisie of France, Belgium,

Holland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary collaborated with the fascist occupants. There were, of course, isolated exceptions; there were capitalists in all countries who took part in the resistance movement. In general, however, the bourgeoisie collaborated with the occupants and this was, in addition to the military defeat, the chief factor of its discrediting.

Apart from this, however, there are a number of important new political factors which distinguish the present situation from that obtaining after the First World War. One of these factors is the changed role of the Communist Parties of Europe.

The Communist Parties of Europe achieved great popularity because of the leading part they played in the organisation of the resistance movement in all European countries. "The growth of the influence of the Communist Parties," said Stalin in an interview with a Pravda correspondent on March 16, 1946, concerning Churchill's speech, "cannot be regarded as fortuitous. It is a perfectly normal phenomenon. The influence of the Communists has grown because in the trying years of fascist domination in Europe the Communists showed themselves to be reliable, courageous, self-sacrificing fighters against the fascist regime and for the freedom of the people."

It is enough to examine only the data of the elections that have taken place in the European countries since the war to convince ourselves of the tremendous growth of Communist Party influence in Europe. In France the Communist Party is the strongest political party in the country; at the elections on Oct. 21, 1945, and July 2, 1946, the Communists obtained over 5,000,000 votes. In Italy the Communist Party numbers some 2,000,000 members and is one of the leading political parties in the country. The influence of the Communists has increased very considerably in Holland, Belgium, Norway and Luxemburg. In Czechoslovakia the Communists polled 2,700,000 votes and have become the strongest party in the country. In Hungary 800,000 people voted for the Communist Party. In almost all the countries of continental Europe the Communists are participating in the government and are playing a leading part in restoring the economy of their countries. Lastly, outstanding achievements have been made by the Communist Parties of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslavakia and Bulgaria, where they are the leading force in the People's and Homeland Fronts.

In all those countries which suffered Hitlerite occupation and where the big bourgeoisie collaborated with the occupants the resistance movement was inevitably directed both against the occupants and against the big bourgeoisie of the country concerned. The Communists were successful because of the policies which their parties are now pursuing in all countries and which take into consideration the experiences of the First World War. The Communist Parties defend the interests of all working people —factory and office workers, peasants and intellectuals. Such a policy makes impossible the old reactionary tactics of isolating Communists from the masses.

The second new factor which distinguishes the present situation from that obtaining after the First World War is the radical change in the position of the Soviet Union and its role in world politics. The growth of the influence and prestige of the U.S.S.R. as a world power is something that even the enemies of that country have had to admit.

Since the end of the Second World War the main line in the domestic and foreign policy of the capitalist countries is once more, as it was after the First World War, the defence of the capitalist system.

It must be mentioned that this line was followed by Great Britain while the war was still in progress. Reactionary exile bourgeois governments found asylum in Great Britain. Preparatory work was carried out to enable them to return to their countries after liberation as the lawful bourgeois rulers.

After the liberation of a number of West European countries the question was raised of disarming the Partisans and of the possibility of excluding the leaders of the resistance movement from the newly-formed governments. Naturally it is much more difficult today than it was after the First World War openly to defend the capitalist system in the form in which it existed before the war. It is true that in America there are some influential groups and individuals, like Eric Johnson, Senator Vandenberg and those behind them, who preach a return to pre-war capitalism. These, however, are exceptions. In general it is everywhere admitted that a profound reform of the capitalist system is essential; everywhere there are ideological tendencies such as the striving for planned economy under capitalism, the introduction of social insurance, the increase of state capitalism, etc.

In Great Britain, as we know, a start has been made on the nationalisation of some of the more important branches of industry. The very fact that the bourgeoisie itself is forced to begin nationalising the means of production is an admission that the system of private ownership is already outmoded. Naturally there is a great difference between nationalisation in Great Britain and in those countries of Eastern Europe that might be called countries with a new type of democracy. The remnants of feudalism in these countries in the shape of large landed estates have been abolished, a considerable part of the means of production has become state property and the state itself is not an apparatus of the rich for the suppression of the working people, but operates in the interests of the latter.

In countries of the old type of democracy, such as Great Britain, nationalisation does not bring any changes to the distribution of the national wealth and the national income because the owners are receiving compensation which is about equal to their former incomes. In the new type of democratic countries, on the contrary, nationalisation means profound changes in the distribution of the national income at the expense of the former owners of the nationalised means of production.

What methods are at present being used in the struggle for the preservation of the capitalist system, first and foremost in Europe?

First, efforts are being made to increase reformism in the working class movement and once more turn the Social Democratic Party and the labor movement of Germany, Hungary, Italy and France into the chief social support of the bourgeoisie.

In the European countries an intense struggle is developing between progressive and reactionary forces for control of the Social Democratic movement. This is the major content of the domestic policy of the capitalist countries. At the same time it naturally implies a struggle inside each of the Social Democratic parties, between the left and right wings, between the masses of Social Democratic workers who are much more inclined to cooperate with the Communists, and the reformist leaders of the Social Democratic parties who are trying to give Social Democracy its old pre-war forms.

This struggle is to be seen most clearly in Germany. A considerable part of the Social Democratic Party has rejected the former policy of the party and has spoken in favor of unity with the Communists. On April 21 and 22, 1946, there was a unity congress of the Social Democratic and Communist Parties of Germany at which a single working class party was formed — the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The vast majority of the Social Democrats in the Soviet zone of occupation favored the union of the two working class parties. Despite the counteraction undertaken by the British and American occupation authorities, the union of Social Democrats and Communists in the Soviet occupation zone met with a lively response in Western Germany.

The creation of a united working-class party in Germany is a serious blow to the reformist movement. It is, therefore, only natural that all reactionary elements should have declared war on the new party. The ruling circles of Great Britain and the United States came out immediately against the union of the Social Democrats and Communists and are giving very vigorous support to the group of reactionary Social Democratic leaders headed by Schuhmacher who are trying to revive, in the western zones of Germany, the old, reformist Social Democracy for the defence of the capitalist system of society. It is significant that the majority of the old, compromised Social-Democratic leaders such as Severing, Noske, Paul Loebe and other tried and tested supporters of the bourgeoisie are connected with this group. The British press gives its preference to this wing of social-democracy. On April 26th, 1946, the London **Economist** said: "The Social Democrats are closer to the British conception of democracy in their aims and their methods than anybody else. . . . In our opinion the first urgent decision to be made is to afford open support to the Social Democratic Party in the British occupation zone." (Retranslated from the Russian.)

There is no doubt that the further development of domestic policy in the capitalist countries depends to a considerable degree on the outcome of this struggle for the control of Social Democracy and the struggle within the Social Democratic parties.

Capitalism's second line of defence is in increasing the influence of religion and the church. The Catholic Church, headed by the Pope, is creating something in the nature of a "Catholic international." The Vatican recently conferred the title of cardinal on thirty-two prominent Catholics in various countries in order to increase its influence in those countries. The same striving also characterises the Protestant Church. Definite attempts have also been made to use the Moslem religion as a means of political struggle. This is to be seen most clearly in India.

In those European countries where the extreme Right reactionary parties have been forbidden the tactics of the bourgeoisie are rather unique. In these countries the bourgeoisie tries to influence elements farthest to the right in the Left parties and tries to get into its own hands the leadership of those parties and win for them a majority in the country. A classic example of this is the tactics pursued by the reactionaries during the last elections in Hungary. The Left party closest to the Right in Hungary is the Smallholders Party. After the elections it was seen that in Budapest, in districts where there is not a foot of land suitable for tilling, this party obtained the majority of the votes. The whole bourgeoisie and those who still follow the bourgeoisie voted for it.

Capitalism's third line of defence, apparent so far only in veiled forms, is the encouragement of the fascist movement. If it is true that fascism is the political expression of the deepening crisis of capitalism it is to be expected that fascism will be revived. Lenin pointed out that the rule of monopoly capitalism must inevitably engender reaction. In an article entitled a "Caricature of Marxism" he wrote: "The political superstructure for the new economy, monopoly capitalism (imperialism is monopoly capitalism) is a swing from democracy to reaction. With free competition goes democracy. With monopoly capitalism goes political reaction."

In the capitalist countries today there is undoubtedly a certain revival of political reaction and fascism. There are fascist countries like Spain and Portugal. Apart from that there are illegal fascist movements in countries where fascism formerly ruled—Germany, Italy, Hungary, etc.

There are also undoubted signs of a revival of the fascist movement in the democratic countries. Evidence of this is to be found in the activities of the fascist party in Great Britain, the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist groups in America. In Greece, where policy is actually controlled by the British, the rule of monarchist reactionaries has been established after dozens of changes of government; these reactionaries are difficult to distinguish from fascists either subjectively or objectively.

In countries with the new type of democracy the revival of fascism is, naturally, made difficult by the fact that the land reforms have done away with the landlord class, and the nationalisation of the major means of production has undermined the power of the bourgeoisie. If we add to this the fact that state power in these countries is in the hands of progressive forces it becomes clear that the revival of fascism there is a matter of great difficulty.

The domestic policy of the capitalist countries at this stage is, as always, closely intertwined with foreign policy.

Methods of struggle against the Soviet Union are naturally different from those employed after the First World War. "Intervention" in the old sense of the word is impossible. The reactionary forces in various countries, however, are conducting an intensive campaign against the Soviet Union, are attempting to isolate her and build up an anti-Soviet bloc. In his May Day Order for 1946, Stalin said: "While developing peaceful socialist construction we must not for a minute forget the intrigues of international reaction that are pregnant with plans for a new war. We must remember the admonition of the great Lenin to the effect that in going over to peaceful labor we must remain constantly on the qui vive and preserve the armed forces and the defence potential of our country like the apple of our eye."

In his statement made on May 27th, 1946, Molotov pointed to some of the characteristic tendencies in British and American post-war policy which had come to the fore during the preparation of the peace treaties. "It has become clear," said Molotov, "that the so-called 'peace offensive' proclaimed in certain American circles is sometimes expressed simply as a desire to impose the will of two governments on the government of a third state."

Molotov repulsed the attempts of the reactionary forces to belittle the importance of the Soviet Union and underestimate its role in the post-war world. "In certain foreign circles," he said, "there is a desire to oust the Soviet Union from the honorable place which it by right occupies in world affairs and to undermine the world prestige of the USSR. This can be the action only of short-sighted circles and it is doomed to failure. They cannot understand that the Soviet state that bore the main burden of the struggle for the salvation of mankind from the tyranny of fascism has every title to occupy the position it does today in international affairs, a position which is in the interest of the equality of all countries, great and small, in their striving for peace and security."

The way the British reactionaries are making use of the right wing of Social Democracy in Europe for the struggle against the USSR is typical of the policy of the bourgeoisie. Naturally the Labor Party and the Labor government are the most suitable media for using this wing of Social-Democracy for the purpose of achieving the foreign political aims of the British bourgeoisie. In this respect the Labor government is more useful to the British bourgeoisie than a Conservative government would be. To this we must add the fact that whereas members of the Labor Party sometimes came out against the policy of the Conservative government and in this way formed a potential opposition, the Conservative Party has no grounds for opposing Bevin's foreign policy. The British workers, of course, do not approve this reactionary policy of Bevin and the Labor government. This disapproval finds expression in an opposition to Bevin's policy within the Labor Party parliamentary group.

The struggle between the two systems is not the only feature of foreign policy in the capitalist countries today. Imperialist contradictions between the big capitalist countries, notably between Great Britain and the United States, are reviving despite the fact that on a number of international questions these two powers act as a common diplomatic bloc. The British-American contradictions, which were the basic contradictions of the capitalist world before the Second World War, or rather before German fascist aggression became a menace to Great Britain and the US, have since the defeat of Germany again become the most important contradictions within the capitalist world. American policy is today aimed primarily at smashing the British colonial empire and winning equal conditions for American capital in the competitive struggle throughout the whole world. This is its major aim.

The desire to put an end to the British, French and Netherlands empires takes the most varied forms. One manifestation of this during the war was the project for an Anglo-American alliance, the proposal for joint trusteeship over all colonies, etc. This tendency sometimes even assumes comical forms. A certain American publicist recently wrote a book in which he sharply criticised British, French and Netherlands colonial policy. After such criticism it was to be expected that he would propose giving the colonial peoples their independence. Instead, however, the author of the book said that the colonial peoples are not yet ripe for independence and proposed that they should themselves choose their trustees; but they were not to have the right to select that imperialist power which at present rules them—that is, British colonies, for example, could not select Great Britain. The author assumes that all would naturally choose the Americans because they are so well-intentioned toward the colonies and can ensure their prosperity.

The movement against the colonial system has become stronger. The fact that the British, French and Dutch have lost their prestige in the colonial countries plays an important role in that the colonial people no longer feel their former fear of them. The colonial peoples took part in the armed struggle side by side with the troops of some imperialist countries against other countries; they witnessed the defeat and capture of American, British and Dutch soldiers.

Economic causes are also having their effect in stimulating the anti-imperialist movement. Some of the countries became economically much stronger during the war, some of them became independent of Great Britain financially, some of them became Great Britain's creditors. It goes without saying that opinion in the Soviet Union is in favor of granting the just demands of the colonial peoples.

The plan for a western bloc is also connected with the colonial problem: the idea of a western bloc, which would unite in one political alliance Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and perhaps some of the Scandinavian countries, is directed primarily against the Soviet Union and is an attempt to re-establish the notorious cordon sanitaire — this time not on the frontiers of the Soviet Union, where it is now politically impossible owing to the presence of a number of friendly countries, but in western Europe.

It must also be remembered that there is another side to the western bloc. A western bloc composed of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Portugal would embrace ninety-five per cent. of the colonies of the whole world. The establishment of the bloc would be an attempt to defend the colonies against the efforts of the United States to smash the old colonial regime and achieve an economic penetration into the colonial territories and would also be an attempt to strengthen methods of counteracting the national liberation movement in the colonies.

Naturally within the limits of this article it is only possible to outline the most important features of domestic and foreign policy in the period of the general crisis of capitalism. A fuller elaboration of this theme, especially of the political consequences of the Second World War, will require a series of special essays.



BOOK REVIEW



ON LENIN (STALIN).

W. A. WOOD, M.A.

NICELY timed for the twenty-third Lenin Anniversary comes this collection of Stalin speeches (Stalin, **On Lenin**, Pioneer, 6s) in which the greatest statesman and military strategist of our time tells of his teacher and leader.

Lenin's stature grows with the years. Every new addition to the mighty Soviet structure arouses more interest in the man who laid the foundations. In this volume Stalin pictures him as the Communist Party's founder, organiser and theorist, as successful social scientist and as the ideal workers' member of parliament.

The short speech to higher educational workers is particularly good. Lenin is here shown as a scientist with the same courageous and revolutionary qualities as Galileo and Darwin. This may be a new idea to some of our bourgeois scientists who are ready to be scientific about everything except class and social relationships, which they shun as "politics."

In telling of Lenin, Stalin naturally shows what sort of a man he is himself. No honest reader of these speeches could see their author as either a dictator or a mystery man. Stalin could not so earnestly and persistently emphasise Lenin's, and his own, faith in the mass of the people if he were not, heart and soul, one of the people himself.

"Here, sitting at this table," Stalin says to the educational workers, "are Comrades Stakhanov and Papanin. They are unknown in the scientific world, they have no scientific degrees. . . . But who does not know that in their practical work they have upset the existing standards, which were established by well known scientists and technologists?" A notable remark by someone pictured abroad as a cast-iron dogmatist, spurning the multitude.

The book is beautifully printed, illustrated and bound, another affront to the bourgeois anarchists who will have it that nothing can be "really revolutionary" unless it is circulated furtively on ragged newsprint.

They could still get Communist literature that way in Spain, Greece or Cyprus, for instance. But in the workers' State, nothing is too good for the workers, so this volume is pleasant to handle and will ornament any bookshelf.

Questions & Answers

conducted by L. H. GOULD

With reference to the MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY which was written exactly 100 years ago (1847), what was its central teaching, and what are the main practical lessons for us today?"—M. Stokes.

The central teaching of the **Manifesto** is "the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat as the creator of a new Communist society" (Lenin).

Brilliantly applying their method of historical materialism, Marx and Engels outlined social evolution from primitive Communism to capitalism. The capitalist mode of production, though it had "accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts and Gothic Cathedrals," entailed no less deprivation and suffering for the masses than earlier social forms. More than that. The gigantic means of production and exchange of capitalism brought into the world "an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs would have seemed an absurdity — the epidemic of over-production"; the masses starved in the midst of plenty. But capitalism also produced its own grave-diggers, the proletariat, or industrial working class.

All previous revolutions in history had resulted in the toilers exchanging one set of exploiters for another. But with capitalism, mankind had now advanced to the stage where the proletariat, in winning its own emancipation, would at the same time end forever the exploitation of man by man. Engels summarises:

"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of revolutions in which, now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class — the proletariat — cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class — the bourgeoisie — without, at the same time, and once and for all emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles."

The main lessons for today are fundamentally the same as when the **Manifesto** was written. These cover working-class unity, international solidarity, State power, purity of revolutionary doctrine, and the Party of the Revolution. Emphasis must naturally be placed on the method of applying the teachings to the current forms and conditions of the class struggle, that is, after a century of development of the working-class movement.

Unity. The call to struggle in the **Manifesto** is given under the slogan of Unity. The united working cass, said Lenin, is invincible. Not only do the workers outnumber the exploiters, but they are the banner-bearers of the future. In the first decades of capitalism the workers were almost wholly disunited and unorganised. The principal reason was the competition for jobs among the workers. "The organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset . . . but it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier." Competition for jobs remains to this day a basic factor in splitting the workers; it is important to note how capitalism, the capitalist State and the various agencies of the capitalists operate to maintain that disunity through job competition (the industrial reserve army, Arbitration Court awards designed to create friction between the workers, etc.).

But the main force today in preventing unity is Social-Democracy, reformism, Labor's right wing. A century ago, disunity bore a certain elemental character; today, the barrier to unity, to the United Front, is the deliberate policy of reformism, the "social bulwark of capitalism." Hence Stalin's declaration that the fight against reformism "was and remains an essential preliminary condition for a successful fight against capitalism."

Internationalism. The **Manifesto** is summarised in its concluding sentence, "Workers of all lands, unite!" The **Manifesto** describes how capitalism shapes the world into a single pattern of economic life, and how national one-sidedness and aloofness become more and more impossible . . . "the intellectual creations of individual nations become common property." In this regard, too, the bourgeoisie clearly made a historically progressive contribution to social development. But another tendency arises with the advance of capitalist production, namely, bourgeois nationalism with its "gloomy picture of national enmity, inequality, oppression, conflict, war, and imperialist brutality on the part of the nations of civilised countries, both towards each other and towards non-sovereign peoples" (Stalin). The proletariat of each country, states the **Manifesto**, "must first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie." But victory at home is impossible without linking up with the struggles of the toilers in all other capitalist and colonial lands. The emancipation of the formerly-oppressed nations and peoples of Czarist Russia, and the present national colonial revolutionary liberation movements are fulfilling the **Manifesto** teaching; these struggles are preparations for the "future amalgamation of the toilers of all countries into a single world economic system" (Stalin).

State Power. "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle for democracy." So wrote Marx and Engels in the **Manifesto.** They had not at that time fully clarified their views on the all-important question of the State. Following the revolutions of the year 1848 and the Paris Comune (1871), Marxism taught the workers that they could not simply take over the bourgeois state machinery; they must "smash" it, and set up a new proletarian State apparatus. But the **Manifesto** was already clear upon the essential issue — the proletariat must seize full political power; as Lenin put it: "The State, i.e., the proletariat organised as the ruling class, is precisely the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The important task today is to search out the "forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution" (Lenin). Every country will obviously require an approach different from the road to the proletarian revolution in Russia. Recent events in Europe and Asia provide many rich lessons.

The Party. The **Short History C.P.S.U.** states: "Marx and Engels taught that the industrial proletariat is the most revolutionary and therefore the most advanced class in capitalist society, and that only a class like the proletariat could rally around itself all the forces discontented with capitalism and lead them in the storming of capitalism. But in order to vanquish the old world and create a new, classless society, the proletariat must have its own working-class party, which Marx and Engels called the Communist Party."

A vital revolutionary task that faced the workers after the death of Marx and Engels was the creation of the Party of the Revolution. It was to be a party "of a new type," new in the sense that it differed completely from the opportunist parties of the Second International. Lenin, who based himself wholly on Marxist teachings, was the founder of the Party, the Communist Party (and, later, of the Third International). It is the vanguard Party, guided by revolutionary theory, and advancing the cause of the workers by correct and resolute struggle against capitalism.

Purity of Revolutionary Doctrine. In the **Manifesto,** Marx and Engels settled accounts with various "socialist" trends of that time. These doctrinaire and reactionary movements ("True Socialism," "Bourgeois Socialism," etc.) strengthened capitalism by preventing the real development of the Socialist revolution. Some are still being peddled, under new guises of course, e.g., "peace in industry," the fascist-like "corporative state" so beloved of the R.C. Hierarchy, and others. The relentless struggle of the Communist Parties against Social-Democracy and other enemy ideological trends shows that the revolutionary vigilance of the founders of Communism has been fully maintained by their successors.

The fruits of the **Manifesto** are seen in the Soviet Union, in the mass and mature Communist Parties all over the world, in the advancing tide of struggle by the masses, and in the resultant enormous decline in the power of imperialism.

The best way to celebrate the centenary anniversary is to use the **Manifesto,** as never before, as a weapon in the final fight against the exploiters.

PREHISTORY

Prof. J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

SOME day we shall have a readable history of Britain which will tell us how the ordinary man and woman lived at different times.

It is unlikely that there will be many names in it before the time of Caesar's invasion, which occurred just 2,000 years ago, though we do know the names of a few local British "kings" before his time.

Clearly there must have been a considerable political organisation, and widespread peace, to allow the transport of large blocks of stone from South Wales to Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain.

But all we know about the people of those days is the things they made, and their bones.

In fact, prehistory is the history of human production.

Fortunately, it turns out that if we know enough about production, we know the most important things about a people. Their social organisation depends in the long run on their daily work, and not the other way round.

One of the landmarks in English prehistory was the introduction of metals.

The first metal used in Britain was bronze, and the first bronze objects which can be dated with any certainty are found in the graves of a people whom archaeologists have called the Beaker Folk, after the earthenware vessels which they made. The Beaker Folk, who had rounder heads than the earlier inhabitants, came to eastern England from Europe, especially from what is now Belgium.

Another group of colonists, who introduced the custom of building with large stones, came northward along the Atlantic coast, but the Beaker Folk came from Central Europe.

The route by which their culture spread has been traced largely by Yugoslav and Czech archaeologists. It came up the valley of the Danube.

One of the main sites whose excavation has cleared up the story is at Vinca, a little below Belgrade, which was excavated by workers organised by Professor Vassits, of Belgrade. Vinca was occupied long enough to leave about 25 feet of rubbish. The first inhabitants lived in holes in the ground walled with wattle, and probably roofed with hides. They used stone-bladed hoes for gardening and horn harpoons for fishing.

But they made pottery which shows that their culture came from the south-east. For example the lids of their pots often had rough human faces. This type of lid is quite common in what is called Troy II, a city which was destroyed about 1800 B.C., and on whose ruins was built the city that Agamemnon and Achilles besieged. As time went on Vinca continued to reflect the civilisation of Troy. Later on its people had very beautiful images of a mother with a child, probably a goddess, and metal objects like those found in various parts of Greece.

The main reason for this northward expansion was the existence of gold in Transylvania, and later the discovery of tin in Czechoslovakia, which was used to harden copper into bronze round the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Danube was gradually opened up for navigation, and a fair number of objects which are commonplace in the ruins of Troy II have been found in Czechoslovakia. They include bronze pins, earthenware mugs, earrings of bronze wire, and so on.

Perhaps the most remarkable evidence of prehistoric trade in this region is the discovery, in graves at Lengyel, in Hungary, of ornaments made from the shell of a clam which lives in the Indian Ocean.

From Czechoslovakia these first users of bronze spread to the lower Rhine Valley and into Belgium. And from Belgium some of them sailed or rowed to Britain.

On their way through the forests of Germany they had lost a good deal of their culture. But they were enormously ahead of the original inhabitants. The Belgians whom they replaced had no domestic animals or plants, and were still chipping and not even polishing stone implements.

This migration of culture was certainly not organised conquest, though no doubt there was fighting, as there always is when agriculturists replace hunters.

Britain, 2,000 years ago, was not in any sense a Yugoslav colony. But we did get a very important element in our culture from Yugoslavia.

One reason why civilisation spread from the Mediterranean to Central Europe, up the Danube rather than across the Alps, was that four or five thousand years ago the Alpine glaciers and snowfields came down a good deal lower than they do now, so that it was almost impossible to get from Italy to Austria.

Another reason was that along the Danube valley they are many patches of the fine soil called loess, which does not readily grow forests, but is easily cultivated, and forms for example the wheat fields of Ukraine and Hungary. So men could row or sail up the river and start a primitive kind of wheat growing without having to clear the forest.

Finally there were the gold of Transylvania, the tin of Bohemia, and the copper of Slovakia. There was similar mineral wealth in Spain, which was early opened up for trade with the Eastern Mediterranean, but not in France.

Later on, when iron began to be smelted, iron ore was found in many places, and the Danube became much less important. Moreover, tin was dicovered in Cornwall, and a trade route from Britain to the Mediterranean by way of Western France was established.

Most of the facts of which I have written were discovered in the last 30 years. Doubtless many details will be filled in when archaelogy starts up again in Yugoslavia, though I do not know how much, if anything, is left of the Belgrade museum.

It is perhaps timely to mention these facts, because we are all taught in school about the influence on British civilisation of Greece, Rome, Palestine, and so on. Probably not one person in a thousand realises that we owe a very considerable debt to the countries of central Europe.

It is likely that we are going to learn a good deal from the Czechs and the Yugoslavs in the next generation. The Czechs in particular are building Socialism in a way which we may find easier to follow in some of its details than the Russian way.

Our first metallurgy came from Bohemia, though not of course directly.

Our great English mediaeval reformer, Wycliffe, was a disciple of the Czech, Hus, and perhaps once more we shall learn a lesson in civilisation from the peoples of the Danube basin.

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40 Hour Week

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY, AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIRST OF THE MONTH.

THE WAY FORWARD

R. DIXON

WE have always maintained that one of the important reasons for the economic policy of the Chifley Government, which is lowering standards of living in this country, is that in the post-war world Australian capitalists would be faced with more competition on both the Australian and overseas markets. Already the shape of the new trade war and its effects on Australia are becoming apparent.

An International Trade Conference to be held in Geneva in April will discuss Empire preference, tariffs, restrictions on imports and subsidies to help develop industries, and these are all matters that concern Australia.

The American Government, in the interests of Yankee Imperialism, are determined to force open the Empire market for the products of American industry. They will seek to have Empire preference abolished, and Australian tariffs reduced. They want equal access with the Dominions to the British market and the freer entry of American goods to Australia and other Empire countries.

Tariffs, preferences, import restrictions and currency manipulation are all methods the capitalist class have resorted to in order to combat trade rivals, promote trade wars, and to increase their profits. Nevertheless, any sudden reversal of these policies under pressure from American imperialism can only have serious results for Australia. Export industries would be hard hit, unless alternative markets were found, and the reduction of tariffs, under pressure, could so interfere with factory production as to cause widespread unemployment.

Thus the working class are directly concerned in finding the correct solution to these problems.

Australia, in so many directions, is being tied to American Imperialism, which is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. Our foreign policy, to an increasing extent, is being influenced by the decisions taken in Washington. This is suicidal not only because we will be drawn willy-nilly into the war plans of Yankee Imperialism but also because we become more dependent economically on the U.S., thus opening the way for Wall Street to interfere in the internal affairs of this country, as they are now doing in Greece and Turkey. The closer our economy is linked with that of America, the more certain are we to be affected by the economic crisis that is already developing in the U.S.A.

The ratification of the Bretton Woods Agreement by Federal Parliament will also have repercussions. Bretton Woods gives the American monopolists a dominating position in world trade, and therefore a privileged position in the world's markets. Mr. Chifley says that the U.S. will hold this dominating position whether Australia signs the Bretton Woods Agreement or not. The facts are that adherence to Bretton Woods is consistent with various other decisions the Labor Government has taken which link Australia more closely to America, to the serious disadvantage of this country.

We are being asked to accept the ridiculous view that Australia must have a foreign and trade policy that will inevitably bring us under the domination of American Imperialism. This is a viewpoint the Communist Party will never accept and will always fight against. We are opposed to it because it means disaster for Australia. While granting that the U.S. commands an outstanding world position, as Mr. Chifley says, we insist that it is neither necessary nor inevitable that we should accept the role of a junior partner to American Imperialism.

It is well to remember that the United States is not the only world power of gigantic dimensions. There is also the Soviet Union. These are the two major powers in the world today and next in line are Britain, France and China.

Today, Britain, with the Australian Labor Government's support, is ganging up with Yankee Imperialism against the Soviet Union. If the world is divided along these lines a new world war is inevitable.

To gang up with America means to subordinate ourselves to America, to be dominated and crushed by America. Is this what Australia wants?

Obviously we need a new approach to foreign affairs and international trade, and the working class movement is the force to sponsor this new approach.

We believe that Australia should pursue an independent foreign policy instead of being tied to America. We should aim for collaboration between the Great Powers instead of division and for a world trade policy that would help the small powers instead of harming them.

Instead of hostility to Soviet Russia, we should place our relations with the Soviet on a firm and friendly basis, develop trade with her, and also with the new democracies of Europe and the colonial peoples now fighting for their independence from imperialist control. With America striving to dominate world trade we should understand that Soviet Russia, the new democracies of Europe and the colonial peoples offer a vast alternative market for our goods, a market without strings, that will not lead to our subordination, as is the case of America

In other words, there is no need for Australia to go down the drain with U.S. Imperialism, to submit to economic crisis, unemployment and lower living standards, providing there is a fundamental change in our foreign and trade policy, as well as a new approach to our internal problems.

While fear of overseas competition is a factor in the economic policy of the Chifley Government, it is not the whole story. The Labor Government's policy aims at stabilising and strengthening the position of Australian capitalism. Mr. Chifley's economic policy is increasing the profits of the monarchs of industry at the expense of the workers' living standards. Profits are higher than in pre-war years, the purchasing power of wages is lower. Inflation of prices is the chief means of bringing about this result.

Now this policy is also headed for disaster. It stands to reason that if production and profits increase, while the purchasing power of the big majority of the people declines, goods will soon begin to bank up, overproduction will be inevitable and an economic crisis will break out. Thus by tying Australia to American Imperialism, on the one hand, and restricting the purchasing power of the masses on the other, the Chifley Government is acting against the best interests of the Australian people. If these policies are persisted with they will cause confusion and division in the labor movement and play into the hands of the reaction.

In short, the Chifley Government's policy seriously menaces the working class because it threatens to destroy the economic, political and organisational gains of the labor movement made during the war.

Disunity is growing in the labor movement. The decision of the McGirr Government in N.S.W. to bring down legislation for the 40-hour week is a blow at the Chifley policy of leaving the 40 hours question for the Arbitration Courts to decide. Although the approach of the N.S.W. elections influenced the McGirr Government, there is no doubt that the major factor in its decision on the 40 hours was the campaign of the Communist Party and the growing pressure of the Trade Union movement. The hostility of the Trade Union movement to the Chifley Government's policy was shown in the decisions of the Federal conference of trade unions convened by the A.C.T.U. to organise a nation-wide stoppage of work on May 1st and to work no more than 40 hours per week after that date. When the Trade Unions, upon which the Labor Party is based, came out so forcibly against Labor Party policy, we got some indication of the discontent and division within the labor movement. The McGirr Government's decision could only serve to strengthen the hands of the trade unions and reveal the extent of the differences and division within the leading circles of the Labor Party itself. It is true that certain right wing Trade Union leaders, who achieved notoriety for strike-breaking during recent strikes, are doing all they can to sabotage the A.C.T.U. decisions, but nothing they can do can overcome the growing hostility to the Federal Government's policy and to the apathy of the Labor Party in face of the workers' demands. It is essential to expose and defeat the right wing saboteurs, otherwise it will be impossible to create that firm unity in the labor movement that will bring victory.

Let us be clear that the conflict and disunity within the labor movement arise mainly from the policy of the Labor Party and especially of the Chifley Government. The fight for a united working class front, therefore, demands the further development of the struggle to overcome the present trend of Labor Party policy, to wage the struggle for a policy that is in the interests of the working class and corresponds to the needs of the majority of the Australian people.

This means that in the field of foreign policy and trade, we must bring to an end our dependence upon American imperialism and instead develop our relations with all nations, including Soviet Russia, the new democracies of Europe and the peoples of Asia, striving for world collaboration, for peace and for friendly trading relations between all peoples. It means that insofar as the domestic scene is concerned we need a policy that is designed to raise wages at the expense of profits, or in other words, wages must rise whilst prices are pegged. We need the 40-hour week and still further tax reductions on all the lower income groups.

Coinciding with these measures steps are necessary to curb the trusts and monopolies, and to bring about the nationalisation of the coal, steel and shipping industries.

These changes in policy are fundamental to the future of Australia. They will strengthen the economy of the country, help offset the crisis now developing in the United States, which threatens to envelop us also, and at the same time they will unite the working-class movement and bring greater cohesion among the people.

THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN STATE ELECTIONS

L. AARONS

THE South Australian State Election results must sound a warning call to the Australian labor movement. Although the "Liberals" have long gerrymandered the electorates in their favor, the salient feature of the voting was the decided swing against the A.L.P. The loss of three seats for sure (possibly four) was in itself a near-debacle, but worse still was the tremendous decline in the Labor Party vote.

Comparisons between the votes in several electorates will show just how much the Labor Party vote has declined compared with both the 1944 State and the 1946 Federal Elections:

	Labor	Liberal
Norwood:		
1944 State	8212	7095
1946 Federal	9741	5385
1947 State	7688	7960
Prospect:		
1944 State	8793	8025
1946 Federal	9481	6698
1947 State	7593	8945
Torrens:		
1944 State	8635	8308
1946 Federal	8917	7047
1947 State	7463	8857
Unley:		
1944 State	7657	9051
1946 Federal	9482	7305
1947 State	6865	9545

There was a big decline in the A.L.P. vote in every electorate where they opposed L.C.L. candidates, and by the time that all votes are counted, the L.C.L. will have won an election in South Australia with about as many votes as the A.L.P., instead of with less, as is usual with these champions of "democracy."

Menzies and the capitalist press are treating the vote as the beginning of "the ebb in the Labor tide." To see the figures as an indication of the way South Australia would vote in a Federal election would be a mistake, however, for there are many State factors which go to make up the A.L.P. defeat.

Nevertheless, the swing away from the Labor Party does reflect the growing division within the whole labor movement, nationally and not only in this State. The division is between the Left and Right, but not just between the Communist Party and the leaders of the Labor Party. It is expressed in the growing divergence between the trade unions and the Labor Party leadership, and in particular with the growing discontent with the Chifley policy of pegging the workers' living standards and aiding the monopolists to increase their profits and their stranglehold on Australian economic life.

With the aid of the right wing in the trade union movement, the A.L.P. leadership has succeeded in holding back the development of major united struggles which would result in the winning of big improvements in living standards. A growing movement of militant struggle has won sectional gains and at least one national gain (the 7/- basic wage rise), but in the main the right wing has succeeded in preventing the full use of the united strength of the trade union movement to raise living standards.

The propaganda of the monopolists has found ready response and echo from the right-wingers in the union movement. The political leaders of the Labor Party are trying desperately to hold back the movement for struggle and have called in their aides in the union movement. The result is to be seen in the growing discontent and in the weakening of the potential strength of the union movement, causing frustration and sometimes cynicism among large sections of the working class.

Nett result is the loss of support among the middle class, who are always very sensitive to weakness and division in the working-class movement. The policy of the Chifley Government, and of the right wing in both the trade unions and the A.L.P. has therefore resulted in loss of the State elections in S.A. and threatens further losses unless there is a great change.

All the factors present in the balance of relationships between the various class forces and political parties throughout Australia exist to a marked degree in South Australia, plus other factors which operate still further in favor of the L.C.L.

Weakness and immaturity in the labor movement are most evident, while the A.L.P. is in the grip of a reactionary, C.A.-dominated clique. The S.A. bourgeoisie have embarked on a deliberate policy of creating a legend around Playford as an impartial and brilliant Premier, and the Parliamentary Labor Party have not only failed to destroy this myth, but have given valuable aid to its creation.

The Playford myth is built up on the basis of the growth of industry, on the freedom from industrial conflict, on a purely imaginary superiority in home-building, and on Playford's "impartiality."

The Labor Party has failed to expose the blatantly biassed policy which goes hand in hand with "encouraging" Big Business to this State. The continued tenderness to B.H.P., with its Steel Empire in the Whyalla-Iron Knob area, such evidences as the "aid" to Phillips' Industries (£45,000 to help their transfer), granting to Apac Industries of a part of Finsbury "bigger than the Adelaide Oval" at a ridiculously low rental (nothing for the first six months), and so on, have all been allowed to pass without a word of protest by the A.L.P. either inside or out of Parliament.

As far as freedom from strikes is concerned, the A.L.P. competes with Playford to assure that

there is no strife in industry. A.L.P. candidates stressed this. Borthwick, A.L.P. candidate for Unley, in a press statement, said, in pointing out he was opposed to the May 1 stoppage, "I'm all for co-operation and collaboration." He succeeded in converting a Labor majority at the Federal Election of 2,177 into a minority of 2,680 while Baldock (who lost Torrens) made the proud boast that he had been a union secretary for many years and had never had a strike. Such boasts of Labor weaknesses apparently did not win middle class support!

In the trade union movement itself, the right wing conducted a bitter campaign against the May 1 stoppage, and although defeated, organised a big minority vote against the move.

Thompson (A.S.E. Secretary) and other leaders of the right wing have been opposing the foundry workers' struggle, going so far as practically to advocate scabbery under the polite fiction of "allowing" ironworkers and moulders to leave their unions and join others so they could return to work—on the bosses' terms.

Thompson himself goes to businessmen's luncheons and tells them that all strikes are caused by Communists and there must be no more strikes with their interruption of production.

The position in the trade union movement is redeemed by the growing strength of the left wing led by Communists. Only intensive organising won a narrow right wing majority in the Trades and Labor Council elections. A real cleavage took place in the Council elections, in which personalities were subordinated to policies, and the struggle on the Council has reached a new level, with the right wing holding a precarious ascendancy.

There are no such invigorating features at work in the Labor Party. With a small Local Committee membership, an Executive of right-wingers and no effective union voice inside the Party, the right wing is dominant.

As a result, the A.L.P. campaign was weak and ineffective. Their propaganda was weak, concentrating upon electoral reform and the negative aspect of "Make S.A. in tune with the rest of Australia." There was no fighting programme, no mention of the 40-hour week and the £1 wage rise, no answer to the housing shortage perpetuated by Playford's policy of private enterprise first, homes last; no fighting policy for the countryside, cheap water, real decentralisation.

To convince the electors that the A.L.P. was an alternative to Playford, we have the A.L.P. trying to convince the electors that they, and Playford, deserved the "credit" for acquisition of the Adelaide Electric Supply Company. This, at a time when it seems sure that a regional power station will be established at Pt. Pirie and cheap supplies of electricity will be handed to Broken Hill Associated Smelters so they can recover £1,000,000 worth of minerals from their slag-heaps, bearing out the Communist warning that Playford's acquisition of A.E.S. was merely to aid the monopolists with cheap power, while the consumer continued to pay through the nose.

The negative nature of the A.L.P. propaganda could be seen most clearly in their designation of Playford's legislation as "socialistic," and their statements that if Playford was returned, he would not carry out the same "socialistic" policy. Conclusion was "Therefore, if you want a continuation of Socialistic legislation such as Playford has been carrying out, vote for the A.L.P."

There was an almost complete absence of active campaigning by the Labor Party; very few leaflets were issued, few meetings held and very little canvassing done. Only on polling day was there any sign of rank and file activity, and there we saw the feeling of the A.L.P. workers. On almost every booth, there were friendly relations between A.L.P. and A.C.P. booth workers. In Adelaide, where A.L.P. second preferences were given to Bardolph, so-called Independent Labor, A.L.P. workers said they couldn't understand it, they were not in agreement with it, but it was done by "the [illegible] (the A.L.P. Executive).

From the very start to finish, there appeared no real desire on the part of the A.L.P. heads to win the elections. Federal help was limited to brief visits by Chambers and Pollard.

The voting pointed to A.L.P. weakness and to the dangers of a turn back to the bankrupt "Liberals," due to a drift by the middle class resulting from the split in the labor movement.

The only answer to this danger is a strengthening of the work of the Communist Party, to create unity between Communist and Labor Party workers, unity in action and struggle, unity which will revitalise the labor movement and win back the middle class who appear to be turning again to the "Liberals."

Dimitrov puts it: "The strengthening of the Communist Party is not a narrow Party concern but the concern of the entire working class. **The unity, revolutionary coherence and fighting preparedness of the Communist Party,** constitutes a valuable capital which belongs not only to us but to the entire working class."

Even in the narrow election sphere, some deep-dyed opponents of unity should have learned some lessons, or would have done if they could ever learn anything.

Mr. A. J. Shard, ex-M.P. for Prospect, was elected in 1944 on Dr. Finger's 2,644 preferences. At the poll declaration, he said, "Labor-Communist unity will come only over my dead body." He is a politically dead body now, and because there was no Communist to really fight the capitalists and their party and help put Shard in as a result.

Again, in Adelaide we saw that H. J. George (Adelaide) was the only A.L.P. candidate to increase his vote. D. H. Bardolph, brother of K. E. J. Bardolph (Past President of the A.L.P. and right-wing power behind the throne), had only just been defeated (on A. Watt's preferences) in 1944.

This year George, a near-octogenarian, was selected as A.L.P. candidate after the ruling clique disbarred a younger, more vigorous candidate over a ballot formality.

No campaign was run for George—some say because it was hoped he would be a "pushover" for Bardolph, twice-expelled from the A.L.P., Langite and disruptionist of the worst type. The Communist campaign scotched this plan, for Bardolph was our target and he was destroyed as a force in S.A. politics.

How did the Communist candidates fare, and what encouragement is there for the future?

Without any spectacular figures, there can be no doubt that the votes showed a steady advance.

Dr. Finger polled the highest vote ever for a Communist State candidate, raising his percentage of total votes cast for Pt. Adelaide from 11% in the Federal Elections to 17.2% (polling 3206 with more to come).

Stuart, huge country electorate, 22 year old Robertson polled an exceptionally good vote of 7.7% (841 at writing) of the votes counted. In Hindmarsh, J. Moss, with 2091, increased the Communist vote from 1 in 11 for Dr. Finger in the Federal Elections to 1 in 9.

In the Adelaide seat, the Communist vote showed a decline over the 1944 State Election, although there was a 50% increase over the vote in the Federal Election. Main cause for the decline was probably the determination of working class voters to defeat Bardolph as a result of the determined campaign of the A.C.P. against this renegade. The Communist campaign was a good one, and shows great possibilities for future work and elections.

The Communist votes show steady progress overall but the true picture is revealed more clearly in the great interest taken in the campaign. In under four weeks of campaigning, Communist speakers addressed 2015 workers at factory gates, while hall and street meeting audiences totalled 1429.

Response to and interest in the Communist campaign shows how much our policy expresses the feelings of the working class; good receptions, with intelligent questions, show how valuable our work is in this period. But our votes still reflect a hesitancy to go beyond the A.L.P. in sufficient numbers to win us seats.

This will come, when events further expose the barrenness of reformism and our work shows the revolutionary alternative.

The best guarantee of this development coming quickly is the improvement of our work, the building of the Party, in the factories first of all, and strengthening of our influence in the union movement.

A stronger, more vigorous Communist Party, based in the factories and unions, will also make possible a reinvigorated A.L.P. which will throw out the right-wing leadership, and work in unity with the Communists against the common enemy, the monopoly capitalists. This is a vital necessity, otherwise the L.C.L. will continue to dominate the State.

The present A.L.P. leadership has indicated its willingness to "co-operate as an opposition" with Playford since the elections. This easy acceptance of L.C.L. ascendancy finds no place in the Communist policy.

Workers still want wage rises and shorter hours; the people still need homes; health and education need a new deal in S.A. The fight goes on for higher living standards and for the Socialist objective, and it must be fought not just at elections but always. It is fought not by politicians but by the masses, through their organised strength.

To the Communist Party falls the role of organising and leading this fight and we must not fail.

DECLARATION OF EMPIRE COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

(A Conference of all Communist Parties of the British Empire was held in London, February 26-March 3, 1947, to discuss common problems.)

WE, the representatives of the Communist Parties in the countries of the British Empire, have met in conference in London from February 26th to March 3rd, and having considered the problems of the common fight of the peoples against imperialism, for national independence, world peace and security and for co-operation of all nations based on equality, make the following declaration:

We greet with enthusiasm the unprecedented upsurge of the colonial and subject peoples in the great struggle for liberation and pay our homage to the countless martyrs who have laid down their lives in this just and noble cause. We send our fervent greetings and solidarity to the national movements of the colonial countries and express our ardent support for unity for the uncompromising aim of national independence.

The victory of the peoples in the war against fascism, a victory to which the colonial peoples greatly contributed, has led to the strengthening of the democratic forces throughout the world. The Socialist Soviet Union is stronger than ever, the New Democracies have been firmly established in Europe, the United Nations founded and the ranks of the workers in all lands consolidated by the World Federation of Trade Unions. The defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan has undermined the old imperialist order everywhere. We see the struggle

for national independence as a continuation of the aim for which the war against fascism was fought. The immediate advance of the peoples of the subject countries to national independence is now on the order of the day.

Anglo-American imperialism is everywhere seeking to preserve and extend its grip on the colonial world, suppress the rising tide of colonial revolt, split and disorganise the national movements and by political manoeuvres deny real independence. It seeks to maintain privileged imperialist exploitation by its arms and police and is building up strategic bases in Palestine, the Arab countries of the Middle East, India, Malaya and parts of the Far East to kindle another world war aimed at the Soviet Union and the peace-loving peoples of the world.

These policies are an expression of the crisis of the colonial world and above all the crisis of the British Empire. The United States, now the dominant world imperialist power, with huge material and strategic resources, is out to dominate the world and to absorb the British Empire countries as the richest prize. British imperialism, weakened by the war, is more and more forced into the position of a junior partner of America. The crisis in Britain and the crisis in the Empire go hand in hand. Britain's imperialist policies and commitments, draining her manpower, intensifying the enormous deficit in the balance-of-payments, still further increase the dependence on American strategic and military superiority in the Anglo-American bloc.

We condemn the continued occupation of Greece, the subjection of Cyprus and Malta, the holding down of Palestine, the bolstering up of reactionary feudal puppet regimes in Iraq and Transjordan, the retention of British troops in Egypt, the categorical refusal to recognise the national independence of India and Burma, the denial of a democratic constitution to Malaya, and the maintenance and use of British troops in these countries to suppress their freedom movements and the military aid given by British Imperialism to crush the liberation struggle of the peoples of Indonesia and Viet-nam.

A great responsibility rests upon the working class and peoples of the British Empire countries in the struggle between the forces of reaction fomenting a new world war and the forces for peace and progress. The imperialist policies continued by the British Labor Government are a betrayal of its election pledges. Aided and abetted by the Dominion Governments, it is stimulating and encouraging the warmongering elements everywhere. These policies are not only a denial of the just rights of the colonial peoples, but a negation of the real interests of the working people of Britain and the Dominions.

The Communist Parties will ceaselessly strive to rouse the working masses and all freedom-loving peoples within the countries of the Empire to struggle to defeat the war makers.

The fight for the peace of the world, the advance of the subject peoples to independence, the struggle of the workers for Socialism are all part of a common fight. The alliance of the freedom movements of the subject peoples and the working-class movement is vital for the victory of the aims of both.

The common interests of all the peoples of the Empire countries require:—Abandonment of the Anglo-American Bloc and the restoration of the unity of the Three Great Powers and full support for the United Nations; strengthening and extension of the British-Soviet Treaty, close co-operation with the Soviet Union and democratic nations for disarmament, democratic advance and international co-operation; withdrawal of troops from all except ex-enemy countries in accordance with the peace settlement; acceptance of the principles of democratic self-determination; international economic co-operation.

We declare that the democratic right of self-determination of all peoples is the cardinal principle of Communist policy. We demand the immediate unqualified independence of India, Burma and Ceylon.

We express our solidarity with the Arab peoples in their fight for the evacuation and independence of Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan and we oppose all imperialist schemes such as those for a "Greater Syria," the Near Eastern Bloc and Anglo-Arab Joint Defence Committee, which are a menace to the national existence and future of the Arab people.

We demand the recognition of the right of Cyprus and Malta to complete self-determination so as to enable these countries freely, in accordance with the wishes of their peoples, to re-unite with their respective motherlands, Greece and Italy.

We condemn the denial of elementary rights and liberties, the widespread practice of racial and color discrimination in Africa and other British Empire territories. We demand the repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation, ordinances and laws; the provision of popular legislative assemblies based on universal suffrage, freedom of speech, movement, association and organisation and declare our full support to these peoples in their aspirations for freedom and the right of self-determination.

These measures can be effective only if the monopolies which operate in the colonial countries are rendered unable to dominate the economic life of the peoples, squeezing out their wealth and enforcing conditions of starvation, disease and misery on the peoples. It is the duty of the Labor Governments in the Metropolitan and Dominion countries to abolish these monopolies and to aid the peoples of these colonies to develop their resources in their own interests so as to win them as allies on an equal basis in the fight for the achievement of socialism. This will lay the basis for international economic co-operation of these countries with the advanced industrial countries of the world on the basis of equality, ensuring their rapid economic development and the onward march of the advanced countries towards Socialism.

We welcome the growing solidarity between the movements of the workers in Britain and the Dominions and the subject peoples of the colonies. Our joint struggles will strengthen the bonds of fraternal assistance between the trade unions of Britain and the Dominions and the colonial peoples.

The British Communist Party has a special responsibility in association with those forces of the Labor Movement now struggling for a complete change in the Labor Government's foreign, colonial and empire policy. The Communist Parties of the Dominions also have special responsibilities along similar lines, particularly in Australia and New Zealand where Labor Governments are in power.

Our conference in London has strengthened the bonds of fraternal solidarity of the Communist Parties within the countries of the Empire. The leading role in building the solidarity of the peoples of the empire countries must be borne by the working class in Britain, the Dominions and the colonial countries. Foremost in this task will be the Communist Parties, with their socialist understanding and internationalist spirit.

We are confident that the outcome of our Conference will assist to strengthen practical co-operation between the working-class movement and the peoples of the Empire countries in the struggle for our common aims, against imperialism and reaction, for liberation and democratic advance, for peace and for social progress, preparing the way towards the world victory of Socialism and the equality and brotherhood of all nations.

SHIFT OF POWER PROPS IN INDIA

RUPERT LOCKWOOD

THE British Government says that it is about to leave India. Australian commercial representatives are preparing to move in. Increased Australian trade with India, sufficient to offset lost British markets for our exports, assumes a British withdrawal from India, because only a free India can industrialise and lift buying power adequately.

The pukka sahibs, of course, don't intend to carry out any "Operation Scuttle," as promised by Mr. Attlee and assailed by Mr. Churchill, in June, 1948. When the Indian Communist Party General Secretary, P. C. Joshi, described the June 1948 dateline as "the cleverest imperialist trick to keep the Interim Government going and to raise new illusions among Indian leaders and put on a pious face before the world outside," he had in mind the history of other imperialist promises—and perhaps the dictum of Adam Smith: "No nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province."

Not long before his quit-India offer, Mr. Attlee told the Commons that the British Government had decided "freely and unconditionally" to withdraw from Egypt. Egyptians, like Indians, can be forgiven for displays of cynicism and disbelief when they hear "withdrawal" offers. W.W., a "World News and Views" columnist, says: "Egyptian people have a great sense of humor, but you cannot expect them to raise even a semblance of a smile for the grandson of a joke that was first cracked in 1881, even before their country was occupied." A year before British troops occupied Egypt (1882), Lord Dufferin, a leading diplomat, scoffed at "fantastic fears" that Britain intended occupation. A few months after the occupation, on December 19, 1882, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said: "Once order is restored, we will withdraw."

In 1895, Mr. Gladstone said that "the Government is resolved not to remain in the Sudan a day longer than is necessary." As W.W. says, the day has lengthened to 51 years.

India, of course, is vastly more important to British imperialism than Egypt and withdrawal promises count for even less among Indians. That arch-imperialist Lord Curzon's warning is often repeated in the Tory press—"If the Empire loses any other part of its Dominion we can survive, but if we lose India the sun of our Empire will have set."

Ever since the East India Company and other buccaneers prepared the way for India's subjection, the various peoples of this sub-continent have been in ferment. At times, open warfare has flared, fading into "passive resistance", then developing into mass strike struggles and mutinies in the armed forces.

Dominance of British commercial and armed power allowed the imperialists to hold India by direct methods. After the bad scare given to them by the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the British tended to lean on feudal Princedom to maintain their rule. The rise of an Indian nationalist bourgeoisie stripped much of the power, if not the pomp and pretence, from the maharajahs, and, in addition, development of organised working-class, peasant and middle-class resistance to Britain forced Whitehall to seek new props for its rule. Congress, whose social roots are among the textile looms, bank vaults and metal industries of Hindu capitalists, had to be won over. The Muslim League, allied with the Mohammedan landed magnates, had also to be used—and kept divided as widely as possible from Congress.

The Hindu capitalists of Congress are more powerful than the semi-feudal Muslim landlords, and have more political initiative than the princes. The main concentration of imperialist effort was designed to bring the Congress capitalists into line,

to save British rule in return for a bigger share of the booty. British firms like Nuffield and Imperial Chemical Industries have entered recently into commercial alliances with Indian industrialists like Birla, reputed to be the biggest textile magnate in the British Empire today, and the Tata family, who control the Empire's largest steel-works. The British, in hiring the Congress fifth column, used the same tactics that were used to create a fifth column in France. Whitehall played on the Congress capitalists' fear of the rising trade union movement, key sections of which elected Communist leaders.

Indian capitalists like trade unions no more than American, British or Australian capitalists like them. Trade union solidarity in strikes, the willingness of Indian working-class martyrs to face gaol and gallows for the liberation of India's downtrodden millions, frightened the Birlas and Tatas, and their political agents in Congress. They became willing listeners to British proposals for partnership in the exploitation of India's wealth and of her 400 million people. To the Muslim League leaders, the imperialists could point out the growing strength and the surprising capacity for political organisation of the vast mass of poor and landless Indian peasants. The puppets of princedom were, of course, willing to stick to their old British allegiance. Mutinies of armed forces in Hyderabad, playground of the fabulously wealthy Nizam, and in other princely States, reinforced the allegiance. Without the British, the maharajah's thrones would soon topple.

However, all this planning by the imperialists could not dispose of the Indian people's vigorously expressed desire for complete independence. The Indian Communist Party, whose numbers are small but whose influence is great, the trade unions, the peasant unions and other progressive groups naturally refused to be a party to these plans. They kept on fighting for independence and—through strike struggles, land seizures and demonstrations—for economic emancipation. The Congress capitalists quickly showed their hands. Congress police bashed and shot the workers. In some troubled areas, Congress politicians and governors outdid General Dyer of Amritsar in the spilling of Indian blood.

Shootings, like "spy" scares, never solve basic social crises. The Indian workers went on fighting, and the muscles of British imperialism grew flabbier. The British ruling-class had been converted from the leading creditors of the world to the leading debtors. Wall Street had plucked London of its dollar reserves and a good deal more; Britain owed vast sterling accounts to Egypt, Iraq, Australia, the Argentine, India. When the account with India was totted up, it was found that Britain owed India something like double the total British investment in India. This Indian sterling balance in London became a cause of dispute with the Indian capitalists. The Indian capitalists were not slow to note the golden opportunity of taking over for themselves the rich British holdings in India, by a book entry.

Wall Street, anxious to exploit the British Empire through London compradores, intervened in an effort to prevent this move, which would have strengthened Indian capitalism against American as well as against British imperialism. Under the Anglo-American Loan Agreement, the USA and British Governments agreed that England's accumulated debts be divided into three categories (1) part to be paid immediately, (2) part to be released slowly in instalments beginning in 1951 and (3) part to be written off. This amounts to repudiation of debts to a country which suffered great privations—including disastrous food and cloth famines—in providing Britain with food, textiles and other goods and services during the war.

America's interest in having sterling debts heavily cut or wiped off is to curb Indian purchases from Britain. On the other hand, Britain is trying to prevent Indian purchase of capital goods in America, by refusing to convert any of the Indian sterling balances into dollars. There is a three-cornered conflict, with the odds heavily in favor of the Wall Street Colossus. Several leading Indian capitalists already show signs of capitulating to American (and British) pressure for scaling down of the sterling debts, in return for a few more crumbs.

Pre Segar Gupta writes in the Indian Communist Party paper, "People's Age": "Behind the backs of the Indian people, Indian capitalists like Birla, Tata, Walchand Hirachand and numerous others have already entered into shameful partnerships with British capitalists, giving them a share in the capital, for joint exploitation of the Indian market. Their spokesmen like A. D. Shroff and K. C. Mahendra (former head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in the USA) have already publicly urged the acceptance of a scaling down on the ground of expediency. . . . Some of the Indian industrialists are even paying 2,500 times the nominal value for British companies wanting to sell their assets in India with a view to gaining personal profit. In such cases, of course, they do not even mind the serious depletion their dealings might cause in the sterling balances for which otherwise they show such a big concern."

The Indians have been able to get a little return on the sterling balances by buying grain in sterling areas. Also, Indian capitalists have not only bought up some British properties in India but are buying shares on the London Stock Exchange. Among British companies mentioned by "People's Age" as targets for Indian share-buyers are Dunlop Rubber and Imperial Chemical Industries. „I've often wondered how the London Stock Exchange keeps a firm tone in the present British economic crisis. Perhaps Indian and American buying partly accounts for it. If Indian capitalists can use sterling balances this way, Australian Governments could certainly use them to pay off bonded debts in London, and lift interest burdens from our trams, trains, waterworks and other utilities.

The fact that Indian capitalists can buy up British shares on the London Stock Exchange gives some idea of British imperialism's decline. When a crisis becomes so deep, all kinds of desperate measures and manoeuvres can be expected. Congress must be kept on side by the British at any cost, otherwise the British would quickly be out of India, dateline or no dateline. Congress in opposition, says Communist leader Joshi, would bring the British rulers face to face with revolt "here and now". "Not only the British but only the Congress can keep the country peaceful because the Indian situation is so explosive today, anti-British hatred so universal, the demand for freedom so urgent," Mr. Joshi declares. "The biggest storm-wave that India has known is sweeping the industrial centres, popular struggles are breaking out in State after State, even the traditionally backward peasant is rising to his feet, all seeking the solution of problems that British rule has created. The British need is desperate that Indian Ministers should face the rising Indian people, while they themselves get behind the scenes to plot how to stay on in the new situation."

"Divide and rule", Joshi adds, "is not dead, as communal rioting and the plan to partition and weaken India show. The Princes have been declared 'sovereign'.

"Thus," says Joshi, "British imperialists get their own puppets lined up inside either the united or partitioned India of the future, while the British remain free to use the Princely territories as their own permanent bases, military, economical and political, studded all over our vast country. It is thus not an offer to quit India after a year but an open plot to carve our common Motherland into a number of satellite States of Great Britain. . . . The British policy of divide and rule is thus reaching its final culmination in the real threat of partition and a bogus offer to quit."

Joshi speaks not only for Indian Communists but for millions of other Indian progressives, who won't be taken in by this latest trick to salvage British rule in India. Once the plans of British imperialism were founded on bulging coffers of gold, on the world's richest economy and strongest navy. Today, the plans are built on sand. The Indian people will continue their march to freedom. The British imperialists will leave, whether they like it or not.

Indians, who have been through enough trials in the last three centuries, will have to watch that there is no mere change of masters. When British imperialism fades out in Greece and Turkey, the Wall Street boys are invited to take over. There must be no similar invitations to India.

STATE ELECTIONS AND THE A.C.P.

H. B. CHANDLER.

PARLIAMENTARY elections have already been held in three States of the Commonwealth this year and will be held in two more, Queensland and N.S.W., before May. In Tasmania, South Australia and West Australia the Labor Party has lost seats to the representatives of monopoly capitalism, but is still in power in all States with the exception of South and West Australia.

In South Australia the conservative liberal party has maintained power mainly because of the jerrymandering of seats which for many years has seriously curtailed any democratic advance in the South Australian Parliament. In 19 electorates held by Liberals prior to the elections, the average number of voters was 8447 compared to an average voting population of 15,000 in the 17 electorates represented by Labor. About 60% of the electors reside in the metropolitan area and return 13 members to the House of Assembly, while about 40% reside in the country and elect 26 members.

The Playford Government has a very bad record of maladministration and inefficiency. The Labor Party leadership, by its inactivity and failure to rally the masses around a fighting working-class policy, has not contributed to changes long overdue and wanted by the people. The Australian Communist Party candidates, who increased their votes, have alone exposed the reactionary policy of the Liberal Party and are gradually building up mass support which must ultimately lead to the recognition of the Communist Party as the real alternative to the Liberal-Labor influences in the South Australian Parliament.

In New South Wales and Queensland a different situation exists. Labor Governments have been in office for many years in these States. Both have been moved to some action in respect to the 40-hour week, promises of amenities for the coalminers and other piecemeal legislation because of the demands of the Trade Unions and masses of workers, farmers and middle class people, all of whom are becoming disillusioned about the Labor Party. But it is equally true that anti-working class legislation such as the Queensland Arbitration Act, which aims a blow at the democratic rights of the trade unions, and the "do-nothing" policy on housing, transport, social amenities, hospitals and health, have raised the ire of broad sections of the people.

Since the changes in leadership in N.S.W., there are signs that a more progressive policy is being

pursued by the McGirr administration. But this still falls far short of the requirements of the toiling people.

Labor Governments in State legislatures represent the same party and stand for the same policy as that pursued by the Chifley Labor Government and they must share the blame for the failures of the Labor Party in the Federal sphere. Maintenance of wage-pegging, inefficient control of prices, taxation on workers' wages, on the one hand, and mounting profits of the monopolists on the other, continue to be the policy of the Labor Party, and this policy reflects itself in State as well as Federal politics. State Labor Governments must also be indicted by the working class for their dithering over the housing muddle. Building projects in the States are quite inadequate. At the present rate of building, even the yearly lag in home building will not be overtaken, much less provision made for the countless numbers unable to obtain a place in which to live decently. Failure of State Labor Governments to use their powers to nationalise industry, especially coal, gas, and breweries, has earned for right-wing politicians the dissatisfaction of a wide section of the working people, including members of the Labor Party.

The State elections give an opportunity to change much of this. The working class is looking for an alternative. The two-class face of the Labor Party is being revealed in all its reality. The bourgeois philosophy of right-wing politicians is reflected in their collaboration with monopoly interests at the expense of the workers, and their attempt to find a capitalist way out of the developing economic crisis is all too apparent.

Workers are beginning to see, as Lenin wrote some 20 years ago, "what a peculiar capitalist country is this in which Labor predominates (in the legislatures) . . . and the Capitalist system does not suffer any danger."

The Labor Party is rapidly fulfilling its role "of establishing an independent Australian capitalist State," and as it accomplishes this task so does it more rapidly reach the point where it must and will make way for a real Socialist Party, a party opposed with all its power to monopoly, which will fight valiantly for a Socialist Australia. That Party is the Australian Communist Party, which today gives the electors the opportunity of voting for a party with a working-class policy as a real alternative to the Labor Party.

At the elections, the Australian Communist Party will stand 16 candidates in N.S.W., and seven in Queensland, led by F. W. Paterson, M.L.A. These candidates do present the alternative to the Liberals, who have already exposed themselves as incapable of serving the people, and to the Labor Party around which much discontent is already developing. But the A.C.P. will be recognised as the alternative working-class party only when its policy is taken to the people on a mass scale. The election campaigns present this opportunity.

Thousands of people can be contacted during the campaigns and many of the more progressive sections of the working class can be won into the struggle for the A.C.P. policy of no taxation on the workers' wages, 40-hour week, £1 increase in the weekly pay envelope, penalty rates for week-end work, speedier building of homes, better transport to and from work, democratic education and modern school buildings, equal pay for women and a fair deal for the youth; nationalisation of industries, such as coal, iron, steel, gas and the breweries, the development of public works such as roads, hydro-electric, water conservation and land settlement; and a better deal for the farmers with increased prices for butter, eggs and milk, debt reductions and the establishment of co-operatives controlled by the farmers themselves.

This is the urgent task of the A.C.P. in the elections, which must be approached with a revolutionary determination to win the masses into action, to intensify the struggle for unity and for progress, by raising to ever higher levels the mass work of the party.

To develop the biggest propaganda campaign possible, the election campaigns will be based on three main points:—

First: A real blitz on the factory and place of work.

Second: Special efforts to win the women, especially the housewives.

Third: Personal approach to every elector [illegible] rolled.

This method is a working-class method. It needs the enthusiasm and determination of people trained in the class struggle; it needs bolshevik initiative and self-sacrifice. To win parliamentary representation for the Australian Communist Party, to present the party as a real fighting alternative to the liberal-capitalist Labor Party, the masses must be won for the struggle. That task falls equally upon every member as it does upon candidates and those trusted with the task of organising for the election campaigns in N.S.W. and Queensland.

TROTSKYISM — INSTRUMENT OF FASCISM AND REACTION

ETIENNE FAJON

(From "Cahiers du Communisme," May-June, 1946)

AT the general elections of June 2nd, last, Trotskyist lists were presented in twelve electoral divisions. Their candidates claimed to belong to a so-called "International Communist Party" and to a would-be "Fourth International." No one on the Trotskyist lists was elected. Their suppliers of funds did not ask that much of them. The electoral aim that was allotted to them in the general assault made by the forces of reaction upon the Communist Party was to make our Party lose some seats. That aim was attained in four provinces. In Finisterre, the Communist list needed 1915 votes to obtain a seat. The Trotskyist list there obtained 4168 votes. The seat lost on this account went to the M.R.P. In Gironde, we needed 4750 more votes to gain two seats. The Trotskyist list received 7698 votes. The M.R.P. gained the seat we lost. In Puy de Dome, the 2891 votes obtained by the Trotskyist list deprived us of the second seat for which we needed 1650 more votes. That seat was gained by the Varenne list. In Lot et Garonne, we lacked only 328 votes in order to obtain two seats, while the Trotskyists obtained 970 votes. Thanks to them the Rassemblement list obtained a seat.

So the Trotskyists played their role in the recent electoral battle. Taking votes from the Communists is a job that Fascism cannot accomplish by showing itself in its true light; it inspires too much horror in the workers and democrats. In order to deceive some, to turn them off the correct path (in elections and outside elections) it is obliged to disguise itself, to present itself in the garb of a workers' movement, in the garb of a variety of communism.

Trotskyism is nothing but the instrument of this fascist action and fascist lying.

That is a familiar idea to all who know even a little of the history of Trotskyism. However it will be quite useful to illustrate this by the recall of some facts, for the sake of the few workers who have been led astray by masked fascism and also to forewarn the tens of thousands of young adherents to our Party.

In the Soviet Union, the liquidation of the remnants of Trotskyism took place in 1936 and 1937, in the course of three famous trials in which the principal lieutenants of Trotsky appeared amongst the other accused. Trotsky was not there, he had been expelled from the country several years before.

These trials were held publicly, in the open, before representatives of the world press. The criminal activity of the Trotskyists was exposed there by the accused themselves to the exact extent that they were compelled thereto by proofs.

Before the Soviet Tribunal, the Trotskyists, who were allowed all safeguards of defence, acknowledged in front of the world that they had organised the assassination of eminent leaders of the USSR such as Kirov, Menzhinski and Kuibyshev, and the celebrated writer Gorky (not to speak of the earlier attempt on Lenin in 1918). They also acknowledged active participation in sabotage in the factories, mines, Soviet agriculture, under the most varied forms (disorganisation, explosions, etc.). They admitted that the objective of Trotskyism in the USSR was the restoration of the trusts. For example, the Trotskyist Radek, in his deposition, states the programme that Trotsky submitted to him in December, 1935, in the following terms:

"Not only concession of important industrial enterprises to the imperialist states, but also the alienation to capitalist elements of important economic undertakings which they will designate."

Finally, the accused at the Moscow trials had to acknowledge that they were guilty of betraying State secrets and of delivering information to Hitler's secret service agents. In the deposition of the Trotskyite Piatakov, ex Joint-Commissar of Heavy Industry, one reads:

"Trotsky said that without the indispensable support of foreign States, the government of the bloc would not be able either to come to power or to maintain itself in power. That was why it was necessary to achieve a preliminary agreement with the most aggressive foreign States such as Germany and Japan; and that also was why he, Trotsky, had taken steps with a view to contact as much with the Japanese Government as with the German Government."

Commenting on the depositions and the overwhelming admissions at the Moscow trials, the great Bolshevik paper "Pravda" was able to write on February 14, 1937, regarding the Trotskyists:

"They sell their Fatherland wholesale and retail to its worst enemies, they spy and sabotage in concert with the agents of Fascist espionage, they give themselves to individual counter-revolutionary terrorism, they prepare unheard-of acts of treason if war occurs. Such are the methods of 'activity' of the Trotskyist pack."

In sum, caught in the very act of ten years ago, the men most representative of Trotskyism in the Soviet Union themselves stated their titles and qualities: "Criminals at common law, acting on behalf of trusts and under the orders of foreign secret services."

Trotskyism was predestined to this infamous role by all its past. Originally, it appeared as a petty bourgeois current in the Russian Social-Democratic Party.

As the fascist adventurers who base themselves to-day on Trotsky push their lies so far as to represent him as a companion or fellow-worker of Lenin, it is necessary to recall that the history of Trotskyism at that time is part of the history of the struggle against Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The struggle against Leninism, against Communism within the workers' movement, was the first step on the road which in the end was to lead Trotsky and his like to become simply instruments of Hitler Fascism. Exactly as was the case in France with Doriot, Belin and Paul Faure.

From the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party held in 1903, Trotsky opposed with the Mensheviks the Leninist concept concerning the necessity of a disciplined Party of the working class. Immediately after the Congress, with the Menshevik leaders Martov and Axelrod, he formed an anti-Leninist fraction to boycott the decisions of the Congress.

At the moment of the 1905 revolution, while Lenin and the Bolsheviks were working for an alliance of workers and peasants, the primary condition for victory, Trotsky launched the criminal slogan "Workers' Government," a slogan which tended to oppose millions of peasants to the working class and in consequence played into the hands of Tsarist reaction.

During the difficult years following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, while Lenin and the Bolsheviks worked underground to preserve and consolidate the organisation of the Party, the Mensheviks proposed to absolutely liquidate the Party. Once again Trotsky supports the Mensheviks.

In 1912, Trotsky forms and leads an unprincipled bloc of all the anti-Marxist elements (the August bloc) to combat Lenin and the Bolsheviks. That was the time when Lenin, in a famous article, printed "the scarlet brand of shame on the forehead of Judas-Trotsky." It was also the time when, in opposition to the Mensheviks, Trotskyists and others who joined them, the Bolsheviks built an independent Party.

Next, in the 1914 war, the imperialist war, an unjust war, while Lenin organised the revolutionary struggle in Russia against Tsarism and internationally against the imperialist bourgeoisie, Trotsky was on the opposite side, on the side of the men of the Second International who model themselves on the imperialists of their respective countries; placing himself at a "centrist" point of view, he condemns the class struggle and revolutionary action against imperialist war.

"All those who support the Trotskyist group," wrote Lenin in 1911, "support a policy of falsehood and deceit with respect to the workers."

The October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new era in the history of mankind, was led by Lenin. Trotsky at first did everything to prevent the success of the insurrection and to crush it after it was accomplished.

October 10, 1917, the historic meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks was held, the meeting which decided to begin the insurrection, a decision which was openly opposed by Zinoviev and Kamenev. Trotsky, who had been admitted into the Party two months before (it was not known till later that his mission was to disrupt it), proposed that the uprising should not be begun before the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets; a proposition which Lenin characterised "as either folly or complete treason." Fortunately Lenin's opinion on the choice of the time won and the insurrection was victorious.

During the stern years of civil war and foreign intervention (1918-1921), Trotsky's behaviour is unceasingly that of a traitor. In February, 1918, when the young Republic had offered peace to all the world powers, Trotsky, in opposition to Lenin, caused the failure of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. He furnished the Germans with the excuse for an offensive against the new Russia which was still without military strength. The infant Red Army succeeded in stopping the Germans before Narva and Pskov, and Germany consented to sign a peace. But Trotsky's treason cost the Soviet Union vast territories. In Lenin's own words:

"It, in fact, helped the German imperialists and hindered the progress and development of the German revolution."

July, 1918, a counter-revolutionary putsch was attempted at Moscow. Eighteen years later, the trial of the Trotskyists established that it had Trotsky's assent. Then in 1919 and 1920, it was necessary, in order to save the Russian Revolution, to relieve Trotsky of his military responsibilities, one after the other. This was the case in the spring of 1919, when Trotsky proposed to cease the offensive against Kolchak, which, Lenin wrote, "would amount to betraying the revolution." Again in the autumn of the same year, when Trotsky proposed to choose as battle ground against Denikin the territory the most hostile to Soviet Power. And in 1920, in the Polish campaign, Trotsky increased the difficulties of the Red Army by treasonous orders.

After 1921, during the struggle for the building of socialism, Trotsky, inside the Communist Party, expressed the opposition of the counter-revolutionary classes; camouflaging this sometimes with left phraseology.

Left phraseology, dear to Trotskyism, is a current method of reaction. The resolution of the Tenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party (1921) on Unity of the Party denounced this tactic of the class enemy:

"The Whiteguards desire and know how to disguise themselves as Communists, and even more 'left' than Communists, with the sole aim of weakening and overthrowing the bastion of the Russian proletarian revolution."

In 1921, the Bolshevik Party on Lenin's appeal had to condemn the criminal stand taken by Trotsky on the matter of Trade Unions. Trotsky proposed to "Statise" them, to abolish their internal democracy. This could only have led to a split in the working class. At the same period, on the occasion of the correct transition from the methods of "War Communism" to N.E.P., Trotsky, Zinoviev and Co. demanded that big concessions should be made to private capital and to foreign capitalism. The Party condemned, isolated and defeated them.

In the following years, the Trotskyist position may be resumed in three points:

(1) The impossibility of building Socialism in the USSR while the Socialist Revolution had not broken out in other countries (which amounts to turning the Soviet workers away from an "irrealisable" task and to suggesting interference of the USSR in the affairs of capitalist countries in order to give the latter an excuse for anti-Soviet interventions).

(2) The impossibility of getting the essential mass of the peasants to participate in the building of socialism (which amounts to opposing the workers and peasants to each other in the interests of the counter-revolution).

(3) Freedom of factional work in the Party (which amounts to depriving the Party of all strength and efficiency).

The **provocative** character of such a position is self-evident.

In order to ensure the building of Socialism and establish the necessary conditions for that, it was necessary to politically crush Trotskyism. This was achieved by a great political campaign led by Stalin in the Bolshevik Party and in the working class of the USSR. This concluded at the 15th Congress of the Party in 1927 by the exclusion of Trotsky and his like by 720,000 votes to 4,000. Trotskyism no longer represented the slightest trend in the workers' movement.

Beaten on the political terrain, no longer supported by the slightest fraction of the Party or the working class in their anti-Communist struggle, the Trotskyists adopted henceforth other forms of activity and sought other support. From then on duplicity became their line. Zinoviev, Kamenev and their companions made their apologies, asked to be received again into the Party, while at the same time they continued an underground struggle against the Soviet regime. Henceforth acts of sabotage and diversion, and terrorist attempts were their main methods of action, as the Moscow trials later on revealed.

Finally as the vestiges of capitalist exploitation and of the class which personified it were eliminated in the USSR, the Trotskyists, a detachment of that class, became simply instruments of foreign reaction, of Hitler and Japanese fascism, as they themselves acknowledged in the course of the Moscow trials.

Thus at first a petty-bourgeois political current in the worker's movement; later a detachment of the vanguard of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against Soviet Power; finally a band of common criminals in the service of Hitler Fascism. Such are the three principal stages of the history of Trotskyism and its final degradation.

Stalin, who led the victorious struggle for the construction of Socialism in the USSR and at the same time the struggle for the crushing of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, first emphasised in March 1937 the ending of the history of Trotskyism in complete infamy.

"Our Party comrades have not remarked on the fact that Trotskyism has ceased to be a political current in the working class; that, from the political current that it was seven or eight years ago, Trotskyism has become a furious and unprincipled band of saboteurs, agents of diversion and assassins acting under the orders of foreign secret espionage services."

Naturally, the fascists' utilisation of Trotskyist provocateurs and saboteurs could not limit itself to the territory of the Soviet Union.

In his report of March 3rd, 1937, to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, Comrade Stalin, speaking of the reserves of Trotskyist saboteurs of the USSR, declared:

"The Trotskyist saboteurs possess reserves. They are composed in the first place of the remnants of the exploiting classes that have been defeated in the USSR. They are composed of a whole series of groups and organisations beyond the frontiers of the USSR and hostile to the Soviet Union."

And Stalin cites as an example:

"The counter-revolutionary Trotskyists' 4th International, composed, to the extent of two-thirds of it, of spies and diversionary agents."

Actually, since before the last World War, the Trotskyist groups that existed in the various countries of the world adopted an activity conforming in every way to the interests of Hitlerism and Fascism. Two examples that are typical in this respect are those of Spain and France.

Spain, during the stern years of the national democratic struggle against the aggression of Hitler and Mussolini and their agent Franco, saw the actions of a Trotskyist group designated by the initials P.O.U.M., which admirably served the designs of Fascism.

(1) It brought against the Spanish Government, formed of all social shades and classes, the absurd accusation that it was directed by the Soviet Union, thus giving Hitler and Mussolini a pretext to legitimate their intervention in Spain.

(2) It busied itself in disorganising the front and in disrupting the workers' movements and the bloc of national and republican forces which were opposed to Franco; at the moment the Communist and Socialist Youth united, it created a dissident Youth movement; it opposed the People's Front and repeated the Francoist calumnies directed against the International Brigade.

(3) In May, 1937, at the time of the Franco offensive on Bilbao, the P.O.U.M. supported this offensive by organising a bloody putsch in Barcelona. To the Republic's soldiers in the line against

the Francoists, the P.O.U.M. paper launched this criminal appeal on May 7th: "Leave the front and come to fight in Catalonia against the Government."

(4) June, 1937, the leaders of P.O.U.M. were arrested by the Republican police and convicted of military espionage on behalf of Franco. There is no need to continue. These facts clearly expose the Spanish Trotskyists as agents of Franco.

In the same period in France, the Trotskyists had the mission of preventing the progress of the unity of the working class, the unity which is essential to Fascism's defeat. Expelled formerly from our Party, a certain number of Trotskyists had joined the Socialist Party. There they never ceased overbidding the enemies of unity of action, combating the People's Front and slandering the Soviet Union.

Others of them were spread into various little groups such as the French section of the so-called 4th International. In these little groups the espionage bureaux of the various reactionary powers intermingled. The common characteristics of these little groups were furious opposition to the Soviet Union and the People's Front, the defence of the Francoist agents of the P.O.U.M. and of disruptive and provocative action in the ranks of the working class.

The occupation of France by the Hitlerites was marked by systematic utilisation of the Trotskyist sects and phraseology by the Gestapo. In the April 1945 number of **"Cahiers du Communisme"** you can read the text of a document summarising the views of the Nazi police in this utilisation.

To combat the resistance activity of the Communist Party, it is necessary, says the document:

"To employ clandestine methods identical with their own in order to gain contact with both the Communist Party and its minor militants and sympathisers and the mass under the Party's influence; not forgetting the numerous neutrals whom the word collaboration renders mistrustful."

It was on this task that "La Verite" and other Hitler-Trotskyist papers were employed. Distributed in the factories, often feigning secrecy, these papers in the first place endeavoured to protect the Hitlerite army by luring the workers away from armed actions and every kind of struggle, and the pretext that there were workers in the ranks of the Wehrmacht. In the midst of the occupation "La Verite" wrote:

"The Stalinists' appeals to hate prevent fraternisation between French and German workers."

They followed this up by participating in the propaganda for the "Relief," supporting by "left" arguments the activity of avowed collaborators in sending French workers to labor in Hitlerite Germany.

In "La Verite," the departure of workers for the Hitlerite goals is presented as propitious to the development of the revolutionary movement in Germany.

"Lenin," it wrote, "taught us to take advantage of the possibilities of liaison between the proletarians of different countries. The French proletarians who go over yonder will do good work for the world revolution."

According to the Trotskyist paper "L'Etincelle," the departure to the front of German workers freed by the arrival of French workers did not help the Nazis — but favoured the disintegration of the German army.

"For every French worker who arrives," this paper triumphantly proclaimed, "there is a German worker who leaves for the front."

In the months which preceded the national liberating insurrection, the Hitler-Trotskyist papers intensified their campaign in order to weaken the action of the F.T.P. and the F.F.I. against the Hitlerite army. Thus it was at the moment of the Anglo-American landing in Normandy that 'L'Etincelle" wrote for the fighters of the interior:

"The German soldier is not your enemy."

This anti-French and fascist job was continued in the period which elapsed between the liberation of France and the capitulation of the Hitlerites.

In that period, the Hitler-Trotskyist papers limited themselves to reproducing (be it understood without any indication of origin) the appeals of the German radio intended for French workers.

Let us recall three samples of this work which have already been quoted in our journal.

December 30th, 1944, the traitor Doriot said on the German Radio:

"The workers should not work for the cannon merchants of England and America; our factories should work for peace."

Four days afterwards the Trotskyist paper "La Carmagnole de Puteaux" reproduced the substance of this appeal:

"We should not fatten the capitalists. . . Let us change war industry into peace industry."

January 31, 1945, "La Verite" reproduced completely an appeal of the same Doriot. February 22nd, 1945, the traitor Herold Paquis declared on Radio Berlin:

"Thorez and de Gaulle are inviting you to the slaughterhouse. . . Resist the Communo-Gaullist mobilization."

Three days later "La Verite" translated as follows:

"Rejoin the maquis rather than the armies of the imperialists."

Let us add that on March 17th, 1945, at the height of the war, when the Red Army was dealing the Hitler Army further decisive blows which gave freedom to the world, "La Verite" wrote:

"Under the banner of Stalin, the Red Army no longer serves the Revolution as it did in the time of Lenin and Trotsky. On the contrary it has turned its back on the cause and has become the instrument of the counter-revolution."

It goes without saying that the activity displayed during the war under the Trotskyist ensign was not limited by the Gestapo to journalism. In the occupation it included informing on anti-fascist patriots. After the liberation, sabotage of war production was added. By way of example let us recall the arrest by the Air Police in the beginning of 1945 at Gnome et Rhone of a distributor of Trotskyist tracts, who was caught in the act of sabotage (he was putting sand in the bearings of an aeroplane engine). In the saboteur's dressing room arms and a "Manual of Street Fighting" were found.

Since the end of the war, the Hitler-Trotskyists continue to serve as tools of international and French reaction.

It is well known that in the matter of the German problem the most reactionary attitude is taken by the Anglo-American Trusts. As supporters of the raising again of Germany as the principal centre of reaction in Europe, as in 1919 and at Munich they urge help to Germany, the abandonment of reparations and of all measures of security such as economic and political internationalisation of Ruhr, and they also urge the liberation of prisoners of war and the ending of occupation.

If one omits "left" phraseology, that is exactly the position of the Trotskyists as laid down in the Manifesto of the European Executive Committee of the 4th International published in the Review "Quatrieme Internationale" (Dec.-Jan. Number, 1946):

"We International Communists of the countries said to be victors", this document affirms, "we consider you, German workers and peasants, as victims whom it is our duty to aid.

"We protest with you against the partition of Germany, against the contributions, the requisitions and against the reparations amounting to billions.

"We are for the right of the German people to self-determination.

"With you we demand that prisoners of war should be treated according to the Red Cross agreements and that their liberation should not be delayed.

"Take note that 'Anti-fascism' in itself means nothing."

Of course, the review in question does not contain a single word about Spain or Greece.

In the matter of internal problems, the Trotskyist adventurers work servilely on behalf of the trusts and reaction. When reaction sabotages economic recovery with a view to favouring the adventures of personal power, the Trotskyists call for the slowing down of production and provoke strikes (in this they are openly encouraged by "L'Epoque") When the C.G.T. undertakes a broad action for a legitimate and general improvement in wages and salaries, the Trotskyists overbid it and attempt to provoke rash and disorderly action in order to bring about failure.

When the Communists appeal for assembling of all democratic forces against the reactionary danger, the Trotskyists adjure the workers to turn away from it, this of course in the interests of reaction; and at the same time they spread the same anti-Communist insults and slanders as the open fascists use. And thus it is in all spheres. Finally, besides the open provocative activity of the tiny Trotskyist groups whether belonging to the "Internationalist Communist Party" or to the so-called "Communist Union," it is necessary to draw attention to the present efforts of these fascist agents to infiltrate the democratic organisations, including our own Party, in order to do the enemy's work, the work of reaction from inside.

The Trotskyists are attempting to occupy responsible positions in the Trade Unions, in most of the Youth Movements (particularly in the United Movement of Youth Hostels) and in the student organisations. Their object is to give a false orientation to the groups which they penetrate and, at the same time, disrupt them. A number of Trotskyists are members of the Socialist Party, in which unfortunately the anti-Communism of certain leaders, who see the Trotskyists as precious auxiliaries in the struggle against unity, affords them important opportunities of activity.

When one remembers that during the Moscow Trials the leaders of the 2nd International manifested their sympathy, not to the memory of the Bolsheviks who had been assassinated by the Trotskyists, but on the contrary to those who had to confess their crimes, one cannot be astonished at this toleration any more than at seeing the services of the Minister of the Interior in the June, 1946, elections set up Trotskyist lists with the object of depriving the Communist Party of some seats.

Certain Trotskyists are trying and will continue to try to penetrate into our ranks by dissimulation, pretending to approve the Party's policy. Their mission is to spy on the actions of our organisations, to import the germs of concepts foreign to Communism, to echo inside reactionary slanders against the Party leaders, to stir up any discord and to push members into rash actions contrary to the interest of the working class and the Party.

Thus Trotskyism, which pretends to be a variety of Communism, is in reality a particularly dangerous form of Fascist activity. The failure of the anti-Communist campaign at the last elections, the progress of our policy of gathering together the democratic forces, may impel reaction to take extreme measures, to use provocation which means an increased utilisation of Trotskyist agents.

Communists must checkmate all enterprises of that order:

(1) By fulfilling their permanent duty of defence of the workers' claims. This obliges the agents of reaction to unmask themselves sooner or later.

(2) By becoming fully seized of the correct policy of the Party and explaining it clearly to the masses so that every political provocation will be immediately revealed and defeated.

(3) By ceaselessly studying, as we have just done in the case of Trotskyism, the various forms of the enemy's action against democracy and the

working class, so that an uncompromising struggle is carried on against the enemy's men and they are never confused with comrades who are in error.

(4) By keeping a careful supervision with respect to the principles of Party organisation, and with respect to the control over the carrying out of tasks. So the workers and honest democrats will be recruited in mass and at the same time any doubtful person who has infiltrated into the Party will be rapidly discovered.

Such are some of the things that must be put into practice if fascist provocations are to be checked in the ranks of the working class and the democratic movement.

Doubtless the Trotskyists are only represented in France by a tiny handful of adventurers in the enemy's service. But if it is true that in a factory a single saboteur is sufficient to compromise the work of a thousand good workers, for the same reason it is indispensable to-day, in order to ensure victory in the great battle of the forces of democracy against reaction, to put the Trotskyist vermin where they can do no harm.

FIGHT FOR THE ABORIGINES

T. WRIGHT

(Report to Central Committee meeting, 14-16 February, 1947)

A CONFERENCE was recently held in Canberra of representatives of six nations, to deal with the economic and social welfare of 1,700,000 South Pacific natives who come under their jurisdiction. One million of these natives come under the control of the Commonwealth of Australia. At this Conference, which concluded on February 6th, the Australian Government came forward as the would-be leader; but the Australian Government has no qualifications for such leadership, as has been demonstrated by its treatment of the Aborigines.

Surely Marx must have had Australia in mind when he said: "The native races know us briefly by our crimes." Recently there appeared in the Sydney "Sun" a series of articles on the Aborigines by Dr. Donald Thompson of the Department of Anthropology, Melbourne University. He quoted the statement of Deputy Prime Minister Forde when he attended the United Nations Conference in San Francisco: "The Australian Government argues that the Charter of a World Organisation should recognise that the main purpose of the administration of dependent or undeveloped territories is the advancement of the people of those territories." Dr. Donald Thompson asks: "Why this curious discrepancy between domestic and external attitudes towards natives?"

He gave a concrete exposure of the actual position of the Aborigines in Australia and their ill treatment, and raised a demand which, except by ourselves, is never raised on behalf of the Aborigines, and that is that surviving native tribes should have ownership over their hereditary lands.

The series of articles by Dr. Donald Thompson was replied to by Professor Elkin of the Sydney University, who attempted to belittle Dr. Thompson as an authority and claimed that his information was out of date. Professor Elkin exposed his own wrong approach to the question of the Aborigines when he stressed that in parts of Australia the squatters depend on the Aborigines and that, therefore, because they were dying out, some measures were necessary so that this source of labor for the squatters would not dry up. He denied that ill-treatment continues, boosted the missions, and then attacked the idea that the Aborigines should have their own territory, put forward by Dr. Thompson, condemning this as a policy of "segregation" that would be harmful to the natives themselves.

Dr. Thompson is correct, and Professor Elkin, the chief anthropological adviser to the present Government and their predecessors, is wrong, and in the course of the fight on behalf of the Aborigines we find ourselves in conflict with the views of Professor Elkin.

In the early days of White settlement the Australian Aborigines were not even regarded as human beings. A resolution was carried at a public meeting in Sydney to the effect that the Aborigines had no souls and consequently it was not murder to kill them, and they were killed in large numbers. So, today, out of a population of hundreds of thousands at the time of white settlement, there are only 47,000 full blooded Aborigines left in Australia.

In a recent "Sydney Morning Herald" there was a cable item about a booklet published in England, "Black Chattels." This booklet gives a thorough exposure of the situation of the Australian Aborigines and in my opinion its circulation should be assisted by us. It is in line with our own views on this question. The cable item gave a quotation from this booklet: "If progressive organisations and individuals here . . ." (that is in Great Britain) . . . "will let the Commonwealth Government know that they cannot accept its claim to be regarded as a spokesman for democracy until it accords human rights to the natives of its own country, they will be speeding the day when the Aborigines cease their miserable forced march to extinction."

The picture given in this booklet, like the picture given by Dr. Donald Thompson, is a picture not of ill-treatment and bad conditions of years ago, but conditions as they exist right at this very moment. It is quite correct to say that the natives,

when they are used as laborers, are really slaves; in the main they are not wage workers, not rural proletarians, they are, as the booklet says, "Black Chattels." In some cases they receive no money payment at all. They receive food of poor quality, and of inadequate quantity, and, on the little allowance they get, have to keep their dependents.

There is also brutal treatment, not only in regard to housing and health, but also actual physical violence. This booklet "Black Chattels" states: "To most aborigines Australia is the absolute police State." That is correct. It seems to me the main purpose of the police in the North and North West of Australia is to act as slave masters for the black population. There is a terrible condition in regard to health, they are still dying off very quickly, not only because of ill-treatment and starvation, but because of the inroads of disease.

Unfortunately the ill-treatment of the aborigines is due not only to the property owners and the police, but includes also the workers who live in those areas, workers who have been poisoned with the chauvinism and ideas of the "inferiority" of the Aborigine population fostered through the whole period of white settlement. The white employees of stations are usually single men, and it is the common practice to make sexual use of the native women. The native women are often infected with venereal disease which not only brings premature death but makes the women barren, and so helps the process of extermination. When the native women have half-caste children, the father has no responsibility for them and the State usually takes them away from their mothers.

So far as justice is concerned, there is no real justice for the Aborigine when they infringe the white man's laws. On the other hand when a white man is charged with ill-treating Aborigines there is practically no chance of having punishment inflicted. If a white man is charged with a serious offence, white property owners constitute the jury and there is little chance of securing a conviction. Where a conviction is recorded there is usually only a nominal penalty imposed. The system of "justice" helps cover up the crimes that come to light.

Where the Aborigines are charged with offences, for example when a property owner says the natives have killed one of his bullocks for food, it is these property owners who are the dispensers of "justice" as well as being the accusers. Furthermore the representatives of the judiciary who deal with the most important cases are themselves so lacking in understanding of the Aborigines as to be incapable of dealing justly with Aborigine "offenders" and are even prejudiced against them and on the side of the white prosecutors.

The Federal Labor Government has absolutely no policy of its own on the Aborigine question. They have simply taken over the policy their predecessors were operating. There is no member of Parliament who has ever spoken intelligently in public on the question of the Aborigines, and the administration of the Aborigines under a Labor Government continues as previously, it is left in the hands of the permanent state officials, of the Department of the Interior, and any new appointments that are made are chosen by the full-time State officials apparently assisted by their advisers of the Sydney University. There is a very close link-up with the church, and it is unfortunate for the natives that even where Government stations are established, they are really camouflaged missions.

The more enlightened of the missionaries have said that their task is really only to "smooth the dying pillow" of the Aborigine.

Basically the official policy is to accept as a fact the inevitability of the complete dying out of the Aborigine population of Australia. They profess also the opinion that in the course of the "passing" there will be a development of a substantial half-caste population. In the place of the Aborigine many of them see or hope to see this substantial half-caste population. This is another aspect of Government policy, that they do not regard the sexual use of native women by whites as altogether an evil as it promotes the "inevitable" extinction and replacement by mixed bloods. Although there are regulations against the sexual use of native women by whites there is never any question of punishment, unless in exceptional circumstances. The authorities take away the half-castes who may result from these alliances to bring them up as "useful citizens," in other words to make them useful for the station owners.

And so I repeat one aspect of official policy is to permit this sexual use of native women and exterminate the Aborigines in this way. We are entirely opposed to such a policy.

The Aborigines do not constitute a nation, they constitute tribes and within the tribe the clan is the unit. The hereditary lands belong to the clans. If we spoke of the natives as a "reserve of the proletariat" we would also be making a wrong approach. It is true that in the North and North West of Australia they constitute a majority of the population, and that their welfare is of great importance to the working class in those areas, but if we speak about our movement as a whole we cannot say that the Aborigines represent a reserve of the proletariat. We take up the fight of the Aborigines because they are oppressed, as oppressed as any people in the world, and our task is to fight for all the oppressed.

There have been some important developments in recent times, for instance last year there was a strike of natives employed by stations in the Pilbarra area of West Australia. This strike was led by a D. McLeod, a white who champions the cause of the Aborigines. The strike had some measure of success in the face of severe persecution. Following that strike there has been a second example, just the other day, in Darwin. This strike appears

to have taken place without the prior knowledge of any of the whites or of the North Australian Workers' Union. Apparently the Aborigines obtained some information about the strike in W.A. and they themselves, mainly municipal workers in the town of Darwin, came out demanding the same conditions as the whites, and the right to handle their own money; because where money payments are given it is not only a very small amount, but a proportion is retained by the authorities.

Following the strike in W.A. a large number of these natives, under the leadership of McLeod, have started a co-operative enterprise at Port Hedland. It will be extremely difficult for this movement to succeed, as they have the Government, squatters and Police in Western Australia out to destroy it, but nevertheless they have started to work for themselves in obtaining pearl shell and other activities, and their effort should be given attention and assisted.

There has also been the recent agitation concerning the proposed rocket testing area. The Australian Government, because of its foreign policy, has decided it will undertake, in conjunction with the British Government, big expenditure in the testing of rocket weapons and that the range for testing these weapons will be a belt from South Australia through to the coast of North West Australia. The indications are that the agitation against this proposed rocket range, because of the harmful effects it would have on the Aborigine population, received very widespread support, and the Government has given some assurances the natives will be protected. However if this area is going to be used as a rocket testing ground, there will be various centres established, the authorities will use native labor, and there will be a number of depots and points of disintegration established among the remnants of the aborigine race in this part of Australia. Despite the decision already made by the Government we should continue our agitation against this rocket range.

The North Australian Workers' Union has commenced to take up the fight of the Aborigines. The North Australian Workers' Union officials demanded that they be given representation at the Conference which the Department of the Interior held in Alice Springs on the 8th January. This conference was to discuss the question of the conditions of employment of Aborigines. The Union very correctly demanded that it should be represented, but this was refused. It was refused not only because the Minister for the Interior is the President of the A.W.U., which is hostile to the N.A.W.U., but also because the policy of this Government is to allow the permanent officials and their clerical advisers to continue in absolute control.

The published report of the proceedings of the Alice Springs conference, which was held in camera, indicates that there is no intention of doing anything really substantial to improve the conditions of the Aborigines. Decisions were made about wages for the qualified Aborigines and smaller payments for the "inefficient" Aborigines, which means there was no real sincerity in the declared intention to bring about improvements for the Aborigines.

The N.A.W.U. reacted to this incident by planning to organise a conference to which they would invite representatives from all interested organisations throughout the country. They have selected individuals in the various States to act as convenors, and plans are in hand which should receive all the support we can give.

Recently the Sheet Metal Workers' Union adopted a resolution demanding: "That a Royal Commission to be appointed to enquire into the position of the full blood Aborigine population and to make recommendations for ensuring its survival and development. The scope of the inquiry to include:

1. The numbers and distribution of the Aborigines according to tribe, and the location of the territory of each tribe.
2. The best area of each tribe's territory to be made an inviolable reserve of the tribe with full legal ownership of the land and its mineral and other resources.
3. The establishment of special native courts, with a new approach to native defendants, based on consideration of native laws and customs.
4. The organisation of a complete medical service for the Aborigines.
5. The administration of the Native Affairs Department and of all Government and mission establishments concerned with the Aborigines. The suitability of present personnel.
6. The best means to secure supervision and centralised control of native affairs for the Commonwealth, under the Commonwealth Government, and a complete scheme of organisation for all necessary contact with the Aborigines, and for training suitable personnel of both sexes for service in the Administration.
7. Such additional questions as the Royal Commission may consider of importance to the Inquiry."

This resolution went from the Sheet Metal Workers' Union to the A.C.T.U. and should be endorsed by that body. We should take up a campaign for its adoption by the Government.

In addition to the Aborigines there are 25,000 persons of mixed blood in the Commonwealth. In our work we have endeavoured, without being completely successful, to impress on our members, and others who are working for the Aborigines, that the problem of these half-castes, who live in Sydney, Melbourne and other centres, is not the Aborigine question at all. One of the demands of the Party is that the terms "Aborigine," "Aboriginal" and "native," used in the various Acts and ordinances, should not apply to persons of mixed blood. However we find people of mixed blood, particularly in N.S.W. and Victoria, who think it is necessary and correct to represent themselves as Aborigines in conducting a campaign for full civic

rights. These persons of mixed blood confuse the fight of the Aborigines with their own problem, which is not the Aborigine fight. In Victoria, there are probably not more than 50 or 60 full blooded Aborigines, and there may be about seven hundred persons of mixed blood. In New South Wales there is a somewhat similar situation, a small number of full blooded Aborigines and comparatively large number of half-castes or persons of mixed blood.

The "Tribune" recently had an article about the position of the half-castes at the Moree settlement, and the main question here is that of full citizen rights. The "Telegraph" had a picture of a half-caste who would not vote in the liquor referendum because he is not permitted to go into a hotel. These people are discriminated against in a way that is barbarian and completely unjustifiable. They live in depressed areas, in houses of the worst possible kind, and ramshackle huts; they do not get proper education, are excluded from some schools or find it very difficult to get into them. To demand citizen rights for these people is absolutely correct and we must also demand special measures for rehabilitation and assistance, but many supporting this fight generalise from this, that the demand for citizenship rights is the demand for the Aborigines, as well as the half-castes.

To demand citizen rights for half-castes is one thing and to demand it for Aborigines has a different significance entirely. For the Aborigine the main demands must be for ownership of their hereditary lands for each of the tribes, inviolable reserves, medical services, various forms of assistance to develop economic activities under their own control, etc., as set out in our programme.

DISSENTING OPINION OF SOVIET JUDGE AT NUREMBERG WAR CRIME JUDGMENTS

[Following is a summary of the dissenting opinion of Major General of the Judicial Service Nikitchenko, member of the International Military Tribunal from the U.S.S.R., delivered at Nuremberg on October 1, 1946, on the judgment of defendants Schacht, Von Papen, Fritzsche and Hess and the indicted organisations: the German Cabinet, and the General Staff and the High Command of the German armed forces. General Nikitchenko throughout quoted the supporting details from the stenographic record and the specific documents submitted to and accepted by the Tribunal.]

THE Tribunal has decided (a) to acquit defendants Hjalmar Schacht, Franz von Papen and Hans Fritzsche; (b) to sentence defendant Rudolf Hess to life imprisonment, and (c) not to declare the Cabinet and the General Staff and the High Command of the German armed forces to be criminal organisations. I cannot concur with this section of the Tribunal's decision inasmuch as it does not correspond to the factual aspect of the case and is founded on erroneous deductions.

Re SCHACHT: The evidence submitted with regard to Schacht corroborates the following facts: (a) Schacht established contact in 1931 between the leadership of the Nazi Party and the leading representatives of the German industrial and financial world.

On November 12, 1932, Schacht wrote to Hitler: "I have no doubt (as) to your appointment as Reichschancellor. We are endeavoring to collect a large number of signatures in industrial circles to ensure your appointment to this post."

In February, 1933, Schacht organised the financing of the election campaign conducted by the Nazi Party, demanding at a meeting Hitler and Goering had with the industrialists that the latter put up 3,000,000 marks for this purpose.

Schacht, as soon as the Nazis had seized power, took charge of the planning and building up of German armaments. Schacht, as Minister of Economy, was granted unlimited authority, and, to use his own words, "played a colossal role in the arming of Germany."

Making full use of his powers, Schacht carefully worked out and carried into effect a far-reaching plan of economic mobilisation which enabled the Hitlerite leaders to launch an aggressive war.

Schacht saw clearly that not a single country had any intention of fighting Germany. He made use of Germany's military might, which was growing under his guidance, to make territorial demands which grew in proportion to the increase in armaments.

In September, 1934, in conversation with the American Ambassador Dodd, Schacht said that he desired annexation if possible without war, but with war if the United States would stand aside. In 1935, Schacht told Puller, the American consul: "Germany must have colonies. If possible, we shall acquire them through negotiations; if not we shall seize them."

Goering testified that Schacht's withdrawal from the Reichsbank "had nothing to do with the programme of rearmament." Puhl, vice-president of the Reichsbank, confirmed that Schacht's resignation from the Reichsbank was explained by a desire to extricate himself from the situation which had arisen owing to the fraudulent financial manipulations he had conducted. The reason was not Schacht's disagreement with the Hitlerite mass terror.

Witness for the defence Giesevius testified that he constantly informed Schacht of the terrorist activities of the Gestapo.

It is irrefutably established that: (1) Schacht actively aided the seizure of power by the Nazis;

(2) Schacht closely collaborated with Hitler for 12 years; (3) Schacht ensured the economic and financial basis for the creation of the Hitlerite war machine; (4) Schacht prepared German economy for the conduct of aggressive wars; (5) Schacht took part in persecuting the Jews and in plundering territories occupied by the Germans. The decision to acquit Schacht clearly runs counter to the proofs in the possession of the court.

Re PAPEN: The judgment does not dispute the fact that Von Papen paved the way for Hitler to the post of Reichschancellor and actively facilitated the seizure of power by the Nazis. During the 1934 putsch, Papen ordered his co-worker Tchirski to appear at the Gestapo, knowing beforehand that Tchirski was to be killed. Papen played a tremendous role in fulfilling the Hitlerite plans for the seizure of Austria.

He proposed the various tactical methods which should, on the one hand, lull the vigilance of world public opinion, and, on the other, give Germany the opportunity of completing her military preparations.

After the seizure of Austria Hitler rewarded Papen with the gold badge of the Nazi Party. Later, for his activity as German ambassador to Turkey, he was decorated by Hitler with the Knight's Cross.

Papen utilised all his powers and connections to establish and strengthen the Hitlerite terroristic regime in Germany. He served Hitler faithfully to the very end, utilising his powers and diplomatic cunning to fulfil the Nazi plans of aggression. Consequently, an extremely large share of the responsibility for the crimes of the Hitlerite regime falls upon him. For these reasons I am unable to agree with the verdict of acquittal in respect of defendant Von Papen.

Re FRITZSCHE: The acquittal of Hans Fritzsche stems from the fact that Fritzsche allegedly had not occupied a position which would have made him responsible for the crimes of the Hitlerite regime.

But Fritzsche was the person who up to 1942 did the actual directing of the Reich press and, beginning with 1942, became, as he himself put it, "commander-in-chief of the German radio."

The radio propaganda service was always appraised by Hitler as one of the most important and basic factors of conducting aggressive war. Without propaganda founded on the total abolition of freedom of the press, of the air and of speech, German fascism could not have put its plans of aggression into effect, prepared and carried out mass war crimes and crimes against humanity. The most important elements in the propaganda system of the Hitlerite States were the daily press and the radio.

Fritzsche was familiar with Hitler's orders providing for the murder of Russian workers and intellectuals and for the annihilation of Jews in Europe.

On April 7, 1945, Fritzsche, in his last radio speech, urged the civilian population to participate actively in the underground terrorist organisation of the Hitlerites. "We shall call it the 'Werewolf'," he said.

Re HESS: The judgment of the Court gives a correct and exhaustive appraisal of the special position defendant Rudolf Hess occupied in the system of the leadership of the Hitlerite Party and State. Hitler's decree, appointing Hess his deputy, stated: "I hereby appoint Hess my deputy and give him full power to make decisions in my name on all questions of Party leadership."

Hess's crimes against peace are reflected in the judgment of the Court. The last of these crimes should be considered the mission Hess undertook when he flew to Britain with the aim of facilitating the aggression against the Soviet Union by temporarily making peace with Britain.

Hess as well as Himmler founded those SS police organisations which subsequently perpetrated the most brutal crimes against humanity.

Taking into account that Hess was the third in importance as political leader in Hitlerite Germany, that he played a decisive role in the crimes of the Fascist regime, I consider that the only correct punishment for him would be the death penalty.

Re THE GERMAN CABINET: The Committee of prosecutors placed before the Tribunal the question of declaring the Government Cabinet of fascist Germany a criminal organisation. The judgment unfoundedly, rejected the proposal. I am unable to agree with this decision. The Tribunal has recognised as established the fact that the Hitlerites committed innumerable monstrous crimes according to plans and directives worked out beforehand. The Tribunal declared criminal several mass organisations set up by the Hitlerites to execute their plans. Under these circumstances all the more unfounded and incorrect in principle is the refusal to declare a criminal organisation the Hitlerite Government which took a direct part in drawing up those criminal plans.

The trade unions were destroyed, their property confiscated, and most of their leaders imprisoned. The Gestapo and concentration camps were set up for the suppression of any resistance to the Government. Without any concrete charges or trial whatever, hundreds of thousands of people were arrested and killed.

The activity of the Hitlerite Government led to war which resulted in the loss of millions of lives and inflicted incalculable material damage and immeasurable suffering to the nations.

Re THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF AND HIGH COMMAND: The judgment incorrectly rejects the charge of criminal activity as applied to the General Staff and the High Command of the German armed forces (OKW). This refusal contradicts the actual state of affairs and the proofs submitted in the course of the trial.

The leaders of the German armed forces were not merely officers. They were primarily a well-knit group, which was entrusted with the most confidential plans of the Hitlerite leadership.

At the head of the High Command of the Air Forces stood the second man of the Fascist Reich, Goering. The High Command of the Naval Forces was headed by Doenitz, subsequently appointed by Hitler as his successor. The High Command of the Armed Forces was in the hands of Keitel, who signed most of the directives for the annihilation of war prisoners and of the peaceful population of the occupied territories.

In a democratic country no self-respecting military experts, in drawing up purely military plans, will at the same time prepare measures for the murder of war prisoners. Indeed the aggressive plans of Hitlerite Germany could not have been carried out had they not been fully supported by the leading corps of the armed forces.

On May 31, 1941, the OKW instructed the troops to employ any terrorist measures against the civilian population of the Soviet Union.

The OKW and the General Staff issued the most brutal decisions and orders concerning inhuman measures against the unarmed peaceful population and war prisoners.

One decision of the OKW laid it down that ". . . . suspected elements must be immediately taken to the officer. The latter decides whether to shoot them or not. . . . It is categorically forbidden to hold suspects for trial." The same decision gave officers and men freedom to deal as they liked with the civil population. It also granted immunity to soldiers guilty of terrorism, "even when these actions constitute a military crime."

A directive of the OKW dated Sept. 16, 1941, stated: "It should be borne in mind that human life in the countries in question is worth absolutely nothing and that a terrifying effect may be obtained only by the use of unusual brutality." Another directive said: "The troops . . . have the right and are in duty bound to employ . . . any means without any reservation against women and children should this facilitate success . . . "

Extensive evidence on the application of these OKW orders was submitted in the course of the trial. One example was the killing of 50 British air force officers. There is no room for doubt that this crime was instigated by the High Command. Similarly the OKW issued an order on the annihilation of Commando detachments. This latter order was undeviatingly carried out by army groups commanders.

The evidence presented fully established the fact that the General Staff and the High Command of the Hitlerite Army constituted a highly dangerous criminal organisation.

I deem it my duty as a judge to put down in writing the special opinion concerning the important questions on which I dissent with the decision of the members of the Tribunal.

CONFERENCE OF SYDNEY COMMUNISTS

S. PURDY

THE annual conference of Communist Party branches in Sydney and suburbs was held on February 21, 22 and 23. A total of 113 branches (39 industry, 70 locality and 4 others) were represented by 136 delegates (113 men and 23 women), with only 2 branches absent. Delegates averaged six years party membership, 115 were members of trade unions and 55 of other mass organisations. By secret ballot, a new District Committee of 21 members was elected, of whom 6 are leading trade unionists. District Committee members have an average of 12 years party membership, and its executive of six, an average of 15½ years.

Conference discussed, exhaustively, the growth and broadening of the strike movement; and the increasing dissatisfaction with the Labor Party as a result of its protection (through six governments in seven Australian parliaments, and with a Senate majority) of the greedy, profit-hungry employers, especially the monopolists; conference welcomed the now almost unanimous demand of the labor movement for the abolition of wage-pegging; it underlined the liberal nature of Chifley's price control and his government's generosity to the employers in allowing price increases, especially in those important items in the family budget whose prices do not influence the movement of the basic wage, and decided to intensify our fight for more strict and rigid price control at the expense of the profits of the big companies and the black market; we greeted with extreme enthusiasm the decision of the Federal Conference of unions, called by the A.C.T.U., for a general 24-hour stoppage in all industries next May Day, to secure the maximum 40 Hour Week, and determined, by special resolution, that Premier McGirr's later announcement in N.S.W. should only give an added impetus to all of our activities and plans that are directed towards making the May 1 hold-up an outstanding and magnificent demonstration of working class might and solidarity.

In addition to the 40 Hour Week, the following was the main economic programme endorsed for Sydney:

- At least, a further £1 increase in the basic wage.
- Satisfactory increases in all marginal rates, and in rates of pay for women, juniors and apprentices.
- Week-end and other penalty rates for all workers so affected.

● The abolition of direct taxation on all incomes of £300 per annum and under, and a substantial reduction on all middle group incomes.

The realisation of this programme would, in the words of one delegate, "at least, start to modify Mr. Chifley's golden age for the employers and golden syrup for the workers."

"If the economic demands of the workers are seized upon correctly," said J. B. Miles, "they are the link to move the whole chain."

Conference decided that we must immediately press forward to raise still higher the fighting spirit of the working class to win their economic demands and to rally our Party organisations to quickly support, morally and materially, every section of workers engaged in strike struggles and other militant demonstrations.

The recent demonstrations organised by our Party against high prices are to be continued and broadened. At the same time, attention was drawn to the serious shortcoming, that the trade unions had hardly been drawn, as yet, into the campaign. **without which, victory cannot be won. Unless the trade unions make the Prices Campaign part and parcel of their Wage Campaign, neither will secure the maximum results.**

The new economic depression which is rapidly approaching (especially in the United States, where all restrictions on so-called free enterprise have been removed) is an additional reason why higher wages and lower prices are urgently needed. They would delay the over-production that inevitably and periodically arises in the present system of private ownership of highly mechanised industry, with its economic capacity to produce. In this regard, the failure of the Labor Party to implement its own policy to nationalise the key industries of coal, iron and steel, as well as others like gas, tobacco and the breweries, was vigorously condemned and the demand made that it be done quickly.

Conference was concerned that the growing dissatisfaction with the Labor Governments, especially the Chifley Government, should be met by a strengthening of the United Front of the labor movement and the building of the Communist Party, and not allowed to swing back to the Menzies and Faddens, to the Liberal and Country Parties. In this connection, our N.S.W. election campaign is very important, and it was a good omen that our Communist candidates, and our members, were already going into action.

Delegates cheered the political activity of the Building Workers' Industrial Union in preventing additions to Rosehill racecourse, and similar actions against privileged interests; and also the ban placed by Sydney waterside workers on the export of soap and tallow until the home market is satisfied, as well as their ban, in line with the decision of the World Federation of Trade Unions, on all goods for Franco's fascist Spain. We were proud of our leading members, who initiated the actions in these two unions.

The post-war struggles of the working class, for fulfilment of the lavish, war-time promises of a prosperous, happy and secure life, have been led by our Party, and in order to guarantee their continuation to complete victory, conference was very emphatic that we need a bigger and stronger Party, **especially in industry;** that we require many more members trained, by theory and practice, in "the Leninist style of work," a much bigger circulation of our "Tribune" and other literature; and last, but not least, a larger Party income, without which all other problems cannot be satisfactorily solved.

Practical decisions were made accordingly.

Conference showed that during the past twelve months our Party has really started to take our fighting policy to the Sydney masses, as demanded by post-war conditions; it now rests with us to continue this way, **and to win the masses.** Conference showed that we have numerous branch leaders and other members who are maturing into excellent cadres, and the primary responsibility to give them the quality of leadership necessary for the fulfilment of Conference tasks now lies with the new Metropolitan Committee.

Every District Committee member, trade union official, area organiser, branch secretary and executive member; every group leader and branch member has a big responsibility to the working class, and to our Party and its Leninist Central Committee. We are all faced, now, with the tasks of leading the working class to win substantial improvements in their living standards and working conditions before the new economic depression breaks; of building their own confidence in their organised, fighting strength; of deepening and widening our influence and organisation in the factories and trade unions; and along this path, and through working class unity, to prepare the preliminary conditions for the final liberation of the working class from the exploitation of man by man.

Sydney was the cradle of our great Australian Communist Party; Sydney Communists must make it the cradle of a free, Socialist Australia.

CONTROVERSY ON "BASIC CRITICISM"

The Editor,
"The Communist Review."
Dear Comrade,

Of the three examples of "basic criticism" given by Comrade L. H. Gould in the January, 1947, issue of the **Communist Review** (p.p. 413-4), the third seems a flat contradiction of the other two. In the first two, Comrade Gould shows how lying propaganda was answered by facts. In the third, he appears to advise us to ignore a fact which "the imperialists skilfully use . . . for their own ends"; at all events, he fails to show any reason for believing that it is not a fact. Surely, "basic criticism of atom bomb diplomacy" involves facing up to the facts, however unpleasant or inconvenient, and showing what are the correct conclusions to be drawn from them, as against the false conclusions drawn by the imperialists.

Imperialist propaganda based on the impossibility of defence against the atomic bomb usually takes one of three forms:

(1) The pretence that the "know-how" of this irresistible weapon is an Anglo-American monopoly. The purpose of this pretence is to inculcate defeatism in the face of atomic bomb diplomacy.

(2) The claim that atomic war would be so overwhelmingly horrible and destructive that no power would dare to make war in the atomic age. The purpose of this is to inculcate complacency and under-estimation of the danger of war preparations.

(3) The argument that, since no defence against atomic weapons is possible, our only hope of survival in the event of aggression in the atomic age is to carry the war into the aggressor's country and try to knock him out before he can do us irreparable damage. The purpose of this is to justify an atomic armament race.

The answer to (1) is that even in the atomic age no power can effectively make war against the determined opposition of its own people, hence there is no need for defeatism, but rather for more determined struggle against the imperialists.

The answer to (2) is that misapplied science had been making war ever more horrible and destructive for many years before the discovery of the atom bomb; similar arguments were advanced during 1918-38, but history showed that a sufficiently desperate ruling class will go to war even at the risk of destroying its own civilisation, if permitted.

To (3) we can reply:

(a) At present the only people threatening aggression are sections of the British and American ruling classes. So far from being designed to restrain these aggressors, atomic research in capitalist countries is largely under their domination. The Soviet Union has made concrete proposals for international control of atomic energy, contrasting sharply with American proposals to halt research in other countries while building up her own atomic armaments, hence it is sheer hypocrisy to pretend that the U.S.S.R. is the potential aggressor against whom we have to arm ourselves.

(b) Whatever preparations we make would be of very doubtful efficacy once an atomic war had started. The first attack might conceivably be so overwhelming that the victim's war potential would be practically annihilated before a single weapon could be launched. Hence the logical development of argument (3) is that any power which has a temporary advantage in atomic armaments (at present the U.S.A.) must in self-defence get its blow in first and embark immediately on a plan of world conquest; a prospect that cannot be tolerated except by Yankee jingoes and their Fifth Columnists.

(c) No capitalist government can be trusted with unrestricted atomic armaments.

Hence the only real answer to atomic bomb diplomacy and the danger of atomic war leading to the virtual extinction of civilisation is to redouble the struggle against war, and especially to press unrelentingly for effective international control of atomic energy, along the lines proposed by the Soviet Union, and for an immediate cessation of the atomic armament race.

Of course, the whole problem might be considerably simplified if there were an effective defence against the atomic bomb, or any conceivable line of research that might lead to the discovery of such a means of defence; but if Comrade Gould knows of any such defence, or any such possible line of research, it is up to him to tell us what it is. Merely to brush aside the considered unanimous opinion of all nuclear physicists because it happen to be inconvenient can only lead scientists to think that Communists are impractical dreamers and doctrinaires who cannot face up to unpleasant facts.

Yours faithfully,
A.W.R.

REPLY BY L. H. GOULD

The passage to which A.W.R. objects is as follows:—

"Basic criticism of atom bomb diplomacy discloses the danger in the scare publicity emitted, perhaps quite sincerely, by various nuclear physicists. The argument that defence against the bomb is 'impossible' is extremely harmful in that the imperialists skilfully use the bogey thus created for their own ends."

All the points raised by A.W.R. hinge upon the opinion he expresses in the final paragraph. He enquires "if Comrade Gould knows of any such defence against the atom bomb." He appears to deny categorically that there is an effective defence against the atom bomb, or "any conceivable line of research that might lead to the discovery of such a means of defence." He then

warns against brushing aside the "considered unanimous opinion of all nuclear physicists because it happens to be inconvenient."

This is what I do know about the atom bomb:

While the bomb undoubtedly possesses enormous destructive power, Stalin and other Soviet leaders emphasise that it is not the decisive weapon in war. Current military and naval theory and practice in all States confirm this view. Allowing for certain obvious modifications, the construction of bases, training of infantry, and the continued manufacture of land and naval weapons are proceeding quite "normally." Examination of the war appropriations of the capitalist countries and of the defence budget of the Soviet Union provides no warrant for the views expressed by those physicists, however sincerely they may believe that there is no defence against the atom bomb.

It is most important to guard against the mistake of completely identifying two distinct questions: Is there a scientific ("military-scientific") defence against the atom bomb? Is the atom bomb the decisive weapon in war? These questions are certainly intimately related, but they are far from being identical.

I personally don't know of any (military-scientific) defence against the atom bomb!

As a matter of fact, A.W.R.'s arguments, if valid now, would have been equally valid 10 years ago, that is, on the eve of the 2nd World War. At that time the scare propaganda, so useful to the Municheers, stressed the "overwhelming" power of Goering's Luftwaffe ("the bomber always gets through"). Similarly with the "invincible" German tank armies.

In short, A.W.R.'s argument lends itself to the new "theory" of atom bomb blitzkreig. While agreeing, as above, that the atom bomb does provide its possessor with immense advantages, I consider that A.W.R.'s views are not tenable, and I again repeat that the scare propaganda ("no defence"), however innocent of evil intent some of the physicists may be, does play into the hands of the imperialist warmongers.

A useful reference on this matter is M. Rubenstein's article, "The Atomic Age as American Scientists Picture It," in **New Times**, No. 12, June 15, 1946.

COMMENT ON KEYNESIAN THEORIES OF FULL EMPLOYMENT

I. TRACHTENBERG, Moscow

IT is possible that our description of the economic scene which has arisen since the war is incorrect and our calculations inadequate. We have taken as our starting point the existence of the general crisis of capitalism, one of whose characteristic traits is the presence of chronic mass unemployment. But in England and the United States, it is well known, various plans have been worked out for full employment of workers, and attempts at putting these plans into effect have been made.

Plans of the sort have been proposed by individual scholars, by social organisations, and even by governmental agencies.

Attempts are being made to realise plans of full employment by means of government projects; but the success of these plans is, to say the least, doubtful. The fate of the full employment bill introduced by Senator Murray is illuminating. It was introduced into the House of Representatives at the beginning of 1945, and has not yet come up for consideration. Even in England, despite the sweeping promises of the Labor Party, the Government's attempts to carry out those promises have been timorous, and could not be otherwise, since the Labor Government endeavors to attain full employment and still not destroy private property in the means of production.

But the difficulty is not merely that attempts to attain full employment run up against the opposition of the industrial monopolies, which cannot be overcome while preserving the "sacred prerogatives" of private property. The plans themselves, which in essence aim at the elimination of crises under capitalism, are radically fallacious. They are based on erroneous theoretical conceptions.

The authors of most of these plans base them on Keynes' theory, developed in his **General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money** (London, 1936); they start from the premise that the level of production and therefore the level of employment are determined by the dimension and direction of expenditures.

Keynes says: "When employment increases, aggregate real income is increased. The psychology of the community is such that when aggregate real income is increased aggregate consumption is increased, but not by so much as income. . . To justify any given amount of employment there must be an amount of current investment sufficient to absorb the excess of total output over what the community chooses to consume when employment is at the given level. . . It follows, therefore, that, given what we shall call the Community's propensity to consume, the equilibrium level of employment . . . will depend on the amount of current investment. The amount of current investment will depend, in turn, on what we shall call the inducement to invest; and the inducement to invest will be found to depend on the relation between the schedule of the marginal efficiency of capital and the complex of rates of interest. . ." (**op.cit.**, P.27f.)

Thus it turns out that the cause of unemployment is the fact that expenditures for consumption are always less than incomes, and the excess income is not used for current investments. Keynes' followers conclude from this that an increase of expenditures, rather the expenditure of all income, provided it be in suitable ways, can make full employment attainable.

Beveridge (who considers that Keynes' book initiated a new epoch in the development of the science of economics) says in his book **Full Employment in a Free Society** (London, 1944): "Employment depends on outlay . . . when employment falls off, this means that someone is spending less; when employment increases this means that in total more is being spent." (p.29). There are two forms of outlay: for consumption and for investment. Saved incomes, that is incomes not used for consumption, can help increase employment if they are used for investment.

Instability of investment is therefore the chief cause of crises, and hence of unemployment. Beveridge proposes a number of measures to raise demand and especially to increase investments, the authenticity of the investments being made sure of. The execution of these measures should lead to the elimination of mass unemployment.

Beveridge is an advocate of the active intervention of the government in economics. In his opinion, full employment can be achieved only by vigorous governmental action, which would stimulate demand and investment and give investment suitable direction. "Who is to secure that the first condition (of full employment, viz., high level of total outlay) is satisfied?" he asks. "The answer is that this must be made a responsibility of the state. No one else has the requisite powers; the condition will not get satisfied automatically. It must be a function of the state in future to ensure adequate total outlay and by consequence to protect its citizens against mass unemployment, as definitely as it is now the function of the state to defend the citizens against attacks from abroad and against robbery and violence at home." (**Ibid.** p.29.)

At the same time, private property in the means of production must be preserved. The policy of full employment is a policy of the socialisation of demand, not of the socialisation of production. In Beveridge's opinion, "war experience confirms the possibility of securing full employment by socialisation of demand without socialisation of production." (**Ibid.**, p.29.)

The same ideas are basic to the White Book published by the English Coalition Government in May 1944 (**Employment Policy**). Its authors too start from the premise that high level of production and, therefore, of employment is determined by the volume of expenditures: "The country will not suffer from mass unemployment if the public demand for goods and services is maintained at a high level. . . The more money is spent on goods and services, the more money will be spent on wages and the more employment will increase."

The authors of the White Book propose a number of measures, directed fundamentally at increasing investments.

We cannot dwell extensively here on the concrete nature of these measures; but we will observe that they do not envisage a direct, immediate action of the government. Preserving the freedom of private enterprise, the authors of the White Book consider it possible to achieve increased investment by indirect measures such as a suitable credit policy (policy of cheap money). In part, they propose to increase employment by means of public works.

The same ideas are at the basis of those measures which are being put into operation by the Labor government, and also underlie the majority of American projects for abolishing unemployment.

A special supplement to the **Nation** of November 27, 1943, carried an article by Amlie devoted to the problem of full employment. His plan, although it does not fully coincide with the plans of Beveridge and the Labor Party, is nevertheless based on the same Keynesian theoretical conceptions. Amlie says in this article that unemployment can be wiped out either according to Marx or to Keynes. The author chooses Keynes' method, by applying which it is possible to annihilate unemployment while keeping private property in the means of production, that is preserving intact the capitalist mode of production. "Russia's experience during the past fifteen years suggests that communism is one possible answer to the problem of how to attain full employment. The experience of this country and of England has shown that full employment may be attained for the purpose of prosecuting a war . . . what the state does in time of war is not to socialise the means of production, but to socialise the purposes of production, to the end of winning the war."

In the same way, that is by socialising the goals of production, we can, in Amlie's opinion, do away with unemployment in peacetime as well. What is the goal of production in peacetime conditions? "In time of peace," says Amlie, thereby disclosing the essential fallaciousness of his whole conception, ". . . the purpose of production ought to be to get all citizens the high living standards that our production capacity makes possible."

We cannot here go into the criticism of all these theories, which reproduce, in a somewhat modernised form, adapted to present conditions, the familiar "theory of underconsumption," of "insufficient capital," and so forth. The difference is that the old theories of underconsumption started from the premise that the development of production ran up against an absolute insufficiency of capital, while the new theories start from the

premise that capital funds are on hand, but are not spent or not spent in a suitable way.

We will make only a few observations.

First. The goal of production under capitalism is not consumption and not the assurance of a high standard of living to all the citizens, but the obtaining of a maximum profit. "If capitalism could adapt production not to obtaining the maximum of profit, but to the systematic improvement of the material position of the masses of the people, if it could devote its profits not to satisfying the whims of the parasitic classes, not to the perfection of methods of exploitation, not to the exportation of capital, but to the systematic raising of the material position of the workers and peasants, there would be no crises. But then too capitalism would not be capitalism. In order to do away with crises, it is necessary to do away with capitalism." (Stalin, **Questions of Leninism,** 9th edn., p.492f.)

Second. Every social formation is characterised by definite forms of apportionment. It is an unachievable Utopia to try to alter the apportionment of the national income which is inherent in capitalist society while maintaining private property in the means of production and the anarchy which follows it.

Third. Under capitalism, the state can influence the national economy, but that influence has a very limited range because of the presence of private property in the means of production. The extreme narrowness of these limits was seen even in time of war, when government interference reached its maximum.

Amlie prefers Keynes' method to Marx. But the method of Marx has been borne out by actual events: there can be no unemployment in the USSR; but the method of Keynes is a theoretical figment, which is used for demagogic ends.



BOOK REVIEW



ENGLISH CHAMBER MUSIC

Ernst H. Meyer

JULIE LATTER.

AN "attempt to represent a period of musical history as a natural part of a general social development" is the author's description of this work, which reveals the richness of an almost unexplored wealth of Chamber Music.

Racial and political persecution drove Ernst Meyer from Germany and later led him to settle in England. His interest in English Chamber Music, however, dates from a much earlier period, stimulated by his researches at the British Museum and Christ Church, Oxford, libraries; in 1931 he obtained an academic scholarship from Germany to enable him to pursue these studies.

Among the problems which the book seeks to answer are these: "What was the reason for the appearance of so extensive and significant a period of art and why was its music unknown on the continent? Why was it not the pride and boast of at least the English people?"

The work is based on a dialectical view of the position of the composer in society, and Meyer takes as his first premise a "disagreement with the theory that the individual genius alone, by virtue of his own personal endowments, 'makes,' advances or moulds the history of art."

"The direction in which the artist develops his function, style and talent," says Meyer, "is largely conditioned by the social factors of his time, its fashions and conventions (with which he may or may not find himself in harmony) the ascendancy of one set of ideals, the suppression of another, all play their part in influencing his development. The general state of a society is thus reflected in the art it produces.

". . . . A creative artist is no mere photographer of conditions, but a living human being in his own right, reacting to all important tendencies of his time; a great work of art often contains elements which are mere under-currents in contemporary society. . . . .

"The vital creative role which the composer fulfils for the people places on him a heavy responsibility. The more truthfully he faces the realities of life—in all its aspects—the more will be the enduring inspiration he gives to his fellowmen, turning many of them towards the progressive undercurrents which the dominant interests of the day may studiously ignore or positively suppress. There is in every classic work of art an element of protest, more, there is in each artist something of a revolutionary. The relationship between the artist and his society is a mutual one . . . the quality of his awareness will be the measure of his greatness through which his creative power may influence and mould society afresh.

"To represent all composers as consciously 'political' artists and their best work as what is called 'propaganda' art would be a gross mistake equivalent to ignoring the fact that each of the arts has its own distinct medium of imaginative expression.

"During the lifetime of many a composer there are occasions when he makes use of his art for an immediate political purpose (although such occasions have been comparatively rare in the career of most recent composers). Mozart, the composer of the freemason cantatas, is a political composer, but the Mozart of the C major symphony is not. Chopin's Polish national dances, the mazurkas and polonaises were written to inspire Polish independence; but not so his piano preludes."

"To try to explain the artist's work in isolation from the social life around him," concludes Meyer, "would be like first strangling a man in order to demonstrate on his dead body the working of the breathing organism."

This approach to musical history will be readily appreciated and accepted by Marxists and must prove thought-provoking to the many non-Marxists who will read the book with close attention for the extremely valuable and detailed study which it gives of the music of the period. An appendix gives full scores from many of the composers mentioned.

Two musical trends developed during the middle ages: clerical, and secular or middle-class. The Gregorian chant was codified, fixed and authorised and choral polyphony by which three, four, five or six voice-groups of the choir, each moving along an independent melodic line, announced the clerical message, evolved to a very high degree. The music had a hypnotic effect of magic ritual. The tyranny of three beats to the bar, "symbolising the Holy Trinity," prevailed, and the polyphonic form produced the "eternal melody" which is a feature of this church music.

During the Elizabethan era the gap between these two trends closed and a new form of chamber music arose. The great development of chamber music took place when the struggle between the conservatism of the feudal era and the demand for individual freedom put forward by the middle classes was reaching its decisive stages.

The Catholic church of the middle ages, itself built on the system of fixed land ownership, was the strongest bulwark of conservatism, through its influence on the minds of its adherents. Music played an essential part in this creation of a mentality which regarded the external world as unrighteous but unchangeable—something from which man should free his soul, but only by escape—by flight into the supernatural. This music was vocal music, and the use of instruments was forbidden by many an edict. The church was, however, unable to prevent the secular use of instruments, and in spite of its disapproval of the element of pleasure and individualism which they introduced, after 1150 the church was forced to compromise. The organ hardly ever incurred official disapproval, but from this date some soft-stringed instruments made their appearance in church services. A hundred years later, however, church opposition to instrumental music again stiffened. The church, which had relaxed its ban when it no longer had to fear pagan influences, was now faced with a new and more deadly threat, the rising progressive middle classes, and their denunciations were particularly directed against the itinerant musicians who formed the vast majority of minstrels in later mediaeval England.

Instrumental music, however, continued to gain favour with kings and powerful barons, and in 1469 permission was granted to minstrels to form a guild like that of other trades. These minstrels, who held official court or municipal positions, developed a typical "craft" outlook and despised the wayfaring minstrels who became known as "common fiddlers." From this time dates the practice of playing some voice parts on instruments. Motets, both secular and religious, of fourteenth century origin contain contrapuntal parts without words which apparently were played on instruments. Instrumental music was still unable to develop freely until the new forces for its development, its patrons the progressive and popular mercantile classes, were freed from feudal domination.

It was in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., the age of discovery, when the merchants gained decisive influence, that the great change took place in the sphere of music. "The attitude of the new individual towards life was . . . to change it, to create possibilities of personal freedom, of individual development, economic, political and social." The isolation of town and country, the insularity of the manor house were broken down, and leisure, luxury, and appreciation of the arts developed in the country seats of the new gentry who divided their time between town and country. The first chamber music of this type began to appear about the time that Elizabeth came to the throne.

To the development of the new form of music all parts of the community contributed. The Fantasias and In Nomines (a form with a somewhat obscure religious origin and an invariable theme, of which every well-known composer wrote at least one example) became more secularised, while dance music became more complex and highly developed. The reason for this unity is to be found in the national unity which existed in the Elizabethan age, stimulated both by resistance to the Spanish attempt at invasion, and by the tremendous colonial and commercial expansion which was taking place. The cultural life of the nation reflected this unity. It was considered part of the attributes of the gentleman of the time to "sing your part sure and at the first sight; withal to play the same upon your viol or the exercise of the lute" (Henry Peacham); but the free yeomanry also had their part in this musical development.

But already an opposition was growing up to this practice of chamber music which was the vogue in every comfortable town and country dwelling. Puritanism, which, in the seventeenth century, was to contest the power of the monarchy, disapproved of this optimistic triumphant music which enjoyed official patronage. The Jacobean era soon brought about the old cleavage between aristocratic and popular music; as the cleavage developed between the absolute monarchy and sections of the rising bourgeoisie court music became artificial and over-intricate, and lost its popular appeal. William

Lawes was the one real genius among Charles I's composers, but the golden age of English chamber music was drawing to its close.

Meyer ascribes the collapse of English chamber music in the eighteenth century to a change in the "cultural climate" of England. He describes the bourgeois nobility of the time as, "powerful men, calm and confident, thoroughly sure of themselves and their mission, enterprising, highly intelligent and above all practical in all things . . . . practical even in their liberal patronage of fine arts. For they spent handsomely on those arts which a practical man can understand—upon paintings of their wives and daughters, and later upon landscapes showing the richness of their land." But the attitude towards music changed. Dr. Burney wrote: "Music is a Manufacture in Italy, that feeds a large portion of the people; and it is no more disgraceful to a mercantile country to import it, than wine, tea or any other production of remote parts of the world . . . " Music became a commodity purveyed to passive listeners at public concerts.

A feeling of inferiority in the musical sphere persists in most British minds, and it is one of the purposes of this book to dispel this feeling. Meyer sees a very hopeful future for English music, whose creative power has asserted itself strongly in the last fifty years, so that "new audiences have arisen; orchestras are growing; many new composers vie with one another in friendly competition to express the revolutionary changes that are taking place around them and in their minds and souls."

["English Chamber Music—The History of a Great Art—From the Middle Ages to Purcell," Ernst H. Meyer (Lawrence & Wishart, London).]

Questions & Answers

conducted by L.H.GOULD

What is imperialism? If British troops really withdraw from India, will it mean that Britain is ceasing thereby to be an imperialist power? Also, is Australia imperialist?—S. Cathcart.

First, British imperialism is not going to withdraw so easily! Attlee's statement is a typical piece of imperialist provocation and deception The idea that British imperialism will "voluntarily hand over power" must be rejected out of hand.

But in any case, the ending of military occupation of colonial lands by the "home" capitalist country does not alter the latter's imperialist status; it is affected only in a minor way, incidentally, but not basically. The withdrawal (more accurately the kicking out of imperialism!) from India, Egypt, etc., will mark the further decline of British and world imperialism but not, to repeat for emphasis, a fundamental alteration in character. A burglar remains a burglar even though new circumstances make burgling more difficult, or if his stored-up loot is taken from him. So let no one be fooled by Attlee's pretensions, or by the nauseating propaganda of the imperialists that their only concern is whether the Indian peoples "will be able to govern themselves"!

Lenin briefly defines imperialism: "Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed." Imperialism, he emphasised, is the "eve of the proletarian revolution."

The factor which stamps capitalism as imperialism is, first and foremost, the replacement of free competition by monopoly domination. What Lenin called the quintessence of imperialism is precisely this emergence of monopoly, this substitution of monopoly for the earlier free competitive stage of capitalism. Military occupation and direct political control of colonies are important aspects and consequences of imperialism; but the essence of imperialism remains the "concentration of production and capital developed to such a stage that it creates monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life."

So long therefore as monopolies dominate the economic life of Britain, so long will British capitalism continue essentially imperialist. And this is so, even though the domination is indirect and cunningly concealed in various ways, such as the spurious "nationalisation" policy of the Attlee Government. Furthermore, if British investments in India continue after the (forced!) withdrawal, then Britain's imperialist relations with India remain substantially in force; but now no longer by direct military power but by indirect financial influence and control. The only change will be the new method of extracting the super-profits from India's toiling masses; the native Indian bourgeoisie will serve as agents and dividend-collectors for their erstwhile white overlords.

This last point is very important, because it reveals the reality of imperialist exploitation beneath the facade of "independence" and "self-government." A variety of new features of imperialism may be observed in this period of its declining power and the advance of the Socialist and the national-liberationist movements throughout the world. The traditional, the "classical," form of imperialist domination was conquest of the colony, seizure of its resources, brutal enslavement of the natives in the factories, mines and on the plantations, and the further extortions for payment of the army of administrators, magistrates, managers, tax-gatherers and other colonial bureaucrats. This form still operates generally in the central and southern areas of Africa.

But in Africa and elsewhere the imperialists cannot hide their parasitism and decay, their murderous rivalries, and their frantic attempts to stave off the day of doom. Here are a few interesting and instructive examples from the history of this epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.

Argentine. This is one of several countries politically independent, but which has been subject to a degree of imperialist domination by "financial intervention" from outside. British capital was heavily invested in the Argentine, particularly in railways, mining and meat-packing. Much of Argentine's internal life, its economics, its politics and also its culture, were strongly influenced by Britain. Every loan granted by London contained provisions covering what and where to buy, aspects of the country's trade and diplomatic relations with other countries, and so on. Nor must one forget the outright bribery of government officials. Of special interest in the past decade in Argentina has been what Chicago's gangsters, in their inter-gang wars, would term the "hijacking" activities of the USA monopolies. Britain, in short, has been hi-jacked by its rival imperialist gangsters, and made to hand over and clear out. The process developed in a "dignified" way, but it was hi-jacking just the same. Lately, a new lot of hi-jackers have come on the scene—Peron dictatorship plus fugitive Nazis and Francoists fighting, and not unsuccessfully, to oust the Americans.

Greece. At the moment of writing the proposal is for USA to find the cash, Britain to supply the troops. Here is something of world historical significance. In the past it was usually Britain who "paid money for flesh and blood", i.e., financed wars in which the soldiers of other nations did most of the fighting. The whirligig of time is bringing its own peculiar retribution. Or is it peculiar—when one considers the desperation of British imperialism in hanging on to its spheres of influence in the eastern Mediterranean? At any rate, the fact remains that British troops are to become mercenaries in the proposed "business deal."

Germany. The Germany following the imperialist world war (1914-18) offers in many ways the most important examples of imperialist oppression —and a warning for the future. The story is a long one, but these may be noted: (1). Although deprived of all her colonies after 1918, Germany soon advanced again as an imperialist Power, with the giant monopolies (Krupp, Thyssen, AEG, etc.) dominating the economy of the country. (2). By means of the fascist terror which the imperialists used from 1933 onward, the political status of the German toiling masses and those of Czechoslovakia and Austria were reduced virtually to "coolie" levels, i.e., to a deprivation of rights hitherto "reserved" mainly for the toilers of colonial and semi-colonial lands. (3). The imperialists of USA and Britain are now striving to revive German (and also Japanese) imperialism, this time of course not as rivals and threat to their own position, but as allies against the advancing Socialist movement.

Australia is also an imperialist Power, although only a second-rate imperialism when measured by the economic strength of USA and Britain. Australian economy exhibits all the characteristic features of imperialism, in particular, the domination of monopolies and the emergence of the financial oligarchy. All the other aspects of imperialism, the parasitism and decay, are present too: export of capital, brutal exploitation of the natives of the islands within the Australian jurisdiction, increasing exploitation of the Australian workers and farmers, the threatened extinction of the Aborigines, and, not least, the tie-up with the other imperialisms which are preparing for war against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. And here too, as abroad, the monopolists find Labor's right wing, the reformists, eager allies in their efforts to defeat the mass struggles led by our Party.

Australian imperialism also confirms the truth in Lenin's statement that imperialism is "moribund capitalism" and the "eve of the proletarian revolution."

[References: Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism."]

ANAESTHETICS

Prof J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

ON December 21, 1846, the first surgical operation under an anaesthetic was done at University College, London. The anaesthetic used was ether. This was almost certainly the first use of an anaesthetic in England for a serious operation.

The pioneer in this field was the great chemist Davy, who showed that nitrous oxide, or laughing gas, was an anaesthetic. However, if you breathe it pure you get no oxygen and soon go black in the face. A mixture with air usually contains too little oxygen or too little nitrous oxide. So either you do not lose consciousness fully, or are

suffocated. There is no harm in being slightly suffocated during the extraction of a tooth, but it would be fatal during an operation lasting half an hour. So nitrous oxide can only be used in a major operation if it is mixed with the right amount of oxygen, and even in dentistry such a mixture is desirable.

The vapor of ether was first used as an anaesthetic in America. There is some doubt as to who was mainly responsible, though Wells probably deserves most of the credit. It is also said that the effects of ether were first observed at ether parties, where the guests used to breathe or drink ether to get drunk. This has the advantage over alcohol that one recovers much more rapidly, but it is certainly more dangerous.

Ether was probably used in Scotland a few months earlier than in England, and Simpson soon introduced chloroform at Edinburgh as a rival anaesthetic. Ether is very inflammable, and sometimes explosive, while chloroform is not. This was a very serious matter before the days of steam heating. Also ether is more apt than chloroform to cause coughing and struggling if it is used to "put the patient under." Nowadays the anaesthetist usually makes one unconscious with ethyl cloride or some rapidly acting vapor, and then switches over to chloroform or ether.

However, occasionally ether is used from the start. The last time I had a serious operation they used it on me, and I found the experience delightful. Still, many people dislike it.

Since then a number of other gases and vapors have been used, but none have been very widely adopted.

Other anaesthetics are injected into a vein in liquid form, sometimes in conjunction with ether or chloroform as vapor.

Finally, it is possible to block the sensory nerves leading from a part of one's body, without blotting out consciousness. This can be done by injecting a drug near a nerve, or inside the backbone.

No surgeon thinks of doing a serious operation without an anaesthetic. But unfortunately, although it is nearly a century since Simpson first used chloroform in childbirth, hundreds of thousands of babies are born every year in Britain without any attempt to alleviate the mother's pain.

The centenary of Simpson's first use of chloroform for childbirth will be coming round in 1947. I would like to see a nation-wide campaign led by the women of the Communist Party to see that an anaesthetic is available for every British mother to celebrate this centenary.

It is not always necessary, and it is often quite sufficient to dull the pain without making the mother quite unconscious. But an anaesthetic should always be available.

How do anaesthetics act? There are plenty of theories, but nobody knows for certain.

All anaesthetics show two properties. They are soluble in water, and also in oily substances. Because they are soluble in water, the blood can take them up, and carry them round to all parts of the body. Because they are soluble in oil, they can get through the oily films which surround the cells, and penetrate into the watery protoplasm inside them.

Probably every substance with these two properties is an anaesthetic unless it has some effect before it reaches a high enough concentration to make one unconscious.

A substance like sugar or salt, which is soluble in water but not in oil, is seldom an anaesthetic, though magnesium choloride is one when injected into a vein. Nor is a substance like camphor or castor oil, which is soluble in oil but not in water.

Anaesthetics probably act by slowing down various processes, including oxidation, which take place in living cells. They can interfere with other organs besides the brain. For example, chloroform can damage the liver very severely, and many people have died in consequence. This is one reason why ether is more often used than chloroform.

How they act is far from clear. But a new light has been thrown on the subject by the remarkable discovery of Captain Behnçke, of the U.S. Navy Medical Corps, and his colleagues, that nitrogen and argon are narcotics. If you breathe pure nitrogen or argon you fall down unconscious with oxygen want. If you breathe them mixed with enough oxygen at ordinary pressure, nothing happens. But if you breathe them at high pressures, even with plenty of oxygen added, you become silly. No one has breathed them at a high enough pressure to become quite unconscious, but I have found that in air at ten atmospheres' pressure, the sense of pain is really greatly dulled.

Now nitrous oxide is about 40 times as soluble in water as nitrogen, and in consequence the blood takes up enough of it at an ordinary pressure to act as an anaesthetic. But weight for weight, nitrogen, nitrous oxide, and chloroform are about equally narcotic, and ether distinctly less so. Only you would need about 30 atmospheres' pressure to force as much nitrogen into your body as the amount of nitrous oxide or chloroform that you can take up at an ordinary pressure.

Since nitrogen and argon do not combine with anything in your body, this means that they simply act by getting in the way, and slowing down chemical processes.

It is quite possible that the rare gas, xenon, will prove to be the ideal anaesthetic.

At present xenon cannot be prepared in large enough quantities, but if air is liquefied on a vast scale, as it is in connection with the underground burning of coal in the Soviet Union, it may be practicable to use it.

However that may be, we have had other quite good anaesthetics for a century, and it is a scandal that we do not use them as they should be used.

40 Hour Week

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY, AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIRST OF THE MONTH.

HENRY'S SPEECH TO LONDON CONFERENCE

Speech to Conference of Communist Parties in countries of the British Empire, held in London, February 26-March 3, 1947, by J. C. Henry, Australian delegate, in general discussion.

COMRADES,

TO this conference I bring greetings and good wishes from the Australian Communist Party.

I wish to express agreement with the aims of the conference.

Because of his great work on behalf of the people over the years Comrade Dutt has won the affection of the Australian Communists and I believe of all progressive people in Empire countries. Today we are again indebted to him for his report to this conference.

I also take this opportunity to thank Comrade Pollitt and the British Communists for having enabled us to come together to discuss common problems.

The problems confronting the peoples of countries of the British Empire are many and varied. The solution of these problems must be sought in the light of the world situation resulting from the victorious people's war against Fascism.

The victory of democracy has opened up a new vista for advancement. All lovers of peace, democracy and prosperity for the people hail with joy the forward march of the democratic peoples in one European country after another. We are aware of the enhanced position of the Soviet Union, the Socialist land, and its shining example in world affairs.

We delegates to this Conference have witnessed big, progressive changes and movements in our countries. But the people have not yet been able to break through the barriers holding back progress as the peoples of a number of other countries have done.

The popular forces in our countries are on the march. These movements are part of the world movement for democratic progress. These popular democratic movements in our countries will continue their advance.

The United Nations and the World Federation of Trade Unions are very important organisations for the peoples of all lands.

There are difficulties, there will be many difficulties. But surely today no-one can doubt that our peoples will surmount these difficulties and gain lasting peace, democratic freedom and a better life.

While the policy of British Imperialism and of reactionary circles in the Dominions and suppressed countries are our immediate concern, the main strength of the old Imperialist order is centred in the great trusts of U.S.A. U.S.A. Imperialism is shaping its course for the domination of the whole world. It is the hope of all the reactionary forces, plotters and groupings which, because of this or that special interest, fear the advance of democracy most of all. U.S.A. Imperialism is gathering all these reactionaries into its schemes and using them against the national interests of their own people.

The present foreign policy of the Government of Britain, which is dominant in the affairs of the Empire, supported by the Governments of the Dominions, is linking Britain and the Empire countries as a whole with the U.S.A. policy. This linking has been seen in the activities of their representatives on the United Nations Organisation and its various committees, in the development of military strategic bases, the co-ordination of arms, and in the ideological and active war being conducted against Socialist and National Independence ideas and movements. This policy does not express the economic and political interests of the people of Britain and the Dominions, and violates the aspirations of the subject nations within the Empire.

In his report Comrade Dutt showed the contradictions between the present policy of the Government of Great Britain and the aspirations of the subject peoples and also the contradictions within the partnership of British and U.S.A. Imperialism.

I now propose to explain how I see some of these problems through Australian eyes.

Australia is one of the free Dominions within the British Empire. Because Australia has a relatively highly developed manufacturing industry there are many conflicting interests and struggles between Australian and British capitalist interests and between Australian and U.S.A. capitalist interests. Nevertheless the foreign policy pursued by Australia—which has a Labor Government the same as Britain—has up to date lined the country up on all the more vital questions with the foreign policy of British and American Imperialism.

Australia occupies an important strategic position in the Pacific. Its heavy industry, rich mineral and food resources place its big capitalists in a position where they hope to use the country to make bargains, and to play between British and American capital with the aim of making great riches for themselves and of protecting the system that makes these profits possible from the advance of the democratic movement.

Because of the undemocratic desire to advance at the expense of other people—to bargain, Australia's foreign policy in many major respects does not reflect the interests and needs of the Australian people.

In essence the major aspects of this policy link Australia with the Tory foreign policy still followed by Mr. Bevin, Britain's Labor Foreign Minister. This policy seeks to obstruct and defeat democratic developments in Europe and to divide and crush

the National Independence movements of the colonial peoples. It is a policy of alliance with U.S.A. Imperialism for these purposes and for the creation of a military bloc in preparation to give effect to this policy by armed force.

Unfortunately the Australian Foreign Minister has often been used as a toady of the Imperialists of Britain and America. This has had the effect of straining relations between the Australian people and the peace-loving and democratic peoples of other lands, and preventing that co-operation so necessary for the common good.

The military aspects of this policy are indeed serious. In Australia a rocket-testing range is being developed at great expense. There is much talk of linking industries to war needs. Under the slogan of Empire Defence, military bases are being developed.

Taxation to provide these measures is a burden on the standard of life of the people at a time when more houses, better social services, higher wages and better prices for farm products are but a few of the things urgently needed.

Why are these measures being taken? The United Nations has not asked Australia to take these measures!

Those who champion this policy speak of defence. But the question is defence against whom.

Do her near neighbours threaten Australia's independence? Does the new Republic of Indonesia threaten Australia? Of course not.

Do Malaya, Burma or India threaten Australia? No!

Does China threaten Australia? No!

Does Japan threaten Australia? It certainly should not, because Australia together with the Allied nations occupies Japan, a defeated enemy country, and a democratic peace must ensure the removal of any such danger.

Does the Soviet Union, which is also a country bordering the Pacific, constitute a threat to the independence of Australia? The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which has always been consistent, should remove any such doubts. Neither are there any economic reasons or military developments which could be interpreted to constitute any such danger.

If none of these peoples threaten Australia, then who does?

Britain does not do so. It would be ridiculous to suggest such a danger from Britain.

Then there remains only the U.S.A. The policy pursued by those in control of the political destinies of that country can be interpreted as constituting a threat to Australia in common with many other lands.

Are these so-called defence measures being taken to defend our country against any such possible threat? Certainly not. These measures taken under the slogan of "Empire Defence" are being developed as part of the general military strategic plan formulated between British and American Imperialists under the leadership of Wall Street, New York.

Then against whom are these military measures in Australia being prepared?

First, as an effort to make Australia a strategic base of Imperialism in its struggle against the peaceful democratic advance of the peoples of Europe and the Soviet Union.

Secondly, for the purpose of making Australia an advanced base of Imperialism against the National Independence Movements and struggles of the colonial peoples for democratic self-determination.

To my way of thinking the present policy of the Australian Government is actually placing the independence of the country and future of its people in jeopardy.

The Australian people need democratic neighbours. They need good relations between themselves and all other peoples, but of great importance is the question of good relations between our people and the peoples of Indonesia, Malaya, Burma, Ceylon, India and China who, together with New Zealand and the Philippines, constitute our nearest neighbours.

The Australian people need this for peace and to assist national prosperity.

But Imperialist domination of the colonial peoples prevents the development of these countries and of firm, friendly economic and political relations between our people and the peoples of these countries.

Therefore, the interests of the Australian people require that the old system of relationships between the colonial countries and Britain and the self-governing Dominions should end and that a new system of relationship that corresponds with the reality of the situation should be established.

Such a system of relationship should be based on the principle of the democratic self-determination of nations. If this principle is applied it would allow the colonial peoples to develop the productive capacity of their countries and enrich their life, facilitate trade and good relations on the basis of equality to the mutual benefit of all these peoples and in fact the whole world.

Foreign policy is the cardinal question in the struggle for peace, economic co-operation and security. The problem is to unite all democratic elements for a foreign policy that will express the real interests of the nation.

As I see it this is the cardinal question not only in Australia but in the other Dominions and in Britain in relation to a democratic solution to both foreign policy and relations between the self-governing countries and the present colonial nations and peoples within the Empire.

In assisting to develop such unity and in striving to influence a better attitude on questions of foreign policy, and also to demonstrate to the world that there is a strong section within the country which supports a different policy to the official policy of the Government, the working class in Australia has found it necessary at times to take independent action, even where this conflicted with official policy.

Some independent actions taken by the Australian workers in this regard were:

The ban on the export of scrap iron to Japan in the days leading up to the aggressive war launched by Japan in the Pacific.

The series of actions commencing at the end of the war in the Pacific and continuing up to the present time in support of the Indonesian people in Australia and the Republic of Indonesia.

The present action of the Australian waterfront unions in giving effect to the decisions of the W.F.T.U. on Franco Spain by banning the export of commodities from Australia to Spain.

In Australia the struggle against Imperialist ideology is of the utmost importance. This, too, applies in the other Dominions and in Britain. Such a struggle against Imperialist ideology, especially where it can be expressed in actions as well, we find helps the whole movement for a change in foreign policy.

All advanced thinkers realise the important role the British working class must play in making these changes possible. This is in every way consistent with its own struggle for socialism.

Much closer co-operation is needed between the labor movements of Britain and of the Dominions, who also have an important part to play. A closer understanding of common problems between the labor movement of the self-governing countries and the National Independence movements of the colonial countries of the Empire should be still further developed; for only in this way can be solved the great problems that confront our peoples today.

The Australian labor movement, because of its position in the national life of the country, the influence of the Government in Empire affairs and because of Australia's strategic position in the colonial world, has an important part to play and needs to play that part in its own interests.

I believe that the policy I have outlined to you in relation to foreign and Empire affairs is suitable to the national interests of Australia because it is in the interests of the workers, farmers, town middle class and of sections of capital not tied to the great monopolies.

The labor movement has gone some of the way. It has been able to keep the political parties of monopoly capitalism out of office. The Labor Party is in power in both Federal Houses and in five out of six of the State Parliaments. But the national movement for peace, the expansion of democracy and prosperity, needs to be greatly strengthened.

The problem on this field is to change the present foreign policy of Australia and help end the policy of Mr. Bevin, which does not serve the interests of the Australian or British people, replace it with a democratic attitude to the peoples of other lands and to assist on the basis of common interests the suppressed peoples in Empire countries to win democratic self-determination and the development of the productive capacity of their countries to the mutual benefit of all.

The Australian Labor Movement has some special responsibilities in regard to peoples within Australian territory. These responsibilities relate to the aboriginal people of Australia, the people of the Torres Strait Islands, of Papua and of the Mandate of New Guinea.

The spirit and proposals of Comrade Dutt's report to this Conference constitute, I feel, a very valuable contribution to clarity on Conference problems and provide an excellent basis for our discussions.

Long live the unity of the Labor Movement! Greater strength to the National Independence movements of the colonial countries, for upon these movements rests the solution of the problems confronting our peoples!

EMPIRE CONFERENCE DECLARATION ON PALESTINE

THIS CONFERENCE of representatives of Communist Parties in the British Empire extends its warmest greetings and pledges its full support to all the people of Palestine who are struggling for national liberation against the military, political and economic domination of British Imperialism and the economic penetration and strategic plans of American Imperialism.

We protest against and condemn the regime of brutal colonial oppression which weighs upon Palestine. We extend our deepest sympathy to the masses who suffer under this rule.

We call for the ending of the imperialist policy which seeks to retain Palestine, not only as an outlet for oil and point for the military control of Suez, but as the strategic base protecting imperialist interests throughout the Middle East, against the interests and rights of its peoples, with the consequent threat to the peace of the world.

We are of the firm conviction that all who love freedom and who seek peace in Palestine and throughout the world, should unite to demand and secure the immediate withdrawal of the British troops from Palestine, the abrogation of the Mandate, and the creation of a free, independent and democratic Palestinian State, which will guarantee equal rights of citizenship with full religious freedom

and full opportunities to develop their culture to all its inhabitants, Arab and Jewish.

Only thus can Palestine achieve freedom and security, not only from the military forces of Imperialism, but from the economic domination of foreign capital which, in whatever guise, seeks to exploit the peoples of Palestine and crush their movement for national liberation. This is not a matter for Anglo-American manoeuvring. Let the United Nations support the people of Palestine in their struggle to secure the independence of their country now.

We greet the rising forces of the Arab National Movement, which is daily gathering strength throughout the Middle East in the struggle for liberation, and the growing forces among the Jewish masses in Palestine who realise that they have a part to play in the common struggle with the Arabs to free Palestine from the Imperialist hold.

We warn all Jewish people that Zionism, which seeks to make Palestine or part of Palestine a Jewish State as an ally of the imperialist powers and their base in the Middle East, diverts Jewish people from the real solution of the problem of anti-Semitism, which is along the lines of democratic development and full equality of rights within the countries where they live. It is in the interests of Palestinian Jewry to oppose the Zionist conception which seeks to put them in the position of being an instrument of imperialism in the Middle East, in opposition to the struggle for National Liberation in Palestine, in opposition to the progressive forces in the democratic countries in Europe, and against the Soviet Union.

But not only has Anglo-American Imperialism used Zionism in pursuit of its policy of divide and rule; it also seeks to secure the support of reactionary Arab elements to strengthen the Middle East as a base for operations against the Soviet Union and against the liberation movement of the masses throughout the Middle East.

We have to warn the Arab people against those Arab reactionary elements who are ready to betray the movement for national liberation, upon securing the support of Imperialism for their sectional interests against the interests of the masses.

We in this Conference, therefore, appeal to the Arabs and Jews in Palestine to recognise that it is in their mutual interests to join in common struggle against Imperialism.

At the same time the wider problems facing Jewish people all over the world are not the problems of Palestine. Anti-Semitism, a weapon carried to barbaric extremes by fascism, is a weapon used by the ruling class to split and divert the masses of the people away from the struggle for their real interests.

No man or woman today can think of the plight of Jewry without burning memories of Maidanek and Belsen, without feelings of profound horror at the crimes committed by the fascists against European Jewry, and without expressing their deep sympathy with those who have survived this horror.

It is the duty of all free peoples to succour these victims of fascism. It is their duty to demand the closing of the camps in which some of these victims are still housed, and to aid in their re-establishment in their own countries. We welcome the new status of freedom which Jewry has attained, not only within the Soviet Union, but within the new democracies in Europe, a position which should inspire Jewry throughout the world to intensify its struggle for this democratic solution in all countries. For those who, full of bitter memories of past persecution, do not wish to return, we demand that as an emergency measure, Britain, Australia, Canada, the U.S.A. and other free countries shall provide opportunities for their re-settlement in these countries, so that these victims of fascism may find a new hope and new life. No democrat would wish to force immigration on Palestine by imperialist power against the wishes of its people. We believe that the question of immigration into Palestine can only be determined by the people of an independent and democratic Palestine. But we are well aware that throughout history there has been no enmity between Arab and Jew until the imperialists used Zionism to attempt to divide and disrupt the Middle East. And we believe that conscious of the terrible suffering inflicted on European Jewry by Fascism, a free, independent Palestine, in association with the other free countries in the world, would be as ready to offer succour and security to the victims of Fascism as would any other free country.

We therefore express our earnest hope that the forces of the Arab National Movement, and the progressive forces within Palestinian Jewry, recognising their identity of interest, will move rapidly towards their common goal, and, to this end, will seek to create among Arabs and Jews in Palestine those conditions which can ensure not only political agreement, but common action and unity in the struggle for the liberation of their country.

We confidently believe that progressive and democratic forces in other countries will give support to the struggle of the Palestinian people, and in their own countries will combat anti-Semitism and aid Jews to expose the Zionist illusions that have been spread, and thus win them for the common struggle for freedom and democracy.

This is the way forward for Palestine.

This is the way forward to help European Jewry.

This is the way forward to strengthen the forces fighting for peace and democracy throughout the world.

GREETINGS TO EMPIRE CONFERENCE

(Extracts from speeches of delegates and fraternal delegates to Empire Communist Conference.)

The Yoke Of Wall Street

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Fraternal Delegate of the Communist Party of U.S.A.

AS you are aware, American capitalism has emerged from the war enormously enriched and strengthened, but this strength is largely illusory. American capitalism is subject to all the contradictions of the world capitalist system as a whole, and at the present time in the United States there is developing an economic crisis which will not only shake the United States, but the whole capitalist world.

Now these big capitalists in the United States, in their new strength, are setting themselves some imposing goals. For one thing, they have decided to crush the trade union movement, which has made enormous progress during the past dozen years. At the present time there are no less than 212 Bills before Congress directed to crushing the trade union movement in almost every conceivable manner, and there are also Bills before the Legislatures of most of the 48 States, but I think we can depend upon the Labor movement of the United States to resist successfully these unprecedented attacks. We have 15 million organised trade unionists. They are now moving towards Labor unity. They are strengthening their practical activities in general, and, as for myself, I am supremely confident that this great movement of workers and their political friends will be able to beat back this reaction and oppression of Wall Street.

But these capitalists in Wall Street have set themselves other goals as well, and one of their goals is to stop the wheels of progress in Europe, to turn them backward; in fact, to force upon the peoples of Europe what they call free enterprise. It must sound very foolish in your ears. The peoples of Europe are on the march in their own manner and are turning towards Socialism, and they are not going to be turned aside from that goal by all the gold of Wall Street.

Now to cripple the American Labor Movement, to stop the wheels of progress in Europe, would seem to be a very ambitious goal for the capitalist class of any country, but the great capitalists of the United States have still greater ambitions. They want nothing less than to secure imperialist domination over the whole world. But that, too, is a stupid and reactionary ambition, and it can only bring ill to the peoples of the world, including those in the United States. I think it is a fact, I am sure of this, that the peoples throughout Europe, the peoples throughout the world, who fought so relentlessly to defeat Hitler are not going to put on the yoke of Wall Street.

Very great economic and political struggles are developing in the United States. We can look forward to a very great perspective of struggle, and I want you to have confidence in the American workers as we have great confidence in the workers in the United States. The peoples of the world are marching forward, marching onwards, and in that march the great working class of the United States, you may be sure, will play its part.

Building A Peaceful Germany

MAX REIMANN

Fraternal Delegate of the Communist Party of Germany (Western Zone)

WE RECEIVED your invitation to your Party Congress with the greatest pleasure. We regarded this invitation as an expression of international solidarity which gives us new courage in our difficult fight. It is the first time after this terrible war which Hitlerite Germany waged against the whole democratic world that we have the opportunity to speak to comrades of another country at such an important Congress.

We know that the whole world still regards the German people with great distrust. The terrible sacrifices which the Allied nations had to make to defeat German fascism justify your distrust. We know well that confidence can only be re-won if the anti-fascist forces in Germany create such conditions that German reaction will never again be in a position to launch a war against Europe and the world.

The first precondition for achieving this is that the material power of German reaction, of German monopoly capitalism, is broken, that their enterprises are confiscated and put into the hands of the people. Secondly, in the whole of Germany a democratic land reform should be carried through in order to break the power of the landowners. The third precondition is the consistent denazification of economy and administration.

We warn the German people against those irresponsible leaders who say: "First repairs, and then reparations," and try to shift responsibility from the German people to the Occupation Powers with the phrase: "Total victory means total responsibility for the victors." The German people has to make reparation in order to win the confidence of the other nations, in order to be able to build a democratic system in Germany herself.

The basis of German democratisation is a united working class and a united Trade Union movement. We Communists do not speak in the name of the old Germany which has caused catastrophe for

Germany and misery to the peoples of the world; we speak in the name of the democratic forces which are emerging from the working class and from the forces of democratic progress. Anti-fascists are the core of these forces, those who have fought illegally against Hitler under a cruel dictatorship, tens of thousands of whom had to sacrifice their lives, tens of thousands of whom suffered in prisons and concentration camps, not to forget those German anti-fascists who fought from 1936 in the International Brigades in Spain. We have in Western Germany a Communist Party with 250,000 members. There is in Germany a united trade union movement with six million members.

The progressive forces in Western Germany have opened the fight for the confiscation of the property of all war criminals and active Nazis.

The Communist Party in the Diet of North Rhine Westphalia has moved a Bill for the confiscation, without compensation, of the mines. We also have moved a referendum for the confiscation of the mines. This has caused a big stir among the miners and the engineers in the Ruhr.

In our country coal is the key for reconstruction. The Ruhr coal, however, must also help to reconstruct the economy of those European countries which were devastated by Hitler's war. The first precondition for that is sufficient food for the German miners. The second precondition is that the necessary technical conditions are created. The third and most important one is that the mines are transferred into the hands of the people with trade unions, the shop stewards, having a decisive influence on production.

Germany cannot be fed without imports. Our aim, however, is to develop our agriculture in such a way that the greater part of our food supplies can be secured from German production.

We hope that the Peace Conference in Moscow will decide upon a final settlement of our reparation obligations. We have only one desire—that the Allied nations agree upon a democratic peace which helps the democratic forces and takes the power from reaction. The aim of the Communist Party is to build in Germany a United Democratic Republic supported by the anti-fascist parties. Such a republic, in which a united working class will have a leading part, will be the most secure guarantee towards the development of a peaceful Germany which never again will be a threat to other nations.

The Fight Against Franco

ANTONIO MIJE

Fraternal Delegate of the Communist Party of Spain

I AM SPEAKING on behalf of the Party of a country where still exists the bloody dictatorship of Fascism, the last Hitlerite survivor. Thousands upon thousands of Spanish Communists in the towns and in the mountains are fighting against Franco and for the Republic, are fighting for freedom and democracy. They are fighting for the independence of Spain.

They are fighting in the guerrillas which are dealing uninterrupted and hard blows to the fascists; they are organising the strikes in which hundreds of thousands of workers have participated; they are publishing the clandestine press in various provinces.

Every Communist is a vanguard combatant; a sign-bearer of democracy. Our comrades are examples of national heroes, faithful to the last to the cause of the people and of the Party, like Cristino Garcia; they are models of guerrilla leaders, brave and undaunted, even with their flesh torn like Ramon Via; they are firm and unyielding before the tortures and death at the hands of Franco's police, like Casto Roza and Sixto Biemma. The Communist Party is a school of patriotism merged with the people, teaching and learning from them.

The basic strategical objective of our Party at the present moment is the overthrow of Franco's regime. In order to achieve this objective we base our policy on the fighting unity of all the republican and anti-Franco forces. The result of this policy is the unity of Communists, Socialists, Republicans, Trade Unionists and anti-Franco Catholics. This policy is gaining ground inside our country as well as among the exiles, and very soon it will become a wide national coalition of all anti-Franco forces.

Today, together with Socialists and Republicans, with Trade Unionists and Basque Catholics, we participate in the Republican Government.

Comrades, in this struggle we have the formidable help and solidarity of the democratic world. But we still need more help at this decisive moment.

We still need more help in order to isolate Franco from the rest of the world. It is imperative that those countries which still maintain diplomatic and commercial relations with Franco's regime should break them. That is, comrades, the best help that world democracy can render to the Spanish people.

We need more solidarity for those who suffer in the prisons of Spain.

We appreciate as a great step forward the decision taken by the British working class when they asked the British Labor Government for the rupture of diplomatic and commercial relations with Franco. But this magnificent decision should not be allowed to be pigeon-holed.

One should not be led to believe that with the withdrawal of the British Ambassador from Madrid all the work has been completed. No.

It is necessary to achieve that the British Government accept an accredited official of the Republican Government. The severance of all commercial relations with Franco should be brought to a reality in the very near future. And, as a final step, the recognition of the Spanish Republican Government by the British Labor Government should be achieved.

Comrades, as you see, we do not ask for foreign intervention in Spain. No. We feel capable, by our own means and those of our people, of solving the big political and economic problems with which our country is confronted.

All we ask is that Franco should not be helped economically. We ask for the stoppage of goods for Franco. We ask you, too, to refuse the loading and unloading of Franco's ships.

We ask justice.

Death to Franco !

Greetings From Norway

E. HEIESTAD

Fraternal Delegate of the Communist Party of Norway

WE HAVE EMERGED from the war, which we entered as a small Party, as a mass Party. Out of a population of little over 3,000,000 people we have an adult membership of 33,000 and a youth membership of 16,000.

The Communist Party and the Norwegian Labor Party together form a majority not only in Parliament, but also amongst the people. We have inflicted the first defeat on reaction, and the people's will shall become the country's law.

The eleven Communist M.P.s in the Norwegian Parliament were elected by 170,000 votes, that is one in every seven Norwegians votes for the Communists. We suffered great sacrifices in the war. Thousands of our seamen were killed on the seas. Other thousands have fought with the Allies and have been killed. Still other thousands have suffered in the prisons and concentration camps.

We are, therefore, determined that our people shall not suffer again in such ways, that they will stand together and help to defeat reaction and to go forward. We are determined to recreate our country in a new way, towards not only a political but also an economic democracy. But much of what we do will depend on how Britain behaves, on how Britain develops its foreign policy and its home policy. For this reason we are particularly interested in this Congress and in the British Communist Party. The British Commonwealth holds the key position in the world and the British workers are a mighty force.

We hope that you, the British Communist Party, will lead the British people in the right direction; this will guarantee the road to progress, democracy, freedom and Socialism not only for our people and for your people, but for the whole world.

We Shall Be Victors

M. PORPHYROGENIS

Fraternal Delegate of the Communist Party of Greece. This was the first time that the Communist Party of Greece has been able to greet a Congress of the British Communist Party

AFTER THE GREEKS had already liberated their own country, the Greek people welcomed the first British military detachments in October, 1944, with flowers. They greeted them as the representatives of the friendly and allied British people. But official British policy had bitter disappointments in store for the Greek people. Those same troops which the Greeks had welcomed in a frenzy of joy were used to shed Greek blood in an infamous struggle aimed at the suppression of the Greek people.

Ultimately they managed by these means, and by extensive anti-Communist propaganda, to impose on the Greek people a gang of fascists and quislings who embraced their new friends with the same zeal as in the past they had licked the Hitlerite boots.. It was a very bitter lesson for our people.

Greek democrats are now massacred by the thousand by official and unofficial fascist gangsters. We count by tens of thousands the tortured, the exiled, and those kept in prison without trial. For many years the Greek people have fought as best they could to liberate themselvs from Fascism, but it has again bcome the ruler and tyrant of Greece, sponsored, organised and supported by British arms.

It would be a lie if I were to pretend that the bitterness the Greek people feel has not influenced their feelings towards Great Britain. But the Greeks have a very deep sense of justice; they have a very rich political experience, and they are able to make a clear distinction between the British people and British foreign policy. We know that the British people can neither approve nor tolerate for long such a policy—a policy which has tragic results not only for Greece, but which is also detrimental to the interests of Britain. The Greek people now wait for the people of Britain to express even more fiercely their opposition to the official British policy pursued in Greece.

A very thick curtain of lies surrounds the Greek drama in order to try and deceive world public opinion, and especially the British people. But the situation in Greece is very clear. The present struggle of the Greek people—a struggle which has already taken the form of an armed fight—does not aim at a Communist dictatorship, as those responsible try to misrepresent it. It is a struggle between Fascism and anti-Fascism. It is a struggle for democracy, waged for exactly the same aims for which we fought in the last anti-

fascist war. It is a continuation of the Greek resistance against the German invaders.

The British Communist Party's assistance in our national struggle for liberation from foreign occupation and internal Fascism is a guarantee that we shall ultimately succeed. For this valuable assistance may I express to you our gratitude and admiration.

The Greek people will do their duty. The fight which is going on in our cities, the fight waged by the Greek democratic army in the mountains of our country, proves it. The Greek people will do their duty because they are conscious of their responsibilities both towards Greece and towards world peace and democracy.

Comrades, we shall be the victors because we have right and the people on our side.

Democratic Unity In Sweden

W. P. HOLMBERG

Fraternal Delegate of the Communist Party of Sweden

LIKE other Communist Parties, our Party, in the first years of the war, experienced severe attacks from the bourgeoisie, the Social Democrats and trade union leaders. The attacks culminated with one of our Party houses being burned and several of our most prominent comrades murdered. The object of these attacks was declared to be to annihilate the Communist Party, but things went the other way, as they often do.

When war broke out the Party was a very small Party with 96.000 votes and three M.P.s. At our Congress in May last year we had a membership of well over 50,000, with 318,000 votes, 18 M.P.s and representatives on every Parliamentary Committee. What is more, we had gained such influence and strength in the trade unions that we have been able to smash the wage stop agreement between the bosses and the trade union leaders. No longer can anyone make policy in Sweden without considering the Communist Party.

Analysing the political situation in our country and outside, our Congress declared that a peaceful development to Socialism, such as that which is taking place in Eastern Europe, was possible also in Sweden, and it was the task of the Party to create the prerequisites for such a development. As such prerequisites we counted the political unity of the working class and the existence of a truly democratic block between the working class and the middle groups in society.

In 1944 the Social Democratic Party tried to counteract the growing influence of the Communist Party by putting forward their post-war programme, promising to raise the living standard of the workers, and carry democracy from the political to the economic field. Much to the distress of the Social Democratic leaders our Party accepted this programme as a starting point and, on this basis, unity had been growing before our Congress and has been growing ever since.

To solve the second task, Congress put forward and commenced working for a democratic programme of action. The local elections which took place last time were an outstanding proof of the correctness of the line of Congress. The number of votes rose to over 370,000 in Stockholm, and we became the second biggest party there.

Support The Indonesian Republic

PAUL DE GROOT

Fraternal Delegate from the Communist Party of Holland.

I AM glad to be able to report the constant progress of the Communist Party of Holland. At the elections last summer, the first elections after the Liberation, our Party got 530,000 votes, which was 12 per cent of the total votes of the country. In the capital, Amsterdam, our Party became the strongest Party, with 34 per cent of the total votes. In Amsterdam, the membership of our Party has just passed 20,000 members, the biggest Party of the town. In the country as a whole we have 55,000 members.

The situation in our country is much under the influence of the colonial war waged by the Dutch Imperialists against the Indonesians. With the evacuation of British troops from Indonesian soil, they were replaced by Dutch troops, which are a constant danger to the new National Democratic Republic of the Indonesians.

Therefore, our Party devotes much of its activity towards campaigning for an end to the hostilities and the withdrawal of the troops. In September of last year, when the First Division was sent overseas, our Party did not hesitate to call the workers out in a political strike, which resulted in a 24 hour General Strike in the principal centres of the country.

British Imperialism tries to play the role of arbitrator in the Dutch-Indonesian conflict, not only by holding the military supreme command in its hands, but also by means of its diplomacy.

In spite of all aggression, our ally, the Indonesian Republic, grows stronger and stronger. In the past six months, the Indonesian Communist Party has been formed, and its influence is growing rapidly. It holds 35 seats in the Provincial Indonesian Parliament, nearly as many as the Governmental Socialist Party of Indonesia. Both Parties, Socialists and Communists, are working closely together and stand at the head of a Left Block, which possesses the majority in the Indonesian Parliament. I know that the British comrades are well acquainted with the events in Indonesia and have even been involved in solidarity action for the Indonesian people. This solidarity remains necessary, as the former Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs, Van Kleffens, declared in a recent Press Conference, there would not have been a single Dutch soldier in Indonesia if he had not been equipped by Britain.

British and Dutch workers must fight together in the future for democracy at home and in the colonies.

The Fighting Democracy Of Latin America

ANIBAL ESCALANTE

Fraternal Delegate from the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba

THOSE who have been accustomed to think of Latin Americans as backward peoples, frustrated by military cliques and political adventurers, are mistaken. True, there are still Latin-American military cliques and political adventurers in the service of local reaction and foreign imperialism, but a new mass leadership is arising, new in every sense of the word. The young Communist Parties of our continent are this leadership.

In Latin-America, there are today 18 Communist Parties, which together have more than half a million members. There is the powerful Confederation of Latin-American Workers, which unites three and a half million workers. And many of our peoples have attained, through their struggles, a high degree of democratic progress and social advance.

What are the main points in our fighting programme, which is more or less common to all our countries?

1. Fight for complete economic liberation, development of our economy against the pressure of imperialism; fight so that the benefits of the enormously rich resources of our countries shall be for the people and not for the foreign exploiters.

2. Fight for the full consolidation and broadening of democracy, for establishment of democratic rights in those countries such as Salvador, Paraguay, Santo Domingo, which are still suffering under dictatorships.

3. Fight for the betterment of the conditions of life of our workers against the employers, both local and foreign.

4. Fight for the agrarian reform, for the land for the peasants, for abolition of all feudal rights.

5. Fight for complete racial equality; fight discrimination against Negroes and Indians.

6. Fight every attempt to transform Latin-America into a war base for Yankee Imperialism; for peace, for friendship between all peoples.

This is the main outline of our programme, which is varied according to the conditions in each country. To attain these objectives we fight for the widest possible national and democratic unity, in a broad front which stretches from the workers to those sections of the native bourgeoisie who are interested in national progress. The core of this unity is the working class, which is the unwavering leadership in the fight for the needs of our countries.

Who else besides our own reactionaries opposes this struggle? British Imperialism is involved in Latin-America. It has still four thousand million dollars invested in our countries. But British monopoly capitalism is being pushed out of our continent. The main opponent of progress in our countries today is Wall Street, centre of world reaction. When Wall Street talks about Free Enterprise, we know that it means freedom to kill the national industry of our countries. And when Wall Street talks about "Western Democracy," we know that it means, not liberty for our peoples, but reactionary governments, controlled by Washington.

In Cuba, through the struggle of our people and, above all, of our fighting working class, we attained in 1940 a democratic and progressive Constitution. This Constitution gives us the rights of free speech and assembly, freedom of organisation, the right to strike, the guaranteed week of 44 hours with pay for 48 hours, one month's paid holiday a year for all workers, equal pay for equal work, and many other rights.

Our Party, the Popular Socialist Party, which was illegal for 13 years, has now 152,000 members. One-third are Negroes. Forty-four per cent are women. We have a national daily paper, the second largest circulation in the country; and a radio broadcasting station. In the 1942 elections we had 85,000 votes. In the 1944 elections 120,000. In 1946, 200,000.

The Yankee imperialists, alarmed at the growing democratic movements in Latin-America, especially Cuba, are fighting them fiercely. They say that Cuba is a hotbed of Communism. We maintain that we are not creating a hotbed of Communism in Cuba, but that the Cuban people themselves are building a great Communist force which will lead to the salvation of our country, to full national liberation and democracy, towards Socialism. We fight for our country, for our rights, for the interests of our people and the working class.

Progress In Finland

T. KARVONEN

Fraternal Delegate of the Communist Party of Finland

THERE has been a Communist Party in Finland for 29 years. But during most of that time

the Party has been illegal. Only during the last two years have we had the possibility of working legally for our working class and people. During those illegal years, the membership of our Party was naturally very small. On the average it was some 5,000. But in these last years it has been growing rapidly. Now we count some 40,000 members.

The political situation in Finland after the armistice made it necessary to form a progressive democratic front against the reactionaries and fascists. Together with the Communist Party, the democratic groups from other Parties formed a common organisation, the Democratic Union of Finnish People. In addition to the Communist Party, this organisation consists of the Socialist Party, groups from Social Democratic Party, peasant and intellectual organisations, youth and women's organisations, etc., 200,000 people in all.

The Democratic Union of Finnish People holds 50 out of 200 seats in our Parliament. In the Government, the Union has six seats of a total of 18. The Communist Party itself has 36 seats in Parliament and three in the Government.

Democracy in Finland is on firm ground. The three biggest parties which form the great majority in Parliament have an agreement on developing the political and economic democracy of the country. You know that there are many difficulties, especially economic, but also political, before us. Many of them we have already solved. Just now new economic difficulties are forcing us to face the question of nationalisation.

Evacuate The Middle East

COMRADES HELOU and BAGDACHE

The Fraternal Delegates from the Communist Parties of Syria and the Lebanon

WHEN we received the invitation of the British Communist Party to attend this Congress, and when the papers published this news, there arose a deep interest among workers, peasants, intellectuals and sincere democratic nationalists, notwithstanding their political tendencies. Many requested us to greet you and, at the same time, we received letters from Iraq, Transjordan and other Arab countries under British military occupation, directing us to greet you in the name of all Communists and all democratic parties who are unable to attend this Congress because they are in prison or working under illegal conditions of repression.

Our Party before the war was small; totalling in Syria and Lebanon together only 3,000. Now our parties have 22,000 members equally divided between Syria and Lebanon.

We are the representatives of the first two Arab countries who have achieved the evacuation of all foreign troops from their land. Neither English, French nor American troops are left in the country. There is a controversy in explaining this great event, which has an international significance. The truth is that we have achieved this great national victory by virtue of the struggle of the Syrian and Lebanese people and their refusal to accept occupation and repression, and by virtue of the stand of the Soviet Union and the Security Council and the support of public opinion the world over.

The evacuation from Syria and Lebanon has had a great effect on the Arab East. Ever since that date the slogan of evacuation of foreign troops has become the first national slogan of the masses in Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, Transjordan and the whole Middle East.

The question of defending the independence which our countries have achieved and safeguarding it against new foreign occupation and against every imperialist infiltration, whether economic or political, has become a national and democratic question affecting not only Syria and Lebanon, but all Arabs, and the whole question of peace in the Middle East. The imperialist circles in Britain and America, the barons of the City and Wall Street, who are energetically trying to make the Near East a military base, visualise as the principal conditions for executing these schemes, the destruction of the independence of Syria and Lebanon and their re-occupation, either by forming a Near Eastern Block led by Turkish reaction, or by way of Joint Defence Commissions which imperialists have tried without success to force upon the Egyptian people, or by other similar schemes, such as the Greater Syria Plan, which aims at fusion of Syria and Lebanon with the Kingdom of Transjordan, which is under British military occupation.

Our slogan, which springs from the interests of our peoples and the interests of peace, is the defence of independence and the republic, and our forward development in the path of democracy in order to better the living standard of the masses and to refuse to become lackeys to any imperialist block. This means following an independence policy within the United Nations Organisation in co-operation with the Arab peoples struggling for their independence.

In order to fulfil this national policy, we fight with all Republican nationalists without any exception and notwithstanding their political or social tendencies. The Arab National Movement, whose basis has widened among the masses of the people, is not a narrow, feudalist movement, as imperialists and their agents claim, but is a mass movement increasing in strength among all the classes and forcing the ruling classes to rally under the banner of the people and of their slogan—evacuation, independence and democracy.

The campaign of the reactionary imperialists and their agents among the Arabs to disrupt the national movement and turn it from its objective by anti-Communist slogans has completely failed.

The Arab National Movement today is characterised by a sense of friendship and hope in the Soviet Union and the progressive movements in the world.

We have confidence that by your efforts and the efforts of British progressives and through the consciousness of the British working class the day will come when Britain will not look on the world through the eyes of Churchill, but through those of the British people, who uphold democracy, fraternity and equality between all peoples.

People's Democracy In Czechoslovakia

WILHELM NOVI

Fraternal Delegate of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

I am very glad to have the opportunity to greet here your magnificent Congress and many of my old British friends. I remember the time, eight years ago, when I came to this country as a political refugee. Today I come as the representative of our mighty Communist Party, which has more than 1,000,000 members, 114 Members of Parliament, 60,000 representatives on municipal councils, nine ministers in the Government, with our beloved leader, the Prime Minister, Gottwald.

I use the opportunity to thank our British comrades and the people of Britain who welcomed us to this country, who not only helped us to live here in safety, but also to work for the liberation of our country. We shall never forget our debt of gratitude to the people of Britain.

We are proud to be able to give you a report on the great successes which our nation achieved under the leadership of our Communist Party. The first step which we carried through after liberation was the nationalisation of the key industries, the banks, the insurance companies. Today we have in the hands of the people 75 per cent of industry, all the banks and all transport. This has created the preconditions for a planned economy.

On the first of January of this year, we began to implement our two years' plan. This plan was drafted by our Party, but now it is in the mind and heart of every Czechoslovak citizen. In January the production plan was fulfilled 100 per cent, and in some important sections of industry more than 100 per cent—for instance, for soft coal by 112 per cent. The figures for February show that in spite of frost and snow the plan will be fulfilled again.

The aim of our two years' plan is definitely to liquidate the consequences of war and occupation, and to secure for ever a firm economic basis of our people's democracy. We may say that Czechoslovakia today is one of the most consolidated countries of Europe.

After fulfilling our two years' plan, we shall start on a new five-year plan. Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of the Communist Party, has already become a country of a planned economy. Thus we have entered our Czechoslovak Democratic path to Socialism, and thus we are secure against crises and economic catastrophes and against dependence on international monopoly capitalism.

It was our Party which united the nation, both in the fight for national liberation, and for reconstruction on the basis of the National Front. Certainly there are sometimes difficulties and differences between the parties which form the National Front, but our policy, in the interest of the people, can be carried through because we can always appeal to the people and the people give us their support.

In the last general election we won 40 per cent of the votes. Now our Party has decided to open the fight for winning the majority of the nation. We are sure that we shall achieve this aim; for the Czechoslovak people understand that the Communist Party is the truest expression of the Czech nation, the best guarantee of their national aspirations, the only force able to secure peace, security and democratic progress.

We won our liberty by our own struggle, by the help of the allied nations, but mainly by the heroic fight of the Soviet Union and the glorious Red Army. Relying on our close friends of the democratic forces in the West, especially here among the working people of Britain, we go confidently forward to our great aim, to Socialism.

Long live our fraternal Communist Party of Great Britain, and its trusted leader—Harry Pollitt.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of Britain and Czechoslovakia.

The New Poland

COMRADE BIENKOWSKI, M.P.

Representative of Polish Workers Party.

I AM speaking to you, comrades, on behalf of that Party which was the first in Poland to start a relentless fight against the Nazi occupant, a Party which, since the liberation, has taken upon itself the brunt of the burden of the country's reconstruction.

We are proud of our country's achievements. They are great if we consider that after the liberation we found the majority of Polish centres of production either ruined or damaged, and that we have already achieved 75 per cent of our pre-war output, and even exceeded this figure in many important branches of industry.

We owe our results in the first place to the change in Poland's social structure. Poland has entered upon a different road of reform from that of Great Britain. We have solved, in a radical manner, the question of nationalisation of large and medium industrial establishments. We carried out a radical Agrarian reform. We have thus created a basis for a planned economy and, there-

fore, we are in a position to guide our economic development and regulate its pace.

The road chosen by us is different, too, from that of the Soviet Union. The most outstanding characteristic of the structure of modern Poland is the existence, alongside the decisive nationalised sector of industry, of a sector of private enterprise which plays quite a considerable role within the framework of the Economic Plan. Our road, as has been proved by our experience, is the best under Polish conditions. We believe that this road is a specific, peaceful and evolutionary advance towards Socialism in the future.

One of our greatest achievements is the re-Polonisation and rehabilitation of the Polish Western Territories on the Oder and Western Neisse. These lands, forcibly Germanised throughout the centuries, are once again Polish, and, there, five million Polish workers and peasants live and work. We have rebuilt thousands of destroyed or looted enterprises.

The most important of our achievements is the creation of a united front of the working class: close co-operation with the Socialist Party. The division of the working class has always been the source of its weakness and led to the victory of reaction.

The co-operation of the Polish Workers' Party with the Polish Socialist Party has become the cornerstone of our victory. A close collaboration with the Socialist Party is the source of strength of the democratic front in Poland, which, during recent elections, gained the support of the overwhelming majority of the nation.

The victory of Polish democracy in the last elections is another expression of the progress of democracy in Europe. It is a proof that full national unity has been achieved in Poland on the basis of the programme of the Democratic block.

While observing carefully your country's experiences, and those of other countries, we would like to see our own progress considered as a valuable contribution to the fight of the working classes of all countries for a better and more just world. We would wish, however, to see the opinion given on Democratic Poland based on honest and impartial observation. We want close contact and co-operation with all nations, with the nations of the West. We do not wish an "iron curtain" to be dropped between us, as this would suit the reactionary forces only too well.

We stress strongly the necessity for co-operation between nations, not only because Poland needs help, but because we firmly believe that such co-operation is of vital interest to both our countries. We need economic assistance and the support of the Allied nations and we need understanding of our most vital interests.

In this respect, relations between Poland and Great Britain have often not been too happy. We appreciate and think highly of the sympathy shown to Poland by the British working class and the British people. We have many proofs of this sympathy, but, owing to the activities of forces hostile to Poland, many problems have arisen which prevent a normalisation of relations between our peoples. The removal of these obstacles and the establishment of friendship and co-operation are in our interests, and we also believe, in the interests of Great Britain too.

We wish you every success in your endeavours to achieve unity of the British working class, which will lead to the common goal — Socialism. May this Congress be another important step on the road to this high objective.

Empire Or Socialism

G. ADHIKARI

Fraternal Delegate of the Communist Party of India

INDIA is passing through a mighty anti-imperialist upsurge. Never have we seen such great enthusiasm, such a great upsurge of mass forces. Today, February 22/23, in India in many towns they will be celebrating the anniversary of the great event which took place one year back: The strike of the Indian Navy, which took place in February. Today there will be demonstrations and strikes in Calcutta and Bombay, and I want to draw your attention to this, that with this great naval strike a new period opened in our country. The Indian people have seen and have realised that it is impossible now for imperialism to rule India in the old way. The peasant will have his land, the worker will fight for his rights, and all the people know they will be free.

You are told here that India has become independent. That all that is taking place in India is trouble between Indians. But, in spite of what they say about independence, the British Army exists in India. In student strikes the British Army is brought out to shoot. In peasant strikes the British Army is brought out to shoot. Not only do the British Army remain, but new plans are being made about aeroplane bases and about "operation asylums." This is the condition of India today, and I say that all the Indian parties, including Congress, must know in their heart of hearts that real independence is not there.

Yet the greatest misfortune is that the leadership of these great mass parties are trying to find out the "peaceful way to independence." They are compromising to find out the way to obtain independence through the plan which the British Government is making. That creates a situation which makes it easier for British imperialism to split and divide our movement.

Today the Indian Communist Party is facing great repression. Our Party, which was founded 15 years ago, began the organisation of workers and peasants, and for the first time put before our country a programme of national democratic revolution, has always faced repression.

We, of the Communist Party, have to organise the anti-imperialist upsurge; we have to win the great majority of people who are today organised under the patriotic parties, the National Congress and the Moslem League. It is the greatest problem for our Party to convince our people that the way to real independence is not through compromise through the British plan, which only creates division amongst us, but through mobilising and uniting the forces of our people for winning independence. Our Party is doing its very best to gain that united front so that we can obtain independence. I greet this Congress which has today very squarely put before the British working class the question of Empire or Socialism. Today more than ever the Indian people have realised that imperialism has to go if we are to live. There is no other alternative.

Exactly the same alternative is placed before the British people today. The empire hangs like a stone round the necks of the British people. The choice before you is Empire or Socialism. And your Party has, in a way, the same difficult task that we have before us in India. You have to win the great majority of the British working class for Socialism, to win the great mass of your own people for the only path forward—that is, Socialism.

We are today passing through a great coal crisis, a manpower shortage. That manpower is there in India, shooting at us, instead of making coal for you. So here is a policy against which you are fighting, and I am sure that the great lead that your Congress is giving today to the British working class will enable you to win the British working class for the fight forward.

Against Partition Plans

WILLIAM McCULLOUGH

Fraternal Delegate from the Communist Party of Ireland

THE empire problem is now presented to the people of Britain in the sharpest possible form. During the war the peoples of the oppressed countries built up and greatly strengthened the popular independence movements; and the military defeat of fascism added greatly to this development, with the result that today independence is within the grasp of many Colonial peoples.

Hypocritical concern is being expressed for national minorities of the Colonial countries. Behind this lies the hope of the imperialists that divisions will be created and thus they will be able to maintain their hold on the Colonial people.

Partition is the "solution" being popularised by the imperialists. This was their way in relation to Ireland after the 1914-18 war, when the Irish independence movement had reached its greatest strength.

Partition not only perpetuates antagonisms and division among the people of the partitioned countries, it also puts up smoke screens and obscures from the people the struggle for progress and Socialism. We, in Ireland, have had partition — we cannot advise its acceptance by the Colonial peoples.

Far be it for me to criticise the foreign policy of the British Government. This can be safely left to the care of the British people. But I should like to pose a question to Mr. Attlee and the Labor Government. Is it in the interests of Labor and the British people to maintain a Tory bridgehead in Northern Ireland?

It is clear that British foreign policy is to continue in friendly association with imperialists of other countries. This is no different to the policy which was pursued by their Tory predecessors, who were so decisively rejected by the British people at the General Election.

And when British Labor Government leaders visit our country, instead of associating with, and assisting, the Trade Union and Labor movement of Ireland, they keep up the same associations as their Tory predecessors.

Fight For A Democratic Malaya

WU TIEN-WANG

Fraternal Delegate from the Communist Party of Malaya

ON behalf of more than 10,000 members of the Communist Party of Malaya and also on behalf of the 5,000,000 oppressed people of Malaya I extend to you the warmest greetings.

After the advent of the British Labor Government, your Party has been the only Party that has continued to struggle relentlessly for the realisation of genuine Socialism. Your Party has also been the only Party in Britain that has upheld the United Nations Charter that proposed the self-determination of all oppressed Colonial peoples.

Today the 5,000,000 people of Malaya are still suffering from colonial rule. Ever since the advent of British rule 100 years ago, the Malayan peoples were forced to lead the lives of colonial slaves. There was not even a shadow of democracy in Malaya. Our Malayan people have never had a single opportunity of experiencing what an election is like. We had no freedom to organise trade unions and all political parties were persecuted. During the entire pre-war period hundreds of our Communist members were banished for life.

After the fall of Singapore, our Party shouldered the entire responsibility of defending the honor and freedom of 5,000,000 people. We organised the 10,000 strong Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army which played a significant role in the liberation struggles.

The Malayan peoples expected that, after the coming to power of the Labor Government, there would be a new era in the relations between the ruling powers and the colonial countries of the

British Empire. We expected that the Labor Government would unhesitatingly apply the principles of the United Nations Charter, such as self-determination for the colonial peoples.

But after September 5, 1945, the Malayan peoples were made to realise that even the most elementary democratic rights have to be fought for. We are still forced to fight for the legalisation of trade unionism. The Communist Party of Malaya, which has co-operated with the British Allied forces during the entire period of resistance, is now forced to function under semi-legal conditions.

Dear comrades, today the fate of the Malayan peoples is still that of a colony. We still fight for elementary rights, for civil liberties, legalisation of trade unions, legalisation of all political parties. We are relentlessly fighting against the imposition of a reactionary constitution which would relegate the Malayan peoples back to the dark days of 1941.

Before I conclude, I would request that from this Congress you pass resolutions demanding the immediate legalisation of all political parties in Malaya. I would request you also to pass resolutions asking the British Government to recognise civil liberties, to recognise trade unions and also to let the 5,000,000 Malayan peoples have a democratic constitution for a new democratic Malaya.

Defend Hungarian Democracy

COMRADE HORVATH

Fraternal Delegate of the Hungarian Communist Party

TWO years ago a new Hungary was born. We smashed the might of the feudal landlords and of the church princes, whose lands we distributed among six hundred and fifty thousand poor peasants. We nationalised the mines, among the most important ones in Eastern Europe, also a great part of heavy industry. It was our Party which stopped inflation and stabilised our currency. The Hungarian working class threw itself enthusiastically into the task of building up a new country. Our Party has drafted a plan for three years which will raise the standard of living step by step, and prosperity will be added to freedom.

However, the enemies of the people have not looked on idle while progress was being made. A month ago our state defence organisations discovered traces of conspiracy. Former landlords and big capitalists were busy preparing the restoration of fascist-flavored rule. Fascist military formations stationed in the British zone of Austria, under the protection of the British authorities, were to play the chief part in this detestable plot. Hungarian conspirators and ex-fascists hoped for the support of British reactionary forces. They forgot about the democratic forces in England, about the English working class, whose real spirit is manifested by this Congress. The participation in the plot of these Horthy-fascist military formations was, however, not so scandalous as the discovery that the Small-holders' Party, the biggest Party of the Hungarian Coalition Government, gave shelter and support for the conspirators. The influence of the Small-holders' Party on the peasants was misused for the purposes of restoring the rule of the landlords and big capitalists. Their General Secretary, Bela Kovacs, was one of the leaders of the conspirators.

However, Hungarian democracy is alert and unwavering. A number of generals and a Minister were put under arrest. If some present political leaders stand in the way of justice, we shall appeal to the people and demand new elections.

These days we are witnessing the most embittered fight for democracy since liberation. Victory of the people is certain. Firstly, because this fight is led by that Party whose leader, Mathias Rakosi, spent 16 years in the prison of the counter-revolutionists. Secondly, because the Hungarian working class is united. Our co-operation with the Social-Democrats is unbreakable. The other reason for the certainty of the victory of the people lies in the solidarity of the free peoples with our fight. By saying this, I do not refer to our neighbors in Eastern Europe only, not even to the invincible Soviet Union, which leads the way to the progress of humanity. We are counting, too, on the democratic forces in England. We are convinced that the working class in England is a solid pillar of real democracy.

For An Independent Burma

BA THEIN TIN

(From his speech as representative of the Burmese Communist Party at the Empire Communist Parties' Conference)

THE Burmese people, though they have been under the yoke of British imperialism for 122 years, have never surrendered their urge for freedom. This is manifested by the constant armed rebellions against the British since the first annexation in 1824. The Burmese people have always been looking for an opportunity to drive the imperialists from Burma.

The Attlee-Aung San Agreement, reached recently in London, militarily, economically and politically fell far short of these aspirations of the entire nation. In fact, this Agreement is one of national humiliation, national disruption and perpetuation of British rule in Burma.

The present situation is therefore characterised by a new upsurge of struggle. In January there was a students' strike, a general strike and the rising of the People's Volunteer Organisation in Tavoy. The whole country is seething with discontent and unrest.

Our task is to reforge the Anti-Fascist Organisation and Communist unity. In Burma we have a Communist Party 6,000 strong; a Peasant movement 300,000 strong, a trade union movement which last year numbered 35,000. Our Party, building Communist, working class and national unity, can achieve an independent Burma.

THE NEW ARBITRATION BILL

J. R. HUGHES, Political Committee Member

THE new Bill, introduced by the Federal Labor Government, has been heralded by its spokesmen as opening a new chapter in the history of industrial relations in Australia.

The main content of the Bill differs very little from the existing Arbitration Act so far as the principles are concerned.

The Labor Party has always stood for compulsory arbitration. There is a great difference between arbitration and compulsory arbitration in dealing with industrial disputes.

In speaking in Parliament on the introduction of the Bill, Dr. Evatt said that the arbitration laws to date had encouraged and almost made mandatory the Australian system of collective bargaining, through registered organisations. ". . . I assert, confidently, that both the Australian worker, the employer and the Australian community have been far better off with the Court than they could possibly have been without it."

This statement expresses the compulsory aspect of Arbitration which the Labor Party adheres to. Incidentally, Dr. Evatt's remarks concerning the advantages to the community, the worker and the employer which come from the system of compulsory Arbitration are not likely to be shared by the great mass of workers whose hostility to the Court has been marked by industrial disputes which in recent times have been directed against the Court, its delays and treatment of claims almost as much as against the employer.

The working-class attitude favors the system of conciliation or collective bargaining, and is not opposed to the use of arbitrators in the settlement of industrial disputes. However, what has shown itself to be an obstacle to progress and higher living standards has been the system of compulsory arbitration, with its professional arbitrators, appointed by the Crown as part of the State and, as per Dr. Evatt "... charged with the public duty of securing and maintaining the terms and conditions of employment."

The new Bill retains the Court and in addition appoints a number of Conciliation Commissioners who will add to the army of professional arbitrators having tenure of office until sixty-five years of age and being protected against removal for other than proved misdemeanours, and then only after a vote of both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament. This further indicates the character of the new Bill in giving added force to the compulsory arbitration machinery which is so beloved of the Labor politicians.

Dr. Evatt, in referring to the Conciliation Commissioners, describes them as "Industrial Administrators." In other words the view is that they will be more than arbitrators on disputes, they will become very powerful units of the State machinery in industrial matters.

The Bill provides some improvements so far as it relates to the machinery of the Arbitration Court. If the Commissioners when appointed use the full power granted it could have the effect of removing the legal formalities and technicalities which so long have been associated with Arbitration and could enable unions' claims to be more expeditiously dealt with.

One of the features in the amendments provides as before that agreements made between unions and employers have to be certified by the Court, but under the amendments the Commissioners can refuse to certify an agreement if they feel that the agreement does not settle the industrial disputes, or if anything contained in the agreement is outside the powers that the Commissioner would have if he were making an award and, probably what is more important, if he feels that such an agreement is not in the public interest.

No worker could hail this new clause as an improvement in Arbitration legislation.

This clause may have added significance in the light of the statements made by Senator McKenna, on behalf of the Government, at the Federal Conference of Unions recently held in Melbourne, in explaining why the Government was opposed to abolishing the Wage-Pegging Laws. Senator McKenna said that due to the labor shortage employers and unions could agree to pay high wages, this the Government could not accede to and that was why there had to be some authority, such as the Chief Judge, to ensure uniformity.

So, the present policy of uniformity is to be carried forward to the Conciliation Commissioners, who, it is noted, are to meet in conference with the Chief Judge not less frequently than once every six months. Uniformity in itself may not be a bad thing, but uniformity as applied by the Arbitration Court is to ensure uniform low standards.

The Conciliation Commissioners are to be well protected against adverse comment by a very stringent section dealing with contempt; so that to criticise in writing or speech a Conciliation Commissioner can bring a penalty of one hundred pounds. This particular provision is one that could well be amended or eliminated as a person charged with dealing with industrial matters is surely entitled to be spoken about, or indeed criticised in connection with his activities and decisions.

In the existing Arbitration Act some of the sections provide for certain limited interference by the Court in the internal affairs of trade unions. Militant and progressive workers and indeed vast sections of the trade union movement have campaigned to have these powers removed from the Arbitration Act. It has been pointed out that the original purpose of the Arbitration system was to arbitrate on industrial disputes between employers and employees, but in the course of time rights were

granted to the Court which were anti-democratic and unjust. The fact that these limited powers were increasingly used by the Court in interfering with the internal democracy of trade unions has built considerable resentment among trade unionists.

The new Bill deals with this question but does not remove any of the clauses to which objection has been taken. To the contrary, additional provisions are placed in the Bill which will enable the Conciliation Commissioner, against whom lies no appeal, to deal with any question arising out of an organisation as to the rights, status or functions of the members of that organisation or otherwise!

It will be seen from this terminology that officers of a Union could be removed by a Conciliation Commissioner, without any other justification than that it was an order to settle an industrial matter. Funds of unions and indeed all the "human rights" of members of the organisation are imperilled in the hands of the professional arbitrators.

It is not surprising, but certainly contradictory that Dr. Evatt, whose heart bleeds for human rights for people in other lands, has no concern when it comes to the trade unionists of this country.

The removal of this extraordinary power must be demanded; it is a power which if applied to other organisations, such as religious, companies or trusts would raise a howl of protest from the capitalist press; but as it applies to trade unionists it is no doubt considered a very sound principle.

The Arbitration Court has shown an overkeenness to exercise powers which permit them to interfere in the internal affairs of trade unions, but the right of appeal to the High Court, which has been exercised from time to time, has curbed this interference to a considerable extent. Under the new Bill the right of appeal to the High Court is removed.

Whilst agreeing that in connection with strictly industrial questions this move would have much to commend it, none the less efforts should be made to obtain provision in the Bill for a right of appeal to the High Court where the rights of unions or members of unions are involved.

One feature of the Bill is in line with the demands of the trade unionists and that is in relation to the prevention of Counsel, solicitors' or paid agents appearing as representatives of any party appearing before the Commissioner. Before the Court solicitors or Counsel cannot appear if any of the parties object. This is very similar to the present provision which, unfortunately, was not exercised generally by the unions when appearing before the Arbitration Court.

One could refer to a whole number of matters which could have been altered in the Act to make it more workable for the unions who will be required to act under the Arbitration Law. For instance, provision enabling the easy amalgamation of unions, where the unions so desire, to overcome weaknesses existing in the legislation which were experienced by the Ironworkers and other unions when amalgamation between the unions was decided upon; the need to provide for a better form of right of entry of union officials to employers' premises. These are but two of the matters causing the trade unions concern which could have been provided for.

The Government would have been better advised to heed the requests of the A.C.T.U. and Federal Unions, whose proposals have been clearly placed before the Prime Minister and Ministers dealing with this Bill.

The reported statement ("S.M.H.," 21/3/'47) of Mr. N. J. O. Makin, Australia's ambassador in the U.S.A., emphasises the view held not only by the Labor Party but by the Australian bourgeoisie in connection with the system of compulsory arbitration. Mr. Makin said that ". . . Australia's industrial position is due to the system of Conciliation and Arbitration which is more satisfactory than in many other parts of the world. It has brought added respect for the law, smooth working in the adjustment of wages and conditions and has minimised friction by way of strikes and lock-outs. Arbitration had proved beneficial to employer and employee alike and therefore had been accepted by both."

Mr. Makin has overlooked the tremendous struggles that have taken place in Australia since the conclusion of the war, to say nothing of the enormous pressure that has been exerted by the working class against the Courts. No doubt herein lies the explanation for many of the provisions of the amended Arbitration Act, which is aimed at binding still more closely the working class of Australia to the system of Arbitration.

ALL EYES TURN TO PRAGUE

AUDREY BLAKE

AT the present time, the preparations for a new war of aggression are under way in all the capitalist countries. This includes Australia with a war budget of £148 million, a considerable amount of which is being spent on a rocket range. In this situation, every positive action for the maintenance of a stable and lasting peace assumés great importance.

When such action is world-wide, embracing millions of people, its significance is hard to overestimate.

Such is the character of the World Youth Festival, organised by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, to be held in July-August in Czechoslovakia. Millions of young people of every nationality are now in the midst of preparations to send a total of 50,000 representatives to the Festival, which is one of the most significant international efforts for world friendship and peace ever projected.

The activities during the Festival will cover a wide field — exhibitions on every conceivable subject, lectures and discussions, the best documentary and entertainment films from many countries, dramatic performances by National Theatre Groups, ballet, concerts, puppet shows and a big programme of sporting events. There will be camp-fires, open air and indoor ballroom and folk-dancing and special tours throughout Czechoslovakia.

That the democratic youth of the world should be preparing for such a joyful occasion at this time should cause no surprise. It is a sign of the confidence with which millions of young people in the world today face the future, confidence based on their rapidly growing unity of action through the co-ordinating and unifying influence of the World Federation.

It is not in any way an indication of a callous attitude to the sufferings of the people in Spain and Greece because of fascist dictatorship. It is not an indication of indifference to the struggles of the colonial peoples for independence. It is not a lack of understanding of youths' responsibilities to their own people in preserving peace and gaining their just demands.

On the contrary, who can doubt that from this Festival will come increased understanding by the youth of the world of the need to unite for action for the things they want and need urgently?

Who can doubt that the youth of America and the British Empire, meeting their contemporaries from those countries around which the monopolists and their press have built an "iron curtain," will learn the truth and come back to tell it to their peoples?

There also can be no doubt that from this Festival a great strengthening of the unity of the youth of the world will take place, that many of the prejudices based on ignorance will be swept away.

Understanding these things all workers will be proud that young Australia will be represented at Prague.

They will be particularly proud that their own youth organisation of the Labor Movement, the Eureka League, is sending a delegation.

The Eureka delegation includes a Brigade which will take part in the reconstruction of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, a Jazz Band and a Sportsman and a Sportswoman. They will all take part in the Festival and then together with all the other delegations will go to rebuild Lidice, till now an example of Nazi brutality and race hatred.

The new Lidice will be a symbol of the peoples' youth, united for international friendship and peace.

The eleven young Reconstruction Volunteers are fired with enthusiasm and determination to be second to none in their labors. They will show that Australian workers really do realise their obligations to the heroic Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks who fought under such difficult conditions in the common war to defeat fascism.

The group of young musicians from the Eureka Jazz Club, strongest Eureka League Branch in Australia, is famous for its work to develop the best in jazz. They will play Australian songs as well as others, and together with the sports representatives, chosen not only for their sporting prowess but for their sportsmanship, are eagerly looking forward to doing their bit in the Reconstruction of Lidice.

The whole delegation will be led by E.Y.L. Assistant National Secretary, Harry Stein, who has played such an important part in the struggles of Victorian apprentices.

A great campaign for international friendship and peace is now under way — a campaign which will reach its first big point when the delegation leaves our shores for Europe.

Real understanding and warm-hearted support is needed from the older workers for their youth and its organisation if success is to be achieved, and young workers are to be represented at Prague. The support will be repaid when the delegation returns and is able, by its first-hand accounts to all the workers, to play a big part in rallying the Australian people for united action for peace and progress.

THE N.S.W. LABOR COUNCIL

J. McPHILLIPS

ONCE a leading centre of militant trade unionism, the N.S.W. (Sydney) Trades and Labor Council is today one of the most backward trade union bodies in the country and, if judged by some of its decisions, almost a reactionary organisation. Whereas this Council at one time functioned as an independent trade union organisation championing the cause of workers on strike, protecting and advancing their immediate class interests, it is now dragged along behind a policy determined in semi-secret conference by a small group and subservient to the interests of the parliamentarians and the right-wing section of the Labor Party. It has the doubtful distinction of being the only Labor Council in Australia to oppose the A.C.T.U. proposals for action by workers on and after 1st May to enforce a 40-hour week.

Its decisions show that the Council has deserted the vital class interests of the workers, and in every instance in the past 18 months when a strike has been placed in the hands of its "disputes committee" it has either been diverted into "harmless"

channels or has been forcefully terminated against the best interests of the workers.

This deterioration is caused by the domination of the Council by a comparatively small clique of delegates who use a machine-organised and controlled majority to force through Council decisions calculated to serve their own personal political ambitions and the infamous anti-Communist crusade in which they so consciously participate.

Swaggering in the leadership of this clique is the Council's Assistant Secretary, J. Kenny, who flaunts himself before Council like a funny little fat man throwing the full weight of his bulk after everything he says in a vain effort to give his statements emphasis and authority. His "election" to the position of Assistant Secretary provides one of the instances of the anti-democratic practices of this group.

Associated with him in this faction are such people as J. Shortelle (Sugar Workers), R. Jackson (Confectioners), B. O'Malley (Food Preservers), C. Anderson (Plumbers), N. Origlass (Balmain Breakaway Ironworkers), T. Liston (A.W.U.), E. O'Dea and V. Hyland (Shop Assistants). Council's Secretary R. (Bob) King and President L. Austin have either connived at or voted for the anti-working class decisions for which this clique has been responsible and the methods by which these decisions have been "guaranteed."

Commencement of the domination of Council by this right-wing clique dates back to a change in the Council's rules by which the basis of representation was changed and union delegations limited to a maximum of five. This resulted in reducing the representation of the larger unions, and the already existing control of the Council by a combination of the "centre" and the "right" rapidly changed into control by the "right" with the "centre" giving support. Although this controlling faction is invariably able to muster sufficient votes for a majority, the delegates who support them represent a minority of the workers belonging to unions affiliated to the Council. This arises from the basis of representation which enables small affiliates to have representation equal to unions representing big numbers of workers.

But it is not only by its actual decisions that the decline of the N.S.W. Trades and Labor Council is to be measured. The method and manner by which its business is conducted gives equal evidence of its decline.

In a report recently made to the Sydney District Committee of the A.E.U., the delegates representing that Union on the Labor Council drew the attention of the District Committee to "the conduct of business by the Council" and said:—

"The present method of conducting Council business is such as to prevent full and proper consideration being given to the merits of matters brought before Council.

"Matters of importance, whether emanating from the Executive or individual unions, are never brought before Council except after an organised round-up of delegates has been completed. This results in the attendance of a large number of delegates who attend only when their votes are required for a particular purpose.

"Business upon these occasions is conducted in accordance with a pre-arranged plan.

"Time and again by obvious arrangement the 'gag' is applied before the matter before Council has been properly considered and many times before any opposition speakers have been heard."

There is always a particularly heavy attendance upon election nights and delegates who never attended at other times are present upon those occasions for the sole purpose of casting a vote for the "official ticket."

Result is that, as recorded by Cecil Sharpley in the March issue of "Review" in connection with the Melbourne T.H.C., the Disputes Committee of the N.S.W. Trades and Labor Council consists of delegates who have had little or no experience of strike, whilst care is taken to keep out delegates from unions frequently involved in strikes.

Unable to talk in terms other than voting strength, those in control see to it that disputes committee meetings include representatives from every right-wing dominated union which may be even only remotely and indirectly affected by the particular strike.

Result is that negotiations with employers and tactics in conducting disputes are determined not by consideration of the best interests of workers but by a desire to settle the strike at any price.

Indicating the results of the control by this rabidly anti-Communist fraternity of right-wing including the Industrial Groupers, Langites, Catholic Actionists and Trotskyites is a long list of viciously anti-working class decisions made under their leadership.

Crowning this list of infamies is the most recent of them — the expulsion from Council of the F.E.D.F.A. Reaching a new low in anti-working class crimes, this political faction mustered a majority vote and expelled the F.E.D.F.A. because members of that union refused to resume work in the Sydney shipyards on terms dictated by the employers, accepted by the Council, but repeatedly rejected by the striking Engine Drivers.

Moving the motion Kenny bleated about discipline, acceptance of majority decision and observance of rules making Council's decisions binding, but did not say why the Council refused to carry out A.C.T.U. decisions against continued affiliation of the Origlass outfit.

Support for the motion came from the Langite O'Neil, whose own union, the A.R.U., was at that very moment threatening a rail stoppage at Easter. O'Neil was returned to this Council as a delegate for the A.R.U. but is best known for his public support of Franco and active association with Lang.

The Trotskyite Origlass supported the order to the F.E.D.F.A. to resume work, but this same "gentleman" thought it was a great piece of work

on his part to keep men on strike against their own Union for six weeks. But of course the F.E.D.F.A. members were on strike against the boss and Trotskyists never believed in that.

Other decisions of a similar character made on propositions by this clique were listed in the report of the A.E.U. delegates already referred to. These are:—

"1945 Steel Strike—Council made a series of decisions in open opposition to the opinion of the main unions involved and the rank and file workers on strike. These decisions were solely for the purpose of forcing a resumption of work on unfavorable terms and particularly to embarrass the Ironworkers' Union.

"'Balmain Ironworkers'—Without consulting the Union concerned and in defiance of an official declaration that there was no Balmain Branch of the Ironworkers' Union, the Labor Council accepted affiliation from the Origlass breakaway group. Since then Council has been informed that the delegates from that group on Council have been expelled from the Ironworkers' Union. The A.C.T.U. Executive decided that the Origlass group was not entitled to affiliation, the Council has adopted that decision, but the Origlass group remain affiliated.

"Secretary's Salary: Without warning and after a big number of delegates had walked out of Council in protest against the last-mentioned decision, Council raised the salary of the Secretary, King, by £5 per week, giving him a weekly salary of £17.

"Assistant Secretary: When F. Kelly resigned from the position of Assistant Secretary to take up business as a publican the then President, J. Kenny, insisted upon filling the position immediately even though the resignation was without notice. He then proceeded to put himself into that position by calling for nominations without notice and ruling out the only two other nominees as they were not present and then declaring himself elected unopposed.

"Tramway Stoppage: Despite the decision of the Tram and Bus Union Executive to continue a 24-hour stoppage into a strike to obtain extra rates for weekend work, and despite opposition of delegates from the unions concerned, the Council directed the men not to strike.

"Waterfront Dispute: Despite opposition from practically every union involved, Council decided to accept proposals of employers representing no gain at all and ordered a resumption of work. A.E.U. and F.E.D.F.A. members have refused to accept this direction.

"40-Hour Week and May Day Stoppage: Adopted by only a narrow majority by Council, the A.C.T.U. proposals to enforce a 40-hour week from 1st May onwards were adopted also by the other four State Branches of the A.C.T.U. Despite this and by obvious arrangement the matter was re-submitted and the only really decisive action so far taken to obtain a general 40-hour week was rejected by Council."

If such decisions began and ended as the comic capers of these anti-Communist humbugs it would not be so bad. But their effect is widespread, goes beyond the Council itself and is a matter of grave concern and urgency to all those who desire to strengthen trade union unity and thus provide the maximum organised strength in support of the class interests of workers.

They have already brought the Council into public disrepute, its authority amongst trade unionists is now lower than it ever was and they have already seriously weakened the strike struggles of the workers in this period.

These struggles will become bigger, will have a greater content and more serious consequences and the effect of such behaviour and decisions will be very much more serious for workers in the near future. These people will become more vicious and desperate in their efforts to stifle the struggles of the workers as this time approaches.

Dimitrov's charge against the Social-Democratic leadership that "They want to show the bourgeoisie that they, better and more skilfully than anyone else, can keep the discontented working masses under control and prevent them falling under the influence of Communism," and his further charge against the reformist leaders in the trade unions adopting a more reactionary policy and more aggression against all opposition in the trade unions as the situation becomes more difficult and complicated for capitalism, most certainly applies to those who are today in control of the N.S.W. Trades and Labor Council. This motley crew find a common interest in their anti-Communist politics. The Trotskyists are in addition paying off the debt they owe Kenny & Co. for the continued affiliation to Council of the Origlass disrupters in defiance of a decision of the A.C.T.U. Executive.

A misguided sense of "party loyalty" causes many delegates to vote for such proposals as mentioned here and either to support or pardon the behaviour of this group of political careerists even though in many instances they are conscious of its incorrectness.

Accepting the ill-founded advice of many of their so-called leaders in and out of Parliament on the "Communist menace," these delegates see virtue in the proposals of this clique because they are directed against the Communists. They see also that the proposals are either made or supported by people who as members of the A.L.P. Executive or Labor Party members of the Legislative Council claim to speak in the name of and with the authority of that party.

Support from such delegates gives this disruptive, ill-behaved group the majority of votes on Council and such support gives weight to a campaign which will ultimately disrupt the Labor Party itself and, worse still, disrupt trade union unity and so leave workers an easy prey to the ravages of disunity.

Communists must continue with renewed vigor their efforts to show these delegates how their party loyalty is misused by this unscrupulous gang, just the same as it was previously used by a similar gang on the Council when that body fought and repudiated the Langites.

The facts in relation to decisions made and the conduct of business by this Council must be made known amongst the rank and file of the various unions.

Authority to propose or vote for such decisions, or endorsement of delegates actions in so doing, was never given by a meeting of the rank and file of any of the unions. This behaviour of these people is confined mainly to the Labor Council meetings and little if anything is known of it by the rank and file.

If reports were given to union members by Labor Council Delegates, delegations from such unions as the A.S.E., E.T.U., Meat Workers and A.R.U. could not continue their existing support for this clique and its policies.

These policies must be exposed not only in debates on the Labor Council and in the Communist Party press, but in the meetings of unions affiliated to the Council. In this way delegates to the Council will either truthfully reflect the views of and act in accordance with the real desires of the workers they represent, or they will be replaced by delegates who will.

The Communists cannot and do not demand that only Communists or Communist Party supporters be elected to represent unions on such bodies as Trades and Labor Councils, but because we are prepared to do so ourselves we do say that those who are elected should be charged with and honor the obligation of truthfully representing the interests of workers and not those of a disruptive group of careerists.

This is a matter of concern not only for Communists but for all those unionists (and they are the majority) who wish to maintain the Labor Council as an independent, fighting union organisation.

REPLY TO PROFESSOR RAZIN

J. STALIN

(The following is a translation from a recent letter from Stalin in the Soviet Journal "Bolshevik")

I HAVE received your letter of January 30 concerning Clausewitz and your short theses on War and Military Arts.

1. You ask: "Have not Lenin's statements evaluating Clausewitz become outdated?"

In my opinion the question is wrongly posed.

From such a posing of the question, it might be thought that Lenin had analysed the military doctrine and military works of Clausewitz, given them a military evaluation and left us a heritage of a series of guiding propositions on leadership. Such a posing of the question is wrong because such "propositions" by Lenin on the military doctrine of Clausewitz and his works do not exist.

Lenin differed from Engels in that he did not consider himself an expert in military affairs. It was not only in the past before the October Revolution that he did not consider himself an expert in military affairs, but also after the October Revolution up to the very end of the Civil War. During the Civil War, Lenin gave us, who were then the still young comrades of the Central Committee, the task of "studying military affairs absolutely thoroughly." As for himself, he frankly told us that it was already late for him to study military affairs. This also explains why, in his comments on Clausewitz and observations on Clausewitz's book, Lenin does not touch upon purely military questions such as questions of military strategy and tactics and their mutual relationship or the mutual connections between the offensive and the retreat, defence and the counter-offensive and so forth.

What was there in Clausewitz, then, that interested Lenin, and why did he praise him?

He praised Clausewitz above all because, without being a Marxist, Clausewitz, who in his day enjoyed the authority of an expert in military affairs, confirmed in his works the well-known Marxist propositions that there is a direct connection between war and politics, that politics give birth to war, that war is a continuation of politics by violent means. Lenin required the support of Clausewitz in this matter in order once more to convict Plekhanov, Kautsky and others of Social-Chauvinism, of Social-Imperialism.

He further praised Clausewitz because Clausewitz confirmed in his works the proposition, which is correct from the Marxist point of view, that in certain unfavourable conditions, the retreat is a legitimate a form of struggle as the offensive. Lenin required the support of Clausewitz here in order once more to convict the "left" Communists who did not recognise the retreat as a legitimate form of struggle.

It follows that Lenin approached the works of Clausewitz not as a military man, but as a politician and was interested in those questions in Clausewitz's work which demonstrate the connection of war with politics.

Thus when critically evaluating the military doctrine of Clausewitz, we, the heirs of Lenin, are not bound by any directions from Lenin which limit our freedom of criticism.

It follows from this that your estimation of Comrade M's article which criticises Clausewitz's military doctrine as "an anti-Leninist sortie" and as a "revision" of Lenin's estimation, is wide of the mark.

2. Should we criticise the essence of Clausewitz's Military Doctrine?

Yes. We should. From the standpoint of the interests of our work and of the military science of our times, we are bound to criticise not only Clausewitz, but also Moltke, Schlieffen, Ludendorff, Keitel and other exponents of the military ideology of Germany. In the last thirty years Germany has twice unleashed bloody war against the world and both times she has been beaten. Is this accidental? Of course not. Does this not mean that not only Germany as a whole, but also her military ideology could not stand the test? Undoubtedly it does. Everybody knows with what respect the military men of the entire world, including even our Russian military men, regarded the military authorities of Germany. Is it necessary to finish with this undeserved respect? It is necessary. Well, for that you must have criticism and particularly from our side, from the side of the victors over Germany.

So far as Clausewitz in particular is concerned, he is, of course, outdated as a military authority. Clausewitz was in fact a representative of the **manufacturing** period of war. But now we are in the **machine** period of war. Undoubtedly the machine period calls for new military theoreticians. It is ridiculous to take lessons now from Clausewitz.

It is impossible to move forward and to advance science without subjecting outdated propositions and the judgment of well-known authorities to critical analysis. This applies not only to authorities in military affairs, but also to classics of Marxism. Engels once said that General Barclay de Tolle was the only Russian Commander of the period of 1812 who merited attention. Engels, of course, was mistaken, for Kutusov as a Commander stood indisputably head and shoulders above Barclay de Tolle. But even in our time you can still find people who will support this mistaken opinion of Engels **a haute voix.** In our criticism we must not be guided by individual propositions and opinions of the classics, but by that famous direction once given by Lenin:

"We do not at all regard the theory of Marx as something complete and inviolable; we are convinced, on the contrary, that it has laid the cornerstone of that science which Socialists **must** futher advance in all directions if they do not wish to lag behind life. We think that it is particularly necessary for Russian Socialists **independently** to analyse the theory of Marx, for this theory provides only general guiding propositions which must be applied differently in England from France, in France from Germany, in Germany from Russia, according to the particular circumstances."

Such an approach is even more obligatory for us in relation to military authorities.

3. As for your short theses on "War and Military Art," I can only make some general remarks about their schematic character. In the thesis there is too much philosophy and abstract propositions. The terminology of Clausewitz concerning grammar and the logic of war grates on the ear. The question of a Party approach to military science is too primitively posed. The dithyrambs in honour of Stalin grate on the ears and simply make one uncomfortable to read them. There is no section on the counter-offensive (not to be confused with the counter-attack). I am speaking of a counter-offensive after a successful enemy offensive which however has not produced decisive results, and in the course of which the defence gathers its forces, passes to the counter-offensive and inflicts a decisive defeat on the enemy. I think that a well organised counter-offensive is a very interesting form of offensive. As an historian you should interest yourself in this matter. The old Parthians knew already of such a counter-offensive when they drew the Roman General Crassus and his troops deep into their country and then struck with a counter-offensive and destroyed them. Our genius, General Kutusov also knew of this very well when he destroyed Napoleon and his army with the help of a well prepared counter-offensive.

THE ATTACK ON SECULAR EDUCATION

"PEDAGOGUE"

AS the power and influence of the Soviet Union grows stronger and wider every day, and in all countries Communism is attracting more of the best people to its ranks, the die-hard Imperialists employ every weapon they control against progress, and, as ever, summon Religion as the handmaid of Reaction. Reactionaries of every type rant about the decay of moral values in schools and homes, and, to confuse the minds of the unenlightened, attribute this behaviour, delinquency, crime, industrial unrest, war to secular education. Annual speech days produced such a fanfare of these vapourings in Victoria in 1946, that it is opportune to inquire from what quarters the demands for religious education are coming and why.

Secular Education in Victoria has always been based on popular demand, based on the recognition that religious education tends to be inefficient and divides the people. When Victoria separated from New South Wales in 1851, education was under the two board system, church schools being grouped under the Denominational Schools Board and secular schools under the Board of National Education.

Mr. H. C. E. Childers, the first inspector of denominational schools, in his first report in 1851 stated that he found that "religious jealousies prevented united action in securing a good schoolhouse and a capable teacher." The people were disgusted with the sectarian rivalries and the

ensuing agitation resulted in the Common School Act of 1862, by which all schools receiving a Government Grant were brought under the one board. Church schools still continued, however, and were opposed to popular education, with the result that in 1866 100,000 children of school age were not at school.

That the people were determined to end the prostitution of education to religion was evidenced by the slogan that swept the colony in 1872: "Compulsory, free and secular education." "The Age" fought a great campaign along with the people, the result being the return of the Liberals in overwhelming numbers and the introduction of the Education Bill in 1872 in accordance with the people's mandate. Section 21 of the new act reads: "In every State School secular education only shall be given. No teacher shall give any instruction other than Secular in any State school building," a clause which Sir John Latham described in 1944 as "the bulwark of religious freedom."

This Act remained inviolate until the Dunstan Ministry put through the Education (Patriotic Ceremonies) Bill in 1940, making it compulsory for every child to make a declaration beginning, "I love God," a contradiction of all the Education Acts from 1872 to 1928. Too little notice was taken of this. This amending Act must be repealed, as an unjustifiable encroachment on the civil liberties of the people and a violation of the individual conscience. Under this clause, children of Jehovah's Witnesses were excluded from State Schools in 1940 for refusal to take part in "patriotic" ceremonies, at their parents' orders, although, ironically enough, they were also asked to repeat "and cheerfully obey my parents."

The first steady and persistent attack on the Secular Clause came in the first quarter of the century. Protestant Churchmen striving to introduce "undenominational" scripture lessons into the curriculum. This open agitation included a demand for a referendum to secure alteration of the Education Act. In defence of the secular clause of the Act, a League was formed of legal and business men and members of the intelligentsia, including Mr. (now Sir) John Latham, Henry Giles Turner and Mr. Higginson. Strong opposition to the change came on the one hand from the Catholic Church which then had few schools, and feared indoctrination of its flock, and on the other from the Labor Party, which jettisoned one of its members (the late Hon. D. Smith, M.L.A.) who, while opposed to the change, supported the idea of a referendum. The people again spoke with no uncertain voice in the 1920 elections, which the sponsors of a referendum on Secular Education were so completely routed that the topic has never been revived.

However, the churches secured one concession, by regulation from the Education Department, that churchmen or their accredited deputies could conduct religious instruction in the schools during the first or last half hour of the morning or afternoon session, on the technicality that the schools were not then in session. The churches have never availed themselves fully of this privilege, the instructors being frequently absent of late, and the quality of instructors has been of a level that has made teachers (some of whom remain in the room in the interests of their own discipline) revolt at it being deemed "religious."

From 1940 a new attack began on the Secular clause, a "snide" attack, in which secret approaches were made and pressure brought to bear on political parties and individual politicians. The attacks came from Church leaders, Head Masters of registered schools, and "Liberal Politicians," and the object was two-fold, to get state grants for Church Schools, and to secure religious teaching in State Schools.

Church Schools, which are class schools even more than denominational schools, and cater for the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie, have flourished of late years in Victoria. Today, they are confronted with demands for extra expenditure for modern education, and with the demands of parents faced with the rising cost of living and high taxation for reduced fees. Moreover that same industrial unrest, so lamented by many churchmen, has entered their strongholds. To attract brilliant men for Leaving and Matriculation Classes the Public Schools must offer salaries higher than the State Department; naturally other male teachers then seek to improve their salaries by collective agreements. Women teachers in registered schools have secured a Wages Board and an award ranging from £234-£324 per year, a marked advance on their former miserly wages—and so the registered schools must secure State Grants if they are to survive.

Mr. Darling, of Geelong Grammar School, made the position clear in the report given in "The Age" 18/4/44, of his address at the Religion and Life Conference at Warrnambool.

"The present divorce occasioned by the word "Secular" in the Education Act made it impossible either for the State to subsidise Church Schools or to supply adequate religious teaching of its own. Mr. Darling suggested first the subsidising on a 50% basis of church schools, including the Roman Catholic system. That included the contention that individual churches had the right to educate their children as they thought right."

Reaction also plans that education shall become subservient to the creed of the ruling class by the medium of religious teaching. Mr. Darling put this clearly also.

"The second factor was the removal of the word "secular" from the Act, which would enable the daily opening of State Schools with prayer and worship. Religious instruction should be conducted in school time by school teachers who were already in the system. Training in the religious side of the work should be part of the future training of teachers. The call to teaching as a Christian vocation should be made clearly to Christian boys and girls."

The Catholic Church, which has a vast educational system today, now favours the removal of the Secular clause both because it advocates Obscurantism as a means of preventing the growth of Scientific Marxism, and because the introduction of religion into State Schools would provide the argument that Catholic children are therefore excluded from them, and the State must provide for their education.

An early attempt was made to secure the support of State School teachers for introduction of religious teaching when a resolution from the Head Teachers' Branch came before the 1943 Conference for debate. "That there be an amendment to the Act to provide for a fuller measure of religious teaching in the curriculum." "The Herald" (Murdoch press) ran columns in support of this resolution, but the teachers threw it out.

The two churches most concerned with this attempt to remove the secular clause are the two most sectarian, the Anglican and the Catholic. In 1944 the Council of Churches took a deputation to Premier Dunstan, requesting:

1. That the word secular be removed from the Education Act.
2. That legal provision be made to allow accredited representatives of religious denominations to give religious instruction on the basis of an agreed syllabus twice a week during school hours to children when parents are willing.
3. That ministers of religion when authorised by the recognised authority of their denomination have the right to give instruction to children of their own denomination.

(This clause would open the door to sectarian differences in every State School. It is also educationally unsound in that it groups children of all ages into one denominational class).

The smooth Mr. Dunstan showed favourable inclinations to the deputations, purring: "In a Christian land, surely we are all Christians."

At this stage a second Education Act Defence League was formed by progressive teachers, including Communists, Churchmen, Rationalists and Scientists, to maintain the "secular" clause and to oppose attempts to have it removed. A second deputation of legal men, clergy, journalists, scientists, rationalists, saw the Premier to stress that the removal of the clause would be a retrogressive step. Various clergy became alert to the reasons for Catholic support for the change, with the result that several Ministers' Fraternals sent letters of protest to the Premier, who decided to do nothing.

At the end of 1945 the Labor Party was returned, and the position was more secure. Still avoiding open attack, the reactionary forces make covert sorties against first one point in the line, then another, so that the League has to be constantly vigilant. It has called several public meetings, has enrolled adherents on a subscription fee of 1/-, and maintains a continuous series of press replies to letters opposing secular education. This year it has exposed two attempts of the Anglican Church to alter the status quo by (1) the introduction into Secondary Schools of a number of teachers trained and paid by the Church to conduct daily lessons on religion, an attractive offer which the present Minister flatly turned down when it was made to him by a deputation, (2) an amendment of the Act by a clause defining "secular" as non-sectarian, so that the churches could introduce an agreed syllabus into schools. After radio debates with the Anglican protagonists of this idea they retreated to their camp, agreeing that as so far the church had made little use of its privilege of half hour per week, it must give its attention to that work before it seeks to advance.

The greatest danger is that through back-stairs influence the League may be confronted with a "fait accompli." Secrecy and unconstitutionalism accompanied the introduction into the Education Course at Melbourne University of a new subject, "Method of Religious Teaching," an arbitrary act of the Vice-Chancellor. Through correspondence with the League the matter was ventilated and it seems likely that the course will not be repeated next year.

The Catholic Church continues a more open assault. After the New Education Conference the secretary of the Assisian's Guild (Catholic Teachers) attacked its support of secular education and its materialistic philosophy. Throughout the conference these teachers had questioned lecturers about secular education and had pursued the Polish delegate with queries designed to suggest that the Soviet was oppressing Poland. Once again the supporters of religious teaching are identified with the dispensers of anti-Soviet propaganda and advocates of World War II.

Dr. Mannix recently opposed Commonwealth Grants for education, which all progressive teaching organisations desire as the means of providing equal educational opportunity to every Australian girl and boy. Dr. Mannix talks of double taxation of Catholics, ignoring the fact that the neutral State Schools are open to his adherents, and that he is really advocating increased taxation of the majority for his minority.

In 1947 the Education Act Defence League, which is not an anti-religious body, as the presence of clergymen on its committee confirms, will go over to the offensive. In the interests of efficient education of the children, of tolerance, of national unity, it will not only defend the secular clause, but strive to have religious teaching completely removed from State Schools. By pamphlets and public meetings it will expose the unethical nature

of so-called "religious teaching," its bias to anti-Semitism, most pronounced in Easter lessons about the crucifixion, and its general reactionary nature. It will seek to cause the people of Victoria to demand that Section 21 be interpreted as intended in 1872.

Communists have a part to play in this struggle. By withdrawing their children from religious instruction, under the conscience clause, they can assist in demonstrating that religious instruction is not desired. They must expose the reactionary aims of religious zealots. How significant it was that Mr. A. J. Law, Principal of the Teachers' College, preaching in the Anglican Cathedral, should in the same address plead for scripture readings in school books, and condemn the Transport Strike, while Rev. W. Bottomley, chairman of the Education Act Defence League, should support the strike and expose its origin in poor wages and conditions. Communists must make it clear that it is not lack of religion that causes misbehaviour in schools, but crowded class rooms, and lack of teaching facilities; that delinquency and crime spring from the same roots as industrial unrest and war, the deficiencies of the capitalist system. India and Palestine provide terrible examples of the use of religion to divide communities; the removal of the secular clause would achieve a similar result.

We must ensure that secular education and progress have the support of every Communist, and that they are maintained by the eternal vigilance which is the price of religious liberty.

SIR JAMES JEANS

J.W.

THE late Sir James Jeans wrote a number of popular books to explain modern physics and astronomy to the layman. However, as all his writings are so heavily coloured by his philosophy, the ordinary reader is more likely to be confused than enlightened.

There are many other scientific writers with a literary style at least as pleasing and entertaining as that of Jeans. Yet Jeans is probably more widely known and more widely quoted than any other. In particular, he and Eddington have been quoted with satisfaction from more pulpits than all the rest of the modern scientists put together.

Prof. J. B. S. Haldane is another eminent scientist who has written widely on scientific subjects for the layman. His earlier books enjoyed a considerable amount of popularity. Later he became a Marxist and books like his Marxist **Philosophy and the Sciences** are hardly mentioned in respectable society.

Why did Jeans enjoy the esteem of the bourgeois world?

In class society those philosophies which support the existing order are the ones most favoured by the supporters of the ruling class.

Thus during last century the most publicised popular philosophies were those like Herbert Spencer's, which distorted the scientific knowledge of evolution and transformed Darwin's conception of the 'survival of the fittest' into a philosophical system which justified unscrupulous, cut-throat competition.

Now it is the age of monopoly capitalism, of capitalism in decay, which tends to fascism. The philosophy of fascism involves blind faith in a 'leader' and mystical conceptions of 'blood' and 'race'. The belief in human reason, in man's ability to know, understand and use the laws of nature and society, is discouraged. Whereas rationalism and materialism were the philosophies which assisted the French bourgeoisie to overthrow the authority of the feudal aristocracy, now materialism has become the philosophy of the working class. Anything which can be used to draw workers and intellectuals away from the revolutionary working-class movement is used by those who support the ruling class.

The philosophy of Sir James Jeans is so used. Just as the Victorian philosophers drew false conclusions from the biological science of the day, so did Jeans draw false conclusions from modern physical science.

Jean's influence spreads far beyond the readers of his books. Because of the growth of scientific knowledge, pure religious faith has lost much of its former appeal. Idealists of all sorts like now to refer to some scientific 'authority' to support their arguments. Hence the sayings of Jeans are quoted far and wide.

Lenin found it necessary to write a long book, **Materialism and Empirio-Criticism**, to combat the influence of the 'scientific', idealistic sceptical philosophers Mach, Avernarius and others of his day. A study of that book would also expose Jeans's philosophy, which is basically similar.

In this short article I can deal only briefly with one or two aspects of Jeans's philosophy.

Jeans professed to derive his conclusions from modern scientific knowledge. To those not versed in science or philosophy, therefore, his theories would seem to possess a high degree of authority. Yet his reasoning from known scientific facts to his speculations on the nature of God and man is completely illogical.

Our modern knowledge of nature and society has been possible only because of the basic assumption that all natural and social phenomena are subject to definite laws. There is no outside, supernatural meddling with those laws, says the scientist.

Were it not so, were events subject to interference by some outside power, it would be impossible to discover any underlying, consistent scientific law. Yet scientists have been able to discover more and more laws governing the behaviour of natural processes and have proved the truth of those laws by accurately predicting what will happen under particular circumstances

In the same way social scientists can predict the course of development of society under particular historical conditions. Marxists were able to predict the coming depression in 1929, for example

It is because Marxists have grasped the underlying laws of the development of society that they are able to hasten and make less violent the collapse of capitalism. Were it not for their knowledge of the laws of society, Marxists would be as helpless as Utopian dreamers in attempting to change the world. On the other hand, if man's destiny were guided by some external Power, not subject to natural laws, but capable of creating events in history in order to punish offending nations or to demonstrate his power, it would be useless to attempt a scientific study of the world and the way to change it.

Yet Jeans, by distorting the findings of modern science, introduces a mystical and sceptical conception of the world.

How does he do this?

Here is an example. An important statement of modern physics is Heisenberg's Principle of Uncertainty. The use of the term 'Principle of Uncertainty' could quite easily confuse the layman into thinking that the scientists had now discovered that when we get down to the basic particles of matter definite laws no longer apply, but that the behaviour of electrons is determined by chance or by the action of some mysterious power. And so the Principle of Uncertainty has been seized upon with delight by all those who believe in the existence of some supernatural power and desire a weapon to attack the materialists.

Their arguments are fortified by scientists like Jeans and Eddington who also use this Principle to justify their idealistic philosophy. Thus Jeans says: 'Heisenberg now makes it appear that nature abhors accuracy and precision above all things.' Also, that 'the future may not be so unalterably determined by the past as we used to think: in part at least it may rest on the knees of whatever Gods there be'.

If electrons and atoms were not accurate and precise, atomic research would be a chancy affair. But the success of the atomic bomb shows that scientists have been able to find out very accurately how atoms and electrons behave. As everyone knows, the bomb was made on the basis of a theoretical understanding of the laws of behaviour of atoms and required extremely accurate and precise calculations. That these laws did hold, with no uncertainty, was proved by the atomic bomb.

The Principle of Uncertainty does not in fact contradict the basic scientific assumption of natural law. In brief, it states that it is not possible for an observer to determine exactly both the position and speed of an electron. To draw the philosophical conclusions that Jeans does is completely unscientific.

The belief in a mysterious, supernatural force is the main theme of Jeans's philosophy. The very title of his most famous book, **The Mysterious Universe**, suggests it. In his presidential address to the British Association in 1934 he talked of 'a mysterious world outside ourselves to which our minds can never penetrate'.

He attempts also to show that men, or at least their thoughts, have something akin to the 'Great Architect of the Universe' himself. He suggests that because we find that natural phenomena can be described in mathematical terms — which he asserts are the result of 'pure thought'—then the Being that made the Universe must think mathematically. If man by purely abstract thinking, says Jeans, derives a system of mathematics which is the same system that God used in designing the Universe then man must be akin to God. And so, he says, 'from the intrinsic evidence of his creation, the Great Architect of the Universe now begins to appear as a pure mathematician'. Dr. L. Susan Stebbing comments: "In short, a Being well fitted to become the President of the Royal Society —a colleague of Jeans himself'.

There is nothing remarkable in the fact that nature obeys mathematical laws when we consider that these laws were themselves derived from a study of nature, and are tested by an examination of nature. But Jeans ignores the materialistic interpretation for his idealistic speculation.

And where does all this lead? Whatever Jeans intended, it does in fact lead to a faith in 'authority' rather than to belief in human reason. It leads to a mysticism which supports reactionary policies. The mysticism of the Nazi's belief in 'blood' and 'leadership' is assisted by philosophical idealism such as that of Jeans.

Lest you think that this is far-fetched and that Jeans's ideas are quite harmless and legitimate speculations, let me quote a typical passage which shows how support is given by the philosophising scientists to reactionary ideas.

"In place of the older materialism there is now coming into prominence a new idealism. The interesting fact about this change of atmosphere is that leading scientists are putting forward spiritua' interpretations of Nature (e.g. Jeans, Einstein Eddington).

"The optimistic faith of scientists and philosophers that reason would at last triumph has given way either to despair or to a recognition of the severe limitations of science. The remarkable

feature of the surrender of this naive belief in the future of science is that it has been made by the scientists themselves. 'It has come to light that the laws which were supposed to reign throughout the physical world do not reign at all in the sub-microscopic phase of that world. The foundations of the physical world do not obey what is known as physical law. The electron has a particle-aspect and a wave-aspect, and there can be no way of thinking these two aspects together.' This refers to Heisenberg's Principle of Uncertainty. 'The modern atomic theory even more than the theory of Relativity is a shock to the old ways of thinking. Of course, it is a shock which science has administered to itself'.

"What has happened in science has happened at the same time in all other spheres wherein human reason seeks to penetrate to the secrets of existence, so that the man who is intellectually sensitive is forced to make two admissions—often with sorrow. 'Science is incompetent to reach the secret of existence. Philosophy is incompetent to reach the secret of existence'.

"This is the point reached by modern thought. What is to be the next step? There are two possible answers. The first, 'Therefore there is no way of reaching the secret of existence.' The second is to admit that Reason has discovered her limitations, Knowledge her boundaries, and both must be supplemented or superseded by a Revelation. This revelation is known only to Faith".
(Rev. A. C. Watson, in 'Christ and Tomorrow.')

The writer then proceeds to give the following 'illustrative quotation' from Sir Michael Sadler. "The young are eager and hungry for faith, for work, for a leader whom they can trust and follow without question. They are not interested in what at one time I would have gone to the stake for—I mean liberty of thought. Give them the possibility of ardour of achievement, and they would not give a hang about the freedom of the press. Once the young have found their leader and accepted his purpose, there will be a revolution."

The 'revolution' that Sir Michael Sadler talks about is not a revolution, it is a fascist counter-revolution. We see, then, from the passages quoted, how a justification for a faith in a 'leader'—a 'fuehrer'—can follow directly from the confused writings of Jeans and his like.

Because it leads along false paths and away from the scientific revolutionary movement is the reason why Jeans's philosophy is so much admired by those who wish to retain the existing order at all costs.

Questions & Answers

conducted by L. H. GOULD

What is this much-talked-of "Western" culture? Is there anything in history, ethics or philosophy to substantiate the claim of superiority of the West over the East?—E. F. Walden.

THE direct refutation of these hypocritical claims is that the West produced imperialist oppression and imperialist war — including two world wars and some 80 smaller military conflicts since 1914! It was Western civilisation that spawned Hitler, Petain, Franco, Mussolini, Laval and Mosley. The fifth column and Nazi gas chambers, wholesale massacres of Jews and other peoples, and the current preparations for atomic and bacteriological warfare are the most recent expressions of the "Western way of life."

Hitler was a Westerner. If it be argued that he wasn't quite so Western, so gentlemanly, so refined, so sportsmanlike as the Anglo-Saxon, the reply is that Hitler learned most of his terrorist technique from Anglo-American imperialism, e.g., the oppression of colonial peoples, or the Ludlow Massacre in USA when the authorities shot and burned alive striking miners, their wives and children. Hitlerism was "accepted" by the West in all the "best circles." In Australia (which is also, of course, of the West) UAP premier of NSW Stevens accepted a medal from the Nazis; NSW Police Commissioner Mackay went to Nazi Germany to "study" police methods there. There are of course differences between the East and West in tradition, more, culture, but they are unessential differences; such differences exist between any two Western, or two Eastern countries, and between sections of any single country. In the fundamentals of social outlook and practice, however, there is no difference between the MacArthurs, Trumans, Menzies, Francos, Mussolinis and Churchills.

Today, politically, the "East" is decidedly very far ahead of the "West." This is not because of any inherent superiority of Eastern peoples; there is no such thing. It is because the peoples of Eastern Europe (Russians, Czechs, Poles, etc.) have advanced far beyond the social order of the West. In the East, the exploitation of man by man has completely ended, or is ending; and there, culturally, society rejects categorically the old conceptions (so beloved of the master class in the West) of inequality of the sexes, the master-servant relation or any form of servitude or dependence, race "theories" and national oppression and, not least, the need or inevitability of war.

It is true that the West did make substantial contributions to civilisation. But that was in the past. These claims of superiority are applied to the present-day world, i.e, in the era of imperialist decline. They are utterly false because the very essence of imperialism is, politically, intense exploitation and warmaking and, culturally, negativism, pornography, irrationalism and universal corruption. A social system that drenches the earth periodically with its saturnalias of blood has no longer a right to exist—let alone call itself "superior"!

Hence the arrant hypocrisy. Oppression always cloaks itself in respectable garb. Marx observed that "the greater the development of antagonism between the growing forces of production and the extant social order, the more does the ideology of the ruling class become permeated with hypocrisy. In addition, the more effectively life unveils the mendacious character of this ideology, the more does the language used by the dominant class become sublime and virtuous."

The historic contribution of the West to mankind was the capitalist mode of production, which represented an enormous economic, scientific and cultural advance over the earlier feudal society. The bourgeois-democratic revolution provided the basis for mankind's eventual emancipation from classes and class oppression. But, among other shortcomings, capitalist democracy is a democracy enjoyed almost exclusively by the rich. Fascism is the ultimate in horror, but capitalism also caused some of the most terrible sufferings of the masses both at home (children as young as six and even four years working in the mills and mines), and abroad ("the white peoples are known mainly for their crimes"). Let the apologist for Western culture explain democracy, freedom, human dignity, etc., in a society dominated by economic insecurity, slums, poor education and hoplessly inadequate health services for the overwhelming majority of the population! What "respect for the human personality" was there during the depression when hundreds of thousands of independent, free-spirited Australians were thrown on the dole? Furthermore, in this century in the West, and as occasion suited the ruling class, capitalist democracy quickly descended into what Lenin called the "bloody morass" of militarism, ruthless censorship, and the savage deprivation of the most elementary rights of the toilers.

Some of the myths and hypocrisies of Western capitalist society are fairly easily exposed, e.g., the commercialisation of sport, commercialisation of Mother's Day, the corruption in bourgeois art, and so on. Others present a more difficult problem. Take the legend, fortified by thousands of books, that Scotland Yard guards the public against crime. It does, but only to a limited degree; in any case, the capitalists must have some means, or agency, to protect them and their property from the depredations of burglars and forgers. But the real function of Scotland Yard (also the notorious FBI in USA, the Royal North-West Mounted Police of Canada, and in Australia, Dr. Evatt's Commonwealth Investigation Bureau) is, as an arm of the capitalist state apparatus for the organisation of espionage and provocation against the Labor Movement. Scotland Yard with its legendary "great detectives" and "trained investigators" has always been one of the chief weapons employed by Britain's imperialists against their own workers, the colonial peoples and, far from least, against the Soviet Union.

The patriotism of the bourgeoisie is another legend. Bourgeois patriotism had some reality in that earlier period in history when the bourgeoisie were creating the great modern nations. But history is already full of examples of bourgeois treason, in the West no less than in the East (e.g., the French capitalists uniting with the invading Prussians against the Paris Commune; Britain's millionaires rearming Hitlerite Germany; the tender solicitude shown by the Australian capitalist class and their press for those individuals charged with aiding Japan during the war).

Two other proofs may be adduced:—

1. **Military theory.** The first "principle of war" for centuries was known as the "Maintenance of the Objective." This meant simply that when Country A went to war with Country B, the objective of victory over B was to be maintained at all costs; every consideration — supplies, alliances, training of troops, costs, etc. — had to be subordinated to that one single aim. Sound doctrine, without doubt. But since the October Revolution, this first principle has been dropped from military text-books in Western countries. Why? Because if imperialist Country A (England) is at war with imperialist Country B (Germany) the objective of victory might have to be modified in the course of the struggle. Victory might turn out to be not at all desirable, or not too desirable. In fact, victory might endanger the victor! Hence, the Munichism after Hitler's accession to power; hence the "switch-the-war" plots in the early part of the war; hence the current moves to restore the military power of Germany and Japan. And hence the concern of the Trumans and Attlees for the monarchist-fascist regime of Greece.

2. **Treason as a Virtue.** Another proof is the contrasting treatment by the Soviet Union and Britain of their respective "fifth columns." The Soviet suppressed the Trotskyites, a number of those wreckers and spies being executed. In Britain, one of the traitors, Grand Admiral Sir Barry Domville, was interned for a short period, but he continued to collect his £1200 pension!

What price patriotism? Here are two strikingly opposed civilisations. To this day Trotsky and his fellow-gangsters are "vindicated" in capitalist newspapers and in rightwing labor journals.

The American imperialists are also adepts in donning the mask of culture, religion, honor and democracy. President Wilson set the fashion in

modern times with his call "to make the world safe for democracy." He kept intoning this plea even while scheming to make USA the first imperialist power on earth, and to strangle the new Soviet Republic. General MacArthur seldom omits the Deity in his pronouncements; the billionaire Andrew Mellon "always made it a practice of taking God into partnership with him"! The editorials in the Australian yellow press provide daily examples of the capacity of the parasites to use "sublime and virtuous" language.

Here are a few short figures about American capitalist ("moral, cultured, democratic") civilisation. They are supplied by its own officials and statisticians. In studying them one realises the heavy tasks confronting the American Communists, trade unions and other progressive forces. Five to six million persons live by crime; one in every 11 is "tainted to some degree" with syphilis; one out of 16 will visit as a patient a mental institution in the course of his life; one out of every five books is "designedly pornographic." This is official capitalist society today which, according to Truman, is to act as guardian of "free" peoples in all parts of the world!

To summarise, Western (bourgeois) culture and morality are as moribund and repulsive as the society they reflect. All values become perverted in a society where money-making is the highest aim. And more and more is Western culture characterised by irrationalism, by rejection of science (except for war), by the repudiation of those very cultural achievements associated with the emergence and development of capitalism. When a scientist, a really great scientist, like Sir James Jeans can say in all seriousness: "nature abhors accuracy and precision above all things," we are given a fitting commentary on imperialism in extreme decline (recall Lenin's branding of the Jeans' and Eddingtons of his day as "scientific salesmen of theology"). All the talk about democracy, ideals, "the things we hold dear," freedom, etc., only cloak the black magic, gloom and negativism of a society hurrying to its doom.

The proletarians, while part of that society, are also its gravediggers. In fighting for their own future, they must skilfully and resolutely combat the lies and shams, whether in the guise of a "new" philosophy or the regular outpourings of the publicists of the capitalist class.

[References: All Marxist works deal in one way or another with this subject. The most available perhaps are the **Manifesto of the Communist Party** and Lenin's **Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade.** For a clear, if unwitting, description of the corruption, treason, double-dealing, hypocrisy and bureaucratism of capitalist society the reader is referred to such works as the **War Memoirs** of Lloyd George.]

BOOK REVIEW

History of the Civil War in the U.S.S.R. Vol. 2. The Great Proletarian Revolution.

JULIE LATTER.

IT is almost a decade since a Commission of the C.P.S.U. commenced the preparation of the full history of the Civil War, and at least six years since Volume I was received in Australia. The compilation of this present volume was completed in 1941 and was published in Russian early in the following year. But for the Hitlerite attack in June, 1941, we should doubtless have had the translation soon afterwards.

The authors and editors include many world-famous figures such as Gorky, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kirov, Zhdanov and Stalin.

The period is the same as that covered by John Reed's **Ten Days That Shook The World,** a book which was eagerly devoured by English-speaking people at a time when no other history of the early days of the October Revolution was available. That book had, however, many shortcomings, due both to lack of adequate documentation and factual information, and to the absence of a Marxist approach and interpretation. Consequently, Reed's book was confusing and hard to read.

Volume II of **The History of the Civil War** supplies what was lacking in our conception of the struggle. The narrative is freshly and vividly written and the personality of Lenin emerges three-dimensionally from the text. The value of the book to active Communists, however, lies in the political lessons which are drawn from the events of 1917, and the clarification of the political strategy underlying the course formulated by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

A detailed account is given of the work of preparing for the armed insurrection, of convincing the Party that the crisis had matured, of exposing Kerensky, and the Mensheviks still within the recently-formed Soviets, the participation of the Bolsheviks in the Pre-Parliament and the subsequent boycott after a short declaration aimed at destroying the illusion that a peaceful development of the

Revolution was possible; concentration of the Bolshevik groups in the factories and barracks to facilitate choice of the correct time at which to start the insurrection.

The correction of mistakes was stressed by Lenin: "It is not dangerous for the fighting Party of the advanced class to make mistakes; it is dangerous, however, to persist in error, to refuse out of false pride to admit and correct mistakes."

While Lenin emphasised the fact that the political fate of the people would be decided primarily by the victory of the revolution in Petrograd and in Moscow, the Bolshevik Party never assumed that the rest of the country would automatically follow Petrograd and Moscow. Mobilisation took place all over the country and methods of work to win the masses to the Bolshevik struggle had to be adapted to local conditions.

Even before the uprising, the followers of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev played a treacherous role and attempted to sabotage the Revolution by an allegedly "democratic" resolution to postpone a decision until the arrival of Bolshevik delegates to the Congress. When this was defeated, they completed their treachery by handing a statement of their disagreements with the Central Committee to the Menshevik press, thus informing the enemy that an insurrection was contemplated. The Bolsheviks continued their preparations undeterred by this betrayal.

Lenin showed himself as the great master of revolutionary strategy and tactics. He formulated rules for the conduct of the armed insurrection. "You must concentrate **a great superiority of forces** at the decisive point, at the decisive moment, otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of being better prepared and organised, will destroy the insurgents.

"Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest **determination** and take **the offensive** without fail. Defence means death to armed insurrection."

No sooner had the Bolsheviks seized power than they were beset by all the problems of building the infant Socialist state. "The food situation in revolutionary Petrograd was extremely grave. All the work of keeping the capital supplied with food was conducted under the direct guidance of Lenin and Stalin."

The concluding chapter states:

"Not a single revolution in human history had destroyed the obstacles standing in the path of the new society as thoroughly and relentlessly as the October Revolution swept away the obstacles standing in the path of the new Socialist society. And this gigantic task of releasing the land from its feudal fetters was accomplished in the first few weeks of the proletarian dictatorship. The bourgeois state machine was demolished; bureaucracy was shattered to its foundations. The peoples swept away the ancient caste barriers, abolished landlord rule—feudal landownership, and reduced the obsolete feudal institutions to ashes.

"But the revolution did not confine itself to breaking up the old. While destroying, the people also built on a vast scale, and with creative energy. Out of the flames of the revolutionary conflagration an entirely new state administration arose. In the place of the old and disintegrated army, the foundations of a new workers' and peasants' army were laid. New organs for the management of the country's economy were created.

"Thus, the foundations of the Socialist society began to be laid in the very first days of the existence of the Soviet Republic."

The book has a detailed chronology of the events of the period it covers, a full list of references and sources quoted in every chapter, and a comprehensive index of names and a list of newspapers quoted. It is profusely illustrated with many full-page reproductions of drawings and paintings by Soviet artists, as well as numerous smaller productions and photographs of Soviet leaders. Outstanding among these is a perfect facsimile of the resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party on October 10th, 1917, on armed insurrection, drafted by Lenin himself.

Beautifully produced by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, the book can be obtained from Current Book Distributors or progressive bookshops (price 15/-).

CAN YOU ALTER CAT NATURE?

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

AFTER a lecture which I recently gave on the question, "Are we losing our morality?" someone asked me, "Can one change human nature?"

I don't know the answer, because I don't know what "human nature" means. But if you put the question in the more concrete form: "Can one change the sort of things which people want to do?" the answer is undoubtedly Yes.

In one type of society competition is a strong motive, though it may be competition for money, the esteem of one's fellows, or the prospect of escaping hell-fire.

In others, co-operation is an equally strong motive. People want to work with and for others, and are not interested in excelling them. Probably the ideal is a blend of the two, where everyone tries to be useful, but is quite pleased if he is more useful than his neighbor.

When a scientist is asked a question of this kind, he often gets a great deal of information from ani-

mals. One can experiment on them, and they are less likely to do what is expected of them to please mummy or teacher, and therefore one gets a clearer answer.

The cat is a good subject for experiments of this kind, since it is harder to train than a dog, and less susceptible to reward or punishment.

In the experiment which I am going to describe, Zing Yang-kuo, of Hangchow University, tried to get an answer to the question, "Is it part of the nature of cats to kill mice and rats?"

He worked on fifty-nine kittens, divided into three groups.

Each member of group A lived with a rat or mouse from the age of a week upward, except that until it was weaned at about a fortnight it was put with its mother at night.

Group B was kept in solitary confinement in cages after weaning, except for the tests described later. Neither Group A nor Group B was allowed to see a mother kill a mouse or rat.

Group C lived with their mothers throughout the experiment. And every four days they saw their mother kill an animal which might be a white rat, an ordinary mouse, or a small dancing mouse. The mother was not allowed to eat it, and each mother cat killed only one kind of animal.

From the age of a week onward, the following experiment was done on each kitten every fourth day. It was put in a cage with a white rat for half an hour, then with a large mouse, and finally with a small dancing mouse. The experiments went on till the kitten either killed one or more animals, or reached the age of four months.

The results were absolutely conclusive. Only three of the 18 kittens of group A ever killed an animal.

In no case did they kill an animal of the kind with which they had been brought up. On the contrary, they treated such animals with friendship.

Nine out of 20 kittens in Group B killed an animal. They were more likely to kill a mouse than a rat, and a small mouse than a large one. If they had killed a large one, they usually killed the smaller ones also. But less than half of them ever killed one.

Finally, eighteen out of the twenty-one kittens in group C were killers. In almost every case the animal first killed was one of the kind which they had seen their mothers kill.

Diet had no effect. Half the kittens in each group were given meat, the others were not. The meat eaters were no more likely to kill, but if they did so they were likely to eat their victims.

Nor did it make any difference whether a kitten had just been fed, or had gone without food for 12 hours before the test. In the absence of previous experience, hunger does not make a kitten violent.

The experiment went on. The pacifist kittens of Groups A and B were given another two months during which they could see other cats killing mice or rats.

Nine out of the eleven kittens of Group B fell for this propaganda, but only one of the 15 kittens in Group A, which had lived with a mouse or rat.

I have no doubt that there were innate differences between these kittens as well.

If Mr. Kuo had bred from the three pacifist kittens of Group C and gone on selecting those which did not kill even when they saw their mothers doing so, he could probably have produced a race of cats which never killed mice or rats.

Similarly, he could have bred a very fierce breed from the killer kittens of group A. Whether such a result would need ten generations or several thousand I do not know. But ten generations are quite enough to separate out groups of rats with very different abilities as regards finding their way through mazes.

Nevertheless it is quite clear that the education of these kittens counted for a great deal more than any inborn differences which may have existed between them.

The evidence of anthropology is very strong that the same is true for men.

And, of course, with human beings, precept as well as example counts. Though I don't think it counts for as much as some people think. The example of parents who behave decently is worth any amount of "pi-jaw" from parents who do not. However, that is only my personal opinion, and is not based on any statistics.

My attention was called to Kuo's work by Cohen's "Human Nature, War and Society,"* a book with which I disagree, because, after an excellent start, it never deals seriously with the fundamental question: "What types of social structure lead to war?"

Mr. Cohen may well believe that the Marxist answer to this question is incorrect, but he is not likely to win Marxists over to his views if he ignores it.

Nevertheless, the history of Kuo's kittens is only one of his arguments to show that war is not an unavoidable evil rooted in human nature.

The next step in the argument, if we want to do something practical, is to show that the basic causes of wars, even of those fought in the name of superior religions or superior races, are mainly economic, and then to do our utmost to abolish the economic causes of war.

* Watts and Co., 1946.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT
TO THE EDITOR,
COMMUNIST REVIEW,
695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY,
AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIRST
OF THE MONTH.

N.S.W. ELECTIONS

R. DIXON

BY securing the return of the McGirr Government in N.S.W. the labor movement won an outstanding victory over reaction. Whereas in the old Parliament the Labor Party held 57 seats out of a total of 90, in the new Parliament they will have 52 seats, which gives them a substantial majority over the Liberal-Country Parties. They lost five seats to the Liberal and Country Parties.

A very bitter campaign was waged by the Tory forces to defeat the Labor Party and thereby repeat the South Australian and Western Australian results. But the swing away from the Labor Party was so slight that the aims of the reactionary parties were unrealised.

The main campaigning point of the Liberal Party was for "more production", which, unless the workers' standard of living was raised, merely meant more profits for the capitalist class which Messrs. Treatt and Bruxner represent. "More production" was to be achieved by imposing "secret ballots" on the Unions and attacking the Communist Party. Just how these measures were to cause production to rise the Liberal and Country Party leaders were unable to explain. Their policy was so patently transparent that the majority of the electors rejected it.

On the other hand, the policy of Labor Premier McGirr was constructive and progressive. It contrasted strongly with the policy of his predecessor Mr. McKell, which had brought the Labor Party into disrepute, caused serious division in the labor movement and threatened to bring the Labor Government down. It was markedly different from that being pursued by Mr. Chifley, which has resulted in lowering the purchasing power of wages and increasing the profits of the capitalists.

The 40-hour legislation and the election programme of Mr. McGirr, which provided for higher living standards, price control, an enlarged housing scheme and other measures to benefit workers, farmers and middle-class people, aroused a new interest in the Labor Government and created a greater degree of confidence and unity within the labor movement than we have seen for some time.

It was not surprising, therefore, that in the electorates where the working-class voters predominate, the labor candidates increased their majorities, mainly at the expense of the Lang Party, which received a severe setback.

The decline in Labor Party support took place in country and metropolitan electorates where farmers and middle-class voters predominate. The fact that reaction is getting more support from these sections of the people in its attacks upon the labor movement must cause us serious concern. There is no doubt that the swing away from the Labor Party, shown in the Federal Elections last year, has been arrested, but we cannot be content with this.

Some spokesmen for the Labor Party, in dealing with the election results, said that Labor's big majority in the old Parliament was the result of a landslide to Labor and that it was to be expeced that there would be some movement back to the Liberal and Country Parties. They are quite satisfied with the election results even though they lost a number of seats.

This very self-satisfied and consoling view, which is prevalent in the leading circles of the Labor Party, is dangerous for the working class. If farmers and middle-class people, after supporting the Labor Party, swing away again, it is because Labor's policy is not broad and progressive and does not aim to consolidate farmer and middle-class support on the basis of those interests they have in common with the working class.

Many farmers and middle-class people, who supported the Labor Party in the 1944 elections, voted for the Country Party and Liberals in 1947 because they resented Labor Party policy, and that is something in which no one in the Labor Movement should find cause for self-satisfaction.

The establishment of a firm alliance between the working class, the farmers and middle class is essential for the victory of Socialism.

The history of elections in Australia shows that big sections of farmers and middle-class people have, again and again, swung to the side of the labor movement only to be driven back into the arms of the Tory Parties by the policy of right-wing Labor leaders.

The viewpoint of the right-wing Labor leaders, who base themselves upon capitalism, is that working-class interests and principles must be sacrificed in order to win support from the farmers and middle-class people.

It is necessary only to point to the fact that the small farmers and middle classes are also exploited and oppressed by capitalism in order to show how much they have in common with the working class in the struggle against capital and how the policy of the Labor Party leaders divides the workers, farmers and middle classes, sets one against the other, instead of drawing them into the common fight against the capitalist class.

The labor movement must fight for a policy that is progressive and democratic, which takes as its starting point the interests and needs of the workers, farmers and middle-class in the struggle against capital, and which aims to win allies for the working class in the struggle against capitalism.

Another feature of the elections was the marked tendency to adhere to the traditional parties—the Labor, Liberal and Country Parties. Independents lost votes everywhere to the Liberal and Country Parties and their numbers in Parliament have been reduced from 3 to 1. The total vote of the Lang Party fell from 102,240 in 1944 to 58,201.

The political degeneration of the Lang Party is becoming clear even to the most hardened Langites. Mr. J. T. Lang has voted on no less than 19 occasions with the Liberals against the Labor Party in the last seven months, and in the State Elections the Lang candidates in a number of electorates gave their number two preference to the Liberal Party candidate instead of the Labor Party. Instead of Lang Labor, this Party has become known as the Lang-Liberal Party.

These facts, combined with the consistent exposure of Langism by the Communist Party and the progressive policy of the McGirr Government, account for the decline in the Lang Party vote.

There was also a decline in the vote for the Communist Party. Compared with the State Elections in 1944 our vote fell in Waratah (Deacon) from 5,102 to 2,690; in Lakemba (Ogston) from 4,668 to 1,785; in Balmain (Moran) from 5,186 to 1,662 and in Bulli (Martin) from 4,016 to 2,714.

On this occasion we contested many more seats than in 1944. Our 16 candidates received a total of 27,000 votes.

In 1944 conditions were much more favorable for the Communist Party. The Soviet Red Army was achieving big victories in the people's war against fascism, there was a powerful swing to the left on the part of the masses, and the Communist Party, because of the important part it was playing in the struggle for victory, attracted wide support.

In the more recent period the reaction has become stronger and a most vicious campaign has been waged against the Communist Party by capitalist newspapers, Liberal, right-wing Labor politicians and reformists.

In the first period after the end of the war the Communist Party was called upon to lead the great strikes of the Steelworkers, Miners and Seamen in N.S.W. and the Meatworkers in Queensland, strikes which were forced upon the workers by employer provocation. These struggles were essentially defensive in character and inevitably, because of the issues involved—victimisation—and the lying press campaign, created doubt in the minds of middle-class people and farmers as well as the less developed workers about the role of the Communist Party. On the other hand, the big and successful struggles of the Transport workers in Victoria and Steelworkers for wage increases, as experience shows, aroused enthusiasm among the workers and won support from the middle classes who could see the importance of these struggles for higher living standards.

In general, we can say that conditions in 1947 were much less favorable for the Communist Party to secure a big election vote than in 1944. This, combined with the progressive policy of the McGirr Government and the tendency to swing back to the traditional Parties, unquestionably affected the vote for the Communist Party.

Nevertheless, it is well to note that in electorates we contested that coincided with subdivisions of Federal electorates in which we ran candidates at the Federal Elections, our vote, in almost every instance, was higher than in the Federal Elections.

Our policy was well received and all reports indicate a growing interest in the Party.

In general we can say that while the vote for the Communist candidates was disappointing, the over-all result was very good.

The reaction has suffered a reverse. The slanderous campaign of the capitalist press against the labor movement and the Labor Government, which mounted in intensity as the elections approached, failed to achieve the results the ruling class wanted.

It is also significant that the leaders of the Labor team in N.S.W. did not join in the red-baiting campaign that the Liberal politicians and newspapers were trying to inveigle them into. They put forward a constructive and progressive policy and stuck to it and, as a result, won the respect and support of a majority of the electors.

The elections, and the McGirr Government's policy, have certainly promoted unity in the N.S.W. labor movement.

It is essential to strengthen this movement towards unity to overcome the division in the labor movement, which only helps reaction.

The Communist Party will play its part in the struggle for unity and we are convinced that the realisation of the policy of the McGirr Government, which must command general support in the labor movement, provides a real basis for united action by all sections of the labor movement.

THE METAL TRADES STRIKE

E. J. ROWE

WITH the return to work of the striking engineers, ironworkers, transport workers and F.E.D.F.A. members in Victoria, what will undoubtedly rank as one of the most powerful strike struggles ever waged by the Australian working class has been successfully concluded.

Waged most determinedly by 20,000 workers and extending over many months, the strike reached new levels in the offensive struggles that have marked the recent period. It was characterised by a powerful fighting unity and alliance among the Unions participating in the struggle and had the warm sympathy and support of the mass of the people, a fact exemplified in the dismal failure of the vicious press campaign aimed at turning public support from the strikes.

I have traversed in previous articles in the Review the genesis and early history of the dispute, how it grew from a lock-out of some 3,000 metal workers by the Chamber of Manufacturers in November, 1946, how the employers beneficently opened the factories again (on pre-lock-out conditions) in January, 1947, and how the A.E.U., rejecting any return to work under these conditions, reaffirmed the demand for £1 per week increase and decided to extend the dispute by withdrawing all members from shops affiliated to the Chamber of Manufacturers.

Considerable disagreement existed among the employers and in all some 124 shops agreed to pay the £1 and continued working.

This was in early February '47. The Metal Trades Federation endorsed the dispute and its conduct was taken over by the A.C.T.U., which set up a Disputes Committee consisting of the Emergency Committee of the A.C.T.U., plus one representative from each of the metal unions, plus the A.E.U.

On February 17 the employers referred the dispute into the Arbitration Court and the reference came before Conciliation Commissioner Mooney, who, after hearing a long legal argument on wage-pegging from the employers, handed down a judgment dividing the metal workers into three groups and offering marginal increases as follows:

1. All margins over 27/-, an increase of 9/- per week;
2. All margins from 20/- to 27/-, and certain foundry workers, an increase of 7/- per week;
3. All other marginal rates an increase of 5/- per week;

but declared it conditional upon the Unions returning to work, a proposition the striking unions emphatically rejected.

The Disputes Committee met also, and declared the Award unsatisfactory, but decided to arrange a conference with the employers with a view to obtaining a better settlement.

The employers, sitting securely behind the Mooney judgment, refused to discuss wage increases. They were fortified, I am afraid, by a shrewd assessment of the complete lack of desire for struggle by the right-wing leaders of some metal unions—an accurate assessment as was later proved.

The Committee talked incessantly, but refused the demand of the striking Unions for an extension of the dispute involving their members who were working in the shops from which the strikers had been withdrawn.

On March 18 Mr. Mooney decided to make his offer a legal award and varied the necessary awards accordingly. The Melbourne District Committee of the A.E.U. then met and unanimously decided to extend the dispute to railways, tramways and certain power stations, this extension to take place on March 22.

This move of course involved the Victorian Labor Government and the Premier, Mr. Cain, joined in a powerful and very vicious Press campaign designed to stampede a mass meeting of A.E.U. members called by the District Committee for the 24th, to consider the extension. All the old, vulgar red-baiting arguments were used by the Press and the right-wing politicians, but the mass meeting of nearly 7,000 A.E.U. members gave a glorious, smashing reply to the bourgeoisie and their stooges.

After hearing a report from myself in which I explained the reason for the campaign, the huge meeting, with only 5 dissentients, carried a resolution endorsing the extension and pledging unity to continue the fight. It then went on to unanimously condemn the antics of Cain and Co. and demanded that "instead of linking up with the employers they assist us to win our wage demands."

This inspiring meeting shocked and dismayed the reaction and the Press campaign redoubled in violence. The A.E.U. was now "Communist-controlled" and holding the community to ransom, but obviously something more positive had to be done. A slow paralysis was developing over Victoria's transport system — tramway buses were off the streets—trams were going out of commission—the A.R.U. had made common cause with the engineers and withdrawn all men in similar classifications. Discussions were taking place.

Mr. Cain (not so volubly "red-baiting" now) and some of his Ministers flew to Canberra to consult the Prime Minister and acquaint him of Victoria's troubles. Up till now Mr. Chifley had been viewing events from his ivory castle at Canberra. Later he made a surprise flight to Melbourne and —the Press said—talked with some Arbitration Court judges. Later still some proposed amend-

ments to the wage-pegging regulations were announced and the striking Victorian workers had won a real victory for the whole of the workers—a first taste of their own.

The right wing were now busy assuring us that the road was opened for a return to work and a hearing by the Court — but the Unions were still demanding a conference and some reasonable guarantee of substantial wage increases.

The Federal Minister for Labor referred all the disputes under Regulation 9 (Industrial Peace Act) and the matter came before the Full Arbitration Court. The Court refused to hear the Unions until a return to work was undertaken and suggested a conference — the employers once more refused.

The A.E.U. District Committee again unanimously decided to withdraw all staff hands and apprentices from Newport Railway Power House. The A.R.U., and now the F.E.D.F.A., endorsed this and took parallel action. Melbourne's electric trains were stopped and a terrific strain imposed on the overtaxed trams.

Obviously the Unions were united and determined, and if they were to be defeated it had become necessary for the right wing allies of the reaction in the Unions to emerge more openly. So they did so.

The Disputes Committee met, condemned the extension and decided to call the A.C.T.U. Executive together to "control" the Unions concerned. At the same time the Press gleefully carried the story that the Commonwealth Council of the A.E.U. had recalled Cranwell and Rowe to Sydney and proposed to "take the conduct of the dispute from them."

Curiously enough this campaign coincided with a rush plane visit to Sydney by Mr. Kenneally — a member of the Cain Cabinet—who interviewed a member of the Commonwealth Council of the A.E.U. and "discussed the strike and a resumption of work." Present also was Mr. R. A. King, vice-President of the A.C.T.U.

The Commonwealth Council, defeating an attempt to send the men back to work, placed the future conduct of the dispute with Cranwell, Rowe and the Melbourne District Committee and we returned to Melbourne. The strike was still gaining momentum.

The A.C.T.U. Interstate Executive was called together in Melbourne and had the Union representatives before it for "consultation." The striking Unions vigorously defended their viewpoint and the Executive, after an energetic debate, declared the Mooney Award unsatisfactory and urged a conference with the employers.

Meanwhile, the Full Court had called upon the A.E.U., F.I.A. and the Chamber of Manufacturers to show cause why they should not be de-registered. Not unnaturally it took the A.E.U. first and demanded a return to work "or else." Commonwealth Council, on a majority vote, again decided against any return and the Court made an order for de-registration — operative in fourteen days. It then adjourned the other cases.

The Melbourne District Committee met, expressed its bitter resentment at the "partisan attitude" of the Court, rejected any return to work and proceeded to discuss further extensions. It then decided to call out its members from all country loco depots and workshops, thus crippling the country train services and threatening Melbourne with isolation from supplies, etc.

The Press, the reaction in Parliament raved and called upon the "responsible" leaders of the Trade Union Movement to "do something." The A.C.T.U. Executive was again called together — this time in Sydney, "far from the smoke of battle" — and after long consultations with members of the Commonwealth Council of the A.E.U. and a bitter debate on the Executive, decided to order the A.E.U. back to work under pain of disaffiliation from the A.C.T.U. One should record here the words of the Melbourne District Committee: "We extend our thanks to the Queensland and Tasmanian delegates for their adherence to Trade Union principles in such a situation."

Almost at the same hour as the infamous strike-breaking A.C.T.U. decision hit the headlines, Judge Drake-Brockman in the Court in Melbourne made a bitter attack upon the A.E.U., declaring he would never grant the £1 and again virtually ordering the Union back to work. The timing of course was purely coincidental. The Union, through a statement by Chairman J. A. Cranwell, attacked this "pre-judging" of its case and firmly rejected the attempt by the A.C.T.U. to "betray the struggle of our members."

The District Committee met and decided to withdraw all members from other metropolitan power houses and, if no conference resulted, to consider withdrawing members from Yallourn, thus "blacking out" Victoria or alternatively forcing the Government to let the stations "run on their reputation." A very risky alternative. The F.E.D.F.A. declared it would stand by, but if any staff men were used they would support the A.E.U. and withdraw.

The A.E.U. branches were meeting meanwhile and endorsing these proposals, the struggle was mounting even higher.

Then Mr. Cain wrote to Judge Drake-Brockman, pointing to "the parlous condition of the community" and requested him to call a conference of all parties to see if a settlement could not be arrived at. His Honor acceded and a conference was held between the A.C.T.U., Melbourne Trades Hall Council and the striking Unions (the A.E.U. and F.I.A.) on the one hand and the Chamber of Manufacturers, the motor trade, and Government instrumentalities on the other. After many hours of discussion this conference unanimously accepted a formula as a basis for settlement under three headings:

a) A return to work with the Mooney increases of 9/-, 7/-, 5/-;
b) Both parties ask the Court to review the Mooney Award;
c) Suggesting a method of fixed marginal rates for tradesmen on the 1921 ratio and relating other classifications to this, using the categories of the Mooney Award.

Since the kernel is in the latter portion, a short explanation will assist. Engineers regard the 1921 award by Justice Higgins as the first, and only, real attempt to assess a tradesman's rate. In 1921 on a base rate of 84/- the margin was 36/- or 3:7. Using this formula today a base rate of 107/- in Victoria gives a margin of 46/- or 16/- above the rate today, 30/-. Relate the other categories as in the Mooney Award and you get increases of 16/-, 14/-, 12/-.

One must emphasise, however, that the Acting Chief Judge has to consider whether these increases "imperil the safety of our national economy" and therefore has last say. We are confident, however, that the struggle will result in substantial increases.

Failure to do so would probably result in a second round, as the mass meeting which accepted the settlement averred that, if any hitch occurred, it would "start at the other end" and pull the power houses out first next time.

What conclusions can we draw?

1. The strike will give big economic gains to some 300,000 workers in the metal industries throughout Australia.

The main factor in this was undoubtedly the splendid, unshakeable unity of the workers of all shades of opinion. I have pointed to the complete unanimity of Communist, A.L.P., Catholic and even normally right-wing delegates on the Melbourne District Committee, but this was in truth a reflection of the unity of the entire membership.

The rest of the workers were in active sympathy with us. Working-class unity has been strengthened. Trade Union unity has grown.

2. The right wing in the A.C.T.U. and the Unions generally has been thoroughly discredited before big sections of the workers. They are in fact defending themselves.

3. The role of the Labor Government has been made clear to many workers, although here it must be said that in the concluding stages the Cain Government came "on side" and helped considerably in the final conference.

4. The "red-baiting" was largely ineffective and was rejected by the workers. Conversely a respect for our Party and its members has grown. Some recruiting success was achieved.

5. Picketing, publicity and relief committees were set up and co-ordinated with the other Unions. A daily bulletin and large numbers of leaflets were published. The pickets reached complete agreement with the Bus Proprietors' Association about where private buses were to run.

6. The A.E.U. kept 17-18,000 workers on strike for varying periods up to six months. As strike pay is 47/- per week, no union could have financed this unless the men found work elsewhere. Up to 12,000 of them did so, but kept in touch and supported their fellows. Nearly £6,000 was raised for extra relief.

7. The workers returned solidly organised, their fighting spirit completely unimpaired. Membership his in fact grown and many A.S.E. men have come over.

It was, however, difficult to draw in big numbers of strikers on the various committees. This is largely a hangover from craft tradition, where one deprives the boss of one's skill and awaits the effect. This was a real weakness.

Such a struggle in the future could be considerably shortened by the knowledge gained about key points, but even here certain factors contribute to a relatively long and severe struggle.

Overall, however, the strike is certainly the greatest struggle the A.E.U. has participated in and enriches the history of struggle of our Australian working class.

THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

(Features of the Home and Foreign Policy of the Capitalist Countries during the Epoch of the General Crisis of Capitalism)

E. VARGA

THE home and foreign policy of the capitalist countries during the period of the general crisis of capitalism exhibits certain specific features which distinguish it from the policy of capitalism prior to this period. Stalin, in his speech of February 9, 1946, pointed out: "Marxists have more than once declared that the capitalist system of world economy conceals within itself elements of general crisis and war conflicts. . . ." In point of fact, during the periods when capitalism was still developing along an ascending line, Marx founded the theory of the inevitable collapse of capitalism, showing that capitalism is a social order that is historically transitory and far from the final form of the organisation of human society, as all bourgeois economists and politicians at that time maintained.

Historical experience demonstrates that the transition from one social order to another everywhere in the world demands a fairly prolonged period of time. This period can be called that of the general crisis of the particular social order in question. Lenin, as is well known, called imperial-

ism—capitalism in decay; it is quite obvious that to say that a social order is in decay is the same thing as saying that it is in a state of crisis.

In order to characterise the foreign and home policy of the capitalist countries during the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism, it is necessary, first of all, to make clear when this crisis began. But on the basis of what Lenin has said of imperialism as capitalism in decay, the conclusion can be drawn that the general crisis of capitalism began when the transition from free capitalism to monopolistic capitalism was completed in the most important countries of the capitalist world, i.e., approximately at the beginning of the twentieth century.

As has been pointed out in the **Short History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)**, the first world war was already a reflection of the general crisis of capitalism. Although, however, the general crisis of capitalism existed already before the first world war, the existence of this crisis was not then a political factor such as could exercise a decisive influence on the foreign and home policy of the capitalist countries. Marxism teaches that with an alteration of the economic basis there is an alteration also of the political superstructure of society, of ideology, of the consciousness of the masses. But this process of change of the economic basis and of the political superstructure does not proceed simultaneously. The general phenomenon to which Marx, Lenin and Stalin pointed is the lag in the change of the political superstructure in relation to the change of economy. This, indeed, is understandable. Persons who experience the changes taking place in the economic basis do not immediately draw the corresponding political conclusions. The bourgeois revolutions constitute a forcible explosion, an adaptation of the political superstructure to an economic basis that has already long before undergone alteration.

As a matter of fact, prior to the first world war, apart from Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia, no one in the capitalist world saw the existence of the crisis of capitalism, or that the replacement of the capitalist system by a socialist system was a task that had become historically mature.

Besides the general tendency for political consciousness to lag behind the change in the economic basis, there existed also concrete historical causes why the fact of the existence of the general crisis of capitalism had still not penetrated into the consciousness of people. The half century which preceded the first world war was a period of the greatest progress of capitalism. In this half century capitalist production increased approximately fourfold: it was a period of great technical progress, a period when the capitalist countries took possession of numerous colonies and thereby extended the capitalist market. The bourgeoisie utilised colonial super-profits to buy the labor aristocracy. During this period reformism struck deep roots in the labor movement. It should also be remembered that during this half century there were no wars between the Great Powers. The last war between Great Powers was the Franco-Prussian War; after it only a number of local and colonial wars took place.

The participants in the first world war were bourgeois countries of the same kind. There was, of course, a difference between Great Britain, France and America — countries in which the bourgeois revolution had been completed — and Germany, which still possessed strong relics of feudalism, and Tsarist Russia; but basically these were bourgeois countries of the same kind, the peoples of which were convinced that whatever the outcome of the war, all the countries participating in it would nevertheless remain bourgeois countries.

This "conception" was shattered by the October Revolution in Russia. It came with great unexpectedness for the bourgeoisie throughout the world (including the Russian bourgeoisie) and for the working-class outside Russia. The victory of the October Revolution at one stroke demonstrated to the whole world the existence of the general crisis of the capitalist system, which found its political reflection in the fact that the socialist country made its appearance alongside the capitalist countries. From that moment concern for the preservation of the capitalist system became the chief content of both the home and foreign policy of the bourgeoisie. The danger for capitalism was most real in the conquered countries, where the bourgeoisie that had lost the war was discredited and the governmental authority shattered, while the defeated army did not form a reliable bulwark of bourgeois rule. The bourgeois capitalist world was faced with a problem: how to preserve the capitalist system.

The bourgeoisie attempted to solve this problem, first and foremost by making an alliance with the reformist labor leaders. The chief method used by the bourgeoisie was the isolation of the still young Communist parties from the basic masses of the workers. With this aim in view the bourgeoisie made a number of political concessions to the working-class: the bourgeoisie agreed to satisfy those demands of the working-class which were compatible with the preservation of bourgeois power. At the same time the basic factors of bourgeois power — private ownership of the means of production and governmental power — remained untouched. The bourgeoisie succeeded in isolating the Communist parties. Simultaneously it combined its political manoeuvres with the employment of the most savage terror, destroying part of the most revolutionary-inclined workers and left leaders of the working class.

This policy can be most vividly traced in the history of Germany after the first world war. Parallel with it a struggle was conducted against the Soviet Union. This fight was waged by various means — ranging from various forms of ideological struggle to direct intervention, which, as is well known, proved unsuccessful.

Of course, the struggle against the Soviet Union does not exhaust the content of the foreign policy during that period; there continued to exist very

acute internal contradictions. The chief of these in Europe were the contradictions between Great Britain and France. Britain did not want France to become the strongest power on the Continent and therefore supported Germany against France. The chief contradictions on a world scale were those between Britain and the U.S.A.

In the period between the two world wars, the general crisis of capitalism was considerably deepened. This was reflected in the very profound and prolonged economic crisis of 1929-33. This crisis was succeeded by a depression of a special type, characterised by mass unemployment on a huge scale. The economic features of the general crisis became very clear and tangible for the working masses of the capitalist countries. A political consequence of this was that reformism found it more and more difficult to fulfil its role as the chief bulwark of the bourgeoisie. In some countries, reformism already proved to be incapable of fulfilling this role. In Germany, for example, the Communist Party won a majority of the workers in the decisive industrial centres — in Berlin and the Ruhr area.

Under such conditions the German, Italian and Hungarian bourgeoisie was compelled to look for a new party, a new lever, for holding the working class under its influence. Such a means was found in fascism, the fascist movement and the fascist party. Fascism is a political product of the general crisis of capitalism, and, as Stalin pointed out, the passing to fascism indicates not only the strength, but the weakness of the bourgeoisie. Especially characteristic of the fascist movement in connection with the general crisis of capitalism is the fact that, as a rule, the fascists did not come forward as open defenders of capitalism, they did not say they were backing capitalism, and that the capitalist order was the most perfect social order. On the contrary, they came forward everywhere with anti-capitalist demagogy, because to come out with an open defence of capitalism in the conquered countries of Europe would have prevented them from acquiring influence among the toilers.

The circumstances confused, for a time, even some of the leading elements of the working class. The theory that fascism is the power of the petty-bourgeoisie, the power of declassed elements, that it is Buonapartism, a power above classes, etc., acquired a certain popularity. All these views, of course, were completely devoid of reality. We know now that Italian, German and Hungarian fascism was financed by monopoly capitalists in these countries.

Fascism, of course, has its specific features in the different countries, for it is everywhere connected with the old reactionary forces of the given country, but basically fascism is the political expression of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Fascism was victorious and came to power first and foremost in those countries which were conquered in the first world war or which were virtually in the position of conquered countries as, for example, Italy, despite the fact that she belonged to the camp of the victors. In those countries where the bourgeoisie achieved a new, forcible re-division of the world, the bourgeoisie helped the fascist forces because the fascists were not only anti-Marxists, but also chauvinists who undertake the task of defending the capitalist social order and preparing the people for a new war. It should not be forgotten that after the first world war, the majority of the people in all the conquered countries did not want a new war; social-democracy was pacifically inclined, which also lowered its value for the aggressive bourgeoisie of these countries.

This article does not aim at giving an analysis of the causes of the second world war. We shall limit ourselves merely to pointing out that the second world war, unlike the first, did not begin between countries of the same kind. On one side were the fascist aggressors, on the other — the democratic countries; moreover, in the camp of the latter were both the highly developed capitalist countries and the Soviet Union. It is obvious that this circumstance was bound to exert a strong influence on the entire home and foreign policy of the capitalist countries.

The fact that the Soviet Union and the highly-developed capitalist countries were in the same camp of powers fighting against the fascist aggressors meant that the struggle between the two systems in the democratic camp was temporarily mitigated, suspended; but this, of course, did not signify the end of the struggle. At the same time, the struggle between the two systems assumed its most acute form when the fascist aggressors attacked the Soviet Union. The Allies assisted the Soviet Union, but it cannot be said that, in so doing, they forgot about the difference in social systems. The secrecy about the atom bomb is sufficient as an example of this. In the sphere of domestic policies, the communist parties of the countries of the democratic camp — Great Britain, America, etc. — on the basis of the just nature of the war, helped their governments in the war against the fascists, urged them towards the opening of the Second Front, despite the efforts of reactionary circles in the Allied countries. They defended their people from the danger of German fascism.

It goes without saying that the Anglo-American contradictions — the decisive inter-imperialist contradictions—were also relegated to the background during the war, while the contradictions between the democratic countries and the fascist aggressors came into the foreground; but the Anglo-American contradictions did not disappear and the struggle between America and Britain continued even during the war years. Thus, during the war the Americans took good care that the commodities exported from England should not include more than 10 per cent. of the materials which England received by lease-lend. During the war American capital endeavoured, not without success, to squeeze out British capital from its positions in Latin-America, and to obtain markets in India and the

British Dominions. The Americans put on the black list of firms with which trade was forbidden, not only purely Argentine enterprises, but also those which had British capital. In the Near East, the struggle for oil continued also during the war.

When the second world war came to an end, the struggle for the preservation of the capitalist system once more became the chief problem in the domestic policy of the capitalist countries, just as it had been after the first world war. The bourgeoisie is scared by the general swing to the left in the working class movement throughout the world after the end of the war. The forms taken by this swing to the left, and its degree, differ in the different countries. If we take such first-ranking capitalist countries as the U.S.A. and Great Britain, it will be found that the swing to the left there was expressed above all in a strengthening of the reformist labor movement. As is known, the Labor Party in Britain won a victory in the Parliamentary elections. In the U.S.A. mass strikes are taking place and the trade union movement has grown stronger. In these countries, although a strengthening of the Communist parties has taken place, they are not yet an important factor in the domestic policy of these countries. The capitalist system in these countries has not been shaken in consequence of the war. This is understandable. In the countries which were victorious in the war, the bourgeoisie was not discredited, the State apparatus remained as before, while the army was even strengthened as compared with the pre-war period. One of the characteristic features of post-war policy is the strengthening of militarism in the Anglo-Saxon countries and especially in the U.S.A., which has become the most powerful military State of the capitalist world.

The situation is quite different in the countries of continental Europe. In these countries the bourgeoisie is discredited. In the life of one single generation, the population of the European countries has experienced two big wars. Now it is forced to starve and, moreover, it is, of course, the industrial workers, the intelligentsia and the urban population who are starving first and foremost, and not the bourgeoisie or the well-to-do peasantry. Under such circumstances, radicalisation, a swing leftward of the working masses and toilers in general, is inevitable. To this must be added, also, another factor, namely, the strong polarisation of capitalist society during the war. Millions of people from the middle strata — artisans, traders, middle bourgeoisie — lost their independence during the war and became workers. Inflation during and after the war reduces to nothing the savings of the middle strata. The tendency towards the polarisation of modern society, to the formation of two camps — the big bourgeoisie and its immediate environment on the one hand, and workers, office employees, intelligentsia, who do not own property, on the other—is extremely strong. This tendency found expression in the defeat of the typical parties of the middle bourgeois of town and village as, for example, the Radical-Socialist Party in France or the Liberal Party in Britain.

The bourgeoisie of the countries which were subjected to German occupation became particularly discredited, because, in the main, the big bourgeoisie of France, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary collaborated with the fascist invaders. True, there were isolated exceptions: there were some capitalists in each country who took part in the resistance movement. In the main, however, the bourgeoisie collaborated with the occupationists and this, side by side with the military defeat, was the chief factor in its discrediting.

In addition, however, a number of new, important political factors distinguish the present situation from that after the first world war. **One of these new factors is the changed role of the Communist parties of Europe.**

As is known, the Communist parties of Europe won great popularity as a result of the leading role they played in organising the resistance movements in all the European countries.

"The growth of the influence of the Communists," declared Stalin in his interview with a **Pravda** correspondent on Churchill's speech, "cannot be regarded as an accident."

It is sufficient merely to recall the figures of the latest post-war elections in the European countries to be convinced of the tremendous growth of influence of the Communist parties in Europe. In France the Communist Party is practically the largest political party in the country; at the elections on October 21, 1945, and June 2, 1946, it obtained more than five million votes. In Italy, the Communist Party has a membership of two million and is one of the leading political parties in the country. The influence of the Communists has grown considerably also in such countries as Holland, Belgium, Norway, Luxembourg. In Czechoslovakia the Communists obtained about 2.7 million votes and have become the strongest party in the country. In Hungary about 800,000 people voted for the Communist Party. In almost all the countries of the European continent Communists are taking part in the government and are playing a leading role in restoring the economy of their countries. Finally, Communist parties have achieved outstanding successes in Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, where they are the leading force in the Popular and Fatherland fronts.

In all the countries which were subjected to Hitlerite occupation and where the big bourgeoisie collaborated with the invaders, the resistance movement against the invaders was inevitably also a movement against the big bourgeoisie of the country concerned. The Communists gained their successes as a result of the policy which their parties are now pursuing in all countries on the basis of the experience of the first world war. The Communist parties defend the interests of all the working people — workers, office employees, peasants and intelligentsia. This policy makes impossible the old tactics

of reaction — the isolation of the Communists from the working people.

The second new factor distinguishing the present situation from that created after the first world war is the radical change in the position and role of the Soviet Union in world politics. The growth of the influence and prestige of the U.S.S.R. as a world power has had to be recognised even by the enemies of the Soviet Union.

After the end of the second world war the main line in the home and foreign policy of the capitalist countries is once more, as after the first world war, the defence of the capitalist system.

It should be mentioned that Great Britain followed this line during the war itself. Thus, for example, reactionary emigrant bourgeois governments found asylum in Britain. Preparations were carried on to ensure that after the liberation of the countries in question they would be able to return to their countries as the lawful bourgeois rulers.

After liberation of a number of Western European countries, the question was raised of disarming the guerillas and of excluding, as far as possible, the leaders of the resistance movement from the newly-formed governments. Of course, it is far more difficult now than it was after the first world war to come forward in open defence of the capitalist system in the form in which it existed before the war. In America, it is true, there are influential persons and groups, like Johnson, Senator Vandenberg and the circles supporting them, who call for the return to pre-war capitalism. But these are exceptions. In the main, it is everywhere admitted that a profound reform of the capitalist system is necessary; everywhere ideological trends are to be found, such as the striving for a planned economy under capitalism, the introduction of social insurance, the strengthening of State capitalism, etc.

In Britain, as is known, certain important branches of industry are being nationalised. The fact that the bourgeoisie itself is compelled to go in for nationalisation of the means of production is in itself, an admission that the system of private ownership of the means of production is obsolete. There is, of course, a vast difference between nationalisation in Great Britain and nationalisation in those countries of Eastern Europe which may be called countries with a democracy of a new type. In these countries, feudal survivals in the form of large-scale land ownership have been abolished, a considerable part of the means of production has become State property and the State itself is not an apparatus of the rich for suppressing the working people, but operates in the interests of the latter.

In the countries of the old type of democracy, for example, in Great Britain, nationalisation does not alter the distribution of the national wealth and national income, because the owners receive compensation approximately equivalent to their former incomes. In the countries with a new type of democracy, on the other hand, nationalisation means a profound change in the distribution of the national income at the expense of the former owners of the nationalised means of production.

By what methods is the struggle being waged now to preserve the capitalist system, in the first place in Europe?

First, attempts are being made to strengthen reformism in the labor movement, to convert once again the Social-Democratic Party and the reformist labor movement in Germany, Hungary, Italy and France into the main social bulwark of the bourgeoisie.

In the European countries, an intense struggle to win the Social-Democratic movement is developing between the progressive and reactionary forces. This constitutes the chief content of the domestic policy of the capitalist countries. At the same time, of course, this struggle goes on inside every social-democratic party, between the right and left wings, between the social-democratic working masses, who are much more inclined to march together with the Communists, and the reformist leaders of the Social-Democratic parties, who are endeavouring to revive Social-Democracy in its former, pre-war form.

This struggle can best be followed from the example of Germany. A considerable part of social-democracy has broken with the former policy of its party and called for unity with the Communists. On April 21-22, 1946, a unity congress of the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties of Germany took place, at which a united party of the working class was formed — the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. A large majority of the Social-Democrats in the Soviet-occupied zone were in favour of the amalgamation of the two workers' parties. Despite the counter efforts of the British and American occupation authorities, the union of the Social-Democrats and Communists in the Soviet-occupied zone met with a warm response also in Western Germany.

The emergence of a united party of the working class in Germany is a serious blow to the reformist movement. It is natural, therefore, that all the reactionary elements are up in arms against the new party. Ruling circles in Britain and the U.S.A. immediately came out against the unification of the Communists and Social-Democrats and are now giving decisive support to the group of reactionary social-democratic leaders headed by Schumacher, who are trying to revive the old reformist Social-Democracy in the Western zones of Germany for defence of the capitalist system of society.

It is characteristic that the Schumacher group has been joined by the majority of the old compromised leaders of Social-Democracy, such as Severing, Noske, Paul Loebe, etc., who are tried and tested defenders of the bourgeoisie. The British press openly calls for reliance on this wing of Social-Democracy.

Undoubtedly, the further internal political development of the capitalist countries to a considerable degree depends on the outcome of this

struggle to win over Social-Democracy and on the struggle within Social-Democracy.

The second line of defence of capitalism lies in increasing the influence of religion, of the church. The Catholic Church, headed by the Pope, is creating something in the nature of a "Catholic International." The Vatican recently appointed as Cardinals thirty-two prominent Catholics of various countries in order to increase its influence in those countries. The same effort is characteristic also of the Protestant Church. Definite attempts are made to use the Moslem Church as a means of political struggle. The clearest expression of this is seen in India.

Most peculiar tactics are adhered to by the bourgeoisie.

In those European countries where the extreme right-wing reactionary parties are prohibited, the bourgeoisie employs very special tactics. In those countries the bourgeoisie tries to influence the most right-wing of the permitted Left parties and to get into its hands the leadership of these parties and to obtain a majority for them in the country. A classic example of these tactics is the behaviour of reaction during the recent elections in Hungary. The closest to the Right of the Left parties in Hungary is the Smallholders Party. It was found, after the elections, that this party had obtained the majority of the votes in Budapest, in districts where there is not a single bit of land suitable for cultivation. The whole bourgeoisie and those elements which still follow the bourgeoisie voted for it.

Capitalism's third line of defence, which so far is manifested still in a very veiled form, is encouragement of the fascist movement. If it is true that fascism is the political expression of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, it is to be expected that fascism will be revived. Lenin pointed out that the domination of monopoly capitalism inevitably engenders reaction. In his article entitled "On a caricature of Marxism," he wrote: "The political superstructure of the new economy, of monopoly capitalism (imperialism is monopoly capitalism) is a swing from democracy to reaction. Free competition is accompanied by democracy. Monopoly is accompanied by political reaction."

In the capitalist countries at the present time a certain revival of political reaction and fascism is undoubtedly taking place. There are also fascist countries, such as Spain and Portugal. In addition, there is an illegal fascist movement in countries where fascism formerly ruled: Germany, Italy, Hungary, etc.

But there are undoubtedly signs of the revival of the fascist movement in the democratic countries also. Evidence of this is the activity of the fascist party in Britain, the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist groups in America, etc. In Greece, where the British virtually control policy, after dozens of changes of government Royalist reactionaries have finally been established in power; objectively and subjectively they differ little from fascists.

Of course, in the countries with a new type of democracy the revival of fascism is made very difficult because agrarian reform has done away with the landowning class and because nationalisation of the basic means of production has undermined the economic power of the big bourgeoisie. If we add to this the fact that State power in these countries is in the hands of progressive forces, it becomes clear that the revival of fascism there is made extremely difficult.

As always, the domestic policy of the capitalist countries at the present stage is closely interwoven with the foreign policy.

The methods of struggle against the Soviet Union at the present time differ, of course, from those employed after the first World War. "Intervention" in the old sense is impossible. But the reactionary forces of the different countries are conducting an intensified campaign against the Soviet Union, and are endeavouring to isolate her and build up an anti-Soviet bloc.

In his statement on May 27, 1946, Molotov pointed to certain extremely characteristic tendencies in British and American post-war policy which had been shown during the preparation of the peace treaties. Molotov repulsed the attempts of the reactionary forces to belittle the importance of the Soviet Union and to minimise its role in the post-war world.

Very typical of the policy of the bourgeoisie is the way British reaction uses the right wing of Social-Democracy in Europe for the struggle against the U.S.S.R. Naturally, the Labor Party and the Labor Government are the most suitable for using this wing of Social-Democracy to achieve the foreign-political aims of the British bourgeoisie. In this respect, the existence of a Labor Government is more advantageous to the British bourgeoisie than a Conservative Government would be. To this must be added that, whereas supporters of the Labor Party sometimes came out against the foreign policy of the Conservative Government, and thus there existed a potential opposition to this policy, the Conservative Party has no grounds for opposing Bevin's foreign policy. Of course, the British workers do not approve of this reactionary policy of Bevin and the Labor Government. This dissatisfaction finds expression in the opposition to Bevin's policy within the Parliamentary Labor Party.

Today also, the struggle between two systems is not the sole expression of the foreign policy of the capitalist countries. Imperialist contradictions between the big capitalist countries, in the first place between Britain and America, are reviving, despite the fact that on a number of international issues these Powers form a common diplomatic bloc. The British-American contradictions, which were the basic contradictions of the capitalist world before the second World War, or, rather, before German fascist aggression became a menace to both Britain and America, have since the defeat of Germany once again become the decisive contradictions within the capitalist world. American policy strives now first and foremost to smash the British colonial empire and to win equal conditions for American capital in the competitive struggle throughout the world. This is its chief aim.

The striving to put an end to the British, French and Dutch Empires shows itself in a great variety of forms. During the war one manifestation of this was the draft British-American Alliance, the proposal for joint tutelage over colonies, etc. Sometimes this striving even assumes ludicrous forms. For example, an American publicist recently wrote a book in which he sharply criticised British, French and Dutch colonial policy. After such a criticism, one might have thought that he would propose that the colonial peoples should be given their independence. Instead, however, the author declares that the colonial peoples are not yet ripe for independence and proposed that all of them should themselves select their guardians, but should not have the right to select as their guardian the imperialist Power which rules them at the present time, i.e., the British colonies may not select Britain as their guardian. The author assumes that they will all most certainly choose the Americans, because the latter, he thinks, behave so well towards colonies and can ensure their prosperity.

The movement against the colonial regime has become stronger. An important factor in this is that the British, French and Dutch have lost their prestige in the colonial countries; the colonial peoples no longer feel their former fear of them. The colonial peoples took part in armed struggle side by side with the troops of some imperialist countries against other countries; they witnessed the defeat and capture of American, British and Dutch soldiers.

Economic causes also exert an influence in strengthening the anti-imperialist movement. During the war some of the colonies grew very strong economically; some colonial countries became financially independent of Britain and themselves became creditors of her. It goes without saying that public opinion in the Soviet Union is in favour of satisfying the just demands of the colonial peoples.

The plan for a Western bloc is also connected with the colonial problem. A Western bloc which would unite Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and perhaps some of the Scandinavian countries in one political alliance is directed first and foremost against the Soviet Union and represents an attempt to revive the notorious **cordon sanitaire,** only not now on the frontiers of the Soviet Union, where it is politically impossible, owing to the existence of friendly neighbouring countries, but in Western Europe.

But another aspect of this Western bloc should be borne in mind. A Western bloc comprising Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Portugal would unite 95 per cent. of the colonies of the world. Its creation would be an attempt to defend the colonies against the endeavour of the U.S.A. to smash the old colonial regime and assimilate these territories economically, and also an attempt to strengthen resistance to the national liberation movement in the colonies.

Naturally, within the limits of this article it is only possible to state the most fundamental lines of domestic and foreign policy during the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism. A full elaboration of this theme, and especially of the political consequences of the second World War, is a task requiring a series of special studies.

QUEENSLAND 1947 STATE ELECTION

A. ROBINSON

THE Queensland State Election, following closely upon the Labor Party defeats in South Australia and West Australia, was hailed by the leaders of reaction as a golden opportunity to win control of the Queensland Government. They were disappointed. The reaction of the labor movement to the W.A. and S.A. results was to build a greater degree of unity against the parties of reaction, resulting in the return of the Labor Government.

Five parties entered the field, the Australian Labor Party, the Queensland People's Party, the Country Party, the Australian Communist Party and the "Frank Barnes Labor Party". Every seat was contested for the first time since 1918. In all but two seats, Murrumba and Stanley, there was a Labor Party candidate.

The Country Party and the Q.P.P. reached agreement on allocation of seats long before the election and contested every seat. They had agreed to establish a Coalition Government if their combined parties won a majority.

Mr. Barnes, M.L.A., the self-styled "Bundaberg Bombshell", assembled a team of 12 candidates whom he termed the "Frank Barnes Labor Party". These candidates were drawn mainly from the remnants of the former Social Credit Party, still surviving in some areas as the "Monetary Reform League".

The seats on which the Barnes group concentrated were in areas which in pre-war years were the strongest bases of the Social Credit Party, and where the organised labor movement is particularly

weak. Mr. Barnes issued Goebbels-type propaganda throughout the areas concerned. His stock-in-trade consisted of Jew-baiting, Red-baiting, pretended opposition to all kinds of corruption, plus promises of improvement for all sections of the community — employers, workers, farmers and middle-class—all to be financed by "social credit".

The Communist Party contested five seats. It had been decided to contest seven, but one candidate was withdrawn to avoid what appeared to be a certain Labor Party defeat in South Brisbane, and one candidate failed to nominate due to being flood-bound while on tour of the electorate (Warrego).

The Queensland People's Party, which is the Queensland Branch of Menzies' Liberal Party, poured out money like water in an intensive campaign. The Brisbane and country daily press probably exceeded all previous limits in its biassed presentation of reports in favour of the Q.P.P. and Country Party and against the Labor Party. Several church leaders came out openly on behalf of the parties of reaction, using the liquor question as the excuse.

The result of the election appears at time of writing to be that the Labor Party will have lost four seats and gained one. The Q.P.P. gained one seat, East Toowoomba, a traditional Country Party seat which had been won by the Labor Party in a by-election last year with a narrow majority. The Country Party gained three seats. Mr. L. Barnes, brother of Frank, "King O'Malley Labor" member for Cairns, and a strong supporter of the right wing, lost his seat to the Labor Party. The state of parties in the new Parliament should be:—Labor 35, Country Party 14, Q.P.P. 9, Independent Labor 2, Communist 1, Barnes Party 1.

In the 1944 election, the Labor Party had a 13,000 majority over the combined Country Party-Q.P.P. vote. Its majority was really much greater than this, as seven seats were uncontested then and six of them were held by the Labor Party.

In the 1947 election, the combined Q.P.P.-Country Party vote exceeded that of the Labor Party by about 15,000 (incomplete), but this figure includes 14,000 votes of the two Country Party members who were not opposed by the Labor Party. In addition to this, the Communist Party polled about 8,000 votes in the 5 seats contested, and the two expelled Labor Party Ms.L.A., Messrs. Aikens and Marriott, polled between 9 and 10,000 votes. Paterson and Marriott increased the majorities, and, while Aikens' majority fell considerably, he was never in danger.

As these Ms.L.A. are supporting the Labor Party Government, the majority of the electorate did vote against the open parties of reaction, despite claims of the Q.P.P. leader and the daily press to the contrary.

The "Barnes Party" did not win any new seats, but Mr. F. Barnes increased his majority in Bundaberg. His candidate went close to winning Coorora due to a split in the Country Party vote in that electorate. The "Barnes Party" received enough votes to indicate that it represents a dangerous trend in Queensland politics. One of the major tasks of the Communist Party in the future must be to increase and improve its work in the areas where Barnes has his base, and strengthen the labor movement there. Barnes lost support in the working-class areas of Bundaberg, but increased it in the countryside.

The Communist member, F. W. Paterson, increased his majority in Bowen, though it appears the voting will conclude with a slightly lower total vote. His fine record in his first term made his re-election a foregone conclusion. But the aggregate Communist vote fell by nearly one-third. The sustained campaign of lies and slanders against the Communist Party undoubtedly had an effect on those sections of the people who had had no direct experience of the untiring service, the unflagging fighting ability and the personal and political integrity of Communist representatives.

The vote for Communist parliamentary candidates was out of all proportion to the vote received regularly by Communists in trade union elections. Workers on jobs of all kinds get personal knowledge of the worth of the Communists and this is why they elect and continue to re-elect Communists to union positions. Ballots over the past year in the Meatworkers', Building Trades Workers', Miners', Watersiders', Ironworkers', Moulders', Seamen's and other major unions have proved beyond possible doubt that the best-organised and most decisive sections of the working class have learned the value of Communist leadership.

Communist Parliamentary election results re-emphasise the correctness of the Central Committee's slogan "To the Masses". In the critical period which lies ahead the people will have the opportunity of testing the present Labor Party leadership. They will find it wanting in many important respects. Communist Party organisations must ensure that the Party's message really reaches the widest section of the population. When the people know and understand it, and have proved the worth of Communists in their own experience, they will be prepared to elect more Communists to assist Paterson in the Parliamentary struggle.

The swing against the Labor Party indicated in W.A. and S.A. did take place in Queensland, but not to the same degree. I estimate the swing would be between two and three per cent. of the voters. All of this swing went to the Q.P.P. and Country Party, or to the Barnes group.

A very important factor in the swing against the Labor Party was that it was not general in all seats. In many seats, the Labor Party majority actually increased.

The voting clearly showed up the reasons for the loss of Labor Party support. The most outstanding incident was the decisive defeat of Walsh, Deputy-Premier and Minister for Transport. He was the leader of the extreme right wing in the Queensland Parliament. Healy, member for Warwick, who achieved notoriety by going on a round trip to Indonesia and campaigning for the Dutch Imperialists on his return, was defeated, while his partner in that exploit, Turner, member for Kelvin Grove, retained his seat only by a very narrow majority. Jesson, member for Kennedy, another M.L.A. who likes to attack the left, went very close to defeat though his seat was considered one of the safest in the State. Almost all the known supporters of the Fallon-Walsh Group lost support.

The other two seats lost by the Labor Party were East Toowoomba (mentioned above), and Dalby, where the sitting member had retired.

There was a very marked tendency for the electors to reject exactly those Labor Party members who have supported the anti-working class policy of the extreme right.

Clark (Fitzroy), Graham (Mackay), Brassington (Valley), Hanlon (Ithaca), Gunn (Wynnum), Donald (Bremer), Smith (Carpentaria) are among the Labor Party sitting members who substantially increased their majorities. None of these have been prominent red-baiters.

This result reflects a development in the Queensland Labor Party which has been proceeding for some time, a development which is healthy and means the beginning of the end of the rule of Fallon and Coy.

Several seats considered doubtful were won easily by the Labor Party because a high degree of unofficial unity developed during the campaign. Communists worked for the return of the Labor candidates in all seats contested except the five contested by Communists and those held by Messrs. Aikens and Marrtott. There was a noteworthy absence of red-baiting by most of the Labor Party candidates. Undoubtedly the Premier's promise to introduce the 40-hour week in the first session of Parliament was the biggest factor in developing this unity.

The election of Mr. Walsh as Deputy Premier, following the resignation of Mr. Cooper to become Lieutenant-Governor, showed that the extreme right wing had then won to a position of a slight majority in caucus.

Mr. Walsh was the most capable right wing leader and reaction is naturally very concerned about his defeat. Q.P.P. leader, Mr. Bruce Pie, sang him a paean of praise through the columns of the "Courier Mail" immediately following his defeat. The same paper quoted unstated sources as advising that a move was under way to find Walsh a safe seat and put him back into Parliament. The Premier, Mr. Hanlon, immediately repudiated any knowledge of such moves. Walsh his since admitted there was such an offer, but did not say if it would be proceeded with. The labor movement must be rallied against any such move. There will be no progress by propping up discredited right wingers.

The drubbing the known supporters of the Fallon policy got in the election will have a big influence on the Labor Party members of Parliament. The electors have clearly shown them that the path of red-baiting and union-splitting is the quickest way of ending political careers.

This fact should encourage sufficient Parliamentarians to end the right wing domination of the Labor Party caucus. The re-election of Paterson, Aikens and Marriott is further proof to the Labor Party members that the working class and farmers will stick to a member who fights for their interests.

The position is favorable to a strengthening of the labor movement in Queensland.

The election promise to introduce the 40-hour week in the coming session of Parliament will probably be carried out. There is a good possibility that the Government will lend its support to the demand for restoration of the halfpenny per lb. in the price of sugar taken from the industry by the Lyons Government.

Such progressive steps will be a good beginning. Empire preference, a very important issue for Queensland, is another question on which the Labor movement and farmers can be united.

The Queensland Government will have many problems to cope with in the course of the next three years. The job of the working class is to ensure that they are solved in a working class way —at the expense of the capitalist class.

This will only be made possible by building the utmost degree of unity of the labor movement. Labor Party members of Parliament must be drawn closer to support of the struggles of their electors, particularly the struggles of the working class and farmers.

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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THE second world war, which ended in the defeat of the main centres of Fascism and world aggression, Germany and Japan, brought about profound changes in the international situation and in the economic, social and political life of the various countries. Like a spring flood, a broad, democratic mass movement has broken over Europe, recreating and renewing the life of these masses from the point of view of their economy, culture and form of State.

"Taught by the example of the war, the mass of the people have understood that the fate of States must not be entrusted to reactionary politicians, who are pursuing narrow, class aims, completely opposed to the will of the people. That is precisely the reason why the peoples, no longer wishing to live in the old way, are taking the fate of their States into their own hands, setting up democratic regimes and carrying on an active struggle against the forces of reaction, against the instigators of a new war." (Stalin.)

This mighty movement of the people gave birth at the same time to mass organs of democratic action: People's Committees, Committees of the Fatherland Front, National Liberation Committees. In the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe liberated by the Red Army, these Committees gather around them all the healthy popular forces and have become the basis and lever of a State with a new structure.

It is on the basis of these Committees that the co-operation of the democratic, anti-fascist parties and organisations was accomplished which everywhere made possible the isolation of the reactionary, anti-popular elements and groups.

The simultaneous participation of several democratic parties in the work of the new State apparatus does not constitute a mere coalition of parties; it is one of the expressions of the mighty alliance of workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals.

In the countries of Western Europe, and for different reasons (particularly as a result of the presence of English and American troops in these countries), the organisations of the Resistance Movement have been cast out of the political arena. However, here too the democratic movement of the masses has become broader than ever before.

In the mobilisation and unification of the masses, the decisive role was and is played by the mass organisations of the working class. In all the countries of Europe, free, mass Trade Unions have grown. In France the General Confederation of Labor, which has more than six million members, has become the pillar of French democracy and of the economical revival of the country.

In Italy the Confederation of Labor (which unites more than 5,700,000 workers of all shades of opinion: Communists, Socialists, Catholics, non-party workers) is one of the most important factors in the democratisation of the country. In Poland the many-sided activity of the single trade union organisation, which has nearly two million members, is the guarantee that the task of the social, economic and political rebirth of the country will be carried through to its conclusion. In Czechoslovakia, the united trade union movement (over two million members) marches in the vanguard of the democratic forces and struggles vigorously for the fulfilment of the State Two-Year Plan for the revival and reconstruction of the economy. Similar activity is shown by the trade unions of Yugoslavia (800,000 members), Bulgaria (almost 500,000 members), Roumania (1,500,000 members), Hungary (nearly a million members). The trade union bodies of Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian countries have likewise shown a great development.

The creation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, bringing together almost seventy million organised workers, is immensely important, above all through its inclusion of the Soviet trade unions, which comprise several million members and play a large part in its activity.

The extraordinary recrudescence of activity of the Communist Parties in the European countries, likewise the strengthening of their political influence, is an important characteristic of the post-war situation.

Before the second world war, the Communist Parties were banned in many European countries. But even where they were able to carry on legally, it was not generally possible for them to exercise sufficient influence on State policy. A completely different situation arose after the war. The French Communist Party (over a million members) won 5,300,000 votes in the elections of June 2, 1946, and is represented in the Constituent Assembly by 153 deputies. In Belgium, the Communist Party, which had not even 10,000 members before the war, now has 100,000. In Italy, on the eve of the war, the Communist Party was formed of illegal groups, closed and separated from each other, which totalled more than 4,000 members. Today its total strength is far more than two million and includes about 300,000 women. The Communist Parties of Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Finland have likewise grown considerably. The Communist Parties have developed particularly in countries like Czechoslovakia (1,300,000 members), Poland (310,000), Hungary (over 600,000), Bulgaria (over 400,000), Yugoslavia, Roumania, Greece.

In France, Italy, Belgium, Finland and in all the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the Communist Parties are directly represented in the governments. The moral authority of the Communists and their representation in the leadership of trade unions and other mass organisations of the workers have increased.

Why has the influence of the Communist Parties developed to such an extent? It is because, in the heroic struggle against the fascist occupation forces and their collaborators, the Communists showed their loyalty to the interests of the people, to the cause of the liberty and independence of their countries. Life itself showed the correctness of the policy of the Communist Parties.

In all the countries of Europe which underwent the bloody horrors of the fascist yoke, the old ruling classes and their parties, with the exception of a few isolated elements, betrayed the peoples of their countries, went over to the side of the invaders. The conduct of the Communists was quite different. The main body of those who initiated, inspired and were active fighters in the resistance movement and the struggle for national liberation was made up of Communists and trade union militants.

And the masses, to whom bitter experience has taught shrewdness, learned to judge the leaders of parties and governments not by their declarations and their promises, but by their actions, and they began to express their confidence in the Communists, all the more so because, since the end of the war, Communists everywhere are showing the only correct way to a real revival of their countries. Basing themselves on several years' experience of the struggle against fascism, and particularly on the practice of the resistance movement, the Communists centre their attention on the achievement of a firm unity of action, on political and trade union unity of the working-class organisations, on the mustering of all the healthy democratic forces of the country in a single camp, as the primary condition for the real revival and democratisation of each country.

The movement for unity of the workers and the grouping together of the democratic forces is a characteristic of all the countries of Europe. It is a sign of the people's desire to follow a new road.

In an interview with the "Pravda" correspondent on Churchill's speech, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the growing influence of the Communists in the countries of Europe could not be considered as an accident, but that it was an absolutely regular phenomenon.

"The influence of the Communists has developed because, during the hard years of fascist domination in Europe, the Communists were staunch, bold and self-sacrificing fighters against the fascist regime and for the liberty of the people."

But the most remarkable characteristic of the post-war situation, which shows how profound are the changes that have come about, is undoubtedly the tremendous development of the Soviet Union's authority on the international scale. The growing authority of our Soviet State in the international arena encourages the forces of progress and democracy in the whole world, increases their confidence in the possibility of carrying the war against Fascism and reaction through to its conclusion.

This sudden change in the outlook and frame of mind of the masses towards the Soviet Union is not at all accidental. The toiling masses in other countries know that in their emancipation, in the defeat of Hitler Germany and its satellites, the leading role was played by the Soviet Union under the supreme leadership of the great Stalin, was played by the Socialist State.

The example of martial exploits and labor heroism set by millions of Soviet people during the patriotic war, the example of the might of the popular economy of Soviet democracy, played a great part in convincing the workers, the toiling peasantry, the representatives of the best strata of intellectuals of Europe and the other continents. They recognised with more conviction the superiority of the Socialist system over capitalism. They understood more clearly too the great historic mission of that system in the solution of the gigantic post-war tasks.

Business men, the men of the trusts, imperialist circles in the different capitalist countries, very frightened by the breadth of the popular democratic movement, fearing also for their wealth and seized with senseless desire for profits, have raised their heads again. They are not particular about the means used to assist in the regrouping and gathering together of the reactionary elements, including the Fascists who have been left unharmed, so long as the old reactionary regime is re-established in the European countries.

The Vatican, which controls great private resources and enjoys the "liberality" and support of imperialist circles, does a great service for reaction in Europe. It is no accident that in France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, the Catholic parties, which have more or less patched up their programmes and declare themselves to be on the side of "socialism" and "anti-capitalism" are now playing the role of the "classic" right-wing bourgeois parties of pre-war days, becoming the centre of attraction of the whole of bourgeois and capitalist reaction. In a whole number of countries, including the Anglo-American occupation zones of Germany and Austria, as in Italy and France, parties and organisations of a Fascist or neo-Fascist type have already made their appearance and are acting with impunity.

The dark forces of reaction conceal their entry into the political arena beneath deafening shouts of "Liberty," "Democracy," and "Respect for human personality." At the same time, reactionaries of every colour are undertaking with fresh energy an unbridled campaign against the Soviet Union, against the policy of peace that she is con-

sistently and energetically carrying out. All this with the aim of preventing the setting up of a just and sound peace and of stifling the democratic movement of the masses.

Thus, all along, the masses, and above all the working class and the democrats in all countries, are confronted with the necessity of defending their democratic gains, of being on guard to forestall in time new imperialist adventures and acts of aggression, and that means that the democratic left-wing parties, and above all the working-class (Socialist and Communist) parties, are set this task: to display constant vigilance, resist the offensive of reaction, uncover and denounce the reactionary nature of the internal and foreign policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its servants, draw together and organise the masses around the working class, and struggle against the creation of aggressor imperialist blocs, in the interests of peace, liberty and the independence of the nations.

How are the Socialist Parties carrying out these tasks? That is undoubtedly the only correct criterion by which to estimate their post-war role!

Let us consider the position of the main Socialist parties in the basic problems of international, and in particular European, life.

We must remember that there is a difference between the viewpoints, the tactics and the practical activity of the Socialist parties taken separately. The leaders of certain parties are trying to restore to life the dead body of the Second International, which passed away ingloriously at the first rumblings of war. Today, the organisational and ideopolitical link between the socialist parties is assured by the British Labor Party, or, more correctly, by the International Section of its Executive Committee, which is headed by the most prominent Labor leaders. However, this link, relatively strong and constant with some Socialist parties, has only a symbolic character with the others.

In fact, two groups of Socialist parties exist, which hold different positions on the cardinal questions of internal and international policy. One of these groups, led by the English Laborites, is composed of the Socialists and Social-Democrats of Western Europe, including those of the Western zones of Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Finland, Austria, and the extreme right wing of the Spanish Socialists (followers of Prieto). In the second group are the Social-Democratic Parties of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe: Polish, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Roumanian, Bulgarian, and the Social-Democratic Party of the Soviet occupation zone of Germany, which has amalgamated with the Communists to form the United Socialist Party of Germany. The Italian Socialist Party has a place of its own: its practical activity and tactical positions separate it from the Western parties and bring it closer to the parties of the second group. To appreciate the positions and roles of the Socialist parties, particularly those of Western Europe, we must bear in mind the existence in these parties of quite a serious rift between the objectives and policy of the official leadership on one hand, and the aspirations of the workers who form the mass of their supporters, together with a considerable part of the young cadres, on the other.

The Socialist parties of the West, as far as their leaders are concerned, have had and continue to have a suspicious, negative and hostile attitude towards the peoples who are struggling to find a new way of development. Following the example of the bourgeois parties, they shiver in their shoes at any demonstration of a real democratic spirit among the masses, at their independent creative activity. The leaders of these Socialist parties were among those who demanded and won the very rapid liquidation of the organs created by the masses at the time of the resistance and the very rapid passage to a "legal order." It was above all in the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe that the Socialist leaders put forward this kind of demand with particular insistence. The popular democratic regime set up in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechslovakia, Poland and other countries arouses fury and indignation not only among the reactionaries and rank imperialists, which is quite natural, but also among the leaders of the Western Socialists, extraordinary as this may seem on the part of men who call themselves Socialists and democrats.

Churchill, when he expressed the views of the conservative and imperialist circles of England and the United States, branded the regime of popular democracy as "totalitarianism." Yet this same word "totalitarianism" had been used by Bevin, Foreign Minister in the Labor Government (in his speech of August 20, 1945, in the House of Commons) when he spoke of the regimes of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and when he expressed his approval of the Greek "order."

Two days later, on August 22, 1945, "Populaire," central organ of the French Socialist Party, in a special article devoted to Bevin's speech, rated the terrorist, totalitarian regime of Hitlerism higher than that of the popular democracies set up in the East and South-East of Europe. The "Populaire" is disturbed above all over what is being suffered by the Gestapo agents, the collaborators, the financial and industrial magnates. The "Populaire" prefers these traitors to the people and thinks the well-deserved punishment of these traitors or their elimination from the leadership of the State is "oppression of the people."

Nationalisation of the banks and trusts, radical agrarian reform, active participation of the masses in the life of the State, control over government officials and employees: all these achievements of the lands of popular democracy disturb the Western "Socialists." The heads of the Western Socialists have a negative attitude towards the creation of democratic United Front or towards a bloc of democratic forces led by the working class. In fact, the negative attitude towards the United Front leads objectively

to denial of the need to isolate reaction and consequently assists reaction.

The attitude of the leaders of the Western Socialist parties towards unity of action between Communists and Socialists and towards the creation of united working-class parties is particularly characteristic. For the working class and democracy, these are questions of vital importance. But the leaders of the Socialist parties of Western Europe try with all their strength and by every means to prevent the realisation of this unity. It costs them nothing in words to declare themselves on the side of unity of action and the single working-class party. They are afraid, by openly pronouncing themselves against it to drive away from them the rank and file workers who are insistently seeking for unity. But in fact the Socialist leaders are trying by every possible means to prevent the achievement of unity by bringing forward numerous "arguments" against it. According to them, conditions are not yet ripe, Communist discipline is too strict, its cadres too homogeneous, its forms of propaganda too flexible, and they bring up many other objections.

Their first argument "on principle" is the assertion that the creation of a single party would be contrary to democracy, would shake it to its foundations, would open the way to "totalitarianism" and the "dictatorship" of one party. According to the leaders of the Socialist parties the political and organisational dispersion of the working class or else a split within it constitute one of the principles of democracy, whereas the grouping of the workers in a single party would lead to "totalitarianism." If that is so, would it not seem that totalitarianism rules in England, where at the present time there is only one party in power? If that is not correct, by what logic can one explain the content of Professor Harold Laski's article, written while he still occupied the post of President of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, which was published in the Roman daily, "Nuova Europa," of September 1, 1945?

In this article, which appeared under the heading "My Advice to Mr. Nenni," Laski deplores the fact that :

"Mr. Nenni has convinced the majority of the National Council of the Italian Socialist Party of the necessity to achieve unity with the Communists."

Laski cannot believe in such things.

"I hope with all my heart," he says, "that this information is incorrect."

Why did the possibility of unity of the Socialists and Communists of Italy alarm Laski so?

It seems, according to Laski, that Nenni :

"By achieving the United Party, would by that very fact set up a dictatorship. . . He will come up against the resistance of a series of powerful economic, military and ecclesiastical circles, which he will suppress fiercely."

Thus, the Labor leader Laski does not worry about the Italian working class or people, but "powerful economic, military and ecclesiastical circles." Nenni vigorously rejected this unsolicited sermon. However, the press of the boulevards and that of right-wing reaction in Italy headlined Laski's article and his "arguments" against unity of the workers.

In France, the reactionary parties struggled to have the proposed democratic constitution rejected at the referendum of May 5, 1946, and their main watchword in the course of this electoral campaign was "Save France from the danger of totalitarianism." As if that danger came from the Communists, who persistently seek for the creation of a United Workers' Party! And at the Congress of the Socialist Party which was held recently, the leaders of the right-wing had a resolution passed on the dissolution of the Joint Committee of the Socialist and Communist Parties, and thus dealt a blow to the unity of the working class of France.

Their second argument "on principle" against unity was the slanderous assertion that the Communist Parties are not national parties, but serve the interests of the Soviet Union, acting as a "foreign agency." Leon Blum developed this conception in his book **A l'Echelle humaine** and a series of articles in the "Populaire" which appeared in pamphlet form in October, 1945, under the title **The Problem of Unity**. Blum's formula is taken up today by the leaders and the press of the Western Socialist parties. And not only by them. The extreme right-wing reactionary press in France, in the Scandinavian countries, the Franco press in Spain, that of Yaltchin in Turkey and the newspapers of the Brazilian faicenderos (landowners) take up this formula untiringly and in every key. In November, 1945, it was with this same argument of Blum's that General de Gaulle justified his refusal to grant one of the three ministries of the Interior, Foreign Affairs or War to a representative of the French Communist Party.

(It was through the strange irony of fate that Blum himself was the one to offer the French Communist Party the portfolio of National Defence during the recent Governmental crisis. It was an implicit recognition of the incorrectness of the allegations made by him in the book referred to above.—Editor, "Cahiers du Communisme.")

One of the preliminary conditions for unity put forward by Blum to the Communists was that they should break with Marxism-Leninism and take up an anti-Soviet position.

Leon Blum and his supporters try by every means to prevent the achievement of constant united action between Communists and Socialists, which benefits only reaction.

Here is a curious phenomenon: the press of the reactionary circles reacts by launching attacks each time there is a rapprochement between the Socialists and Communists, accusing the Socialists of treason, and prophesying that they will crash (although, in such

cases, we habitually see a recrudescence of the authority of the Socialist Parties and rush of new members). On the other hand, each worsening of relations between the two parties delights the reactionaries and under those circumstances they heap praise upon the Socialist Parties.

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Now this is what characterises the position of the Social-Democratic leaders in Western Europe on foreign policy.

In the official programmes of the Socialist parties, it is nearly always emphasised that capitalism means "a policy of force in relations between States" or that "the competition of powerful financial and industrial combinations, trusts and banks in the struggle for markets, the sources of raw materials and colonial territories stirs up conflicts and leads to war . . . ." etc.

Declarations of this kind are as a rule accompanied by the formal recognition that only Socialism, a Socialist regime, is in a position consistently to apply a policy of enduring peace, co-operation, solidarity and friendship between peoples and States.

But all these are only general phrases. And when the Socialist parties of Western Europe are brought to the point of taking up a practical stand on the most important international problems—above all when it is a matter of contentious questions, differences, contradictions between the Soviet Union and any capitalist State or group of States—the heads of the Socialists of Western Europe, as a general rule, come out against the Soviet Union, defend the stand of its opponents, that of Great Britain for preference. Their solidarity with regard to the external policy of the Labor Government takes on such forms that one is justified in calling these Socialist parties willing or unwilling servants of the British Labor Party. There has been no instance, no question on which the press of the Western European Socialist Parties has not intervened to defend any action of British foreign policy.

Within the Labor Party itself, there are men who often criticise the foreign policy of the Labor Government. According to the press, 67 Labor members intervened on the Greek question, 72 over Spain and 60 over Indonesia, against the stand of the Labor Government. Wilkes, Zilliacus and other members of Parliament strongly criticised the Labor Government's foreign policy, denouncing its reactionary and imperialist nature. However, we find nothing of this kind in the Socialist press of Belgium, France, Norway, Austria, Sweden or Holland. One single line invariably runs through the press of the Western European Socialist Parties: servility, noisy approval of Great Britain's position on all questions of foreign policy.

Hundreds of examples could be quoted for what is stated above. Let us just refer to what was said by the "Populaire," central organ of the French Socialist Party. Commenting on Bevin's speech in August, 1945, on England's foreign policy,' the "Populaire" of 22nd August wrote feelingly:

> "Whether it is a question of Poland or Yugoslavia, Bulgaria or Greece, Bevin has said what every Socialist ought to say. And he has said it with authority, for he cannot be suspected of imperialist motives."

The leading role of the Labor Party among the Socialist Parties has, without any doubt, taken on a new meaning with Labor's coming to power. On this point the opinion of the "Journal de Geneve," organ of the Swiss bourgeoisie, of 24th April, 1946, is interesting. In an article headed "Socialist Europe," this paper wrote, to describe the Attlee Government's policy:

> "In spite of all their declarations on principle, by the fact that they take their direction from London, the Socialist parties are obliged to defend the interests of the British Empire."

As we know, the leaders of the Western European Socialists were ardent supporters of the Western Bloc. Evidently the idea of such a bloc, including even, in the opinion of some of its members, Germany and Italy (and in the opinion of some others all Europe "up to the Russian frontier"), roused great alarm among the broad masses of the people, who understood instinctively that such an idea would threaten the vital interests of the workers, and have a definitely anti-Soviet character.

Then the Socialists seemed to give up the idea of the Bloc. Yet they in effect continued the same campaign, but with more flexibility, under the banner of "Socialism," under the slogans of "Socialist United States of Europe," "Federation of European States," "Pan-European Socialist Front." This campaign is based on the incorrect and ridiculous argument that Socialism has already triumphed in Europe because Socialists are either in power or included in the Governments in most of the European States. As early as May, 1945, Daniel Mayer, former General Secretary of the French Socialist Party, had announced "the hour of international Socialism" and had grown enthusiastic at the perspective that would soon be realised, "the dream of the Socialist United States of Europe." At the end of October, 1945, at the Congress of Austrian Social-Democracy, Karl Renner, arguing from the fact that Socialists were in the governments of the European countries, declared:

> "Socialism is triumphant today in all the countries of the world."

If we wish to describe the position of the Western Socialist parties, we must particularly consider the Italian Socialist Party, which, so far as most of its members are concerned, holds a special, relatively independent position on the most important internal and international questions.

The Italian Socialists do not stand aside from democracy and the activity of the masses, they took part in the activity of the National Liberation Committees and held that these Committees should be carried on in the future, as important factors in the democratisation of the country. Rudolf Morandi, Secretary of the Socialist Party, is President of the Central Leadership of the National Liberation Committees.

The Italian Socialists stand for unity of action with the Communists.

> "This unity of action is for us," said Pietro Nenni on 1st January, 1945, "the result of the experience of the democratic workers of Western Europe and the experience of the heroic Soviet people."

Some months ago, in August, 1945, the National Council of the Socialist Party, discussing the proposal for unity with the Communists, adopted by a majority of votes (340,000 to 156,000) a resolution in which it declared itself in favor of the rapid creation of the United Workers Party, and expressed the hope that the Party Congress would carry out this fundamental task when favourable objective circumstances were reached. It was precisely this resolution and Nenni's speech which worried Professor Laski and led to his intervention in the internal affairs of the Italian Socialist Party.

As we know, the desire expressed in the resolution was not realised at the Socialist Party Congress which was held at Florence in April, 1946. As Nenni declared, a virulent campaign was let loose, with the help of the bourgeoisie, against the supporters of unity, and it succeeded in isolating the Communists and bringing the Socialists into the centrist bloc.

> "In order to terrify and corrupt," Nenni pointed out, "they went so far as to make use of international circles which look on our country as a field for colonisation."

Unlike other European Socialists, the Italian Socialists are against the creation of the Western Bloc. Finally, unlike many Western Socialists, the Italian Socialist Party, as far as the majority of its members are concerned, has a friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union.

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A characteristic of many Socialist Parties of Western Europe is their political connection, as far as their right-wing leaders are concerned, with the bourgeois and clerical parties: parallel with this, an ideological connection is being realised between them. This process has a unilateral character, in the sense that the clericals and bourgeois leaders, demagogically resorting to an extravagantly "anti-capitalist" social phraseology strongly reminiscent of that used by the Nazis, stick to their conservative positions and defend reactionary ideology, whereas the leaders of the Western Socialists break with Marxism, falsify its content and openly go over to the camp of those who support this bourgeois ideology.

The leaders of Western Social-Democracy dress up the ideas of scientific Socialism with vulgarly sentimental formulae of the petty-bourgeois semi-intellectuals, scraps of papal encyclicals and philosophical theses of Kant and Pascal, aphorisms of Nietzsche and compilations by De Man, Deat and others. Many workers in the French Socialist Party, in particular those who belong to groups of a Trotskyist type like the U.D.S.R., "O.C.M." and others, propagate the "ideas" of "humanitarian," "enlightened," "Western," "Labor" and "individualist" "Socialism," which resemble everything but Marxist Socialism.

In the book quoted above, Blum bitterly reproaches the Socialists because, in their daily propaganda, they do not pay enough attention to the diffusion of "idealism" and "high-mindedness."

"Explaining" why the French workers did not take power into their hands in June and July, 1940, and on this point referring as an "authority" to the reactionary German philosopher Nietzsche, one of the ideological forerunners of Hitlerism, Blum writes:

> "To carry the nation along, nobility, high-mindedness, an ideal presence, proof of disinterestedness and sacrifice to the collective interest, all that Nietzsche somewhere calls "the lofty style in morality," all that by which morality is akin to religion and propaganda to apostleship —all this was lacking."

One often comes across this kind of reasoning in Blum's book quoted above. The task of raising moral standards is one which must be undertaken immediately.

According to him, one raises moral standards by preaching "humility," "submission." In his old age, Leon Blum has slipped into the morass of reaction and has begun to preach "humility" and "submission" to the workers. It is not hard to understand what classes and whose political calculations profit by sermons of this kind.

Blum's political arguments amount to this, as he sets out himself in his book: in its early days, the Socialist movement was obliged to criticise, to enter into controversies, to struggle, but today controversy and struggle bring no results and are senseless, the time has come for apostleship and the spiritual conquest of men for the triumph of Socialism. And as a proof he gives the existence of "a parallelism of leadership, a possible concentration of effort, and, at the least, a compatibility between the relations and activity of the Roman Church and the Socialist Parties."

The influence of the reactionary clergy is increasing in many Labor Parties.

For its part, the Vatican press frequently expresses its sympathies with the British Labor Party.

The Swedish Social-Democratic Party offers a no less eloquent example of the bourgeois ideological degeneration of Social-Democracy. The 18th Congress of this Party, held in May, 1944, revised the Party's former programme, in spite of the opposi-

tion of George Branting and other left-wing fighters, and excluded the words "exploitation," "class struggle," together with everything that could call to mind the struggle against Nazism and Fascism.

The doctor of philosophy, Torsten Gorlund, editor of the theoretical organ of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party ("Tyden") has become so cynical that he wrote bluntly in 1941:

"We must no longer deceive ourselves; there was a time when we worked on the principle that the task of socialism is the reorganisation of society, but that we cannot carry out this plan of reconstruction because the 'bourgeois' groups oppose it. Speaking frankly, we had no plan of this kind and we cannot tell what our ideas may result in in the future."

And further on, Gorlund explained his idea with more frankness:

"Can the Socialists continue to believe that the aim of Marxist Socialism is a classless society with socialist relations of production? An aim which one is not certain of reaching is absolutely lacking in interest."

This same Gorlund stated his position in 1945 in a book in which he expressed his joy because the Swedish Social-Democratic Party had definitely abandoned Marxism which, according to him:

"Cramped the spiritual life of Social-Democracy in the period when it still held to this teaching."

In Holland, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, as we know, dissolved of its own accord in February of this year [1946—Ed.] and founded, with four other bourgeois parties and groups (among which were Catholic and Protestant groups) the new organisation, the Party of Labor.

The Swiss newspaper "Journal de Geneve" noted on this point that the Dutch Social-Democrats too had set up their Labor Party after the example of the British Laborites. The President of the Party of Labor, Professor Schermergon, is at the same time the ideo-political inspirer of Koos Forinka, who led the Dutch Social-Democratic Party before its dissolution and has now become Vice-President of the Party of Labor. Schermergon is known as a propagator of "individualist Socialism." The essence of this "Socialism" lies in the denial of the class struggle, which in fact means the desire to establish capitalism for ever.

Koos Forinka himself, in a declaration relating to the Party of Labor made on the radio in February of this year, noted that Social Democracy had departed from the ideas of Socialism. He admitted that the link between the Social-Democratic Party and the bourgeois parties had been facilitated by the fact that:

"Even before the war, the Social-Democratic leaders, who have collaborated for years with the representatives of the bourgeoisie in different committees, had learnt to overcome the contradictions."

The Social-Democratic Party of the Western zones of Germany, led by the clique of Schumacher and Co., occupies the same position as a flunkey of military reaction. The German Social-Democrats came out against the democratic reform carried out in the Soviet occupation zone and they tried, together with reaction, to prevent the achievement of unity of the labor movement. They are directly connected with Churchill when they uphold the plans which he puts forward for a United States of Europe with the participation of a "strong" Germany. It is not surprising that splitters of the Schumacher type enjoy the fullest support of the Anglo-American occupation authorities.

It must be noted that the leaders of the Socialist parties of Western Europe do not miss any opportunity to pose as "champions" of the independence and sovereignty of the small States.

The position of the leaders of Austrian Social-Democracy on this subject is characteristic. While they are carrying on open propaganda for pan-Germanism, they pose as "fighters" for the independence and sovereignty of the small nations. Who are these knights who do battle for the "independence of the small States"? They are the same Austrian Social-Democratic leaders who, in their day, have defended "theoretically" and in practice the Anschluss, the idea of annexation of Austria to the German Empire, and who hailed Hitler's realisation of the Anschluss as a great historical advance. Among them Oscar Pollak, editor-in-chief of the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria, "Arbeiter Zeitung," held and still holds a prominent position.

This "champion" of the independence of the small States published in London, shortly before the end of the war, a book entitled **Underground Europe Calling,** in which he wrote openly:

"The time of the small national States is over, for their economic independence has become absolutely impossible and re-establishment of their political sovereignty would be a step backward in history."

Borrowing his conclusions from the arsenal of "Imperialist economism," Pollak in this book defended the principle of maintaining the "new order" created by Hitler in Europe, perpetuating the enslavement and oppression of the small nations. Quite obviously, at the time when the author wrote this book, he was still, like many reactionaries, cherishing the hope that the war might end in a compromise between Hitler and the Western Powers. The Red Army overthrew his hopes.

(To be concluded in next issue)

PALESTINE COMMUNISTS APPEAL TO U.N.O.

(Memorandum submitted to U.N.O. by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Palestine, 7th February, 1947.)

ACCORDING to the Charter of the United Nations Organisation, the former Mandated Territories of the League of Nations have to be placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations and to be administered by the Trusteeship Council to be set up by U.N.O.

The principles governing these territories should, therefore, be applied also to Palestine:

"to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion . . ."

and to promote the progressive development of the inhabitants of Palestine

"towards self-government or independence, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances . . . and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

The British Government as Mandatory Power has failed to submit a trusteeship agreement in regard to Palestine.

This default is not only a violation of the U.N.O. Charter. The continuation of British rule in Palestine endangers peace and is contrary to the interests of the inhabitants of Palestine.

A. DANGER TO PEACE.

1. Danger to Peace in Palestine.

The situation in Palestine, resulting from the colonial regime and policy of the British Government, is characterised by successive phases of bloodshed and disturbances of the peace. According to the Survey of Palestine, submitted by Government to the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry, "since the British occupation there have been but few intervals when the problem of internal security has not been a major preoccupation of the Administration".

British police and military rule in Palestine has not been instrumental in preserving peace, but on the contrary has produced a state of tension between Arabs and Jews and the constant danger of bloody disturbances.

Military and police forces in Palestine have been increased to such an extent that there is now one soldier or policeman to every 18 civilians; yet with the increase of "security measures" insecurity has increased.

Far from serving the peace of Palestine, military and police forces have inaugurated a regime of terror in the country (vide: Memorandum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Palestine on "Outrages Committed by the British Army and Police against the Population of Palestine", submitted to the United Nations Organisation on the 26th November, 1946).

The Budget of the Government of Palestine for the financial year 1946/47 provides for an expenditure of £P6.4 million, i.e., over 30 per cent. of the total budget, on Police and Prisons. According to official Government figures, expenditure on the "maintenance of law and order" for the period 1920 to 1945 amounted to £P43,352,000, while expenditure on all other services totalled £P96,268,000, including £P22,252,000 expenditure on special measures arising out of the war.

The police and military rule in Palestine is expressed not only by the magnitude of police and prison establishments, but also by the orders and regulations giving every policeman and soldier nearly unlimited power over every citizen. The Defence (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, published in the Supplement to the Official Gazette of 27.9.1945, have abolished the last remnants of personal freedom, freedom of conscience, speech, press and assembly.

Any person may be placed under police supervision, banished to a certain residence, detained or deported from the country. Youths may be whipped, in addition to or without imposing any other punishment.

Requests for Habeas Corpus have been rejected by the Palestine judiciary stating "that the District Commissioner's powers under the Regulations are absolute and that he is not obliged to give any reasons when he acts under the Regulations."

In order to facilitate its rule of oppression, the British Government has applied its well-known policy of "Divide and Rule," producing antagonism between Arabs and Jews by encouraging and assisting reactionary elements among Arabs on the one hand, and reactionary Jewish elements on the other. In order to divert the attention of the Arab and Jewish masses from their common national and social struggle, the British Government places the most chauvinistic demands of Arab and Jewish reactionaries into the centre of agitation and discussion.

Government reaps its political fruits from the policy of Divide and Rule and its support of the reactionary forces among both Arabs and Jews in that it has not to face a united struggle of the Arabs and Jews in Palestine for the abolition of colonial rule, independence and democratisation of the country; instead, Government has succeeded in fomenting hostilities on national lines around such problems as immigration, fear of national domination, purchase of land, employment in Government service and public works, import policy, industrial and agricultural development, taxation, education and health services. Govern-

ment has succeeded in making the reciprocal boycott propaganda of the Jewish and Arab reactionary leadership a characteristic feature of the political and economic life in Palestine, thereby furthering not only its own political ends, but also the sale of British products to the detriment of local production.

Every national, economic and social problem is exploited by Government to stir up one community against the other. For instance, in the Municipality of Jerusalem Government worked up antagonistic demands until it could finally dismiss the Municipal Council and set up municipal rule by British officials.

The present situation in Palestine created by British policy is fraught with grave danger. The Arab and Jewish masses have gained considerable political maturity from the bitter experience of the past. They have so far resisted all attempts at provoking communal disturbances. But British policy in Palestine is continuing its provocations to break down restraint and foment communal riots as in other colonial countries under British rule.

2. Danger to Peace in the Middle East.

Though Palestine is but a small country in the geographic sense, it is of sufficient strategic and economic importance for British imperialism to have made it into a formidable military base. This base is directed not only against the inhabitants of Palestine, but against all the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Middle East. Egypt or Syria cannot be fully independent while a large imperialist army is stationed at their frontiers.

In addition to using Palestine as a military base against the countries of the Middle East, British policy exploits the Arab-Jewish antagonism of its own making in Palestine for imperialist purposes in all Arab countries. This antagonism is built up into a major problem in Egypt, Arabia, Syria, the Lebanon and Iraq, distorting the peoples' struggle for independence and side-tracking it, as for instance in the promotion of economic boycott, thereby facilitating imperialist domination and exploitation.

3. Danger to World Peace.

The huge military base which the British Government has been building up in Palestine greatly surpasses any needs even of a colonial army of oppression directed against the people of Palestine and the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Middle East.

The British manouvres recently held in the desert adjoining Palestine, where troops were made to fight an imaginary Red Army that had invaded the Middle East, give a clear indication against whom British reactionary circles intend to direct these military preparations in Palestine.

B. OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE.

The Covenant of the former League of Nations stipulates the wellbeing and development of the colonial peoples as a sacred task of civilisation. Accordingly, the Mandate for Palestine and Transjordan charges the Administration of Palestine to take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country. It is submitted that the British Government has grossly violated the interests of the population of Palestine.

1. The Political Bondage of Palestine.

Palestine is ruled by Great Britain on the lines of a Crown Colony. The political life of Palestine, after 29 years of British rule, is characterised by the absence of all democratic legislative or executive institutions. British rule has prevented the democratisation of the country, sabotaging even the most elementary initial measures.

Even the Advisory Council established in 1936 is comprised exclusively of British officials.

All power is vested in the High Commissioner. The system introduced by the British military administration after the conquest of Palestine is still in force today.

The executive is composed entirely of colonial officials. Likewise, all higher Government posts in the central as well as the district administrations are filled by officers of the Colonial Administrative Service. Palestinians are excluded from all higher administrative posts.

Nor are the municipal and local council areas governed democratically. The franchise is subject to various qualifications, including rate-paying requirements, in the majority of municipal and local council areas, the right to vote in the election of councillors is vested solely in the propertied classes (at the last Jerusalem elections held in 1935 only approximately 7,000 out of 70,000 adults had the right to vote). In Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa and in almost all smaller towns and villages, women are disfranchised.

The High Commissioner may appoint mayors and deputy mayors from among the councillors against the majority vote of the Municipal Council —as has been done in Tel-Aviv. The High Commissioner is free to dismiss a mayor, a deputy mayor or a whole elected municipal council—as has been done in the case of Jerusalem and nine other municipalities.

Existing municipal, local and village councils have very limited powers. They are not allowed to expend even the smallest item without the written consent of the British District Commissioner.

Elections to municipal councils are postponed by Government time and again, in order to keep reactionary majorities in power; in most municipalities, no elections have taken place for the last twelve years.

Only recently, a further retrogressive measure in the administration of Arab rural communities was introduced by the Village Administration Ordinance of 1944, abolishing council elections.

2. The Economic Bondage of Palestine.

By means of the political bondage, the economic bondage of Palestine is enforced. As in any colonial country within the Empire, the British Government uses the people and resources of Palestine as objects of the grossest exploitation.

Monopoly Capital.

The principal economic positions of the country are in British hands, such as the Dead Sea and electricity concessions, oil refineries and pipe lines, insurance companies, large banks.

The mineral wealth of the Dead Sea—the most important raw material of Palestine—instead of being used to finance the improvement of the conditions of the people of Palestine, their health, education and standard of living, is extracted solely for the benefit of the British shareholders of the Palestine Potash Company. No tax is levied on the company, nor has the company to pay custom duties on imports.

The oil refinery at Haifa (The Consolidated Refineries Limited) is a foreign concern exempted from all payment of custom duties.

Monopoly concessions have been granted to the Iraq Petroleum Company and to the Trans-Arabian Oil Company. These concessions include the right—free of royalties, taxes, import duties or other payments, charges or compensations—to lay pipelines through any part of the country, to expropriate land, to seize any wood, stone, water and other local materials required, to import cheap labor regardless of existing immigration laws, to pass freely the border of Palestine, to build and use their own harbours, railroads, aerodromes and wireless stations, to exact port taxes for harbouring and loading, and to keep their own police force. The population of Palestine does not derive even cheaper oil and petrol from these concessions, granted by Government without any consultation of the people.

Monopolistic concessions have been granted to two foreign concerns for the supply of electricity in Palestine. The concessionaries have the right —without payment of any royalties and taxes—to exploit the water power of Palestine and to fix exorbitant rates. They have to pay no import duties on machinery, nor any other import duties until a tax-free dividend of eight per cent. is secured to their shareholders. No steps are taken by Government against them, when failing in their obligations to supply the public with electricity (Jerusalem).

The power of foreign monopoly capital can be gauged from the fact that in 1943 two companies, the Palestine Electric Corporation and the Palestine Potash Company, owned over 40 per cent. of the total industrial capital investments in Palestine.

By agency of the Palestine Government, British monopoly capital has succeeded in securing majority holdings and cartel rights with regard to purchase areas and prices for raw materials and sales areas and prices for manufactured goods in numerous secondary industries which have been made subservient to British monopoly interests.

The British Government has exploited the war against Fascism in order to extend the hold of British monopoly capital over additional fields of the economy of Palestine. The British monopoly concern, Steel Brothers, deprived in the course of the war of their dividends from Burma, were made sole Government Agents, with a transport monopoly as well as a trade monopoly in all important foodstuffs consumed by the people of Palestine, resulting in an enormous increase in the cost of living and exorbitant profits to the monopoly concern.

The British Government uses Palestine as a market for British goods and, in the interest of British trade, hinders the development of competitive local industries.

War conditions compelled Government to permit an expansion of certain local industries within the limits of war requirements. But since the end of the war, Government does everything in its power to strangle industrial development through an import and control policy maintaining inflationary conditions in this country which heavily burden the masses of the consumers and render local industries non-competitive with British industry. The means employed towards this end are:

(1) Restrictions on the import of modern machinery.

(2) Restrictions on the import of raw materials, combined with a licensing policy directing the purchase of raw materials for Palestinian industries towards the most expensive sources.

(3) Maintenance of a high cost of living by a policy restricting imports of cheap foodstuffs from so-called hard currency areas, closing of cheap empire sources of foodstuffs to Palestine consumers, maintaining a purchase monopoly for certain foodstuffs from countries with inflationary price levels; restricting the import of cheap building materials with the purpose of creating a high level of rents for workers' flats and industrial premises; and enforcing a large number of unsocial measures burdening the masses of the population.

Local Agriculture.

The importance of the agrarian problem in Palestine is indicated by the fact that the majority of its inhabitants live on and from the land.

As in other colonial and semi-colonial countries under British rule, the British Government in Palestine does not support the development of a well-balanced agricultural economy, supplying the requirements of the local market, but directs its policy towards an excessive expansion of a monocultural product—citrus—which renders the country dependent on the metropolitan market, and the large planters subservient to British interests. The complete neglect of general agriculture is illustrated by the allocation for agriculture of a mere 3 per cent. of the total budgetary expenditure.

Government has done hardly anything to provide farmers and tenants with cheap credit for the purchase of seeds, fertilisers, livestock, machinery, or for land amelioration. The large banks—Barclay's, Anglo-Palestine and other institutes representing foreign banking interests — heavily burden local agriculture with exorbitant interest rates. Through this policy, Government has strengthened the position of usurers in their dealings with tenants and small farmers, and has forced tenants to abandon their land, and small peasants to sell their land to large owners and large land purchasing companies.

Government does not support any irrigation schemes. The import of modern agriculture machinery is restricted by an unsympathetic import policy. During the war, the import of fodder was handed over to a private monopolist (Cegla) who drew huge profits from poultry and dairy farmers. There are no Government laboratories for undertaking research in agriculture problems. After more than a quarter of a century of British occupation, the land survey is still far from complete.

The Government Budget.

The budget, dictated by Government without consultation of the population, is characteristic of the colonial policy of exploitation and oppression—as regards both revenue and expenditure.

Revenue.

More than 50 per cent. of the revenue is obtained by indirect taxation, such as customs duties for imported articles and excise duties on local products. From year to year, indirect taxes are growing relatively and absolutely, burdening the masses of the population. Only a quarter of the total revenue is derived from direct taxation.

Capital taxation or death duties to be borne by the propertied classes do not exist, while on the other hand such archaic taxes as tithes and animal tax are still in force.

Income tax—only recently introduced—burdens particularly the small taxpayer, since inflation of prices has drawn a large number of workers and employees into the orbit of income tax payment, while the large incomes are relatively little affected. The huge incomes of the foreign concessionaries, extracted from the resources of the country, are not subject to income or other taxes and duties. Local companies pay a flat rate of 25% on declared profits.

From the much advertised British Colonial Development Fund, Palestine has received in 11 financial years (1933-34 to 44-45) the meagre pittance of £P133,094.

Expenditure.

Of the huge sums extorted from the masses of the people of Palestine, hardly anything is spent towards their economic, social, educational, or hygienic improvement. Over £P6 million per annum, i.e., over 30% of the total expenditure is used to finance the oppression of the people—police and prisons.

In 1945-46, nearly £P8 million were expended by the Control Departments, not in the interests of the masses, but for the benefit of a small section of milling interests, cattle dealers, butchers, Government agents and blackmarketeers, as well as on political bribes paid to large exporting interests in neighbouring countries in the form of grain export monopoly to Palestine.

On education, health and other social services, the Government spends about eight per cent of the total budget. The disgraceful state of education in Palestine illustrates this side of colonial policy.

Among the Arab population in towns, 60% of boys and 45% of girls of school-going age attend school; in villages 40% and 5% respectively; 23,000 Bedouin children do not receive any schooling at all. After 29 years of British rule in Palestine, 70 per cent. of the Arab population are completely illiterate.

Even among the Jewish community, which contributes towards its own educational system, about 10,000 children do not receive any school education; 30% of children at the age of 10 years, 40% at the age of 11 years, 55% at the age of 12 years and 65% at the age of 13 years do not attend school.

The small number of professional schools and agricultural institutions existing in Palestine have been established by private means without Government assistance.

The Question of Displaced Jews.

The linking, in promotion of the various Imperialist as well as Zionist political aspirations in Palestine, of two entirely different problems, i.e. the Palestine problem and the problem of displaced Jews in certain parts of Europe and of the Jewish masses in countries where they are subject to persecution or discrimination, adds to the difficulties in Palestine, without striking at the roots of anti-Semitism.

The eradication of anti-Semitism and racial and religious persecution can be achieved only by the complete destruction of the political, economic and social roots of Fascism and reaction, the implementation of the principles laid down in the charter of the United Nations Organisation, and by the victory of genuine democracy.

The rehabilitation of displaced Jews is one of the most urgent postwar problems. Palestine cannot solve the problem of the large number of Jews displaced by Fascism and war. The resettlement of homeless Jews in their countries of origin should be facilitated. For this purpose, the governments and Jewish communities of the new Eastern and Central European democracies should be assisted in establishing close contacts with displaced Jews in the camps of Germany, Austria and Italy.

Displaced Jews unwilling to return to their countries of origin should be given immediate opportunities to emigrate and settle in democratic countries overseas or in Europe, whereby individual requests should be given the fullest possible consideration.

The question of immigration of displaced Jews into Palestine must be solved by Arab-Jewish agreement within the framework of a general democratic agreement on the Palestine problem and within the framework of the international agreement on the future of displaced Jews.

SUMMARY.

Since the basic problem of Palestine is the consequence of British colonial rule, which endangers peace and violates the political, social and economic interests of the inhabitants of our country, the Communist Party of Palestine herewith appeals to the United Nations Organisation to apply the terms of its Charter to Palestine, to declare Palestine free and independent and to order the evacuation of the British Army of occupation. Any other plan forced on the peoples of Palestine by an Imperialist power can only aggravate the problem. We appeal to the United Nations Organisation to assist the peoples of Palestine in setting up a democratic Arab-Jewish state, based on an internationally guaranteed democratic constitution which provides complete equality of national rights for both Arabs and Jews, and secures full civic rights to all inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race, sex, creed or nationality.

MOLOTOV ON DISARMAMENT

Speech by V. M. Molotov at UNO General Assembly Session on December 13, 1946.

Mr. Chairman, Messrs. Delegates!

I have already had occasion to outline from this platform the viewpoint of the Soviet government on the question of general disarmament. We have heard with great interest the viewpoints of other governments on this question both in the committee which discussed this matter and in the General Assembly.

The international situation today differs in many respects from that obtaining after the first world war. We know, for example, that the Germany after the second world war is not the Germany after the first world war. Japan too after the second world war is not the Japan after the first world war. If we do not forget that Germany and Japan, the two main aggressive powers, one in the West, the other in the East, set the tone for the aggressive forces before the second world war and that it was these countries which unleashed the last war and involved in it all countries, great and small, then this radical change in the position of Germany and Japan is highly important for understanding the international situation.

This also presupposes that in our policy towards the former aggressive states we pursue to the end a policy and uphold principles which correspond to the interests of universal peace. We must carry through to the end the demilitarisation of the former enemy states, their actual disarmament, and establish strong control so that they cannot again become an aggressive force. We must prosecute to the end the struggle against fascism, the struggle for the democratisation of these states — as the allies recognised while the war was still in progress.

So, as regards the forces of aggression, we now have conditions which favor action in line with the tasks of forestalling fresh aggression.

An important circumstance also is the fact that today, after the second world war, there are no countries holding aloof from the newly established world organisation for the consolidation of peace and security.

The situation in this respect too is very different from that obtaining after the first world war. Today all countries, great and small, which deserve the name of democratic states, belong to the United Nations organisation. The exceptions to this rule are very negligible. And this constitutes a very important prerequisite for settling the problem of which we are speaking today, the problem of general disarmament.

It must be admitted that today much depends upon ourselves, upon our common efforts, upon our desire to co-operate with one another in the interests of universal peace, without counterposing one country to another, without forming blocs of some states against other peace-loving states and, at the same time, without indulging in a policy expressive of a desire to subordinate other states to the dominant influence of some strong country. It is by working in the spirit of the purposes and aims that form the basis of the United Nations organisation that we can and should strive to safeguard general peace and the security of the nations.

Now permit me to turn directly to the resolution which has been put before us for consideration.

Two ideas were laid at the foundation of the Soviet draft for a general reduction of armaments when it was submitted to the General Assembly.

In the first place, we deemed it important for the United Nations organisation to state its firm opinion that general disarmament was needed; in the second place, we considered it necessary for the United Nations organisation to voice the need for banning the production and utilisation of atomic energy for military purposes. The draft resolution submitted embodies both these ideas. I do not conceal the fact that the Soviet delegation wanted to have the basic proposals which it had put before the General Assembly expressed more definitely. However, the resolution submitted embodies in another form the fundamental ideas both of a general armaments reduction and of banning the production of atomic energy for military ends. That is why the Soviet delegation is satisfied with the results of the committee's work and with this resolution which has been submitted to the General Assembly for endorsement.

Today, especially much has been said here about utilising atomic energy for military purposes. And that is quite understandable, since that weapon deserves particular attention at this time. That was why the Soviet draft pointed out that banning the utilisation of atomic energy for military ends was a primary task. The draft resolution correctly indicates the need for accelerating both the work of the atomic commission and the mapping of a convention banning the utilisation of atomic energy for military ends. The latter is particularly important. Everyone understands that the atom bomb is not a defence weapon. Therefore, when we are told there is need for the defence or protection of one's state, it should be clear to us, naturally, that such tasks are not tasks to be accomplished with the atom bomb. The atom bomb, as is known, is designed for foreign territories, not for the defence of one's own territory.

The resolution that has been put before us will become, we are certain, a decision of the General Assembly, which will constitute the first step in carrying out the idea of general disarmament. This decision of the General Assembly will have to be followed by other steps, by further measures, which the Security Council will have to work out. That is an extremely important task of the Security Council. And it remains for us to wish it success in working out and effecting these further measures. For the present, the Soviet delegation expresses its satisfaction with the initial results of the work on this point of a general armaments reduction and with the co-operation we have achieved in the preparatory work in this matter.

We still hear today that the question of general armaments reduction arouses certain apprehensions among representatives of some states. Some speak for an armaments reduction but in a sort of uncertain voice. It goes without saying that this is such an important and involved question that haste in this matter is not advised by any one. At any rate, we should assume a confident tone about the fact that this problem has become a serious, urgent task which all of us should tackle today. We must not think that the more troops we have on the territories of other states, the more military, naval and air bases we have on territories near to us and far beyond the frontiers of our states, the better will security and peace be guaranteed.

Certain information has already been given here about a question concerning which not a little has been said lately, that is, information about troops on foreign territories. But, naturally, this information at such a meeting could not be given in complete form, it could not be exhaustive. The Soviet delegation would wish that the proposal to which we have given special consideration, that is, the question of troops on foreign territories, might likewise suffer no delay and might also find its solution. Then we shall all know exactly where and what troops of our states are disposed outside our countries, where and what military bases the various states have. And at this particular time, while we are taking a decision on a general armaments reduction and the banning of the manufacture of atomic energy for military ends, such information would be especially useful.

The adoption of a decision for a general armaments reduction would also have its effect in the economic sphere, for one thing on the budgets of the states. Indeed, it is no secret that the military budgets of certain states today are very swollen. The population will highly approve a decision for a general armaments reduction and for the curtailing of military budgets, incidentally, because that will make it possible really to ease its tax burden and counteract an inflation of prices on goods. All this seriously affects the most vital, material interests of every toiler. Therefore it should be hoped that one of the immediate practical conclusions to be drawn from our decision today will be a curtailment of swollen military budgets, bringing them to a more normal state, and an easing of the burden of the military budgets for the population. This will meet with great approval in all countries.

I should also like to remind you that in taking a decision for a general armaments reduction we should not forget that in certain cases even today, the second year after the termination of the second world war, frenzied propaganda for a new war is being conducted. It should be clear to us that the encouragement of such propaganda does not accord with the interests of a general armaments reduction. When freedom of the press and other fine things are mentioned to us in connection with that, one would like to say — why should freedom of the press be utilised first and foremost by the propagandists of a new war, and why cannot we, the opponents of this harmful propaganda, make use of freedom of the press to administer a concerted rebuff to moulders of the press and moulders of public opinion of this sort?

The present General Assembly has already taken and will still take a number of decisions. Decisions of varying significance will be adopted: some of greater significance, some of lesser. It seems to me that none of us can have any doubts that the decision for a general armaments reduction will be one of the most important decisions of the General Assembly.

It has been adopted unanimously in a committee representing all our countries. That shows again that this decision is being taken in good time. A unanimous decision on so important and involved a problem as a general armaments reduction has been possible only because we have all acknowledged the matter to be timely and urgent. Moreover, this decision accords with the fundamental interests of all nations, great and small. We adopt it unanimously, cognizant of the fact that this decision is in the interests of our peoples, whom we serve, and in the interests of universal peace.

That is why the Soviet delegation is confident that the unanimity reached in preparing this decision will also be displayed when the Assembly votes on the decision for a general armaments reduction. (Applause.)



BOOK REVIEW



J. W.

LUDWIG FEUERBACH (F. Engels)
THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY (G. V. Plekhanov)

"THE philosophers have only **interpreted** the world in various ways; the point however is to **change** it," wrote Marx in his famous theses on Feuerbach.

Dialectical materialism gives the key by which we can begin to understand the world and, by understanding, to change it. That is why a study of philosophy is held to be of importance by Communists.

In 1845 Marx and Engels had arrived at the theory of dialectical materialism. In that year Marx jotted down the eleven theses on Feuerbach — short concise statements of the essential bases of the world outlook which were later developed in detail by himself and by Engels, Lenin and others.

The eleven theses are printed as an appendix to Engels' **Ludwig Feuerbach.** In his preface Engels describes them as "the first document in which is deposited the brilliant germ of the new world outlook."

Ludwig Feuerbach itself was not written until 1886 and it is one of Engels' last philosophical works. It was originally written as a critical discussion of a book on Feuerbach's philosophy. But, in fact, it is much more than this. It still remains, though brief, one of the most clear and concise statements of all the basic principles of dialectical materialism.

Marx and Engels were profoundly influenced by Hegel and by Feuerbach. Hegel's philosophy was dialectical. That is, he studied things in their relations one to another and in process of development and change. But Hegel was an idealist: he viewed thought as primary and matter as secondary.

Feuerbach broke through post-Hegelian idealism and reaffirmed the materialist philosophy which holds that matter is primary—that the material world exists outside and independent of man's thought.

Engels of course supports Feuerbach's materialism in this regard. But whereas Feuerbach's materialism was a mechanical materialism in which there was no conception of development, no understanding of the way in which man's thought itself enters into and affects the development of history, Engels shows that what is needed is not only a materialist outlook, but the study of processes in their development—a **dialectical** materialism.

"Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter. This is, of course, pure materialism. But having got so far, Feuerbach stops short."

He stops short, writes Engels, of

"the great basic thought that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made **things**, but as a complex of **processes**, in which the things apparently stable no less than their mind images in our heads, the concepts, go through an uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away, in which, in spite of all seeming accidentality and of all temporary retrogression, a progressive development asserts itself in the end."

Plekhanov's **Materialist Conception of History** elaborates that section of **Feuerbach** dealing with the Marxist view of the development of history. It was written eleven years after **Ludwig Feuerbach** and the two essays can very well be read in conjunction.

Plekhanov was one of the most brilliant writers on Marxist philosophy. His style is extremely lucid and readable. Lenin insisted on Plekhanov's works being included in a "series of obligatory text books on Communism."

Plekhanov criticises in particular the common accusation made by bourgeois intellectuals that Marxism attempts to explain everything as depend-

ent on the 'economic factor.' All the various 'factors' in society—law, religion, race, and so on —which are individually used by one or the other philosopher to explain historical movement, are shown by him to be interconnected parts of one universal history and dependent basically on the state of the productive forces.

While his analysis of the way in which systems of philosophy, law, etc., are determined by the mode of production is essentially sound and in full accord with Engels' statement of the problem, Plekhanov does not show clearly how development is determined by the 'unity and conflict of opposites' which, to Lenin, was the 'essence of dialectic.' The basic 'opposites' in class society are the forces of production and the relations of production.

Perhaps it is too much to ask that in a short essay he should have dealt fully with this aspect too. Nevertheless it is as well to bear in mind that the failure to understand this principle was Plekhanov's chief philosophical weakness. It was largely this which led him to an incorrect view of the revolutionary movement in Russia and which brought him in the end to the ranks of the Mensheviks.

At the same time this does not destroy the value of his **Materialist Conception of History.** It remains an excellent statement of a basic part of dialectical materialism and one which, because of its vivid presentation, is invaluable for those who wish to understand Marxism.

Both pamphlets are published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. A translation of **Ludwig Feuerbach** was previously available to English readers, published by Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago. If anyone has a copy of that translation he should scrap it. It is full of mistranslations and distortions.

Questions & Answers

conducted by L.H. GOULD

With reference to Socialism, Utopian and Scientific—what was its central teaching, and what are the main practical lessons for us today?—C.L.

THE central teaching of **Socialism, Utopian and Scientific** is the Materialist Conception of History, Marx's great original contribution to science. This new conception provides the only authentic, the only proven method of analysis of all the important questions in the domain of philosophy, natural science and social phenomena. The application of this conception, or method, disclosed for the first time the essential factors in mankind's evolution from primitive times to the present, revealed the class struggle as the immediate driving force of history, and elucidated the role of the modern proletariat as the creator of the new classless Socialist society.

"The Materialist Conception of History," writes Engels, "starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of the things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch."

The particular purpose of **Socialism, Utopian and Scientific** (which, by the way, is only a part of his much larger work, **Anti-Duhring**) was to explain how early 19th century Socialism, which was unscientific or "utopian", became scientific with the discovery by Marx of the Materialistic Conception of History and his revelation of the secret of capitalistic production through surplus value.

Why was pre-Marxian Socialism utopian? Those early Socialist movements were led by great thinkers and humanitarians (Owen, Fourier, St. Simon) who, in brilliant fashion, exposed the corruption and injustices of capitalism, but who sought a solution in "men's brains," in imaginary good intentions of some contemporary rulers, in non-existent "eternal" truths and principles. They produced all sorts of plans and schemes, instead of seeking the answer in "the stubborn facts of the existing system of production" (Engels). These Utopian Socialists lived at a time when the contradictions of capitalism had not yet become fully revealed; when history had not yet finally demonstrated the bourgeoisie to be a superfluous class; when the workers were not sufficiently organised as a class "to seize the public power", and transform

the privately-owned means of production into public property.

Thus, Engels shows why it was that the Utopians could only criticise the capitalist mode of production and its consequences. Utopian Socialism "could not explain them, and therefore, could not get the mastery of them. It could only simply reject them as bad". With Marx's discoveries, Socialism became a science. And Engels adds: "The next thing was to work out all its details and relations."

The main practical lesson today is again, just as Engels taught 60 years ago, to base theory and practice on "stubborn facts," and avoid the subjectivism and one-sidedness of the utopian, the reformist, the anarchist and philistine. The most important "stubborn facts" in world politics today are as follows:—

First, the capitalists have demonstrated a hundred times over since Engels' day their "superfluity" as a class. Consider the German monopoly-capitalists (or imperialists) who massacred and enslaved tens of millions to preserve their profit-making, and "justified" their monstrous crimes with fascist "race" theories. Today, the direst menace to mankind comes from power-drunk American billionaires—maniacs armed with atom bombs, who are propagating the "American century" and like fascist-militarist doctrines. They are superfluous as a class if viewed only from the standpoint of ensuring the very existence of the human race!

Second, and in complete contrast, the toiling masses everywhere have revealed their wonderful capacity for organisation, for "historic initiative," for social vision and cultural progress. These capacities are most brilliantly exemplified in the Socialist Sixth of the earth. The struggle for our own emancipation will be all the more rapidly advanced to the degree that we render practical assistance to the new democracies of Europe and to the colonial peoples "storming heaven" against tremendous odds. The more rapid the strengthening of international solidarity, the sooner will be realised the "amalgamation of the toilers of all countries into a single world economic system" (Stalin).

Finally, the "stubborn facts" of history have demonstrated beyond all doubt that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class, the true leadership of all the democratic masses. In Australia, as in all other lands, the Party becomes the leadership of the nation (i.e., all the people except, of course, the exploiters). In guiding the movement towards the ultimate Socialist objective, the Australian Communists defend and advance the working and living standards of the Australian people. The Communists will concern themselves in the next period with two particular tasks, the preservation of peace and the fight against the effects of the coming depression.

By so doing we shall bring "the science of society . . . into harmony with the materialist foundation, and reconstruct it thereupon" (Engels).

(References: Engels, **Anti-Duhring, Feuerbach,** Marx and Engels, **Manifesto of the Communist Party.**)

ATOM CANNOT BE MADE A WAR OFFICE SECRET

PROFESSOR JOLIOT-CURIE

Director of the French Government Atomic Energy Commission

SCIENTIFIC discoveries are the raw material of human progress. Since modern times, scientific research has been a common patrimony at the disposal of scholars and technicians.

This common property created a solidarity throughout the world and kept going a spirit of international mutual help. Each seeker after knowledge, whatever his particularity may be, constantly benefits from discoveries made in every part of the world.

If 30 people of the highest intelligence working together on one problem are suddenly separated, each one is reduced to a thirtieth of his former efficiency.

For myself, I realise that I have only been able to achieve certain results, thanks, for instance, to Rutherford, Niels Bohr or Hahn, not to mention my French colleagues, to English, American and Italian scientists, and so on.

I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to them, and am only too happy if my work has enabled certain English or American research workers to progress along a path which I was lucky enough to open to them.

I consider as very dangerous the position taken up by the United States during recent talks regarding the maintenance of secrecy over atomic research, because keeping the secrets of the atomic bomb appears as a means of pressure.

What is serious is that it should be claimed by certain people that it is possible to keep secret results obtained by scientific research in the field of Nuclear Science.

It would thereafter be impossible to visit laboratories of our speciality, to keep going normal relationships with colleagues who are friends and with whom we have for so long collaborated over distances and frontiers.

It is true that for a long time we have been accustomed to industrialists keeping to themselves their technical secrets and methods of manufacture, but this is the first time that the free diffusion of

the results of pure science has been forbidden by Governments.

This principle of secrecy once accepted, there is no reason why it should not be extended to all fields of science.

Chemistry, electricity, medicine, biology, even astronomy, lead to discoveries which affect the condition of man and can be applied to a decisive manner to economics or war. If secrecy is extended to these sciences the progress of civilisation will be slowed down, and may even be halted.

We count on the union of scientists in every country to struggle against the maintenance of secrecy and to obtain the widest publicity for all discoveries.

For he who says civilisation, says communication. If our species has become the human species, it is doubtless because we have a fairly large brain and hands, and above all because we have been able to create language, which enables men to communicate with one another other than by gestures and grimaces.

The stagnation of civilisation at certain periods seems to me due to the isolation of men in small groups.

It is significant that in the Middle Ages the best spreaders of civilisation were the Troubadours, who gave the different groups contact with one another.

The Renaissance is particularly the establishment of a vast circulation of thought among men.

Is it desirable now to stop this circulation, this universal language, by decree? This would take us back to Merovingian times, to the years before Charlemagne.

The result would be a race for scientific armaments. Each nation would think that its rival was outdistancing it and would want to catch up.

Nuclear energy would no longer be the servant of civilisation but only its destroyer.

If the impossible happened, and two great Powers found themselves to be the sole possessors of the monopoly of this secret arm, other countries, in self defence, would hasten to discover and use arms more secret, more terrible, and, above all, more treacherous.

With the development of these great arms, war could become so secret that men would know nothing of its start.

But in the future, a country feeling secure through having in its possession a hundred atomic bombs would one day be warned by its statisticians: "For five years now," they would say, "the number of abortions in the central districts has grown to such proportions that there is not one normal birth in six; in the coastal parts fires destroying our stocks have gone up tenfold; invasion by unknown parasites has destroyed the harvests; the drought in the North has deprived the country of its electrical energy."

Official headquarters and parliamentarians would pore over these figures, make graphs and find one explanation only of these multiple catastrophes — for several years war has been waged against their country with immense destruction and a considerable number of victims.

The enemy at that moment might already have obtained decisive victories and the country be conquered without having fought. All that would be left to it would be to capitulate, to destroy the stock of atomic bombs on which it had blindly relied for its security and which had proved as much an illusion as a line of concrete in 1940.

When the world realises the possibilities of secret war of this kind people will start living in a perpetual stage of siege.

As far as we French scientists are concerned, in spite of this regrettable secrecy, it is possible for us to construct machines for the purpose of producing new radio-active elements and to liberate atomic energy for beneficial purposes, for France is the country which gave birth to and developed nuclear physics. And that is our aim.

The atomic bomb represents but one of the applications of nuclear energy. Let us hope it becomes the least important to mankind.

These machines supplying energy will enable important quantities of radio-active elements to be made, the application of which will be of the greatest use for industry, and will open the way to certain successes in biology and medicine.

One can even foresee pacific applications of the atomic bomb itself. It could doubtless be used to transform the surface of large portions of the earth, or to make clouds and bring down rain over huge areas.

Or it could, under suitable conditions — for example, in coal-seams placed between hard, heat-resistant rock layers—turn quantities of coal into industrial diamonds, to the benefit of engineering.

We know even now that one day we shall be able to modify contour and climate; it may be that before too many years have gone by we shall be able to do this; at least we are glimpsing hitherto unthinkable possibilities.

New radio-active elements are going to permit of chemistry at a very high temperature, approaching that of the solar surface.

We will work as much as is necessary to bring, within the scope of our country, our contribution to the international industrial and scientific development which will enable men to progress.

If secrecy is maintained, that will not prevent us from pushing forward with our work and arriving at results which will be both honorable and profitable.

But a nation can only justify its independence by exporting its achievements and by the blossoming of its thought. We are working to this end, and France will bring to the world its share.

We are optimists. We are certain that men will not allow progress to be shackled by a monopoly in thought.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor .... L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY, AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIRST OF THE MONTH.

REPORTS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING, MAY 16-19, 1947

J. C. HENRY

In considering the world situation I think that the following basic conclusions must arise. Firstly that the victory in the war against fascism has opened up the way for progress for the democratic forces in all nations. The world situation today is very different from that which followed the first world war and the so-called peaceful period which followed.

What are the main points of difference? We have estimated these before and they do not differ. First, the position occupied by the Soviet Union in the world today; secondly, the victory for the democratic forces in a large number of European countries; then the advance of the political consciousness of the peoples of France, Britain, U.S.A. and other capitalist countries, which is reflected in our own country; the advance of national consciousness in the colonial countries. Today there exists the United Nations Organisation, which, with all its difficulties, is a very different thing from the League of Nations.

Then the next question is: which way are things moving in the world at the present time? During the great anti-fascist battle there came into being great organised democratic forces. Victory strengthened these forces in all capitalist countries and in some colonial countries.

What is the movement of these forces at the present time? Have they reached their peak and are they now receding? No, they are not receding; they are still growing, becoming stronger, coming into being in new places, everywhere they grow both in breadth and in the degree of consciousness. Such are the motive forces, both the blind and conscious ones, that these forces must become more united, determined and conscious, until the goal towards which history is moving is reached. So that there is no likelihood of any recession of the great upsurge taking place throughout the world.

Does this mean that things are going to proceed smoothly and does it mean that there is going to be no more struggle? Does it mean that Browder was right after all? Of course not. It doesn't mean that the wars in China, Indonesia and Vietnam are illusions of the senses. These wars exist and the democratic forces of these countries have these wars forced on them by Imperialism.

If we take Czechoslovakia, there it is quite clear that the Government is mobilising the nation around the two year plan of the Communist Party to consolidate the great nationalised peoples' industries and during the course of this campaign to change Slovakia from a predominantly peasant country to a predominantly industrial country. The Government of Czechoslovakia is doing this supported by the people and this is another expression of the struggle of the democratic peoples in their forward move in the present situation.

What about France? While I was there not only did Duclos explain to me the main points in the political situation, but I saw how the workers toiled in the nationalised industries and it was clear that they were not working for wages alone. They were working for the rebirth of France. Everywhere on the walls in these factories were the slogans of the French Communist Party and of the Metal Unions, the Committees in the various Departments, the production charts, plans and so on. Here is another form that the struggle is taking.

The situation is quite tense in France. One meeting that I attended was of 40 to 50 thousand people and everyone had to get a ticket from their local Communist Party branch before they could get in. When we went in we had to pass through five sets of ushers who were really guards. This shows that the situation is very tense and they are not taking any chances on it. Obviously the French leaders were speaking to the great body of the activists of the Communist Party in Paris. Thorez made it very plain. He spoke of the danger of the dictatorship from the right and he explained the position of the Party and said that the Party would defend the new constitution with everything within its power against such a threat from reaction. He told them it was not a matter of being vigilant from month to month, week to week, day to day, but from hour to hour.

Thorez made it plain that a great deal depended on the working class of Paris. He said: we are confident that the heart of France is sound because the working class of Paris is sound.

I have mentioned briefly these points of struggle and the different forms of struggle, and the conclusion here is that what remains of the fascist forces will make trouble everywhere and, moreover, the anti-democratic forces that were within the anti-fascist front during the war will continue to oppress the people. The struggle between the anti-fascist masses and the remnants of fascism and between democracy and anti-democracy will continue to occupy the greater part of the world.

Victory in the anti-fascist war opened the road for the victory of the peoples' struggle in this period. It is only after the victory of the people's forces that stable and lasting peace can be guaranteed. That is the crux of the position as I estimate it.

On a world scale the victory of the democratic forces will not take place overnight, it will be a somewhat protracted struggle, progress will differ from country to country.

We can take first of all the new democracies in Europe. It is quite clear that in these countries the reactionaries have been beaten. Not absolutely, but

are no longer a dangerous force in themselves
se of the whole way things worked out.
we take France — there the situation is differ-
The reaction within France is still powerful
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fore closer to support from their friends in
countries and there, it would appear to a casual
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different from this and the position in the
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point of view. There is no doubt the struggle
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etermined by various circumstances. Much
ds upon the actual strength of the reaction
what desperate moves it will make as its posi-
becomes more and more untenable.
he next thing is about the Soviet Union. The
t Union is a socialist country, there are no
emocratic forces within that country, there-
he Soviet Union will have no internal struggle
en democratic and anti-democratic forces,
l the rest of the world will.
his struggle is proceeding and will proceed in
pitalist world; furthermore, if this estimate is
t the main contradiction, the main immediate
diction in the political scene is between the
eratic and the anti-democratic forces in the
list countries and not between the capitalist
and the Soviet Union, not between U.S.
ialism and the Soviet Union.
the present time, the reaction everywhere is
ring the Soviet Union, everywhere there is a
ndous campaign against the Soviet Union,
is talk and threats of war and all the rest
out it is necessary in this situation to view the
n very closely. After the defeat of the
powers, U.S. Imperialism took the place of
Germany as the fortress, the spiritual leader
rld reaction. The main reactionary forces
world are the U.S. Imperialists, the group
spokesman is Mr. Churchill in Britain, those
re grouped around De Gaulle in France,
l the old capitalists and semi-feudalists in
e and Asia, right down to the Kuomintang
s in China and the Japanese puppets of
thur in Japan, and don't forget Franco and
er remnants of fascism that survived defeat
i Germany.
e worst reactionaries in all countries are
process of becoming traitors to their own
es, and are being supported directly or in-
y by American Imperialism. They are be-
busy selling out the peoples of their own
es. That is the path they are taking.
know that early last year Mr. Churchill
to incite war against the Soviet Union.
schemes did not work, but this campaign of
which Churchill was one of the main spokesmen did give a great build-up to anti-Sovietism and to the talk of an anti-Soviet war, and it has been seized upon and developed by the reactionaries in America.

Today anti-Sovietism has become something in the nature of a banner. It is the banner of American Imperialism and every rag-tag and bob-tail reactionary from one end of the world to another.

What did Hitler's anti-Sovietism bring? First of all it brought the enslavement of the German people. Next it brought the subjection of the peoples of Europe, and it was only after he had conquered the European countries and had their industries at his feet that Hitler engaged in war against the Soviet Union.

Japan was one of the nations that was anti-Soviet in the past, and along what pathway did this particular banner take Japan's imperialists? Did it take them into a war against the Soviet Union directly? No, they set out first to enslave the Japanese people, to attack China and the peoples of the Pacific countries. It was only at the last moment that Soviet-Japanese hostilities occurred, and after all the talk over the years the Soviet-Japanese forces never met till then. So that the main aim of America's great anti-Soviet campaign today is becoming very clear. First of all, it is being used as a rallying cry to distract attention for the purpose of the enslavement of the American people, and they are doing this. Are they not attacking the unions, are they not attacking everything progressive in America? Did they not threaten to arrest Henry Wallace for criticising American foreign policy?

Anti-Sovietism is being used actually to launch aggression against the whole world. That is what is actually happening. This aggression is not yet taking the form of military warfare against people who resist, but nevertheless the American imperialists are seizing bases and are penetrating the economic field with their new technique in practically every part of the world.

There is some difference between the anti-Sovietism of Germany and Japan and the present position of the U.S.A. First of all, Germany was close to the Soviet Union, and given the necessary conditions, was able to launch an attack against the Soviet Union. Japan was also close, but never launched an attack.

What about the U.S. imperialists? The truth is that the U.S. is very far from the Soviet Union, between them lie the vast countries that comprise the rest of the capitalist world, the countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. So that it appears the present and real significance of the U.S.A. anti-Soviet campaign is that it is being used for the purpose of oppressing the people of America and for invading all countries outside of the Soviet Union by "peaceful" means as far as possible. They come as "protectors," as "liberators" of the people. As one writer said, they have seized many Pearl Harbors in the name of preventing another Pearl Harbor.

No one would be so foolish as to say that there is not a very profound contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. There is certainly a very profound difference because the social and state system of the Soviet Union is much stronger and more durable than the social and state system of the U.S. imperialists, but to launch a great anti-Soviet crusade and campaign is one thing, and to go so far as to launch an anti-Soviet war in the immediate situation is somewhat different.

Of course, U.S. Imperialism would like to destroy the Soviet Union because it hates the Soviet Union, but before it can attack with any hope of success it must proceed by enslaving the various capitalist and colonial countries. This is a necessary condition to enable the U.S. imperialists to be in a position to launch an anti-Soviet war. I think a close examination of the factors will lead us to accept this conclusion, that for the U.S. to bring the people of these countries into submission is an impossible task.

But while the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the U.S. is very real, it is not the most urgent contradiction in the present world situation. I think you will find Stalin has expressed this belief in many of his public statements. So, while the reactionaries want to launch war against the Soviet Union, they are not in a position to do so and they are using anti-Sovietism very largely as a smoke-screen by which they seek to take the American people unawares, they seek to transform every capitalist and colonial country into American dependencies.

The main task for us as Communists is to help the working class and the farmers and the mass of the people generally to tear the mask from U.S. Imperialism, and to enable the real meaning of the offensive, which is first of all directed against the other capitalist countries in the world, to be clearly understood.

You are acquainted with the question of bases that are being grabbed, with the meaning of the trade policies being pursued by the U.S. imperialists. You know what these policies mean to the economy and the political systems of the countries threatened. Against this great power of the U.S. imperialists and their economic might and those who are prepared to act as their sell-out men in the ranks of world reaction are posed the world democratic forces. If you examine these democratic forces, in addition to the Soviet Union, which is the main pillar, the other democratic forces seen in broad outlines would be first of all the broad masses of the people of America, secondly the broad masses of the peoples of the capitalist countries outside America, and the colonial peoples who are moving forward in the struggle for national independence.

Who are these people from the point of view of class? Who are the people who constitute today and will be tomorrow the great mass of the democratic forces that will oppose the main danger?

The democratic forces range from the workers and farmers right up the social scale to the patriotic elements and advocates of peace amongst the capitalist class.

So, today, in the period we are fighting in, in the period in which lasting world peace can be won, we recognise that such men as Henry Wallace and the groupings that are building around him in America, and similar people in other parts of the world who are themselves capitalist, are playing a progressive role, are fighting for peace, and they constitute one section of the democratic alliance that is coming into life, and that we must be cognisant of and must be prepared to help and bring into life and strengthen in this situation.

There is another factor when we are considering America. This factor must be considered when we are working out how best to act in our own country to maintain the independence and improve the standard of life of our people, and that is the oncoming economic crisis. It is not only Professor Varga and people of the more advanced school who are talking about the dangers of an economic crisis originating in the U.S.A. at the present time. You will notice that the gentleman of "golden age" fame, Mr. Chifley, only the other day drew attention to this danger so far as our own country is concerned, and a group of United States economists are now coming out and talking about this danger as a real one, and demanding that certain measures be taken to try and alleviate it.

Of course this development shows the instability of American capitalism, but at the same time we must remember that it will speed up and make more desperate the drive for markets, will sharpen in every way the struggle between the United States of America and the democratic forces in America, and between the imperialists and the democratic forces outside America; it will sharpen in every way the struggle, the contradictions in the capitalist world.

If this estimate is correct then the problem confronting the democratic forces is to develop the strongest possible national and international unity to defend world peace, to maintain the independence of the countries that are independent at the present time, and to assist to develop the struggle to gain independence for all the nations that are still enslaved.

The democratic forces will work in this way, at the same time fighting to expand and broaden in every way democracy within these countries.

The needs of this situation are not entirely new to us, because we have the experience of a previous period, a period that was, of course, very dissimilar to this in many respects. We have the guidance of what was laid down at the 7th World Congress of the Communist International in regard to the struggle

against fascism. The situation is different today but, in a number of respects, the tasks tend to flow along the same general lines.

This will be the dominant characteristic of the period of history that we are passing through at the present time and this will last right up to the period of the establishment of durable world peace. But, it is not something that is going to pass over next week, next month or next year, it is going to be a lengthy and drawn-out struggle.

In this struggle quite naturally the democratic forces will have the sympathy and the moral support of the Soviet Union, so it is in this light that we must come to study the questions that we are concerned about in a more immediate way. It is in this light that we must consider the crisis of the British Empire, the crisis of Britain and the tactics that we should seek to develop and employ here in Australia in regard to what we are going to do about the crisis of the British Empire, the crisis of Britain itself, so that it all links up with the international situation and the tasks flowing from it.

In this struggle the U.S.A. is out to take over the colonial empire of both Britain and France. That is one of the jobs they are out to accomplish and in the process they are actually seeking to make the home countries of these empires satellites or subject countries to the United States of America. That is the line that they are proceeding along at the present time.

So, in essence he policy being pursued by Churchill in England, and those who are grouped around him, and the policy pursued by De Gaulle in France and those grouped around him, is to agree that United States Imperialism should take over the French colonies, the British colonies and that these two nations will become as it were the "yes men" of United States Imperialism; in other words they are prepared to sell out the national interests of the people of Britain and the people of France as well as the real interests of the people of the colonial world.

They feel that this is the best way for them. It is here that we should give some consideration to the approach to the national and colonial question in the conditions of today. I think that here, perhaps, the attitude of the Communist Party of France is a very good example to study; to see that there is perhaps a need to review in some respects the whole question of the colonial struggle and how it should proceed in the conditions of today.

Our country is not a colonial country, the colonies and people that are subject to Australia have not yet reached the stage where they are in a position to develop an independence movement, so it is not a practical immediate question for us in that sense; but it is a very important question when the other matters are raised about co-operation between the self-governing countries within the British Empire. For the self-governing countries it is necessary to co-operate in regard to the colonial world, therefore we are interested directly in this national and colo question, and particularly as it affects Britain.

Briefly on the Communist Party of France, use this Party as an example because I know we have confidence in the leadership of the Commu Party of France, which is a great Party. It has pro itself down through the years and furthermore the colonial people, not only the Communists the national movements in the colonial countr they too have confidence and agree to the idea the French Communist Party on what they French Union.

So in this situation the proposals are that countries that are within the French Empire at present time should fight, in accordance with level of development in those countries, for in pendence, that is independent self-government, Vietnam.

The French Communist Party will assist in ev way, encourage and help the colonial peoples to f for independence, but they want them to remain their own will within the French Union, within Union of France, and they will have equal rig on the basis of equality within the French Union.

Why is this put forward? No doubt there a number of considerations; one is that the wo is not so free of robbers and scoundrels today t it would be a very safe proposition for some sm colonial country to break all its ties with a gr country like France that can afford some protectio it is a wise thing to retain the legal, the consti tional link with France.

Take Vietnam. If it broke completely w France, went outside the French Union altogeth and established a republic, there is a danger t country would fall to America. They might s appear to be "independent," the Philippines "independent," as you know, and they would ha something similar to this. America would ha economic control, and, as a result of this, economi domination.

Take the Republic of Indonesia: I had a talk De Groot about this in London and he said that th thought along the same li ies, or no doubt had be very much influenced by the Communist Party France, and they thought it was best for the Ind nesian Republic to retain its old ties, at least in formal way—that was not the worrying point—be they did not want to break completely away from recognition of Holland and the former ties that exist ed. First because it would be a danger to them selves to open the way still further for the penetration of American capital, and furthermore it is to the mutual benefit of both Indonesia and Holland to maintain at least good relations between the new Republic and the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Don't confuse the attitude of the C.P. of Holland with the Government of Holland, and don't con fuse the attitude of the French Communist Party with the attitude of the French Government in relation to Vietnam.

In regard to the British Empire the situation is not the same as France or Holland, because there are a whole number of factors that enter here. Some of the colonial countries are mighty countries. India, for instance, with 400,000,000 people, with a number of highly developed industries. And then the feeling of the colonial movements in the British countries is very different towards Britain to the feelings of the colonial movements towards France, because they have confidence in the French Communist Party, whereas in the British countries the position of the Communist Party is very different, and one would need to have a vivid imagination to think that the problem of the colonial countries would be solved by the British Communist Party in power in the near future.

In relation to the conference of Communist Parties from countries within the British Empire. At the present time Britain is in a very difficult posi- on. The decline of Britain has been taking place quite a period, but the war speeded up in every way what was already taking place; the war sharpened the contradictions of the capitalist world.

You all know that Britain has passed from being the centre of a great empire to a debtor nation, the centre of the colonial world is passing away from Britain and a great stream of wealth is drying up.

It is taking many forms. Once upon a time Britain was the monarch of all it surveyed. Britain had a monopoly of the markets and the whole economic structure of British life is built on a completely false basis if considered in the light of Britain today; because the whole economic structure is built upon the basis of exploitation of hundreds of millions of colonial slaves.

This is all very sad for the British people because they apparently were not able to move with the times; they were unable to bring about a change at the time in history when such a change should have taken place.

It is true that the people of Britain are up against The people of London, particularly, are suffering many ways. This of course arises from the loss of monopoly of world trade, they could not stand up against American competition. In addition they will meet competition from Australia, Canada and South Africa, from the colonies they founded in the outer part of the world, because these countries have grown up into capitalist nations and are competing with the British, much to the annoyance of the British capitalists.

This is the position of Britain today and in this position the policy that is still being pursued by Bevin is, in fact, a continuation of Churchill's foreign policy. This policy is based upon the line-up of Britain with the United States of America, and under cover of this line-up and taking advantage of the weakness of the former great imperialist power they are placing Britain in a position of subservience to the United States. The United States is setting out to take over the British Empire, along with the colonial countries.

Such is this policy that is leading not only the people of Britain, but of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa into imminent danger from the United States. Not only are the people of Britain on a low standard of life but this policy threatens the standard of life of the other British countries. Actually they are selling out the interests, the national aspirations, of the people of the colonial countries which are striving for independence.

In these conditions the peoples of Britain, of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, and even the two millions who rule the other 8 million in South Africa, have a number of things in common on the basis of nations. Also the consciously progressive peoples in Britain, Australia, South Africa, Canada, have a lot in common with the peoples of the colonial world.

In the advanced countries we have the struggle to maintain independence, to try and develop the standard of life; in the colonial countries they want to advance the cause of the national struggle for independence.

There is the question of the policy that is being pursued in Britain at the present time and how long this will last.

Then, of course, there is the position in Britain and there, it is true, there is a very big growth of revolt within the Labor Party. I think it may be easy to misunderstand this revolt, because these people are obviously reformists and do not differ in a great number of respects from the outlook of Bevin. On the other hand, they reflect the growing feeling in Britain, a feeling which is reflected within the ranks of the bourgeoisie as well as in the ranks of the working class. If we see this development in Britain proceeding along similar lines to the development where Churchill, in certain circumstances, led the fight against Chamberlain — if we estimate it in this way, that Bevin and Churchill policy is much the same in regard to foreign affairs, the revolt is growing up on the basis that it can lead to a reorientation from the United States to the Soviet Union and try to bring about a better approach to the colonial world and within the dominion countries themselves.

Starting from that point of view I think we can say such a development is already reaching a fairly advanced stage: it is not being led by Communists but by Labor Party people who have, in the main, a bourgeois outlook. They would have to be pretty tough not to feel for their own people when they walk about the poorer parts of Britain, and London. If they have any national pride at all they must revolt against this policy and what it means in practice.

So we must assume that the progressive forces will gain the upper hand in Britain, and, in any case, a correct policy is correct no matter who is in charge of Britain today or tomorrow.

The real facts of the situation are that if Britain is to retain her independence as a nation, not as an Empire, she must break with the U.S.

and align herself with Europe and develop economic relations with the Soviet Union.

We come to the question of co-operation between the self-governing countries of the British Empire and what it means. We must approach it in the light of our estimate of the international situation, that the struggle for peace and for national independence will be primarily a political and economic struggle carried on by means other than the use of armed force, and that for the U.S. to become a military aggressor in open form today would be a serious defeat for her whole plan. So I am not talking about a war against the U.S., but I am going to propose self-defence measures for the preservation of the countries that are threatened.

If they took such measures openly by means of war instead of the peaceful seizure of bases or coming in to "protect" Turkey or Greece, the whole world would be united against them and they would have to fight Europe and Asia, as well as parts of South America and the Soviet Union. So that from a military point of view such action would be senseless. Hitler did not attack the Soviet Union until he had all European industry at his feet.

Let me speak first of all of what are referred to as the British nations. This is the term used quite freely in Europe: by the British nations are meant Britain itself, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. It is a bit hard to reconcile South Africa to this position but this is the position of the self-governing countries within this so-called Commonwealth of Nations.

All of these countries are threatened by U.S. Imperialism, and the proposition which arose from the Empire Congress was that we work to all pull together to save ourselves and each other, and by strengthening each one of these nations, strengthen democracy and independence for all. That is the proposition. It is a legally constituted grouping of self-governing people, with strong cultural, economic and political ties, and there is nothing wrong in such people co-operating for peace, independence, and against the economic crisis which will engulf all if the present policy of subservience to the U.S. continues. Altogether these countries constitute a strong force and none of them is likely to benefit from American domination. That is the way I see the problem.

What are some of the factors in relation to it? First of all, assistance from the Dominion countries is necessary to feed, clothe and house the people of Britain. It is urgently needed by the people of Britain. The great mass of the people do not live well at all. In regard to this there are all sorts of questions raised about paying and all the rest of it, but no doubt if the will is there in these countries that can produce the food, the necessary money exchanges to pay for more of the things the Dominions can produce and which are needed can be worked out.

The progressive trend in Britain needs a h on which to relieve the plight of the British peo that is to say, all those progressives in the Brit labor movement, when they are attacking Bev foreign policy, must be able to show what th can accomplish by reversing his policy, how it can give food, clothes and houses. If they d do that their position is ever so much stronger.

This question then is not merely a sentimen one, it is a question of practical politics in rega to the struggle against the main danger in th world today, American Imperialism. So it is struggle for all-round mutual benefit. Such development would be of benefit to Australia. A ready the "Tribune" in a number of articles h dealt with the position of Australian agrarian a dustries threatened as a result of the Britis American bloc.

Some may fear that this idea of co-operation particularly between the British nations, m strengthen British Imperialism in the present wor situation. The wheels of history are moving alon and Britain cannot recover in this way, but in a case the correct advocacy and development of su a policy is necessary, I feel, and I cannot see, after great deal of consideration, any danger in this polic so long as it is handled correctly and presented such a way as to strengthen the labor movemen within these countries and weaken the imperia in every way.

No doubt trade could be developed betwe the various governments in such a way as to eli inate the various monopoly groups that are gai ering so much wealth out of these transactions.

The question in this world struggle, the imm diate issue is to fight to establish durable wor peace, to establish and strengthen the indepen ence of all peoples of the world, and in each these countries the Communists will fight to exten democracy in accordance with the conditions in ea of their respective countries.

For instance, in Czechoslovakia there is situation which will lead to socialism within a sh period. But in Australia we are not likely to that for some time. I think that puts forward very general terms the main ideas.

Then there is the question of colonial countries This was the second point I thought about a great deal. I feel the Indian struggle must go on, the quicker India is independent the better, not only for the Indian people but for the whole democratic cause all over the world.

On other matters, sure it is for the Indian people themselves to decide what they do, once they get independence; and by independence I mean independence, not some bourgeois or social democratic form of independence, but real independence. when they get that, then will be the time for them to decide what they will do, they can secede from the British Empire or stay within the Comm on wealth of British Nations, or whatever course his tory may decide is the wisest course.

You will notice in the Conference declaration that whilst the declaration re-emphasises the basic Communist position on the National and colonial question, it is set out that we demand the immediate independence of certain countries. Somebody might say why? Well, you see, comrades, we have to be realists and the real situation is that only these countries named are today in a position to become fully independent, only in those countries has the national movement reached the stage where they can really lead the country through to independence.

Then there is the attitude to the more backward colonial peoples, and here, of course, there is the trusteeship clause of the United Nations Organisation and so on. But here the problem for the Labor Movement in the advanced countries is to strive, to fight in their own countries, to fight their own opposition for a better deal for the colonial people at the present time. Because to just come and say they should have independence is just abstract talk, really they are not in the position yet, if they did become independent they would fall into the lap of worse scoundrels in the world than have them by the throat at the present time.

Here it is a fight for all those measures that will assist those people, but particularly measures that will assist to develop the economic resources of their country, because it is not on the basis of any other real foundation, other than the economic development of the country, that the necessary national and working-class movement can come into being, that can develop the struggle for independence and give the necessary leadership today.

At the same time we will continue our work, whatever assistance we can give to the people of the colonial countries in their struggle for emancipation from the yoke of Imperialism.

The questions which confront us, comrades, today in regard to the struggle against American penetration, and all the problems that flow from the present situation, mean that when we think of a broad front of the Australian people we must see that it should include workers, farmers, town middle class and the patriotic elements among the capitalist class in Australia. Those are the requirements of the situation as I see it and they are not impossible aims by any means.

Of course, these aims for independence, the struggle for the maintenance of peace, the establishment of durable world peace and the general uplifting of the lives of our people, these aims are mostly expressed by the aims of the Communist Party and also the Trade Unions and Labor Party, and undoubtedly as the reality of the position becomes clearer elements in the ranks of the Country Party and also the Liberal Party will be found to be for Australian independence as against American domination.

We have to speak and work more broadly, in the interests of the great majority of the people as a whole, and it is in this way that we will be better able to isolate the main reaction, better able to isolate these people who will turn into American fifth columnists.

So, that is one question.

Well, the other question I wish to present under this heading is not really a separate question at all, it is very closely related to it, but for the purpose of our consideration we have to see it as it were as a separate question.

That is that while proceeding along the above lines our Party must make a more studied, planned and persistent effort to get closer co-operation with the Labor Party, both from above and below.

I feel that the extent to which we are able to get closer to the Labor Party depends upon a number of factors. The two main factors are—first, our ability to work in the broader manner that I have been speaking about, and the degree of support which we are able to arouse for our position and our policy in regard to these questions. That is the first and probably the most important consideration.

The second consideration is our ability to eliminate secetarianism from the work of the Party whilst still maintaining the firm class balance in our work and in our approach to the Labor Party.

I do not think there is anything new in what I have said. It has been said in perhaps slightly different words many times, but the situation and the perspectives are opening up in such a way that it is necessary for us to re-emphasise these questions and to really go out and to try and overcome sectarianism in the way that it must be overcome.

When we consider the possibilities in this situation of developing this National Front, of developing a much greater degree of unity in the ranks of the Labor Movement itself, particularly between the Communist Party and the Labor Party, I think we must see that all the divisions, fears and vacillations that are beginning already to beset the ranks of the capitalist class, the tendencies that will become more pronounced as time goes on, will also find reflection in the ranks of the Labor Party itself, because the Labor Party leaders themselves reflect all these things. There is no doubt that some of the extreme right-wingers, and perhaps some under the influence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the final analysis even they have gone over so far that they will stand on the side of world reaction and become traitors to the Australian Nation. I think such a development is quite likely among some, even of the Australian Labor Party.

But the Australian Labor Party is essentially an Australian Party, the great mass of its supporters, and even the majority of its leaders in the Parliamentary and trade union field, I believe, will fight against American domination, they will fight for Australian independence in the situation that is opening up.

Then the progressive and patriotic elements in the Labor Party leadership, they will certainly need friends and allies from the Communist Party and as their aims and ours on these major, broad questions

will be very close, similar in fact, to preserve the independence of our country and so on, even if we have different ideas about going about it, this lays the basis for much more bigger developments along the lines of unity than perhaps have occurred in the past. In actual fact the Communist Party and the better elements of the Labor Party, and I believe they constitute the vast majority, will come much closer together in this situation. We must work very deliberately and consciously to make it easier for them—for history is going to force them nearer to our position and we have to estimate a fairly lengthy period before we reach a situation of durable world peace; what Australia is going to go through before this situation is reached is not yet known, but if you look at the map and see how we are situated we may go through some interesting times. Undoubtedly we will.

It should be appreciated that out of the anti-fascist war arose the liberation of a goodly portion of Europe, the development of the new democratic states that are marching forward to Socialism. In all capitalist countries democratic movements have become stronger; there has been a great uplift in the colonial struggles for independence, so that I feel it will not be far wrong to expect when the anti-democratic forces have been defeated and durable world peace established, the Soviet Union should be mighty — then the greater part of Europe will certainly be Socialist and the major colonial countries will be free, independent democracies of the new type, the type of democracy spoken about by Mao Tse Tung.

The conclusion is that generally throughout the world the democratic forces are in a much stronger position than ever before. The main contradiction is taking place within the capitalist world itself and not; as American imperialists would have us believe, between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. It does not matter what they do the way things are working out, the Soviet Union cannot be isolated, cannot be encircled. It is possible to prevent war, that is any big war, I don't mean to prevent the wars taking place at the present time. These are legitimate wars being fought against imperialism by the colonial people for their liberation. I think we can say that the possibilities of preserving peace, in the sense that there will be no third world war between America and the Soviet Union, are good. It is believed in European circles that such a war can be prevented, and the line of march we should pursue in our own country is to line up with the democratic forces in their struggle — this is the shortest cut we can take in the march towards the objective of our Party—Socialism.

L. L. SHARKEY

THE comprehensive and very thoughtful outline given us last night by Comrade Henry in every way sharpens the weapons of the Party in the present situation and concretises the policy that we have been carrying out over a period, that is, the struggle against the new pretenders to world domination, the American imperialists, supported by the most reactionary circles of British Imperialism.

There cannot be any doubt of the correctness of Comrade Henry's estimation of the international situation, with America as the dominant imperialist power at the moment, the centre of world reaction. It is subjecting to itself not only backward colonial areas but, like Hitler, who tried to turn Europe into a colony of German imperialism, America tries to turn the whole world into a colony of American imperialism. It is even subjecting the former imperialist powers to itself; not only the British countries who are to be "junior partners" but also, by means of the proposed fusion of the zones in Germany, subjecting once-powerful German imperialism to the U.S.A. and likewise in regard to Japan, where they have succeeded with this policy up to the present.

Here we have an imperialist expansion on a greater scale than Hitler. Hitler was able to dominate the capitalist countries of Europe with the exception of Great Britain. The U.S.A. unless we are able to rally all forces against it, sets out to dominate the whole of the capitalist world. If they succeed in the next decade or so, we will be faced with the direct possibility of a third world war.

What is behind all this expansion? The America of today is the country of the most colossal trusts the world has ever seen, the greatest concentration of capital the world has ever seen. This is the driving force of American expansion, just as it was of Hitler and the Kaiser, British, Italian, Japanese and French imperialism.

Our experience has emphasised that when we approach these questions we can only approach them from one angle, from the angle of Marxism-Leninism, and when we raise the question of American Imperialism the basic starting point for us is Lenin's **Imperialism.** Therein Lenin analysed the role of monopoly capital, which must strive to subjugate the world, the sources of raw material, of cheap labor, of markets. This was clear in both Hitler Germany and Japan. Both made no bones about the fact that their ultimate goal was the conquest of the whole world. We recall the Tanaka document of the Japanese imperialists which was not simply a plan for the conquest of China, Korea and other neighbouring states, but of the whole world. And everyone is aware that the Hitlerite madmen consistently talked about dominating the world.

Today we have American imperialists talking about American domination, which they prefer to call the American "way of life," "American leadership," the "American century," and so on, but behind their smooth phrases are the same ideas that drove Germany and Japan to their destruction. We know England went farthest along the imperialist road because it started earlier than any of the others, and that it succeeded in subjugating a quarter of the world. Its failure was described by Comrade Henry when dealing with the plight to which British imperialism has brought the British people.

History shows that all of these imperialist countries, whether Germany, Japan, Italy or France, have been led to ruin by imperialism. All of them today are nearly starving.

Will the fate of American imperialism, endeavouring to progress along this road, this madman's course, be any better than the countries I have named? It will not meet a better fate than its predecessors. The danger is that Wall Street might involve the world in another war, will involve Australia in this mad race to disaster. It wishes to turn Australia and the other British countries into its war bases, into satellites of U.S. imperialism.

As Lenin proved, imperialism is not a policy of monopoly capital in the sense that a policy is something that can be changed, something that one can adopt more or less at will. He debated with Kautsky on the point that it was not possible for the imperialists to choose whether they would be imperialists or not. Imperialism is inevitable because of the character of monopoly capital; the fact that it can flood the market with commodities, determining that it must expand and keep on expanding.

That is the law of development of monopoly as expounded by Lenin. We do not mean that a set of bad men have succeeded Roosevelt who was a good man. In a sense that is true, no doubt Truman is a very big step down from Roosevelt, but, nevertheless, whilst we take this into consideration, basically no Roosevelt or Truman or anyone else could alter the course of American imperialism. Only the masses can defeat it.

The only way to fight it is to arouse all possible forces against it.

The tendency of monopoly is to enslave the mass of the people in its own country as well as abroad.

And what path is America, is Wall Street taking?

It has already taken the first steps to crush the American working class itself. They have no less than two hundred bills before Congress and the Senate, according to the reports in the capitalist press, dealing with restrictions on the trade union movement, in particular the militant trade union organisation, the C.I.O.

That is what the working class in Australia understands the best, and it will arouse Australian trade unionists against American imperialism when they become aware of these Bills put forward by stooges of American monopoly in the various Parliaments in the United States. Wall Street has always been noted for brutality towards the working class of America. Everyone knows that a strike in the United States is almost civil war from the very beginning. Tear gas, black jacks, machine guns, all these things, all sorts of suppression and terrorism are used by the state against the workers. Recall the Chicago martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney, Joe Hill and thousands of others who have suffered the most dire penalties for opposition to the American capitalists. This shows what would be the fate of the workers of the world under the domination of United States imperialism.

Monopoly capital is the mother of fascism. It would be a mistake for us to look for fascism in this period in the old form, that is to say, with the brown shirt and the slogans from Mussolini and Hitler. These have been discredited. People have seen the nature of that brand of fascism, but the slogans and brown shirts and paraphernalia of Mussolini and Hitler are not necessary to the new forms of fascism that might be developed. Therefore we could have more concealed and refined forms, but in essence the same thing, and if we are looking for brown shirts and don't see them we would be making a mistake.

One can see the fascist trends clearly in certain capitalist countries today, particularly in the United States, with its attacks on the labor movement in full swing.

Of particular importance in the current U.S. witch hunt against the Communists is the attack on the Trade Union movement. While the outcry is against the Communists, it is the C.I.O. that gets the first blow by means of the new anti-union laws.

Behind the anti-Communist campaign, behind the red bogey is not only the attack on the Communist Party as such, but the attempt to shackle and destroy the mass organisations of the working class, and that is quite in line with the known features of monopoly capital: to destroy all the opposing forces, to attempt to establish the totalitarian rule of monopoly capital.

Monopoly capital, in its attempt to enslave the world, first of all begins, of necessity, to destroy the progressive forces within its own country.

Apply that to our own situation and realise that if our ruling class are going to ally themselves with this drive of American imperialism for world domination, then the same task confronts the ruling class of Australia, namely, the destruction, if they can, of the democratic organisations of the people, not only the Communist Party, but the trade unions as well. This is easily understandable to the working class of this country. We have had the Crimes Act; have known many attacks on the Trade Union movement.

Certainly at this stage the Yankee imperialists have no desire to occupy Australia in the military sense; that would be a bad mistake, would mean they would be engaged in a war with the Australian people, or the Canadian, or the British people, whatever one they are paying attention to.

American imperialism has invariably pursued somewhat different methods to that of the old imperialists. Both Roosevelt and Willkie came out with the slogan of the destruction of the old colonial systems, and they put it in the phraseology that this old system was a barrier to the world's progress, that it was keeping colonial peoples backward, and therefore the colonial system as known before the war should be scrapped.

All very nice. Something to which everyone who has the fate of humanity at heart could say "yes, it has been a very deplorable thing, has not only held back the colonial people, but the whole

world, it has been a bad thing—it must go."

Did Roosevelt and Willkie have in mind the liberation of humanity in our sense? Naturally they did not. They were but voicing the aspirations of American monopoly capital; they wanted to smash the barriers to American trade, placed by British imperialism in India, by Dutch imperialism in Indonesia, by French imperialism in various Asiatic and African countries, and by various other imperialist powers—that all of this must go. But they, the Wall Street imperialists, want to set up the same kind of imperialism they have in practice in the Philippines, to whom nominally they are granting independence. In reality, the Philippines are more under the domination of American imperialism, economically and politically, than before, and despite the fact that they proclaim independence, nevertheless the real ruler of the Philippines is American imperialism.

It has long been the policy of American imperialism, based on their superior production, superior industry, to pursue their imperialism in that way.

One has only to recall the position in China; when other imperialist powers were busily carving and slicing out their various bits, the Americans were demanding an "open door," believing, as they do today, that the more up-to-date industry of the United States would conquer for them the Chinese market in open competition. So this policy has quite a history, but it is an imperialist history.

America, as you are aware, was one of the great reservoirs of raw materials. American Trusts did not have to seek around to gain these raw materials in the sense of Germany and Britain, who did not possess them and had to go overseas and when they got control of them send their armies and navies to give them "protection."

This is changing; now Standard Oil has entered the Middle East; there are statements by American economists of the enormous drain on the American resources, particularly during the war, which has brought about a situation where many of these resources will be exhausted in a relatively short time, maybe a couple of decades, and American capital will be grabbing the sources of raw materials.

American capital is using its methods of penetration here. I have heard that in one firm no less than fourteen executives, who were Australian, were recently pushed out and fourteen Yankee executives went on to the board of directors in their place.

This shows how penetration is taking place. Waiting for the invasion of the American army—this is an illusion. Where we have to look is to the taking over of control of these industries in our country, to the direction of our foreign policy by American imperialism, to domination by means of so-called "military protection" from nearby American bases and such "refined" methods of domination.

This is the way our national independence, as in the case of the Philippines, is being menaced by American imperialism.

Economic penetration by American imperialism threatens ruin of Australian industries. First it affects the agrarian, but it will not be very long before our manufacturing industries likewise will be threatened by the flood of American goods. More particularly must we see the menace in regard to Wall Street's control of Japan, where the bestial exploitation of the workers allows the sale of goods on the world market at a low price, knowing that the American monopolists are grabbing control of the Japanese industries, that they are going in future to reap the super-profits of imperialism, through the exploitation of the Japanese workers, by flooding the market with cheaply produced goods from Japan.

In the general struggle against the world domination plans of the Anglo-American bloc, more attention must be directed to the struggle against excessive armaments and the outlawing of the atom bomb. America spends 33% of her budget, the Soviet Union 18%, and Britain, whilst the masses starve, maintains an enormous army of 1¼ million. Enormous quantities of food have to be sent to maintain armies all over the world whilst the people are crying for food.

In regard to the situation here, our bourgeoisie, the Labor Party right wing and Lang are peddling the idea that war is inevitable, that a "conflict between Russia and America" must break out and Australia must be on the side of Wall Street. We repudiate this.

We point out to the workers that war is not inevitable and they have to make the choice right now. The workers are not, in docile fashion, going to accept the role of meekly going to war for the glory of Wall Street. Lang did not say to the masses that you must do something to prevent this war because Lang is one of the stooges of American imperialism.

The Soviet Union does not want war. As a Socialist country aggressive war is outside its calculations, the Soviet Union is not going to declare war on America and Britain. It is we who are being subjugated and all Australians who value their country's independence must resist Wall Street imperialism and its plan to turn our country into its vassal, must struggle for a durable peace.

R. DIXON

I am in agreement with the report of Comrade Henry, delivered on Friday night, and the supplementary remarks of Comrade Sharkey.

The state of capitalist economy today is a reflection of the general crisis of capitalism that has been greatly sharpened as a result of World War 2.

World War 2 resulted in a great increase in the aggressiveness of American imperialism. In the course of the war the productive capacity of American industry increased by 50%. Since the end of the war we have seen the colossal robbery of the American masses, the forcing up of prices so that the cost of living has outstripped wage increases. Profits in America today are 2½ times greater than

in the pre-war period. Monopoly was strengthened in every way during the war and today the American trusts are striving to dominate the trade of the world and grab up new sources of raw material.

The gigantic expansion of American industry compared with the relative restriction of the consuming power of the masses of the American people sharpens the contradictions of American capitalism and forces it along the path of grabbing up new markets, of strengthening reaction at home as revealed in the drive against the trade unions and the Communist Party, and of intensifying the drive for world domination.

In contrast we have the position of British imperialism.

In the course of World War 2, the ruling class of Britain lost one half of their foreign investments, which they had to dispose of in order to pay for war supplies. Their world monopoly of the shipping trade had gone. They have become much more dependent on the United States of America for the supply of food and raw materials. Unable to meet current payments to America, they had to seek the recent loan, on terms dictated by the Yankee imperialists, which are both difficult and humiliating for the British people.

Thus, this great world power, that once dominated the world militarily and economically, is today in a very difficult position, is even in debt to the colonial peoples it for so long exploited and robbed.

In addition to these difficult economic problems, the colonial peoples are in revolt, striving for independence from the yoke of British imperialism.

Thus the general crisis of capitalism is deeply reflected in the decline and decay of the British Empire.

Britain is economically vulnerable, because it depends so much on imports for the foodstuffs and raw materials it needs. The thousand million loan from the United States was intended to provide funds to tide Britain over the difficult period until 1950, when the government hoped that British exports would have expanded sufficiently to meet the import bill.

But already, within twelve months, one half of the Loan has been disposed of and the British Government fears that the rest of it will be gone by the middle of 1948.

Because of the loss of overseas investments, the decline of the shipping monopoly and overseas military commitments, the British Government estimates that if it is to maintain imports at the level necessary to feed the people and supply the raw materials for industry, exports must be raised to 175% of pre-war levels.

Almost 50% of British imports come from what is called the "dollar bloc." On the other hand, of British exports, only 14% goes to the "dollar bloc." Thus there is a very big gap between what Britain buys from and sells to the "dollar bloc." For the 9 months, to September 1946, British imports from the dollar bloc exceeded exports to this area by £215 million. The difference is being made up temporarily, by the Loan Britain obtained from the United States. But what is going to happen after June 1948, or when the Loan is exhausted? Where will the dollars come from to pay for the American goods?

The British capitalists say that if they are to restore the balance of payments and break their economic dependence upon the United States of America, they must increase their export trade by 75% over 1939. Britain must, therefore, find vast new markets throughout the world, markets additional to those they had in 1939.

Let us have a look at this.

The United States of America in the course of the war increased productive capacity by 50%. Lord Bruce told us the other day that America is headed for over-production which within a short period of time, will result in thirty million unemployed in America. America, he said, will seek to overcome the crisis by dumping huge quantities of commodities on the world's markets. Thus American Imperialism will want new markets, will want to increase exports, and not merely by 75% over the pre-war level, but by twice or three times pre-war levels.

British capitalism, in striving to increase overseas trade, will be confronted with, and have to compete against, a great U.S. drive for markets.

Then, Australia and Canada have to be considered. Australia increased productive capacity by about 50% in the course of the war, and, therefore wants new markets, and the same with Canada and some other countries.

Thus, competition for markets will be very intense.

What of the markets of the world? Have they grown since the war?

The European market, which was one of the greatest pre-war markets, is today quite limited because the people are impoverished as a result of the war and the devastation it caused. They depended, very largely, upon supplies through UNRRA. But America has disposed of UNRRA. UNRRA was not a sufficiently good political weapon for Yankee Imperialism. Now, in order to get the vital American food, the countries of Europe must seek loans in the United States, and on the political terms the American imperialists dictate. American foodstuffs and dollars are used to bolster reaction in Europe and Asia.

The European market, for the present, is very restricted. The markets in China, and the colonial countries are also limited. There cannot be very much expansion of the markets in these countries until standards of living are raised, and this is dependent upon independence being achieved by the peoples in the colonial countries.

So we get a picture of Britain seeking to expand its pre-war export trade by about 75%, the U.S.A. by 200% and more, of Canada and Australia wanting to extend their trade and all in a world where the markets show no signs, as yet, of any corresponding growth.

You can see that capitalism is headed for extreme economic difficulties. It is certain that the contradictions between British and American capitalism will sharpen very considerably in the immediate future.

The Australian-American economic conflict will also sharpen, as will the contradictions between Australia and Britain and so on. Thus, the vast the almost unlimited expansion of productive capacity stands, in contradiction to the limited markets of capitalism and will inevitably hasten the economic crisis, and sharpen the general crisis of capitalism.

These factors will have a great bearing upon the struggles against the reactionary policy being pursued by the American trusts and monopolies.

If the Anglo-American conflict is sharp, and will intensify, we must ask: why do the British capitalists pursue a policy which actually subordinates British Imperialism to the United States of America?

In this connection I read a very interesting article by Kardelj, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, in which he pointed out that great political considerations dictate the policy the British ruling class are pursuing.

The British Imperialists know they can no longer maintain their world position without the help of the United States of America. Therefore, in the view of Kardelj, they are ready to accept a subordinate position to the United States of America, to admit American economic penetration of the Empire, in order to maintain, in some degree, their world position. Take, for instance, the Mediterranean, one of the main trade routes of British Imperialism. In the past, Britain has jealously guarded her interests in the Mediterranean. Now it has asked America to take over responsibility for Greece and Turkey and to share in all the problems of the Middle East, where the Arabs are rising in revolt against imperialism. The British ruling class seek to draw American Imperialism into participation in holding the Arabs in check throughout the Middle East, and in preserving Anglo-American positions in the Mediterranean.

Then there was an interesting article in "NEW TIMES" which pointed out that there was an agreement between British and American Imperialism, under which America was to get a free hand in China and Japan, whilst Britain was to have the predominant say in India.

In this policy being pursued by the British ruling class there is by no means complete unity in the ranks of the British capitalist class. We know that Churchill, who little more than 12 months ago advocated an Anglo-American alliance against Soviet Russia, and who today is calling for a "United Europe," which is only another name for a Western Bloc, has very much in common with Bevin. In the Conservative Party there is considerable opposition to the policy that would subordinate Britain to the U.S.A. Inside the Labor Party and the British labor movement, there is very much opposition to Bevin's policy.

Thus, resistance is growing in Britain to the policy of subordination to American Imperialism, and we can be sure it will grow stronger in the future because of the economic developments.

An interesting feature of the present situation is that important sections of the Australian ruling class, which up till now have consistently supported the foreign policy of Evatt and Bevin, now that they are facing the implications of American policy for Australia, are beginning to buck that policy.

Differences between Britain and Australia on foreign policy are developing.

There is the major problem of Empire trade. The Geneva trade conference, now taking place, shows that the Anglo-American bloc is not just one big happy family by any means. At this trade conference the markets of the Empire are under discussion, a matter of vital importance to Australia.

The British market is the main export market for Australian goods. Before the war, in 1939, Britain took 47% of Australia's exports, the U.S. took 13.2%. In 1946 Australia's exports to Britain were 26%, to the U.S. 17%. There has been a relative decline in trade with Britain and an overall increase with the U.S. I think that after the dislocations resulting from the war are overcome the tendency will be for an enlargement of Australian trade with Britain.

Trade between Australia and Britain has been built up, to a considerable extent, because of the Empire trade preference system. Preference has operated for many years but was really consolidated at the Ottawa Conference in 1932; 1932 was a year of economic crisis. Faced with an intense trade war with the U.S., the British imperialists, together with representatives from the Dominions, developed the system of Empire Trade Preference, to develop trade within the Empire, very largely at the expense of products of American industry. Thus Empire Preference was a weapon in the trade war with the United States.

The Communist Party consistently exposed the trade-war methods of the capitalist class, of preference, high tariffs, etc., because they resulted in inflationary prices and a lowering of living standards of the working class and because they had the effect of drying up the springs of trade throughout the world and, thereby, increased the danger of war.

Today, we are confronted with a different situation inasmuch as the aim of American Imperialism is to establish domination in the markets of the British Empire and through this to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries and dictate policy. They seized upon the difficulties confronting Britain during the war in order to enforce this policy. Thus, the Atlantic Charter, the Lend-Lease Agreement and the Loan, all contain clauses in which Britain agrees to grant "equal access" to the markets of the British Empire for American products.

It is absurd to speak of equality in trade with the United States of America, that gigantic monopolist power with its vast wealth and resources. When the Yankee Imperialists speak of "equal access" to the markets of the British Empire, they mean that these markets should be thrown open to them, so that they dominate the field of trade.

How would the abolition of Empire Trade preference affect Australia? Comrade Jones pointed out that 50% of the sugar production here is exported, most of which goes to Britain under Empire Trade preference; 80% of our tinned and dried fruits are exported and also a big part of our meat under the preference system. The wheat industry will suffer sooner or later and so will the dairying industry if Empire preference goes.

Economic disaster faces a number of Australian industries, the sugar, canned and dried fruits and meat industries for a start, if Empire preference is abandoned as Yankee Imperialism demands. Thousands of farmers will be bankrupt and driven from the land, workers will be thrown out of industry to join the unemployed army. Thus Empire preference has a vastly different significance for Australia today to what it had in the 1930's. Today it means the difference between destruction or maintenance of a number of industries vital to this country.

America is also insisting on a substantial reduction of tariffs that protect many of the manufacturing industries of Australia. I have no doubt that there could be a reduction in tariffs without difficulty to a number of Australian industries, but if the American policy is given effect to, there is danger of the dumping of huge quantities of cheap American goods on the Australian market in competition with Australian products. This will mean the closing down of factories, or restriction of production, resulting in the rapid growth of unemployment.

For these reasons we have to review our attitude to Empire preference and tariffs. The American policy of forcing the abolition of Empire preference and breaking down tariffs is the policy of the reactionary monopolist groups of the U.S., has the most reactionary aims, and can only mean disaster for Australia.

This danger inevitably flows from the policy of Bevin and Evatt of subordinating Britain and Australia to American foreign policy. We have the task of explaining to the working class, farmers and other Australians just where the Evatt-Bevin policy is getting the people of this country, the economic disaster that subordination to American Imperialism will bring in its train, and the threat, implicit in the American policy, to our independence.

These are factors which are playing an important part in the discussions now taking place in Geneva.

Our export of wool to America has grown considerably since 1939. On a weight basis exports to the U.S. from the average in 1934-38 of 3.1% have grown to 43.9%. Mr. Chifley made the statement recently that if there was a 50% reduction in the American wool tariff the benefit to the Australian wool industry would be considerable and, he said, in that event it would be possible to achieve trade agreements that would generally benefit Australia. He said that this agreement may mean that a few industries, tinned and dried fruits, etc., would be badly hit, but if the economy in general would benefit we should be prepared to put up with inconvenience in some industries.

Those were Mr. Chifley's views.

The Yankee Imperialists, however, have come back with a different proposition. Instead of reducing, they are proposing an increase of 50% in the tariff on Australian wool. This caused the crisis in the discussions at Geneva. The Australian Government was prepared to make concessions to America in return for concessions, but the American Imperialists do not think in terms of compromises and concessions, they make demands and expect them to be fulfilled. They want to take all and give nothing in return. Thus the full fruits of the foreign policy of the Chifley Government are now being realised.

That is how things are between Australia and American Imperialism.

Britain is pursuing a different policy to Australia. Dependent upon the United States, it is striving for a trade agreement that will increase British exports to America even at the expense of trade with Australia and other Empire countries. Serious differences are, therefore, arising between Australia and Britain on trade with America and trade within the Empire.

In the past the foreign policy of Evatt and the Government of subordinating Australia to American foreign policy has been almost unchallenged. The bourgeoisie have supported it up to the hilt. The only force in opposition was the Communist Party and sections of the labor movement. Now conditions point to a substantial change. As the real threat to Australia from dollar imperialism becomes apparent, new forces are coming into action that will be a great addition of strength to those in the country who are opposed to the foreign policy of Evatt and the Government. We must be conscious of the change that is taking place as a result of economic developments, the threat to Australian trade and industries because it opens up a new and wider field for activity, for mobilising new and greater sections of the Australian people to fight for a progressive policy in foreign and internal affairs.

First of all there are the sugar farmers who are beginning to see that once the market in Britain goes, or a substantial portion of it goes, as it will if Empire preference is abolished or modified, they will be confronted with disaster. They will oppose Evatt's policy of subordination to America.

The fruit farmers from the irrigation areas who depend upon the canned and dried fruits trade will oppose Evatt's policy. Meat producers will oppose it because their well-being depends upon the British market. The manufacturers will object to tariffs being forced down to satisfy Yankee Imperialism.

The task of the Party is to arouse all these people to the danger threatening Australia, to draw these new forces into the struggle against American Imperialism, against the subordination of Australia to American Imperialism.

We must develop nation-wide movements of the people for this struggle. Naturally the working class will be the core, the basis of these movements. We must draw farmers, middle-class people and various sections of the capitalist class into activity in support of the working class position and their own interests. These movements of the people are not something of mere theoretical interest but are really practical politics for the Australian Communist Party.

There is another aspect of this question, that is of the utmost importance — the danger of economic crisis.

We have had many warnings of the danger of economic crisis in America. As the crisis develops there will be an intensified drive by American Imperialism for markets throughout the world, for the Australian market, the British market, markets in the colonial countries and so on. If Empire trade preference goes and America has open and "equal access" to the markets of the British Empire this country will be quickly hit by the economic crisis developing in the United States. American Imperialism will try to overcome its crisis at the expense of Australia and other capitalist countries.

It would be wrong to think that Empire trade is a barrier to economic crisis. It is not. Empire preference, however, will limit the extent to which America can try and solve its unemployment and crisis at our expense. Restrictive trade practices are not our objective. What we aim to do is to prevent the United States from crushing the economic life of Australia and other countries, and so completely dominating them.

* * *

We are opposed to a bloc of the British Empire with the United States against Soviet Russia, and we are not in favor of a bloc of the British Empire with Soviet Russia against the United States.

We are not the apostles of world division, we are the exponents of the idea of world unity. This is why we oppose blocs.

Australia and Britain should pursue an independent foreign policy, independent of the Yankee Imperialism. Australia should not subordinate itself to the United States of America. We should combat all moves to divide the world, to prevent the division of the world the reactionaries are aiming at and which can only end in war. Australia's policy should be to promote, in every sense, world unity. This is the way to world peace. It will mean that new avenues of world trade would be opened up, trade restrictions swept away.

We must also examine the role of American Imperialism in relation to the export of capital.

I endeavoured to get figures on the amount of American capital invested in this country in recent years but no up-to-date figures are available. Mr. Dedman made a statement in Federal Parliament last year in which he said that there were sixty-six overseas firms planning industries in Australia, with £19,000,000 new capital, that would give employment to 17,000 workers.

Up to March, 1946, £8,500,000 of new capital had been invested in Australian industry, in accordance with post-war plans — £4,000,000 British capital, £2,000,000 Australian capital and £2,500,000 American capital.

You can see that American capital invested in this country exceeds Australian investments in the recent period.

These figures, I understand, relate only to the bigger industries. There are no complete figures on all capital investments since the war.

A factor hindering the investment of American capital in Australia is double-taxation. "On the profits they make in Australia, American capitalists have to pay tax to the Australian Government, and also to the American Government. They are doubly taxed.

We support double taxation insofar as American capital is concerned.

The policy of the American monopolists when they export capital, whether it is to Australia, South America or Europe, is to establish joint companies. That means to say, if we take Australia, companies with Australian as well as American capital.

The Americans take 51% of the shares and grant the Australians 49%, which means that the American monopolists hold the dominating position and can always determine the policy and future of the industry.

What is the significance of this policy?

These giant American monopolies are seeking to merge with the Australian monopolies, to "intertwine," as Kardelj put it, the economic life of this country with American Imperialism. The Americans are building up a Fifth Column of a size that Hitler could not dream of because German Imperialism was never as powerful as American Imperialism.

Important sections of the Australian bourgeoisie are being drawn right in to the camp of American Imperialism.

Thus, on the one hand, the trade policy that America is pursuing will arouse hostility amongst smaller producers, while, on the other hand, the American monopolists are linking up with the big bourgeoisie in this country.

Another method to extend their influence is to make available industrial and technical secrets, but on certain terms, often including the placing of key men in Australian industries.

Then again, there is American advertising and publicity work which enables them to carry more weight than otherwise. Take the publicity firm, J. Walter Thompson, which has backed J. T. Lang and other reactionary politicians. J. T. Lang said the other day that America was headed for a war against the Soviet Union, and that the Australian Communists would betray their country in this war. It seems, according to J. T. Lang, that failure to support the American Trusts and combines in a reactionary war is treachery. It is obvious Lang has become a stooge for American Imperialists.

Finally, the Australian army is undergoing a process of re-organisation and American weapons will become the standard weapons just as in the British amy, Australian factories are tooling up in order to produce these arms for the military forces.

It can be said that Yankee imperialism is penetrating, by a thousand ways, into the life of this country, threatening the further industrial development of Australia and also our independence.

We have to wage a very powerful ideological and organisational drive to mobilise the people in the struggle against this danger.

The ideological influence of American Imperialism as revealed in the slander campaign against the Soviet Union, the drive against the labor movement and the attacks upon the Communist Party, must be combatted. Wherever Australian-American factories or industries are established we want Party organisation and trade union organisation there, and we must follow them into the country as well as the city.

J. B. MILES

IT has been made clear that the urgent, dominant contradiction is that between the democratic and anti-democratic people in the capitalist world, between U.S. Imperialism along with its Quislings, and the independent nations in the capitalist world and colonial and semi-colonial peoples. It is an urgent, pressing and dominant contradiction demanding our close attention, our skilful leadership, and a stubborn struggle along the lines indicated by Comrade Henry in his report.

On the question of the war danger, it is also evident that we have not yet got complete ideological unity. It is recognised that there will be no period of pacifist illusions such as developed in the twenties along with the temporary relative stabilisation. But then in dealing with Comrade Stalin's statement that there is no immediate war danger, pacifist illusions could develop in the minds of some members of our Party and be fostered in the minds of some of our contacts. So we must still guard against the idea of inevitability developing because both cannot but weaken the struggle for peace.

It seems to me that the war danger is real but not immediate. It seems to me also that the danger lies not in the anti-Soviet propaganda and declamations, although that plays a part, but it lies along the line, the inevitable direction of U.S. monopoly capital, aiming at world domination, and that the danger will not become immediate until and unless the U.S. monopolists meet with yet greater success, even then a proviso that these madmen might succeed to promote desperate actions.

My view is that the danger is not immediate because of the great array of forces against U.S. monopoly capital: the U.S. people, the struggle of the unions in the U.S., the independent nations, the colonial struggles, the influence of the Soviet Union, of the new democracies, the existence of U.N.O. There are progressive forces in Germany and Japan, and here one would say also Italy, although there is a difference, the labor movements in all the countries of the world, stronger trade unions, the World Trade Union Federation, the Women and Youth Federations, and the Communist Parties.

I think the danger is not immediate and will be finally repelled because U.S. policy will generate still stronger opposition, that is what the report makes clear. I think the danger will be seen not to be immediate when we realise that U.S. strength absolutely as an imperialist power is greater than that of any other imperialist country in history, but is at the same time relative and must be seen in relation to all the world-wide opposing forces which, taken as a whole, are very strong, will become stronger and can defeat the U.S. imperialism.

If we see the economics of it, the politics of it, the geography in relation to military strength, I think we see the danger is not immediate, but it is a danger. Not only is there a danger of war, but obviously the development of a big war must involve the Soviet Union whether the attack should commence upon the Soviet Union or not. But I have no doubt that the warmongers can be defeated.

My impression is that these frenzied outbursts by people in the U.S. and some here in Australia in the Federal Parliament and elsewhere are indicative of the fact that the capitalist class is losing confidence in its own system, consequently they lose their heads and will be driving into ever more crazy declarations and possibly into actions.

There will be a long period of intense struggle for democracy, which includes the struggle to defend the national independence of Australia and other lands as well as the colonies, a long period of intense struggle between the forces of democracy and those of imperialism and war led by U.S. monopoly capital, but victory for democracy will mean a democratic stabilisation opening up the way for a further advance to socialism.

The anti-Soviet propaganda must be seen as largely a smoke-screen for the real, immediate aims of U.S. imperialism. Does the spy scare lead to any direct action about the Soviet Union? No, but it leads to a lot of action against the democratic forces in the U.S. and Canada.

That line of the monopolists, the neo-fascists, is expressed also in Australia, and it's all done in the name of democracy, of God and the Four Freedoms, and it is aimed primarily at the democratic forces in the capitalist world.

Similarly, anti-Communist propaganda must be answered, but here also I see a certain similarity in the ideas I have expressed about the anti-

Soviet propaganda. Comrade Sharkey in his speech spoke of the imperialists finding new ways to develop to fascism; and in dealing with what are undoubtedly fascist trends in the U.S. points to the fact that while there are many demands for direct suppression of the Communist Party and the Communists, practical action is already being taken to weaken the democratic forces with a direct attack upon the trade unions.

Similarly here in Australia. We have the old outcries, including demands for the suppression of the Communist Party, for the use of legal action against Communists, but Menzies says "No," we should not make the Communist Party illegal, yet see what he demands in relation to the trade unions, and what Treatt also demands in his policy speech about the trade unions.

While answering anti-Communist propaganda, we must not make the mistake of treating it as being too simply directed just against the Communists.

C. JONES

Comrade Henry's report has made quite clear the need to fight more vigorously the aims of Yankee imperialism. What we have to be concerned about is the need to fight the battles of the Australian people. In Queensland we have the opportunity around Empire preference and its implications to the sugar industry.

The terms of the U.S.A. loan to Britain seek drastic revision of preference and jeopardise the markets for such commodities as meat, sugar, mutton, pig meat, peanuts, etc.

So that from the North of Cairns to Tweed Heads every town is affected. It also involves the right of Australia and other countries to place embargoes on importation.

In relation to sugar, which is the biggest industry and one we know most about, a Queensland State Government inquiry worked out that the direct employment in connection with the sugar industry was: Direct employment on farms 33,240; mill employment 6,400; indirectly employed in sugar districts 35,600 and other districts 15,750, a total of 90,998.

On the average each member of the Queensland working population supports approximately 1.5 additional persons. On this basis it is possible that these 90,990 workers represent over 200,000 persons, or about one fifth of the State's population.

Railway workers, wharfies, seamen, clerical and professional workers and others, if the sugar industry closes down it affects all these people.

Very broad sections of the Queensland people are menaced by American Imperialism in its manoeuvring to gobble up the markets of the world. When we started to speak about this in Queensland, the newspapers used to ignore it, but the secretary of the C.S.R. came out with a fairly strong statement and the newspapers of North Queensland started to write editorials about the need to develop the sugar industry. The essential thing to see is that we can develop a very wide struggle with very diverse sections around this question. When the discussion came up first on the sugar industry, Hanlon jumped off from Townsville to Canberra to see Chifley and insist that a sugar man be sent to Geneva to discuss the problems of the sugar industry. If the A.W.U. wants to maintain its position in Queensland it has to struggle for retention of the sugar industry. This struggle embraces all sections of the population.

We have to learn to handle the problems of the Australian people in a statesmanlike way, to learn to present them correctly in the broadest way. If we do that correctly we are really striking a blow, not only against American imperialism and its infiltration in Australia, but for the victory of progress and democracy.

J. D. BLAKE

The developments that have taken place in the new democracies of Eastern Europe, and some of the statements that have been made by Party leaders from those countries, are of enormous importance to us.

I do not think there is any doubt if an examination is made of these statements, that we have here a further development of the Marxist teachings on the State.

For example, the statement of Comrade Dimitrov puts this matter probably in the sharpest way when he said:

"Analysing the general situation and taking into account the particular post-war problems involved, we find that in Bulgaria it is quite possible, in the course of time and after necessary preparations, to pass over to Socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Comrade Gomulka, the leader of the Polish Party, made a statement virtually the same. Comrade Gottwald of the Czechoslovakian Party has in different words expressed the same view, and so have all the leaders of the East European Parties.

Here I think it is essential for us to try to get down to some understanding of what is being driven at, and to understand also the difference in the situation that prevails in these countries, in order that we shall be able in our own circumstances here in Australia to make the very fullest use of the lessons those parties in these countries have to teach us.

As we know in accordance with Marxist teaching the proletarian dictatorship is born of the proletarian revolution. It is a state which is established on the basis of the working class seizing power and being conscious of the fact that it has seized power alone as a class. As we know from the experience of the Soviet Union, the classic country of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, this dictatorship is based on a system within which there are a number of non-party mass organisations, and in which a single party, the Proletarian Party, in this case the Bolshevik Party, is the leading, directing force. And a characteristic feature of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in this regard is that the Party of the Proletariat does not share its leadership with other political parties.

What is the position in the new East European democracies in this regard? Here we must note the term "peoples' democracies," because often our comrades in discussing this matter have used what Engels had to say about "peoples" democracy, "peoples" State, considering that the treatment of the question by Engels in his time actually applies to the position in the East European democracies today.

Actually the situation is altogether different. It is one in which all the circumstances are quite different from those Engels was dealing with when he spoke about the "Peoples" State, "Peoples" democracies.

These people's democracies in Eastern Europe must be considered first of all on the basis of the tremendous and unprecedented political development that has taken place amongst the masses of the people, almost the whole population of these countries, during the war and since the war. This is an extremely important fact that must be borne in mind in relation to those countries and the developments in them.

Secondly, and of course without putting one against the other in order of importance, the increase in the power and strength of the Soviet Union, the existence of a powerful Socialist State, provided also the necessary backing and support for the development that has taken place in those countries. So that these new States are in fact new States. They are not proletarian states and not bourgeois states; they are states which arose from the struggle carried on by a broad class alliance which was victorious in the struggle to defeat the Nazi occupation forces, and in doing so they defeated and largely destroyed the old ruling class which had collaborated with the Nazis.

On the basis of that development which took place during the war and in the immediate period after the war, the old bourgeois states in these countries have been largely dismantled as a result of the efforts of the masses of the people, under the direction of the Communist Party in alliance with the other Parties.

A new State machine with a new content has been brought into existence in those countries, in which we have the movement of the peoples in varying forms.

Moreover, whilst these developments were going on new types of people's armies were brought into existence. In Yugoslavia the people's army arose out of Tito's partisan army. In Poland the people's army was reared on Soviet soil and whilst that was going on it so happened, because of the way things developed during the war, that the remnants of the old armies of Poland led by Anders were in Italy and Scotland, and as we know the old armed forces of Yugoslavia were with King Peter or Mikhailovich.

On the basis of this complete change in the situation in those countries the whole material and economic foundation of society and the state was radically altered. In the first place the estates of the big landlords were broken up and the land distributed to the peasants in varying degree in the various countries, nationalisation of industries, along lines proposed by Lenin, has taken place.

The other feature of the developments in those countries is that the power is shared by different parties and different classes. There are opposition parties which exist openly and run candidates.

We are aware of the fact that the Communist Parties in those countries have proportionately different weight. But nevertheless the basic line of policy, the basic line of advance, followed in all those countries is, in essence, the same line of advance. This does not arise fortuitously. In Poland the Socialist Party and the Communist Party polled the same number of votes and secured the same number of deputies and work on the basis of a united front.

It is clear that the form of state that exists in these countries is not the dictatorship of the proletariat and it is not the bourgeois state, it is a new type of people's state or people's democracy.

How is it possible to reconcile the statement made by Dimitrov that these countries are going to Socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat with Comrade Stalin's statement about strengthening the Socialist State in the U.S.S.R.? Here I think we should note that Comrade Stalin draws attention to two functions of any state, and he also speaks of two phases in the development of the Socialist State. Comrade Stalin separates these two functions into—first, the internal, punitive function to suppress the class enemy and, secondly, that of external defence, or in some States to add to their territory by aggression. Comrade Stalin makes it clear that in regard to these two functions, the first, the internal, is primary. With regard to external defence it is also necessary for us to bear in mind what we know about the creation of national people's armies of the same class basis as the states which exist in these Eastern European countries.

Comrade Stalin spoke of the first phase of the dictatorship of the proletariat as one in which the emphasis was on the overthrow of the exploiters, the restoration of the industry and the agriculture of the country, the elimination of the capitalist elements and the laying of the foundation for the establishment of a Socialist society.

In the second phase he speaks of the drive to establish the Socialist economic system all over the country and to eliminate capitalist elements, and in

this second phase he indicates the function of military suppression in the country ceased and died away because of the fact that exploitation of man by man and class differences had been eliminated and no one was left to suppress. He indicates that the army, the punitive organs, turn their edge outside against the external enemies.

Comrade Stalin said in 1938: "We now have an entirely new, Socialist State, without precedent in history, and differing considerably in form and functions from the Socialist State of the first phase." Then he went on to say, such a State will continue to exist even under Communism provided capitalist encirclement remains.

It seems to me that the statements that have been made by the leaders of our brother Parties in the East European democracies apply in particular to that Comrade Stalin describes as the first phase, with the conception of working out the tasks of the creation of a Socialist society in a non-violent way without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words in a State where the power is shared by different parties, in which it is possible for a peaceful conflict of opinion within the united organs of the state to take place and all the issues to be fought out in that peaceful way.

In some matters it will take longer periods of time to reach certain aims and objectives. One of the leaders of the Czech Party indicated that there will be differences and conflicts, but the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia relies on its contact with the masses, and it will take the differences to the masses, and the masses will decide. If one of the parties sharing the power in any of these countries proposes a broad line of policy, the task before the Communist Party is to take this issue in a big way to the masses and win support for the policy that should be pursued.

Dimitrov indicates that they will have to march along a road that will take more time and involve more difficulties, but it is a peaceful road and the basic conditions that create the possibility for that of throwing the bourgeoisie from power, the creation of a new State machine and the breaking up of the old state.

The people of these countries have the backing and support of the Soviet Union, so that it is possible to set out to win the masses to Socialism in the course of the struggle, and from the conviction that it takes place in the process of the struggle.

It is clear that the key positions now occupied in the economic life of these countries by nationalised industries and the new developments in agriculture, the future development of co-operative farming, are eliminating the class differences in the country in much the same way as this kind of thing developed in the Soviet Union.

We must agree that the parties in the Eastern European countries are thoroughly justified in opening up this path and in taking it. It must be said, of course, that when Socialism has been built in these countries, the States existing, providing that everything remains the same relatively in the world, will be Socialist States, but they will be Socialist States, the nature of which will be something like the Soviet State in its second phase.

In other words in those countries they can get to socialism without what we know as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, per medium of the new kind of state machine. It seems important to me to note that there is here a new development, a further expansion of the Marxist teaching on the State, and Lenin and later Stalin drew attention to the fact that the Marxist teaching on the State has been expanded and developed in previous periods, and that this teaching is not something immutable or unchangeable.

So far as the application of all this to our position here is concerned, I have felt that some comrades in the British Party seem to have some vague idea that the line of advance in Britain will be the equivalent line of advance as in the European democracies. The all-important fact is that whilst the bourgeoisie has been deposed from power in those countries, it is still very much in power in England, in the U.S.A. and certainly here in Australia. We are confronted with the problem of the bourgeois State machine, so that we still have to orientate our line of advance to realise the first task carried out by those Parties and peoples in the East European countries.

In that regard a tremendous scope opens out for us. We can now approach these matters from the point of view of the drawing together of the vast majority of the Australian population for struggle on a common policy that meets the needs and interests of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country.

As to precisely how the forms will develop, that, of course, depends upon the alertness of the Party, but I think we must, as Comrade Henry pointed out, also have in mind the possibility of such forms as the people's government as set forth at the 7th World Congress, in other words, forms of government which could still function within the capitalist State machine, which would be transitional forms bearing in mind the task all the time of defeating the bourgeoisie.

We have still to solve this task which is mainly over as far as the European democracies are concerned.

It seems to me that it is necessary to emphasise and re-emphasise the breadth of the position we can and will occupy in regard to the basic forces of our country, and in addition to emphasise and re-emphasise the very sharp struggle that will be involved in order to secure such broad unity that will be necessary to meet the desperate opposition that will be met from the reactionaries in this country and their friends in the labor movement. But undoubtedly in setting out to carry out a policy of exposing the U.S. imperialists' policy of infringing the independence of Australia by penetrating our industries and economi: life generally, there can be no doubt as time goes on that we shall more and more win vast numbers of people in support of such a policy.

Furthermore, to defeat the agents of this foreign power within our own country, and there are quite a number in the ranks of the bourgeoisie and the right-wing elements of the labor movement, we shall have to give a good deal of thought to working out in a concrete and detailed way the positive proposals we have to make to solve the problems that confront the working class and the people generally.

I do not think we should have any doubt that in approaching these questions we are approaching them from the standpoint of the working class of Australia. There is need to see we are not doing so in any narrow way, but it remains a fact that the basic interests of the working class in these matters are also the basic and vital interests of the nation.

NOTES ON SOME QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

EDVARD KARDELJ

(From "The Communist," organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia)

MUCH time has already elapsed since the final resistance of the Hitlerite Fascist Axis was broken, but the world still does not fully enjoy the blessings of peace. Bitter fighting is still going on in many parts of the world, while all the international relations reveal the profound antagonisms which are rending the world to-day—they show that the Second World War has not only failed to extricate capitalism from its general crisis, but has rendered this crisis even deeper. And —as has always been the case with capitalism— the capitalist world is seeking a way out from its predicament by increasing reactionary pressure and violence. This explains the aggressive campaign against the truly democratic forces, a campaign launched on the morrow of the conclusion of hostilities by international imperialist reaction, and which is reflected in all international relations and within each capitalist country.

All these phenomena are, however, but an introduction to the far more serious internal crisis which the capitalist world will have to face. It is unlikely that the capitalist world is moving towards some sort of relative stabilisation in the coming years. It is, on the contrary, far more likely that the economic crisis, and the sharpening of all the contradictions, will, in the coming years, result, not merely in a serious economic crisis, but also in extremely violent political upheavals, for the capitalist world.

A certain amount of confusion, as regards future political developments in the world, is noticeable among the broad masses of the people and in certain democratic circles, in the capitalist countries. These masses are, therefore, vulnerable to empty democratic phrases, which are but a mask for imperialist reaction. The smoke of war events has not yet dissipated, and many people have not yet become accustomed to view yesterday's events through the prism of today's realities. Many of the slogans of the glorious liberation war against Fascism have not lost their power for a considerable section of the masses, who fail to see that these watchwords have, now that they are being proclaimed by imperialists and reactionaries, lost their soul and substance and remained mere phrases in the mouths of those who are interested in creating ambiguity and confusion. Many of these glorious slogans have, moreover, become a cloak for fascist and all kinds of other reactionary tendencies in the world. There can, on the other hand, be no doubt that the masses of the people are becoming increasingly aware of this, and that the imperialist reactionary forces are finding it more and more difficult to take cover behind such phrases, and they are therefore, and all the more, resorting to a policy of openly imposing their will by violent means, both in international relations, and within the different capitalist countries—insofar as their strength permits.

Several fascist States, with Nazi Germany at their head, have been smashed in the war, i.e., the fascist dictatorships in these States have been overthrown and crushed. Can it be said, however, that the fascist peril has been eliminated, and that the democratic principles, for which millions and millions of men from all continents fought and died, have truly prevailed in the world? Unfortunately, this is far from being the case. On the contrary, it would be a very great mistake to identify the destruction of a concrete Fascist set-up, such as Hitler's Fascist Axis and its satellites, with the destruction of Fascism as a general phenomenon of imperialism, and with the destruction of its sources. It seems, moreover, to me that it is already becoming inaccurate to speak of the "remnants of Fascism"—for the simple reason that what we have before us today are not merely the remnants of the former Fascist dictatorships in Germany, Italy, Japan, etc., but, above all, that an entire system which, under certain conditions, ineluctably gives birth to Fascism, is in existence. It is a fact that the main sources of Fascism in the world are still in existence, although they have been weakened; that these sources are now becoming more and more active, that they are gaining an increasing measure of influence in certain countries, and that they will constitute an increasingly grave peril for freedom-loving mankind—if the latter does not oppose them with the utmost resolution, both inside each individual country, and in the field of international relations.

In his article "A Caricature of Marxism" and on "Imperialist Economism," Lenin wrote:—

"The political superstructure over the new economics, over monopoly capitalism (im-

perialism is monopoly capitalism)—is a change from democracy to reaction. To free competition corresponds democracy. To monopoly—corresponds political reaction."

Later on in the same article, Lenin quotes dolf Hilferding, the well-known Social-Demot of the Second International, who wrote in his ok on **Finance Capital:—**

" . . . Finance capital strives towards domination and not towards freedom."

Rudolf Hilferding "forgot" this fact in his actical politics during the First World War, just many contemporary Social-Democrats are forting it today. The entire development of the pitalist world after the First World War, and rticularly in the course and the aftermath of e Second World War, convincingly bears out ese observations of Lenin's at every step.

Freedom-loving forces must, obviously, take ese facts into account. They must wage a dermined struggle in all parts of the world against e anti-democratic activities of the imperialist actionary forces, if they wish to avoid the danger finding themselves, once again, one day, in a sition similar to the one on the eve of the cond World War, i.e., to be faced with the slaught of the general reactionary and Fascist ensive.

I.

The law of the uneven development of the pitalist countries, with all the consequences this tails for the capitalist system, expressed itself werfully both in the course of the war, and ter the conclusion of hostilities. Germany and pan have disappeared from the world political ene, as great powers. Italy has been thrown to a completely subordinate position, the role France has decreased considerably, while cerin circles in Britain feel that the only way to ve the British Empire is to make it play second ddle to the policy and strength of the United ates. The old capitalist Europe is no longer e centre of the capitalist world. The eyes of pitalist, and of other reactionary forces, are w turning in another direction. They are turng towards the American Continent.

Capitalist Europe has been weakened, while e role of the United States of America has ineased tremendously. The U.S.A. has become, oth by its economic power and by its political fluence, the centre of the capitalist world. We nce used to say that the whole of the capitalist orld was under the domination of a few nperialist States, where finance capital had been oncentrated; to-day, it could already be said that ere is an increasing tendency on the part of the nance capital of a single great capitalist power, e., of the United States of America, to control o various degrees, or bring pressure to bear upon, ractically the whole of the capitalist world. The oncentration of finance capital has now assumed igantic proportions. American production has, n the course of the war, increased by over 50%, nd it needs markets, sources of raw materials, and possibilities of investment throughout the world. The great monopoly organisations of different countries, with American finance capital playing a dominant part, are conquering economic positions throughout the world, and bringing large and small capitalist countries into a state of financial and general economic dependence.

Capitalist monopolies on both sides of the front maintained a mutual contact throughout the war, regardless of the fact that a life and death struggle was being waged on the battlefields, and exerted an essential influence on the war policies of the capitalist countries. This influence was not, of course, exerted towards positive ends, towards the victory of the bloc of anti-Nazi States. The weakening and the retarding of the growth of the war potential of the Allied countries, and the delaying of the progress of the war for the purpose of enriching the financial oligarchy and the weakening of the democratic forces in the world—such was the policy pursued by the capitalist monopolies in the course of the war.

To-day, these same monopoly alliances are bringing the defeated, and many of the large and small victorious nations, under their economic yoke, they are destroying the vestiges of independence the small "independent" countries may still have possessed, and are, in all the capitalist countries, linking themselves up with the most reactionary elements, bringing them to power, or attempting to do so, provoking civil wars and endeavouring to bring about a general offensive on the part of political reaction.

Even countries like Great Britain and France have, to a considerable extent, been brought into a state of financial dependence on the United States. Protesting against the conditions of the recent American loan to Britain, Lord Beaverbrook exclaimed that the Empire had been sold at a puny price, and that in future the United States would reap what the British had sown.

And the **Economist** wrote that it was said that Britain, having lost a quarter of its total national wealth in the common struggle, had, by way of reward, to commit itself to paying for the next half century 35 million pounds a year to those who had enriched themselves in the war.

It was not, however, these £35,000,000 which so disturbed British public opinion, as the conditions Britain was compelled to accept in connection with the loan. These conditions are such that they open the door of all parts of the British Empire to the expansion of American capital.

The situation of France is similar, while the fifth "Big" allied country, i.e. (Kuomingtang) China has, in actual fact, again become a semi-colony of the United States, particularly after the recent treaty of "Friendship, Commerce and Navigation" with the United States, which completely delivers China to exploitation by American capital.

In short, American monopoly capital has conquered a dominant position in the capitalist world. The American monopoly alliances had, during the war, greatly strengthened, in the first place, their

position inside the country, by liquidating a number of small and middle-sized firms, while at the same time conquering one after the other economic positions throughout the world. Such a high degree of concentration is obviously bound to have far-reaching consequences for the entire further development of the capitalist world. The greatest economic expansion in history is taking place before our eyes. American finance capital is not merely well on the way to winning; all by itself, dominant positions in the economic life of the defeated countries, it has not only enslaved, from an economic point of view, practically the whole of South America, the Philippines, China, etc., but is also reaching for the "independent" capitalist countries, more especially for the British and French colonies, Dominions and spheres of influence. All the British Dominions, and particularly Canada, are more dependent to-day upon the United States of America than upon Great Britain. Having, moreover, built up a powerful industry in the course of the war, mostly with the participation of American capital, the Dominions are competing with the British home country on many of the markets. In the same way as in the Dominions, the American capitalists are conquering economic positions in North Africa, in the Middle East, in India, Korea and in all parts of the world.

Such economic expansion, obviously, not merely weakens the economic and political position of the other capitalist countries, which depend upon the export of commodities and of capital, depriving them of markets, sources of raw materials and investment possibilities, but also, the same as any other colonial system, retards the economic development of the dependent countries. It does so for political reasons — because of the general imperialist tendency to prevent the industrialisation of the backward agrarian countries, so as to maintain them in a state of economic and political dependence; it does so by the very system of exploitation to which it subjects the economically dependent countries. The Soviet review, "Mirovoie Hozaistvo" (World Economy) quotes, for instance, a Chilean author who describes the exploitation of Chile in the following terms: —

" . . . 95% of the copper produced by Chile belongs to American companies, 60% of the nitrate is produced by American-controlled companies. Out of each dollar which we receive for the nitrate, 85 cents remain in the USA for the payment of debts, of dividends, of transportation expenses, of insurance fees, and for services of the agents . . . "

This gigantic octopus, United States finance capital, which has stretched its arms throughout the capitalist world, of course sucks huge super-profits. The process of concentration of finance capital thus develops spasmodically and at a great pace. The economic expansion of American finance capital is, naturally, accompanied by the corresponding political actions, while various "political philosophies" are appearing more and more in the American press and are explaining the necessity of American world domination with the same ingenuity with which the German imperialists once did on behalf of the German "Herrenvolk." The American bankers and trusts are to-day making every effort to achieve that in which Hitler failed, viz., to achieve world domination, at least in the capitalist world for the time being.

It would, of course, be a mistake to say that Britain has completely ceased to play an independent part. On the contrary British capitalist circles are doing their utmost to save and restore the former greatness of the British Empire, to stay the internal disintegration of the colonial empire, caused by the expansion of American capital, and to save the markets and sources of raw materials which American capital is wrenching from them, even in their own colonies. They are attempting to do so by means of various political measures, and this was, among other things, the aim of the endeavours to create a "western Bloc." This will, undoubtedly, for all the reasons we have just given, result in the constant appearance of Anglo-American antagonisms throughout the world.

All this, however, cannot fundamentally stem the process which is developing. Although production in Great Britain has increased during the war, this country has suffered considerable impoverishment as compared to the United States of America. From a creditor, it has become a debtor, a debtor even of its own colonies, such as of India, for instance. Britain's foreign investments have decreased considerably. And the conditions which Britain was compelled to accept in order to obtain the loan from the United States have, to a large extent, disarmed it in the struggle against the pressure of American economic expansion. British production, can, obviously, under such conditions, even less enter into competition with American production, which is on a far higher technical level.

France's position is, of course, still far more difficult in this respect, because her economic positions are being grabbed from her not only by American capital, but also by British capital, which is thus endeavouring to compensate for the losses it is suffering in its own domain.

Neither Britain nor France, can, therefore, prevent American finance capital, under present conditions and with the present economic means, from establishing its economic domination over the capitalist world. Whether they will succeed in doing so by political means is a question to which the future will provide an answer. However, that may be, these antagonisms will still further exacerbate the general crisis of capitalism.

II.

We must, however, note that these are not the only economic contradictions and antagonisms which are worrying and perturbing the capitalist world to-day.

We have already mentioned that the industrial production of the United States has increased by

at least 50%, as compared to pre-war production. Great Britain's production has also increased.

At the same time, production in Canada, as well as in Australia and South Africa has also augmented tremendously, owing to the remote position of these countries from the battlefronts. Industry has also grown considerably, at least in certain branches, in such countries as South America, and even in such colonies as India, Korea, etc. It is a well-known fact that the industry of neutral countries, such as Switzerland and Sweden, for instance, has also increased considerably. And all this means that the struggle for markets will be more violent than ever before.

It is true, at the same time, that the industrial capacity of practically all the European countries which were under German occupation, or were Germany's satellites, has decreased. On the other hand, however, due consideration should be given to the fact that the European nations which were under German domination have been considerably impoverished, as a result of the war, and that they cannot, therefore, despite their considerable needs, provide a rich market for foreign capitalists. In addition to this, industry is being revived in these countries, while some of them, which do not desire to permit foreign capital to exploit their destitution in order to enslave them, have embarked upon a policy of industrialisation. This especially applies to those countries of Eastern and South Eastern Europe which have freed themselves from imperialist domination.

All this means that the capitalist world is confronted with unsolved problems, and with an economic crisis which will, perhaps, perturb it to a greater degree than any of the previous crises. The fear of the economic crisis is already haunting the entire capitalist world. This fear is, for instance, causing capitalist countries, such as the United States and Canada, to destroy their own war factories, and ruthlessly to smash machines which could have been converted to peace-time production. This fear is causing these countries, already, to retard, by all possible means, technical advance. Legions of capitalist economic theorists are already busily preparing plans as to what should be prevented from developing, in order to ward off, or at least delay, a hyperproduction crisis, and to enable capitalism to attain some sort of temporary stabilisation. As the monopoly alliances in the capitalist world are absolute masters of patents and scientific discoveries in the technical field, they are in a position either to use them or to pigeonhole them. It has, for instance, been ascertained that the patents policy of the American trusts and cartels during the war considerably impeded the development of the American war industry, and that the German intelligence service and diversionist activities very adroitly make use of this fact through the I.G. Farbenindustrie, which was linked up with the monopolies in the United States.

The parasitical character of imperialism, the fact that imperialism is decaying capitalism, has never yet appeared in such a drastic form. Let us only recall current discussions on the use of atomic energy. The release of atomic energy is, undoubtedly the outstanding contemporary discovery achieved by the human mind; and is bound to have extremely far-reaching consequences for the entire development of human society. This discovery should give an entirely new trend to the whole technique of production. The application of atomic energy in the technical field could bring about a tremendous advance in the welfare of the working people. It is, at the same time, a discovery which, by its very nature, points to the inevitability of socialism, whose full application necessarily requires the existence of socialism.

It is obvious, therefore, that reactionary circles are not opposed to the publication of the "secret of the atom bomb," merely for the sake of the bomb itself, merely for military reasons—this would, moreover, be useless, because such a discovery cannot remain the "secret" of one country for any length of time. Of not less decisive importance, perhaps even more important, is, in this connection, the fear of the reactionary financial oligarchy, which is clearly aware that the application of atomic energy in the field of production would mean a considerable aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, an aggravation of all the contradictions, and, ultimately, would pave the way for the victory of socialism in the world. And thus atomic energy, which is potentially a tremendous benefactor of mankind, and which could spare the working man a considerable part of his efforts, must, for some time, remain the captive of American financial oligarchy. This, of course, will not and cannot last for long, but this very fact is, none the less, characteristic of the present phase in the development of imperialism, when the reactionary capitalist forces can no longer, it is true, prevent the rapid maturing of the conditions for the victory of socialism, but are impeding the advent of socialism by increasing their struggle against the development of science and technique, as well as by all sorts of political devices.

The capitalist system does not, of course, have the economic means of settling the increasingly numerous contradictions which are characteristic of the present phase of imperialism. Only the political means are left. And the political means of monopoly capitalism can only be—an increasing measure of reactionary pressure, new Fascist tendencies. Imperialism generates reaction and Fascism every day and continually. It would be a great mistake for the freedom-loving forces to lose sight of this fact, even for an instant.

I should, in this connection, like to point out that one of the fundamental traits of Fascist dictatorship consists in the fact that the financial oligarchy, and the leaders of monopoly in general, have become directly interwoven with the leaders of the State. Fascist dictatorship is direct, unfettered rule of finance capital. The bourgeois democratic parliament corresponded to the free competition phase of capitalism. Monopoly capitalism, with its tendency to concentrate capital and production in the hands of a few leading monopolists, must necessarily tend towards the "concentration" of power in the same hands. That is why Fascists used to speak and speak even now of "a planned economy"—which means in practice that they wish to subordinate the entire economic life to the interests of capitalist monopolies. Phrases to the effect that the greatness of the State is all mean, under conditions of Fascist dictatorship, that all the forces of the people should be placed in the service of the expansion of finance capital and of imperialist aggression. Hitler used to speak even of "German socialism" and everybody knows to-day that this "German socialism" was, in actual fact, the dictatorship of the most reactionary imperialist cliques, based on the economic omnipotence of the monopolists.

Fascism, however, did not confine itself merely to enslaving its own people, its own country was too small for it. Monopoly and expansion are two inseparable phenomena. Monopolies strive towards a domination of the markets, of sources of raw materials, of production; they strive towards economic and political world domination. Hence the interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, hence the interventions, the bribing of foreign governments, the establishing and strengthening of the dictatorships of various reactionary cliques, the abolition of democratic institutions in the countries under the influence of these monopolies, economic enslavement, the drawing of countries into their expansionist policy, the preparing of conflicts and wars, etc. Monopoly rule in the big capitalist countries must therefore, if the democratic forces are not sufficiently resolute in their opposition, lead ineluctably to aggression, reaction, the abolition of democratic rights, and to a Fascist and semi-Fascist form of Government within these countries themselves, as well as, often, even earlier and with greater rapidity, in the countries under their influence.

Such was our experience of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany. That dictatorship has been broken. Can it be said, however, that the tendencies of the capitalist monopolies have also been destroyed?

To assert this would be to labor under a great illusion. It is a matter of common knowledge that the power of the capitalist monopolies has increased in the large capitalist countries. It is thus a well-known fact that the monopoly alliances have never been so closely interconnected internationally as they are to-day. This applies particularly to the American monopoly organisations, which have swallowed up a number of similar organisations in Europe and throughout the world and are still waging a violent struggle in order to destroy or squeeze out their rivals from economic positions in differents parts of the world.

I should not like to draw analogies. However, is it possible to deny to-day the fact that the all-powerful American monopolies are linked up with those in charge of the Government policy of the United States? Who can doubt the influence that these monopolies exert on the policy of the American Government? Democratic forces within the United States are still too weak to be able to prevent this fatal influence, which is growing and developing along its own lines.

Thus only can we explain the present aggressive policy of certain circles in the United States, the constant tendency to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries, the policy of intimidation by economic and political means including the atom bomb, the policy of restoring reactionary regimes in different "independent" countries, the rehabilitation of Fascist elements, the setting-up of bases throughout the world, etc. This explains, too, certain occurrences in the sphere of home politics such as the de facto abolition of democratic rights and institutions, the frantic "anti-Communist" campaign, which serves as a cloak for a hue and cry against all those who are offering resistance to the omnipotence of monopolies and to their exclusive influence on government policy.

The only freedom which monopolies allow the masses of the people is the "freedom" to live in darkness and political backwardness. And while this goes on, the imperialist agitators speak of democracy and of the "four freedoms." No sooner, however, do internal contradictions begin to assume a more acute form and to imperil the rule of the monopolies, no sooner does the political consciousness of the people begin to grow, than the democracy of the monopolies begins to disappear. And it is truly brazen to speak to-day, for instance, of "freedom from fear," when the entire foreign policy of certain big capitalist countries is based on methods of intimidation and all kinds of threats, including atom bomb and war threats.

We have, thus, the paradox that the most extensive and far-reaching imperialist expansion which history has known is being carried on under the cloak of phrases on "the four freedoms," on the securing of democracy, on free trade and economic co-operation.

It is sufficient to glance at the practical consequences of such a state of affairs in international relations, in order to convince ourselves of the serious danger which the trends of capitalist monopolies constitute for peace, and for the fate of democracy in the world, if they do not meet with the most resolute opposition on the part of freedom-loving people.

(To be continued next issue.)

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

S. IVANOV

(Continued from last issue)

THE Socialist Parties of the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, etc., present quite a different picture.

What is there that is new and characteristic in these parties, that distinguishes them from the Socialist parties of Western Europe? Above all, the fact that they participated, with the Communists and other democratic parties and organisations, in the building of the economic, political and governmental life of their countries, on the principles of a new, popular democracy. In the course of the war and the struggle of the masses to free themselves from the German occupation forces and their auxiliaries, a considerable section of the Socialists of the Eastern and South-Eastern European countries had to revise their old conceptions from top to bottom. They took part in the building of the new political organs of the State: National Committees, People's Committees, Fatherland Front Committees, initiated by the masses, which became the pillars of the State apparatus. The Socialists came out in favour of maintaining these organs, even in the future, as an organisational factor in the political system of the State and a guarantee of the stability of the popular democratic regime.

The Socialists of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe—and this is their second distinctive feature—are not only in favour of unity of action with the Communists, but they carry it out in practice: in the trade union movement, in the factory and workshop committees, in the elected institutions of the State, in the Government and in all sections of the State apparatus.

Very often, Socialists and Communists are united in opposition to the attacks of internal and international reaction against unity of action. There have been cases, in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, when Socialists and Communists demanded insistently and even by ultimatum that the other parties of the democratic bloc radically purge their ranks of reactionaries. This widely exercised practice of unity of action is encouraged by the leaders of the Socialist parties, it is reflected in their directives and their articles.

In Hungary, Arpad Skachitch, who leads the Social-Democratic Party, indicated to the Congress of the united Trade Unions, held early in December, 1945, that between Socialists and Communists there could be differences only on particular questions, but not on that of the unity of action of the working class:

"We do not have to struggle against each other, we must struggle against reaction. This struggle we must lead in common, until the last traces of Fascism are rooted out."

The leaders of the Socialist Party of Poland have declared themselves no less clearly. "Robotnik," central organ of that Party, wrote on December 6, 1945, on the occasion of the Polish Communist Party's Congress:

"The unity of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party in Poland is the fundamental basis of the new Poland."

It was to the development of this argument above all that Julian Gochfeld devoted a long article in the theoretical review of the Socialist Party of Poland of January, 1946. In this article he emphasises, among other things, that the revival of the Socialist Party of Poland and its restoration are accomplished above all:

"On the basis of the complete liquidation in the Party of all that, from the personal, organisational and ideological point of view, constituted a Pilsudskyist and anti-Russian, then anti-Soviet complex."

The Czechoslovakian Social-Democratic Party also is taking the road of co-operation with the Communists. The right-wing leaders of the Socialist Parties of Western Europe declare that the Czechoslovak Socialists are not "real Socialists" and they pester them because they have renounced their former errors and show sympathy towards the Soviet Union. Lanshmann, prominent member of the Social-Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia, at present Minister for Industry, made a suitable retort to the accusations of these so-called Socialists:

"Czechoslovakian Social-Democracy," he declared, "is following its own road. . . Czechoslovakian Social-Democracy has been and will remain an independent Party. Nothing can prevent it from co-operating with the Communists."

The practical activity of the Socialists of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the resolutions passed at their congresses and the declarations of their most noted leaders, who are at the same time responsible statesmen, witness the change in their attitude towards the Soviet Union.

After revising their former incorrect opinions, the Socialists of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe have today, in the great majority, a friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union. They see in her a great power whose help and co-operation will ensure the revival and democratic development of their countries. They see in her the sure guarantee of their political and national independence. They vigorously oppose every attempt to create a Western bloc.

The General Secretary of the Polish Socialist Party, Tsirankovich, at the Central Committee meeting of November, 1945, violently attacked imperialist atomic diplomacy and emphasised the need to strengthen the friendly links between Poland and the U.S.S.R.

At the Congress of the Socialist Party of Poland, in July, 1945, Tsirankovich declared:

"The Socialist Party of Poland does not agree with the carving up of Europe into blocs that could become the source of prolonged splits which would endanger Poland's independence."

And he added that Poland could ensure her independence only by relying on an alliance with the Soviet Union.

Tsirankovich amplified the same idea in the "Robotnik" of September 20, 1945:

"Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union," he said, in this article, "is dictated not only by a sound political conception, but by the people's instinct of self-preservation. . . As far as the Socialists are concerned, this feeling is intensified by the fact that they reason like Socialists and they value the U.S.S.R., which won not only a military victory, but also an ideological victory over Fascism, at her true worth."

The article ends with the following conclusion:

"The task of the Polish Socialist Party consists of strengthening this unity on the basis of a correct estimation of the U.S.S.R. as a force that safeguards democracy on the world scale, as a perspective of the approach of the working class towards Socialism."

When the Polish Socialists speak of friendship with the U.S.S.R., they try likewise to improve relations with England and the United States. The Socialist press, however, comes out against what it terms the "English disease" from which some Socialists and some activists of other Polish parties are suffering. The groups supported by reactionary circles, which are trying to bring Poland's policy within the orbit of English policy, are the ones that have this "English disease."

The attitude of the Hungarian Socialists towards the Soviet Union is determined by the fact that they recognise their ideological identity with "the great Socialist State, our spiritual brother," as the great Socialist fighter Horvat Zoltan wrote in an article, "Democracy's Foreign Policy" ("Nepsava" of April 7, 1946):

"The millions of Hungarian workers," he wrote, "see in the Soviet Union the real guarantee of the freedom which they have just been given."

The head of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party, Arpad Skachitch, called on his Party comrades, at the Congress of August, 1945:

"To study not only the old Marxists, but likewise Lenin and Stalin, who are the continuators of the work of Marx and Engels."

The Czechoslovakian Social-Democrats, too, constantly emphasise the need to strengthen by every possible means the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union which are the bases of the new Czechoslovakian Republic's foreign policy.

The article published at Morava Ostrava, in the newspaper "Czechoslovakian Democracy" of December 22, 1945, is quite indicative of their attitude towards the Soviet Union. In this article, written on the occasion of Comrade Stalin's 66th birthday, it was emphasised that in the face of the dilemma "East or West" the Czech Social-Democrats adhere to a quite clear and definite point of view.

"With the East, the Socialist East, the treaty of alliance with the U.S.S.R. is and must be the basis of the internal and foreign policy of our Republic."

And further on the article states:

"It is from this clear and indisputable point of view that our attitude towards Stalin, towards the man who, after Lenin, became the mighty figure of the Great Revolution carried out in Socialist Russia, is determined. . . We appreciate what the great patriotic war gave to world Socialism in general and that is why our gratitude to Russia is closely linked to our gratitude to Stalin who, by his brilliant leadership, established once and for all Russia's whole greatness, her glorious victory and, at the same time, our liberation from the tyrannical fetters of Nazism.

"For us, Stalin is a person whom we respect, but also from another point of view. He came from the ranks of Russian Social-Democracy, from its left wing; he was a pillar of the struggle of the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks; he is the leader of Russia, because he is the leader of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks). His great gift is an extraordinary grasp of practical politics, thanks to which he succeeded in crushing the trends which threatened the cause of the proletarian revolution and thanks to which he concentrated all the forces for the building of Socialism in a single country, without regard to the development in other countries. By his sense of reality, he led Russia to power such as she had never had; he also opened the way for the mustering of the Socialist forces of the whole world around the U.S.S.R., while retaining a critical point of view towards some Communist Parties."

The fact that new left-wing fighters have assumed the leadership of the Socialist Parties of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe has played no small part in the development of the moral and political authority of these parties. And what has become of the former right-wing leaders of the Socialist Parties? Some have emigrated and have long been playing the role of agents of imperialism and reaction against their own countries. The

others either have been completely dismissed from the leadership or else their role and influence are very limited. Some among them have left their Party, they are trying to create separate groups which are connected all along the line with reaction at home and carry out the political orders of international reaction.

The leaders of the Socialist Parties of Western Europe are trying by every possible means—from intimidation and blackmail to praise and flattery—to win influence over the Socialists of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe so as to smash their unity of action with the Communists and range them against the Soviet Union. The same thing is being done with the Social-Democrats of the Soviet occupation zone of Germany, who have learned the lessons of the past and have united with the Communists.

Yet on the whole the Social-Democratic Parties of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe are not being turned away from the right path. Take as an example their attitude towards the attempts to restore the Second International. In a controversy with the journal of those Bulgarian Social-Democrats who are in the Opposition (against the Fatherland Front), the central organ of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, "Narod," of July 19, 1946, protested against the assertion that "only the Labor Party can become the leader of the International and reconstitute it," and it wrote:

> "To counterbalance the London Conference of May 16, to which only a limited number of parties were invited, the Conference of Socialist Parties held on April 16 of this year, and at which the Socialist Parties of Italy, France, Poland, Austria, Switzerland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and other countries were present, particularly emphasised the necessity, if the International were created, of maintaining the principle of equality for all the Socialist and workers' parties and doing everything possible to achieve international working-class unity by seeing that the working class of the U.S.S.R. also takes part in this political International."

The newspaper "Narod" points out further on that the true international workers' front supposes the crushing of reaction, of the remnants of Fascism and its flunkeys.

The opinion of Dr. Gahek, Czechoslovakian member of Parliament, who was present at the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party at Florence as a representative of the Social-Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia, is most interesting in this connection. In the central organ of his Party, "Pravo Lidu," in May, 1946, Gahek told how the right wing, in collaboration with the left-wing maximalists, had tried to defend, at the Florence Congress, a proposition that recalled the old traditions of the Second International, and he pointed out that this proposition can in practice lead to supporting those who aspire to isolate the Western Socialists from the Soviet Union and to the formation of an ideo-political Western Bloc of Socialists, which would be opposed to the actual content that is demanded of Internationalism. Gahek states:

> "The Socialists of Czechoslovakia, Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece understand this very well; it is also understandable to Nenni, in Italy, and to the most progressive groups in the majority of the Socialist Parties of Western Europe. . . The desire to link up the anti-Soviet trends with the Labor Party's stand would assist only the opponents of Socialism . . . only bad Socialists will try, in co-operation with the Labor Party, to develop anti-Soviet feelings within Social-Democracy. Sincere Socialists reject such a stand and do not wish to renew the traditions of the Second International."

Recalling that in 1938 Czechoslovakian Social-Democracy had left the Second International because it had not a correct outlook on the Munich pact made by world reaction, Gahek writes:

> "Czechoslovakian Social-Democracy sees in alliance with the U.S.S.R., in alliance with the peoples on the march, in the road of Socialist reconstruction, in alliance with all the forces of progress of Western Europe and in solidarity with the Socialist peoples of struggling Spain, a far greater advantage for international Socialist policy than in the attempt to revive forms which have had their day, which do not answer the demands of the moment and even act as a brake on progress."

Several causes explain the divergence in position, activity, tactics and political position between the Socialist Parties of Western Europe on the one hand and those of the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe on the other. The attitude of the heads of the Western Socialist parties is above all influenced by the capitalist monopolies, the banks and the trusts. In Western Europe, the Resistance Movement and the struggle for National Liberation against the occupation forces did not succeed in depriving bourgeois reaction and opportunism of the financial and industrial oligarchies, and consequently did not succeed in radically removing the economic pillars of the Socialist parties from their economic bases. In these countries monopolistic capitalism still has immense resources at its disposal and holds the popular economy in its control, directly or indirectly using the leaders of the Socialist Parties for their own interests.

Quite different is the present situation in the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. In these countries, the National Liberation movement led to the liquidation of the power of monopolistic capital and the agrarian magnates—those economic pillars of internal reaction and foreign imperialism—and thus led to the liquidation of the main source o. opportunism. The Socialist parties of this country play an active part, by the side of and together with the Communists, in the popular liber-

ation struggle of the masses, in the building in this country of a new political, economic and cultural life and of a State based on really democratic principles. These parties value at its true worth the world historical importance of our Socialist State and of the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, which answers the interests of all peace-loving peoples.

In these Socialist parties new men, who have shown that they were honest leaders, able, and devoted to the people, have attained the leading positions. The old reactionaries and incorrigible reformists have been excluded or removed from the leadership.

It is characteristic of the Socialist Parties of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe that they are gradually revising and correcting the incorrect attitudes that they had before the war, that they are overcoming the bourgeois prejudices spread among the ranks of the Party, that they are turning more and more to systematic ideological and theoretical education in the spirit of scientific Socialism and consequently to a decisive struggle against the penetration of reactionary bourgeois ideology into the working-class movement.

Obviously it would be quite incorrect to consider that the Socialist Parties of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe are marching unswervingly and without hesitation along a new path of development; that they are proof against every attempt at splitting from the right wing; that they have already overcome all the political and ideological heritage of reformism and reactionary Social-Democracy. As we can see, the former leaders of the right wing have not ceased, but are intensifying their underground work; and the pressure exerted by the reactionary leaders of Western Social-Democracy not only is not weakening, but is growing stronger. We must likewise take into account the repercussions of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois associates, together with the different social positions of the members who make up the mass of the Socialist Parties.

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Let us briefly summarise the essential points of the life and activity of the Socialist Parties of Western Europe after the war and try to give a general estimate of their role.

In the course of the war and since, these parties have undergone great changes as they took the path of a bourgeois degeneration which is visibly increasing since the end of the war.

The social basis and social composition of these parties have changed considerably. Their influence constantly lessons among the working class, but it increases among the petty bourgeoisie and certain strata of the bourgeoisie.

These parties, which call themselves Social-Democratic, remain the avowed adversaries of the political activity of the masses, the adversaries of popular democracy and the new way of development of the European countries. They obstinately oppose the workers' demands and the proposals of the Communists to bring about unity of action and the political and organisational unity of the working class. The leaders of the Socialist parties of France, England, Belgium, Sweden, Holland are carrying out a policy of defending and strengthening the domination of monopoly capital, in the home countries as well as the colonies.

The bourgeois-reactionary degeneration of the Socialist leaders is expressed in their conception of democracy. This conception, which is only a vulgar and exaggerated edition of bourgeois views, sees the essence of democracy in the renunciation of the will of the masses, so that reactionary and bourgeois capitalist circles (a tiny minority) can re-establish their momentarily shaken position, their privileges, and can once more, unhindered, direct the policy of the State to the advantage of their greedy class interests.

The leaders of the Socialists of Western Europe, by trying with all their strength to isolate the Communists, are systematically and obstinately struggling against the creation of a single bloc of all the democratic forces, gathered around the working class, and seek by every means in their power the formation of centrist coalitions and blocs. By taking up a position at the centre of democracy and reaction, these leaders, with their everlasting vacillations, give preference to the right, weaken democracy and favour the camp of reaction.

With a few exceptions, the leaders of Social-Democracy in Western Europe are carrying on a campaign against the Communists. This drive against the Communists also answers the interests of reaction.

The ideo-political understanding of the Socialists and the Catholics becomes more and more marked. Leon Blum and Co., who have cast out from their vocabulary even verbal recognition of the class struggle and dialectical materialism, have openly gone over to the bourgeois world outlook.

On international questions, the leaders of Western Social-Democracy as a general rule take up a stand favourable to reaction and the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Such an "evolution" of the Western Socialist parties cannot fail to have repercussions on their internal life. The gap between the rank-and-file and the heads is inexorably widening. In the French Socialist Party a sharp crisis is maturing, which the last Congress did nothing to overcome. The Socialist workers stand for unity with the Communists, for a firm friendship with the Soviet Union. A similar phenomenon can be noted, to a more or less high degree, in the other Socialist Parties.

This growing opposition of the Socialist workers and the basic organisations to the official line of their opportunist leaders has great political importance. It shows that the European working class as a whole, including the Socialist workers, taught by the experience of the trying ordeals it has just gone through, is beginning to have a better idea on questions of home and foreign policy and to determine more correctly the line of its political activity.



BOOK REVIEW



ISLES OF THE TORRES STRAITS
(Gerald Peel)
T. WRIGHT

In the numerous islands of the Torres Straits lives a subject population of about 4,000 native inhabitants ruled by the Queensland State Government. Although until recent times these islanders were treated in the same way as the Aborigines of the mainland, they have little in common with the Australian Aborigines, being akin to the Papuans and at a similar, although not quite as advanced stage of social development at the time of first white contact. There are two languages, one related to New Guinea and the other to the Australian mainland in the division of the Islands which probably had an earlier population related to the Australian Aborigines. Cultivation of gardens and fishing provided the islanders with an abundance of food before the advent of whites to develop a prosperous trade in pearl shell, trochus, and beche de mer.

Gerald Peel, in his book **Isles of the Torres Straits,** has given the history of the Islanders, as it is known, and has provided a text book for the Australian Labor Movement, and all friends of the native races who feel some responsibility for their protection and assistance.

The early days of contact with whites included the usual acts of barbarity, murder, and pillage, visited on native races. As late as 1877, when the Queensland Government already had jurisdiction over the island, the whole population of men, women and children of one of the islands was massacred in a punitive expedition.

The story of the missionaries in these islands is also a clear example of how, in the name of religion, the native races are prepared for capitalist exploitation and are killed off in the process. Fortunately for these natives, missionising has given way largely to secular control, and the way is open for reform measures which will give greater economic security and political freedom to this island people.

For nearly a hundred years the natives have been subjected to exploitation, particularly in the pearl shell, trochus and beche de mer industries, and, as is to be expected, their numbers are considerably less than at the time of first white contact. However, stricter control by the Government, which has prevented indiscriminate contact with whites in recent years, has arrested the decline and the native population is said to be again increasing.

While primary education has been made general and churches have been built and policemen and courts installed, it is a sad commentary on the administration by the Queensland Government, that the natives have no ploughs or agricultural machinery but depend on hand implements. Nothing appears to have been done to develop or assist native agriculture, all the emphasis being given to the gathering of marine wealth for export. There is no attention given to water conservation or irrigation and nothing is done to provide electric power, telephones, theatres, or any of the other amenities of modern life, although the population lives in well-organised village communities.

The system of administration gives the Government officials complete dictatorial powers over the lives of the population. This applies whether the natives are employed by private interests or, as many of them do, share in co-operative enterprise in the gathering of shell and beche de mer. A percentage of all money income is taken as a tax for island administration, and a large part of the remainder is banked without the consent of the real owners, who thereafter have little say as to its disbursement. It is one of the scandals of native administration, on the mainland as well as for the islands of the Torres Straits, that a veil of secrecy hides the administration and eventual disposal of the funds. An urgent demand which the trade unions should make on the Queensland Government is to abandon this system; to give to the islanders all of the money which is rightfully theirs, and to give an exact reckoning of funds already administered.

The most important section of Gerald Peel's book is concerned with the present set up, and his conclusions as to a programme of what should be done. Under the present administration there has evolved a system of elected island councils with very restricted powers and absolutely subject to the Government officials. Progress demands that these island councils should be given much greater authority, as democratic bodies of the islanders, and that a central island council should be elected for the islands as a whole.

Experience has already shown that the marine wealth of the islands can be developed through co-operative enterprises of the natives themselves, and it should be the policy of the Government to systematically aid this development and to see that the resulting profits are used directly by the natives themselves for the development of the island communities. During the war the white traders vanished before the southward advancing Japs, and the native population were free of them for a period. It would be quite appropriate for the Government to see that private exploiters were kept clear of the island for good. Certainly if private enterprise is permitted to operate, the native population must be ensured the recognised trade union standards for the competent work which they perform, and must be given freedom of organisation as enjoyed by white trade unionists. These same white traders in the pre-war period had also employed numerous Japanese in diving for shell, under conditions not much better than conceded to the islanders.

The chief legislation to be considered is the Torres Straits Islanders' Act adopted by the Queensland Government in 1939. Gerald Peel suggests numerous improvements which could be made in this act. Particular attention should be given to the Island Industries Board which has wide economic powers and can play a very important role for good or evil. Some explanation from the Government is required for the exorbitant prices of necessary commodities sold to the natives by the Board, which is supposed to operate in the interests of the islanders and not as a source of revenue for the Queensland Government.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the account of marriage and other customs. In these the original clan organisation of the tribe had become modified with the development of village communities and land ownership for cultivation, and would be well worth further investigation.

Gerald Peel has now left Australia, but in this book he has given a valuable contribution to the labor movement of Australia which will help solve one of the problems that in the past has been sadly neglected.

RAISE WAGES — REDUCE PRICES (R. Dixon)
W. A. WOOD

"If wages go up, prices must rise also," runs the bosses' slogan which has caught on with some of the workers. To help them see that the reverse is true — wages must rise to overtake soaring prices —is one of the biggest Communist Party jobs today. And here, to give us the necessary facts and ammunition, is R. Dixon's "Raise Wages, Reduce Prices," price 3d. Although this pamphlet sticks closely to economics, no more inflammatory document has ever been placed before the Australian workers. Marie Antoinette, with her well-known advice to the Parisians, has nothing on the bigshots who control our essential foodstuffs and other supplies. The villainy here revealed is appalling to a degree. The facts about the price of pumpkins, as recorded by Mr. Dixon, are in themselves enough to kindle a flame.

As he indicates, a direct wage-cut of 10 or 20 per cent would usually start a strike. But you can get precisely the same result as a wage-cut by putting a penny here or twopence there on to the prices of essential goods, and the workers may scarcely wake up to what is going on, let alone take action about it.

And so it has happened that, while no Court has decreed a general wage-slash since 1939, our money is going just that much less far than it used to.

The Australian people have been the victims of a swindle beyond the dreams of Jay Gould or Clarance Hatry. While proving this, Mr. Dixon also shows we can catch up with the buccaneers.

This isn't the sort of review that saves the trouble of reading the pamphlet. We have to read the pamphlet itself (15 pages of good, big type) and master its arguments. We have to flood it into factories, farms and working-class suburbs and then—watch the Bastilles fall!



Questions & Answers

conducted by L.H. GOULD

Can the housing shortage be solved?—R. T. Scobie.

Not under capitalism! The housing shortage can be, and is being, solved in the Soviet Union. Socialism is the answer to housing and all other social problems. The housing shortage is also on the road to solution in the New Democracies, because there too the State power serves the popular needs as it does (though in different forms) in Soviet democracy.

This is not to say that improvements, and really big improvements, in housing conditions under capitalism cannot be achieved. Much can, and must, be done. But first let us examine briefly the general problem of housing under capitalism.

Seventy years ago Engels showed the impossibility of capitalism solving the housing problem. He summarised his analysis: "It (the housing shortage) is a necessary product of the bourgeois social order; it cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great masses of the workers are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, on the sum of foodstuffs necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the existing machinery continually throw masses of workers out of employment; in which violent and regularly recurring industrial vacillations determine on the one hand the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers, and on the other hand drive large masses of the workers tem-

porarily unemployed on to the streets; in which the workers are crowded together in masses in the big towns, at a quicker rate than dwellings come into existence for them under existing conditions; in which, there must always be tenants even for the most infamous pigsties; and in which finally the house owner in his capacity as capitalist has not only the right, but, in view of the competition, to a certain extent also the duty of ruthlessly making as much out of his property in house rent as he possibly can. In such a society the housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution and it can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned."

In answering the various petty-bourgeois and "bourgeois Socialist" theories on this question, Engels discussed at length a number of additional aspects, such as the then existing differences in housing conditions in the old cities (e.g., London) and the new (e.g., Manchester); or how the ownership of their homes by handicraftsmen in parts of Germany provided German capitalists with cheap labor for competition on the world market. But these issues do not concern us here.

How to improve present housing conditions? It should be emphasised that the capitalists see the problem only at those times when the shortage affects themselves. Usually, it is not a problem for official capitalist society; the toilers can "solve" the problem by doubling and trebling up, and more, in one house. Capitalism, "private enterprise," is not the least interested in providing the workers with homes; it constructs houses only when it is profitable. Hence the jerry-built houses; hence the vast slum areas in all capitalist countries.

One of the best (or worst) examples of housing by "private enterprise" is Broken Hill. This superlatively rich mining region has yielded tens of millions of pounds for the capitalist investors. Yet 75 per cent of the houses are without kitchen sinks and other elementary conveniences. The walls of almost all houses are of corrugated iron; many inside walls are of canvas, papered over.

A recent survey in Fitzroy, Victoria, revealed 16 per cent of houses in the suburb had no baths. Other percentages were: no laundries, 67; no kitchen sinks, 80; no gas stoves, 26; infested with rats and vermin, 79; leaking roofs, 86; damp and rotting walls, 73.

Little need be said about the so-called "garden cities" of the Lever soap trust and Cadbury's of England. First, these cater for only a few hundred workers and their families when millions of new homes are needed. Second, these homes are paid for, not by generous-hearted monopolists (who don't exist), but out of the colossal profits extracted from the labor of the workers. And third, company housing plans, like stock-participation schemes, may benefit temporarily a few workers, but their special purpose is to stifle class consciousness and organisation among the workers, to create a docile laboring force that will "be loyal to the old firm" when wage-cuts and dismissals occur, as they sooner or later do.

As already indicated, all the foregoing does not at all mean that nothing can be done under capitalism to improve housing conditions. Far from it! In saying that capitalism inevitably brings slums, crises and wars, there is the corresponding presupposition that the toilers will struggle against those evils; in doing so they will advance their working and living standards and thereby, and at the same time, create the conditions necessary for the ultimate change to Socialism.

At the request of the Commonwealth Housing Commission in 1943, the ACP submitted proposals for a post-war housing scheme, to which the reader is referred. Some of the sub-titles of the Party statement indicate its scope and practical value: land acquisition; abolition of slums; rural housing; subsidised rents; home ownership; financing the scheme. Although written in wartime, the plan is applicable in all essentials today. The tasks set are attainable — provided the "sacred rights" of private enterprise are made subordinate to the needs of the people, and provided Labor struggles unitedly and resolutely for them.

The following remarks from R. Dixon's introduction to the Party programme are to the point:—

"Housing, to a greater extent than most other fields of capitalist activity, exposes the utter failure and the inability of private enterprise to plan.

"We believe that the government should itself enter the field of home construction and ownership with the purpose of providing homes for low income families, leaving private enterprise to cater for the wealthier sections of the community.

"The bad housing conditions of the workers and other sections of the people are associated with the low wages and general poverty which is their lot under capitalism. This is why the housing question cannot be separated from the general struggle to improve the economic and social position of the masses. We consider it absolutely essential that the government, as part of its general post-war programme, take steps generally to raise the living standards of people on low incomes."

The introduction referred to the government's plan of building 50,000 homes in the first post-war year, and then working up to 80,000 in the fifth post-war year.

That plan should be begun! And to the old cry of where the money is to come from, the answer in big part is the money saved from war budgets on the basis of a successful campaign for universal disarmament.

(References: Engels, **The Housing Question**; Communist Programme Series, No. 1, **Housing, Slums, Private Enterprise and the Future.**)

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT
TO THE EDITOR,
COMMUNIST REVIEW,
695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY,
AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIRST
OF THE MONTH.

AMERICA, AUSTRALIA AND JAPAN

R. DIXON

AMERICAN policy in Japan is causing growing alarm in Australia. Ever since the end of the war the U.S. has taken decisions on Japan without consultation with other interested Powers. These decisions follow the same pattern as the policies of American imperialism in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. They aim to establish American domination, to subordinate the whole world to Yankee Imperialism.

The decisions which caused immediate concern in Australia were: MacArthur's announcement that a second Japanese whaling expedition would be despatched to the Antarctic, and the subsequent statement that the Japanese were to be granted the right to assume responsibility for the complete operation of the Phosphate Rock project on Anguar Island, in the Palau Group.

The Australian Government protested to Washington against the whaling expedition on the grounds that (a) it was in the nature of a naval auxiliary expedition, and (b) the Japanese indiscriminately destroyed whales thereby ignoring the international whaling agreement which was designed to preserve the industry.

At the very time the Australian protest was being considered in Washington, General MacArthur, on behalf of the American Government, contemptuously announced the plans for the Japanese whaling expedition.

Concerning the Anguar Island project, the Australian Government pointed out that the Palau group of islands is situated 300 miles north of New Guinea, has great strategic importance for the whole of the South Western Pacific and was the main Japanese base in the South Pacific during World War II. MacArthur's decisions bring the Japanese to within a few hundred miles of the Australian coast and constitute a further threat to Australian security.

MacArthur's decision on the Anguar project, which was taken without consultation with Australia or other Powers, caused the **Sydney Morning Herald's** Washington correspondent to say: "Members of allied Diplomatic Missions said today that the announcement was the culmination of a series of similar incidents by which Supreme Headquarters in Tokyo had made it patently clear that it was not interested in the views of other allies." **(S.M.H., 27/6/47.)**

The exclusion by America of its allies in the Pacific war from the making of policy in Japan goes hand in hand with U.S. policy to establish its domination in the East, making full use of Japan to this end.

The Potsdam decisions to disarm Japan, destroy its war potential and establish a democratic Japanese state have been set aside.

In a recent statement MacArthur claimed that, under his benign guidance, Japan has become democratic, has renounced war and that in any case she would be unable to wage war for at least 100 years.

An amazing accomplishment, if it were true.

After World War I the European and American nations renounced war under the Kellog pact, but war came just the same. The renunciation of war by Japan doesn't mean a thing if the forces within Japan which embarked upon imperialist aggression in China and the Pacific remain in power.

Reaction in Japan resides in the feudal-militarist clique which is linked with the great monopolies — the Zaibatsu. Whatever else the war and MacArthur have done they have not destroyed the power of the feudal-militarist-monopolist groups that dominate the economic and political life of Japan.

The old feudal-militarist families are grouped around the Mikado and when Yankee Imperialism, in spite of the demands of Australia, China and Soviet Russia, decided to retain the Mikado instead of treating him as a war criminal, they adopted a policy aimed at retaining the old order in Japan. Thus, feudal land tenure remains, the feudal-militarist landlords and aristocracy rule throughout the countryside. The Communist Party in Japan is forbidden by MacArthur's newspaper censors to advocate the confiscation of the big feudal estates and redistribution of the land to the peasants, which is the first step to breaking the power of feudal-militarist-monarchist reaction in Japan and to laying a sound basis for democracy and peace.

Insofar as the big Japanese monopolies, the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda and other big companies are concerned, they have not been broken up, their industries, and especially the war industries, have barely been touched, and where some redistribution of shares in those concerns have taken place, it is mostly to businessmen representing the big American monopolies.

Thus, the American monopolies are becoming powerfully entrenched in Japanese industry. In accordance with this policy, General MacArthur is basing himself upon the feudal-militarist-monopolist gangs in Japan that enslaved the Japanese people and which were responsible for the wars of imperialist aggression launched by Japan.

In these circumstances it is sheer deception to speak of the democratic reconstruction of Japan. The repression of the labor movement, press censorship, suppression of strikes, provocation, bashings and gaolings that working-class organisations and leaders are subjected to in Japan show that MacArthur is establishing a police state that, in essence, is very little different from what existed before the war.

It is also absurd to say that Japan has lost the power of aggression. While the essential characteristics of Japanese Imperialism remain, as they

lo, it will remain aggressive and therefore a threat
o peace and security. After World War I it was
lso considered that Germany would be incapable
f waging war for a very long time. In the years
933-39, however, Hitlerism transformed Germany
nto a military power that constituted the greatest
hreat in the history of mankind to the peoples of
urope and the world.

It took Hitler six years and yet MacArthur
ould have us believe that after less than two years
occupation, under his control, Japan will be in-
pable of waging war for 100 years. It's just as
ell we don't believe in miracles.

There is much more in the American policy
Japan than meets the eye. It is part of a general
ive to establish American domination through-
t the East. In some respects the infamous Japan-
imperialist scheme for a Greater East Asia
-prosperity Sphere, which in ordinary language
ant the complete enslavement of East Asia,
been revived, but under the direction of Yankee
perialism.

In this plan of American Imperialism, Japan
upies a decisive place.

Throughout the rest of East Asia, from China
wn to Indonesia and even further west to Burma
India, there is a gigantic movement for Democ-
y and independence.

This revolutionary-democratic movement, which
he mightiest movement that has ever swept
ugh China and South East Asia, appals Ameri-
Imperialism and cuts right across their plans
stablish world domination.

In Japan, therefore, America is basing herself
n the most reactionary forces, which MacArthur
oing his best to consolidate at the expense of
democratic movement.

Japan is to be the American sheet-anchor of
tion against the democratic developments in
and South East Asia as well as an advanced
base against the Soviet Union.

Japan is the most industrially developed country
is part of the capitalist world. They have what
Yanks call the "industrial know how," and as the
tries and economy of Japan are being brought
r the sway of the powerful American monopo-
Japan is to become the subordinate agent of
rican Imperialism in the conquest of markets,
es of raw materials and spheres of influence
st Asia.

apanese industry will be developed under
rican direction and with American capital whilst
dustrial development of the rest of Asia will
ndered.

is in this light, and in this light only, that
us aspects of MacArthur's policy can be under-
Thus, for instance, despite the decision of
am to destroy Japan's industrial potential for
the American occupation authorities are now
ng that Japan's industrial potential must be
ained.

apanese reparations payments are to be very
d, as the Yanks claim that Japan is in no condition to pay reparations to the victims of her aggression. America has decided upon the scale of reparations payments, without consultation with her allies in the war against Japan. We are told that America, very generously, will make no claim for reparations on Japan, but no mention is made of the fact that the Yanks seized the Japanese gold reserve, and large quantities of silver, platinum, gems, and vast supplies of silk, rubber, tin, and various other raw materials valued at hundreds of millions of dollars.

Moreover, MacArthur has announced, again without agreement with other interested Powers, that trade with Japanese concerns will be resumed from August 15, 1947. Since the occupation America has dominated and controlled Japanese trade. So much so that 96% of Japanese exports go to the U.S. and 66% of their imports come from the U.S. Whereas before the war a big part of Japan's cotton imports came from India and Egypt today, under American pressure, Japan obtains raw cotton from the U.S. MacArthur has also insisted that Japanese goods sold to Australia, Britain, New Zealand and some other countries must be sold for not less than American prices for the same goods. As a result, Australian imports of silk, rayon and cotton goods from Japan cost about three times more than if ordinary Japanese prices were charged. Finally, according to latest information, MacArthur is dallying with the idea of insisting upon dollars in payment for Japanese goods after August 15, which will impose severely upon the limited dollar pool at the disposal of the British nations.

On the other hand, cheap mass-produced Japanese goods are to be unloaded on to the markets of China and South East Asia in a giant bid by American mopopoly concerns to oust Britain, Australia and France as competitors on these markets and to bring all of these countries under the economic and political sway of American Imperialism.

On that background the decisions of General MacArthur to despatch a Japanese whaling expedition to the Antarctic, a pearling fleet to North Australian waters as is also proposed, and to establish Japanese responsibility for mining phosphates in the Palau Islands, become more menacing.

What is more, the reactionary and aggressive forces in Japan have been very much encouraged by MacArthur's policy. They are even now launching vicious attacks upon the labor movement. They have urged that Japan be permitted a "small" military force, of 100,000 or more. They have demanded the return of the Kurile Islands and Southern Sakhalin from Soviet Russia, and Okinawa from the U.S. And their latest proposal is that Japanese ex-servicemen should be permitted to "colonise" in New Guinea, Borneo, and other South Western Pacific Islands.

Thus American policy is leading to a revival and strengthening of the reactionary, aggressive and imperialist elements in Japan and constitutes a grave menace to all the peoples of Asia and the South Western Pacific including Australia.

The general lines of U.S. policy have been obvious for many months, but it is only during these last few weeks that the Australian Government has seen fit to protest. Mr. McMahon Ball, Australian, British, New Zealand and Indian representative on the Allied Council in Japan, has repeatedly expressed doubts on MacArthur's policy, but Dr. Evatt's policy of kow-towing to America has prevented any effective protest being made.

In general it must be said that Dr. Evatt's policy of capitulation to America on policy in Japan can only have the most serious consequences for Australia.

NOTES ON SOME QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

EDVARD KARDELJ

(Continued from last issue)

III.

It goes without saying that the state of things which I have just described did not arise only after the war. We all know that there is a vital and direct link between Munich and the present reactionary policy of certain circles in the large capitalist countries, and that these links are illustrated also by certain characteristic aspects of British and American policies in the course of the Second World War.

Although the Second World War was fundamentally a war of liberation, and an anti-Fascist war, it would, nevertheless, be a mistake not to discern those imperialist elements which determined the quite specific development of this war. This development was influenced by two kinds of antagonisms: on the one hand, there was the antagonism among the capitalist countries in their struggle for the domination of the capitalist world, and on the other, the antagonism between the capitalist world and the truly democratic, socialist and anti-imperialist forces with the Soviet Union at their head. The first of these two antagonisms manifested itself more particularly in the first phase of the war, while the second became increasingly acute as the war was drawing to a close.

In the first phase of the war, Great Britain lost a considerable number of its military bases in the world to the United States, and was unable to prevent the economic penetration of the latter into its colonies and Dominions. In the course of the war, the United States obtained a decisive naval superiority over Britain, leaving the latter far behind, as regards sea power. At the same time, the U.S.A. began constructing a whole system of military and naval bases.

Despite all the antagonisms, however, the policies of the imperialist circles of these two countries were identical in one respect: in their relationship to the U.S.S.R. and to the anti-imperialist movements in general.

I shall not here deal in any detail with the policy of the western powers towards the U.S.S.R. during the war, as this policy is but too well-known. I should only like to quote the views of British writers on the subject Here is what Palme Dutt says, for instance:

"British imperialism pursued a double objective in the war, which was thinly concealed in official expression, but which was patently visible, not only in unofficial expression, but in the practical strategy of the war and in the accompanying Anglo-American diplomatic conferences. On the one hand, the Western imperialists sought, in alliance with the Soviet Union, to ensure the defeat of Hitler. On the other hand, they were concerned that the downfall of Fascism should not lead to the advance of Communist or popular anti-Fascist revolutions in Europe endangering the old social order or to the strengthening of the Soviet Union. They calculated that the weight of the war would not only destroy Hitler, but either equally destroy or fatally weaken the Soviet Union, and that the Anglo-American forces would emerge as the main victors to police Europe and control the world."

Palme Dutt then goes on to say:

"All the babblers and sycophants of official expression poured scorn upon the Communist campaign for the second front in the West and jeered at the "armchair strategists" who dared to intervene on matters of strategy when it was obvious that the military experts alone could judge and knew what was best. Those babblers look foolish enough to-day when it has been revealed in the memoirs of Captain Butcher, the aide de camp of General Eisenhower, that General Eisenhower and his military experts favoured the second front in Europe in the summer of 1942, that the opposition came primarily, not from military, but from political sources, and that the decisive opposition which blocked and delayed the second front came—what could not be stated at the time—from Churchill. When Churchill's decision to ban the second front in 1942 was conveyed to General Eisenhower, General Eisenhower called it "the blackest day of the war," and said that the decision prolonged the war."

This decision prolonged the war. General Sir Gifford Martel wrote in his book Our Armed forces:

"The troops in England were ready a year before they were used, and were even becoming stale by 1944. Could we not have been ready sooner if we had settled on our main plan at an earlier date?"

I have quoted the above (we could give a number of similar quotations from different authors) in order to show how the delay in opening the second front was construed by a number of people. Many similar examples could be found in the other fields of war politics. All this, of course, could not change the fact that the Second World War was a war of liberation, but it is obvious that a policy which was open to such an interpretation was hardly apt to promote mutual confidence among the Allies.

When attempting to vindicate such a reactionary policy towards the Soviet Union and the democratic national-liberation movements in occupied Europe, various obscurantists in the western countries were wont to describe the policy as one of defence against "Soviet imperialism," to speak of a clash between two ideologies—western "democracy" and eastern "totalitarianism." In actual fact, however, what we had here was no "defence," and least of all against the Soviet Union, which was threatening no one—except the Hitlerite block; but a purely expansionist tendency of British and American finance capital to entrench themselves in the ruins of occupied Europe. As was only natural, the national-liberation movements and the principled democratic policy of the U.S.S.R. constituted an obstacle to such expansionist tendencies. This explains why there was so much agitation in the course of the war to "wait" that the "right time" should come, that the "signal" should be given, before starting the uprisings for national liberation, etc. This policy was advocated by those leading monopolists who did not view the downfall of the Nazi Government as the aim of the liberation struggle of the democratic forces, but as a stepping-stone towards their domination of the world.

How great was the part played by considerations of a political nature throughout the recent war will be fully revealed only by those who make a study of its history. These political considerations were certainly one of the essential traits of this war. While the democratic world was waging a just liberation war against the forces of Fascism, reactionary circles were endeavouring to exploit it for their own imperialist aims.

The antagonisms in post-war world politics should also be viewed in this light. Struggling for supremacy and economic positions in the former Axis countries, as well as in other countries, the American and British finance capital circles are sinking themselves up more and more with the most reactionary forces in these countries, and are conducting the policy of their country towards the protection of reactionary Fascist elements, the concealing of war criminals, interference in the domestic affairs of the different countries—towards various anti-democratic actions and anti-Soviet outbursts. This explains the continual campaign of reactionary circles in the United States against all that is democratic and progressive in the world. This explains the tendency on the part of certain reactionary imperialist circles in Britain to make their country into an imperialist gendarme for the suppression of anti-imperialist and democratic movements and uprisings in different parts of the world, although it is obvious that such a role brings Britain into an increasing measure of dependence upon the United States.

This latter consideration is gaining increasing importance in Britain's home politics. The clash of interests between the U.S.A. and Great Britain in all parts of the world is obvious and should not be underrated. The tendency of American finance capital to obtain equal treatment, in the countries of the British Empire, to that enjoyed by British capital, is tantamount to ousting Britain from its own colonies and the countries of its Empire—and this is actually a trend towards the destruction of the British Empire. In Japan and China, where means in the Pacific in general, Britain's voice is heard but feebly. The Americans have gained a firm foothold in the Arab countries and in the Mediterranean—to such an extent, in fact, that particularly ardent advocates of American imperialism are already saying that the U.S.A. is becoming a "Mediterranean country." And that means that Britain is no longer alone to hold the keys of the Mediterranean lines of communication through the Suez Canal towards the Far East. And the so-called "merging of the British and American Zones" in Germany has opened wide the doors of the British Zone in Germany to the penetration of American finance capital and of the American trusts.

We could cite many more such facts. We should also add the overwhelming military superiority of the U.S.A. over Great Britain—both on the seas and along the world sea routes. By way of compensation for the fact that it does not possess colonies in the former sense of the word, the U.S.A. has built a whole extensive system of interlinked military, naval and air force bases of various types in key positions throughout the world. Britain itself was obliged to lease a number of such bases to the United States for a term of 99 years. A system of bases of this type, coupled with economic and political pressure, are obviously far more effective strong points for imperialist expansion than the old style colonial system would be to-day.

All this, of course, is bound to have political consequences too. After the First World War Great Britain succeeded in making the League of Nations into an instrument of its policy. Now the situation is completely different. The United States and Britain appear, it is true, to collaborate very closely and on a basis of equality, as in the United Nations Organisation for instance. Nevertheless it is easy immediately to discern which of the two plays the decisive, and which the secondary part. And that is the case to-day throughout

the international scene. It is obvious, too, that Great Britain's dependence on the United States increases in the measure in which certain reactionary circles impel the former country to adopt an anti-Soviet attitude, and to play the part of a counter-revolutionary gendarme in the international field.

All these facts go to show that the Anglo-American antagonism still exists, that it will develop, and that it will, in connection with a number of other imperialist antagonisms, give rise to all kinds of conflicts among the capitalist countries.

It would, however, be a mistake to overestimate the significance of these antagonisms. Two factors which have to-day an essential bearing on the development of these antagonisms should be borne in mind in this connection: first, the bonds uniting American and British finance capital, and second, the difficult internal contradictions within the British Empire, and within many of the countries under British influence in general.

This has led to the appearance of two trends in British political life. One school of thought holds that Britain's only chance lies in linking its fate to that of the United States; Britain is bound constantly to lose, through this partnership, but will, nevertheless, succeed in saving the Empire. This school of thought has of late—in connection with the agreement regarding United States concessions in the Middle East oil fields—been particularly noticeable in a section of the British press. One would have expected to hear this press express dissatisfaction at the fact that British capital was being squeezed out of the Middle East by American capital. The opposite occurred, however. The press welcomed the action of the United States, in the hope that the U.S.A. would henceforth also be interested in the "pacification" of the Arab world and in saving Britain's positions in that area.

Fully in line with this school of thought are the various plans regarding the future of Anglo-American relations—including the plan for the setting up of an "Anglo-American Federation" or of an "Anglo-American Military Alliance."

Even the most die-hard reactionaries in Britain are showing apprehension at this increasing degree of dependence on the United States. Hence the various plans for a so-called "western block," which is, on the one hand, directed against the U.S.S.R., while on the other it is intended to buttress Britain's independent role as against the United States.

All these and similar "ideas" go to show that the former imperialist methods no longer provide a way out. Many people in England, including people in responsible political positions, and particularly in Parliament, have grasped this. Within the Labor Party itself, the number of those who realise that Britain can hope to play an independent part only if it abandons its present policy and embarks upon a new course, viz., upon one of peace and friendship with the U.S.S.R., is growing steadily.

Herein lies the crux of the problem, because it would mean a fundamental departure on the part of Great Britain from the policy it has been pursuing, more or less consistently, subjectively, ever since Munich. This was, fundamentally, the policy which rendered possible Fascist aggression and the Second World War, and the subsequent domination of American monopoly over the capitalist world.

The second school of thought is aware of the fact that the reactionary policy of the Anglo-American "Holy Alliance" against the anti-imperialist and progressive forces in the world, behind which lurks the economic and political expansion of American finance capital, is bound to increase the economic and political dependence of Britain on the U.S.A., and, automatically, still further impair its international position. The clash between these two fundamental trends within British policy will, undoubtedly, assume greater proportions in the future and its outcome will, to a large extent, determine the fate of future co-operation among nations.

It should be pointed out, in this connection, that the aggressive policy of certain of the most reactionary American circles is meeting with an increasing measure of resistance within the United States themselves. Many people in the States feel that such a policy is liable to bring a new catastrophe both upon the U.S.A. and upon the entire world. The recent changes in the United States Government are evidence of the increasing sharpening of internal differences on questions of world politics. There is no doubt that the forces which are averse to a country with old freedom-loving traditions becoming the hope of reactionary forces throughout the world—a fact which is, moreover, causing increasing anxiety among the freedom-loving and progressive people of all countries—will grow within the United States themselves.

As things now stand, however, the democratic forces and freedom-loving nations of the world are faced with the fact of a consistent anti-democratic and imperialist policy, which is all the more violent as the fissures within the present imperialist system are widening. Experience, therefore, shows once again that capitalist monopoly and political reaction invariably go together.

This became apparent in all the international events which have occurred between the end of the war and the present time. In one of the speeches he delivered last year, Churchill said that the decision on the use of the atom bomb had been taken at Potsdam by President Roosevelt and himself, and that from that moment their views on the future had changed.

And in fact, it is from that moment that the well-known policy of intimidation, which has attended all the efforts made hitherto to build up peace, started. Nor was this policy confined to the atom bomb. We all remember the delay in the recognition of the new Yugoslavia, the ultimatum

to Yugoslavia to withdraw from Trieste, the interference in the internal affairs of Poland; then there was Greece, Albania, the attitude towards Franco Spain, etc. Then came the preparing of the peace treaties with Italy and the other satellite countries. Throughout these preparations, and the results of the Paris Conference, a tendency prevailed on the part of the Western Powers to construct peace regardless of the requirements of justice and the loyalty due to an ally, on a basis detrimental to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and to other democratic countries, a peace which would place yesterday's aggressors in a state of complete dependence on the Western Powers, and would render them capable possibly to-morrow, once again, of pushing the world into a new cataclysm. Both in Germany and all the occupied countries, yesterday's Fascists and their acolytes are being rehabilitated at an increasing pace and in ever greater numbers, and given positions of decisive importance, while anti-Fascists are being persecuted, or all sorts of obstacles are being put in the way of their struggle against Fascist and imperialist forces. Certain reactionary circles are obviously attempting to use the German Fascists as an imperialist base in Europe. The struggle for Germany is to-day of decisive importance for Europe. That is why the reactionaries deem it necessary to give protection, in all sorts of different ways, to the Fascist and other reactionary elements in Germany. All this has, for over two years already, been accompanied by a frantic press campaign of slanders against the U.S.S.R., against Yugoslavia and other democratic countries and democratic movements. It is thus that the views of our Western Allies, i.e., in cartain circles of the Western countries, have "changed"—according to Churchill's words, after Potsdam.

This policy, obviously, boils down to a desire on the part of certain capitalist circles to force their will upon those who do not show due respect towards the "blessings" of imperialism. In other words, they wish to impose a new imperialist "peace" on the world, a "peace" based on world domination by finance capital, instead of a truly democratic peace, based on the freedom and independence of nations, on co-operation among nations and respect for their mutual interests.

Such a policy can no longer, however, be pursued without encountering opposition. This was possible at the time of the Versailles Conference and to a certain extent after the First World War, when the imperialist forces succeeded in blockading the Soviet Union and maintaining it in a state of comparative isolation, and also in keeping the anti-imperialist forces confined within certain limits. Conditions have changed now—the Soviet Union can no longer be isolated. In addition to this, a number of new people's States have arisen, and they have completely wrenched themselves from the sphere of imperialism, while anti-imperialist and democratic movements have conquered such powerful positions in many countries that they considerably circumscribe the freedom of action of the leading imperialists.

It is clear that the only policy which the democratic forces can follow is a policy of struggle for a just, a democratic peace and co-operation among the nations, based on mutual respect for the just interest of the different countries. According to this conception, the existing antagonisms between the two worlds should not be allowed to constitute an obstacle in the way of the general effort of freedom-loving mankind to secure peaceful co-operation among the nations. Peace and democracy in the world are not endangered by social differences, but by the imperialist economic and political expansion. Two trends, two methods, two schools of thought have thus taken shape in the sphere of present day international politics: on the one hand there is a tendency towards world domination, the tendency towards covert and open expansion, towards imposing one's will on other nations and States, there is the policy of intimidation and outvoting. On the other hand, there is the striving for peaceful co-operation among nations, towards mutual understanding and respect for the just interests of every nation, the striving to achieve the freedom and independence of the dependent and backward colonial peoples. These two different trends are, of course, but the reflection of two different systems, i.e., of the system of imperialism, which is seeking a way out of the general crisis, through a policy of reaction and violence, and of the system of socialism and of people's democracy where capitalism has been overthrown or is rapidly disappearing under a democratic people's authority, and where the entire activities of the country are directed towards internal construction and the increase of internal welfare. These two different trends in international politics have been apparent in all international relations since the end of the war.

The new Yugoslavia, being a progressive people's State where the roots of capitalism have forever been cut and which has freed itself from the influence of foreign imperialism, has particularly felt the pressure of international reactionary forces. The negative attitude which a part of our war allies oppose to many of the justified claims of our peoples is, of course, quite easy to comprehend when viewed in this light.

What is here involved, therefore, is neither a "clash between two ideologies," as certain people like to imply, who, either consciously or not, endeavour to shroud in a cloak of ambiguity that which is perfectly clear and obvious; nor is it that the world is divided into adherents of dialectical materialism and those of idealism, or into the adepts of collectivism and those of individualism, but a clash between imperialist expansion and the striving of nations for independence, the striving of freedom-loving mankind for a democratic peace.

"What we have today," said Comrade Tito, "are two fronts: the front of democracy and the front of reaction and various provocateurs, and not the front of the West and the front of the East." (Speech delivered in Jesenice, on August 20th, 1946.)

All this goes to show that monopoly capitalism will, in the present phase of its development, seek, more than ever before, to iron out its internal contradictions by increasing political reaction and the struggle against the forces of democracy, progress and socialism.

IV.

What we have just said, however, is but part of the truth. The world is witnessing to-day the unprecedented economic expansion of the finance capital of a single country. It should be pointed out, at the same time, that the foundations of the imperialist system were never so weak as they are to-day, after the Second World War.

Not only did the Second World War fail to bring stabilisation to the capitalist world, but on the contrary, still further deepened and sharpened the general crisis of the system. There can be no doubt but that the near future will see much tension and conflicts, will witness violent economic and political struggles.

The Second World War has, among other things, resulted in a further number of countries throwing off the imperialist yoke. This has considerably undermined imperialist rule in the rest of the world, particularly in the colonies and dependent countries, and led to an increase in the internal contradictions within capitalist economy.

There can be no doubt but that the emergence of people's democracies in certain countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, and the beginning of similar processes in other countries—in different forms and at various stages, but with the same trend of development—is the most momentous and significant qualitative change which has occurred in the capitalist world after the Second World War. The significance of this change does not so much lie in the fact that it has modified the relation of forces in the world, to the benefit of democracy and socialism, and to the detriment of imperialism, as particularly, in that it reveals certain specific ways of liquidating the rule of capitalist reaction, new forms of development towards socialism. The construction of socialism is no longer an isolated phenomenon confined to the U.S.S.R. It is no longer something which still has to prove its value in practice. The great socialist achievements of the October Revolution have not only stood the test of history, but have already become the substance of the entire genuinely democratic development in the world. There are no longer many governments today which venture openly to defend the capitalist system. On the contrary, capitalist reaction is resorting to all kinds of pseudo-socialist forms and phrases, in order to delude the masses. Even the Fascists liked to hide, and are hiding again today, behind socialist signboards and phrases. This means that it is becoming increasingly difficult for imperialist reaction to wage an open struggle against socialism. This means, further, that the ideal of socialism, first realised in the Soviet Union, has stood the test of history and emerged triumphant.

On the other hand, of course, all this is evidence of the internal weaknesses of the capitalist system. In the period after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the imperialist system was still sufficiently powerful to make a frontal attack against the revolution in Russia and against the various other revolutionary socialist movements. Today, it is no longer in a position to fill in the crevices within the imperialist system and to stem all the numerous processes which are undermining it. And this relative weakness of the capitalist system enables the struggle for a true people's democracy, and for socialism, to assume the most varied forms.

The genuine democratic forces can now rely on broader reserves, they can make a far more effective use of the increasingly wide and numerous crevices which are appearing within the imperialist system. The Communist Parties in many countries have become a factor capable of having a decisive bearing on the policy of the State. The democratic forces are now in a position more successfully to expose the anti-democratic manoeuvres of the capitalist monopolists.

All these facts acquire their full significance when we bear in mind the part the U.S.S.R. now plays in international relations, a part which in many ways differs from the one it played before the Second World War. The Soviet Union was, from the very first day it came into being, the hope of all freedom-loving people, and an example showing the whole of progressive humanity the way out of the general crisis into which it had been brought by the imperialist system.

At that time, however, the Soviet Union was separated from the rest of the world, by the high wall of capitalist encirclement, and its influence in the field of international relations was far smaller than its strength would have warranted. Today, on the other hand, we may say that the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union no longer exists. We have here in mind, not merely the fact that the Soviet Union is, to a large extent, surrounded by friendly countries, in which capitalism has also been overthrown, or is increasingly losing a foothold, but, above all, two other considerations.

The first is the tremendous influence the Soviet Union now wields in the field of international relations, an influence which the U.S.S.R. achieved in the first place through its victories in the recent war, whereby it demonstrated the strength and the advantages of the Soviet system and of socialism.

The second is the fact that the boundary between the two worlds, between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism, in international relations is no longer the clear-cut frontier-line between the U.S.S.R. and the rest of the world, as was the case before the war. We no longer have, today, on the one side, a united

capitalist system and, on the other, a single, encircled socialist country; what we have is, rather, a system of capitalist countries, with the most imperialist forces at their head, on the one hand, and, on the other, a democratic system headed by the Soviet Union. It is obvious why, under such conditions, the isolation of the Soviet Union has become impossible. It has become impossible to take decisions on fundamental questions of international relations without the participation of the Soviety Union, without thereby destroying all possibilities of international co-operation.

And what is particularly important in this connection is the fact that the imperialist chain is bound to break with increasing frequency and rapidity, in view of the existence of such relations of forces, that the possibilities of the victory of a people's democracy, as the starting point of socialist development, will become more varied, and it will become increasingly difficult for the imperialist forces to stifle and curb such processes in different parts of the world.

That is why the emergence of people's democracies in the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, as well as the beginnings of such democracies in certain other countries, are significant, not merely in that they constitute a quantitative change in the relations of forces in the sphere of international politics, but also in that they introduce a new element into the latter, breaking the system of capitalist encirclement of the first country where the construction of socialism has been achieved, and opening up new vistas to the struggle of the democratic, progressive anti-imperialist forces in the world.

After the war, the colonial question has again arisen in a very acute form. Its acuteness has a double aspect. On the one hand, as regards relations between the colonial peoples and the ruling imperialist countries, and on the other, as the object of the political and economic struggle between the leading capitalist monopolies, i.e., between the great capitalist countries.

When we used, before, to speak of the centres of anti-imperialist struggle and of wars for national liberation, what we had in view were, in the first place, India and semi-dependent China. Now, in addition to these two countries, centres of this kind have appeared, in various forms and at different stages of development, in Indonesia, Indo-China, in the Philippines, Korea, the Arab countries, North Africa, etc., which means that the anti-imperialist movement has embraced practically the entire colonial world. It is not of fundamental importance in this connection whether the present colonial rulers will occasionally succeed in temporarily quelling the uprisings for the liberation of the colonial peoples. What is essential is the fact that a conscious and organised movement has embraced the entire colonial world, that the colonial rulers will find it increasingly difficult to maintain the colonies in a state of subjection, and that this will seriously affect political and economic conditions in the home countries and in the whole of the capitalist world. This powerful growth of the liberation movements in the colonies is to be explained, on the one hand, by the fact that the political consciousness of the broad masses has increased rapidly in the course of the war, and, on the other, and particularly, by the considerable growth of industry in the colonies, which has brought the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie on to the political scene, and this has, in its turn, hastened the development of national culture, and of the national intelligentsia. The traditional methods of colonial policy, the methods of maintaining backward relations and feudal particularism in the colonies, the former being the mainstays of colonial rule, have, under such conditions, become increasingly inadequate. That is why the colonial question is ever more disrupting the foundations of the imperialist system as a whole, while it constitutes a particularly arduous problem for the colonial rulers.

The development of the working class and of the labor movements in the colonial and dependent countries has raised the colonial liberation movements on to a higher democratic level, as compared to those of the past. Many of these movements are heading, not merely towards political liberation from foreign imperialism, but also toward the victory of the anti-imperialist forces, the victory of the people's democracy, which would wrench these countries completely from under the influence of imperialism. The colonial rulers are no longer succeeding in achieving a more or less lasting victory over these movements by means of military and police measures. Even if they do succeed in quelling an uprising here and there, the colonial world no longer—under the old forms of colonial rule—offers sufficient security to the finance capital of the home country. That is why imperialist circles must seek to lean more and more on the national bourgeoisie and the other reactionary circles in the colonies and in other dependent countries, making them concessions in return.

It therefore occurs more and more frequently that certain colonial or dependent countries obtain a so-called "independence." Great Britain, in certain cases, resorts to giving formal "independence" to the dependent countries. Such measures are, obviously, accompanied by the corrupting of the ruling classes in the newly established "independent" countries, which enables the great capitalist powers to maintain the country in a state of actual economic and political dependence.

Such methods have become a general trait of present-day imperialist politics. Present-day imperialists are making every endeavour to support anti-democratic regimes in all parts of the world and in all countries imaginable, regimes which the people would long have overthrown, had it not been for support from abroad.

The high degree of concentration attained by finance capital and the tremendous extension of the capitalist monopolies have, it appears, themselves become incompatible with the former methods of

colonial exploitation. For a degree of concentration of finance capital, such as has today been attained by the monopolies in the United States, the former system of the territorial division of colonies has become too narrow. What they need is the world, and not just certain colonies, what they need are free routes across all frontiers — because they are everywhere able to oust their capitalist rivals from the markets, and gradually from all economic positions. That is why the United States look upon the British and French colonial systems as impediments and that is why they are coming out in favour of the "independence" of colonial countries. What this amounts to in practice would be to give the present colonial countries under the rule of Great Britain, France, Holland, etc., formal independence, so as to bring them into a state of economic, and even political dependence on American finance capital.

For Britain, France and the other countries in possession of colonies, which have, as it is, become strongly dependent upon American finance capital, the question is, naturally, different. For them, to maintain the greatest possible measure of political control over the colonies amounts to the question of whether they will, in general, still be able to play some kind of independent role as against the United States, and to the question of preserving at least part of their economic and political position in the world. That is why they are fighting so tenaciously to keep their colonies.

"At the present time the rival interests of British and U.S. imperialism define themselves clearly: the power policy and the dollar policy. Britain, as the weaker productive unit, can rival the United States trade only by legally exclusive measures, to preserve itself a sector (e.g., bilateral pacts, colonial sovereignty, imperial preference). U.S.A. as overwhelmingly the stronger seeks to whittle these away; every barrier removed, every new area gained, for the principle of equality of export, enterprise for all, means a domination. . ." Thus writes the British journalist Ivor Montagu (**Labour Monthly,** October, 1946).

Hence the paradoxical situation of the American financial magnates and monopoly leaders, who are conquering the capitalist world by means of their dollars and their commodities and carrying out the most extensive expansion, are parading with the "democratic idea" of the "liberation" of colonies, of giving "independence" and "freedom," while Britain, which is fighting for its positions before the onslaughts of the U.S. dollar with the only weapons left to it as an imperialist power, is compelled to play the unpopular part of a gendarme of imperialism. It is obvious, therefore, that the U.S. slogan on the "independence" of colonies actually reveals a high degree of capitalist concentration, and, coupled with this, a tendency towards real world domination; concretely — a tendency of the U.S. monopolies to dominate the whole of the capitalist world. The American finance magnates believe they will succeed where the German imperialists failed.

Alongside these developments in the colonies and dependent countries, there is yet another process in progress — that of the increasing economic enslavement of independent countries, large and small, their transformation into de facto dependent countries. Such a process, of course, does not mean anything fundamentally new in the capitalist world. But this process has now assumed tremendous proportions, and is developing in the main, to the benefit of the finance capital of a single country — of the United States of America. Trade, monopoly unions, loans, investments, obstacles to the development of local industry, various forms of economic pressure, etc. — all these are the means through which American finance capital expands into the different capitalist countries.

That this economic enslavement spells backwardness, poverty, that it retards the development of certain countries—is obvious. The economy of these countries does not serve the people, but the finance capital of foreign countries.

May I be allowed, at this stage, to quote from a typical publicist of U.S. economic expansion, who expresses in very simple terms the essence of the attitude of monopoly circles in the U.S.A. regarding —the independence of a State. He says, for instance:

"The objection might be raised that these short-run policies are conceived exclusively in terms of American economic interests, without due regard for the welfare of foreign economies demanding American goods and services. We willingly submit to such censure. American economic policy should heed legitimate foreign economic demands whenever it is possible to put our own and foreign interests on a common denominator. However, whenever most vital American interests are at stake, such as in this case, American interests must be put first."

In other words, the American imperialists are prepared to acknowledge the independence of other countries so long as this independence is in their interests, but as soon as it comes into conflict with the latter, then it must disappear, or be subordinated to "American interests."

It must be admitted that this Mr. Otto H. Korican expresses in very simple and very open terms the mentality on which the expansion of American finance capital relies.

The political consequences are clear. Where economic interests exist — political interests must also exist. That is why interference in the domestic affairs of the "independent" countries has today become the principal method of imperialist policy.

Speaking, for instance, of American investments in South America, and of the political advantages of joint investments — that is, of joint investments of United States and local South American capital in certain concerns—the **Economist** wrote on June 8th, 1946:

"How to be safe, as well as profitable, has long bothered foreign investors in Latin America . . . United States businessmen have turned to new and less risky forms of investment—the organisation of companies with both United States and local capital and, typically, more native participation in management than has been used in the past. The greatest development of this form has been in Mexico. . . Westinghouse has used the method in Argentine . . . the others in Brazil and Chile. . . Joint investment seems attractive to the Latin Americans. For those with money, it creates new chances to invest with little immediate risk; they can be pretty sure the foreigners expect to make a success of the business.

"The American firms are after business, not dividends. Joint investment to these prudent enterprises is a method of minimising investments while securing a trading or service position in Latin America.

"There are, of course, capitalists who can maintain a political balance, groups and families with a tent in each camp, men of wealth and prestige who will have influence with any government so long as the social structure is intact."

But the method of "joint investments," which is now being mainly applied by U.S. finance capital, has another significant aspect. It enables American finance capital to merge with the finance capital of other countries, and to intertwine the entire economic life of different countries. It is no longer a guest because it has the protection of the local bourgeoisie. In this way, it not only exerts pressure on the domestic policies of the different countries, but also on the foreign policy and on foreign economic connections. Those who have had the opportunity of watching the disciplined manner in which not only the vast majority of South-American, but many other countries as well, voted at recent international conferences for the proposals put forward by the U.S.A. and the manner in which the policy of the latter was frequently carried out through these very States, will have no difficulty in discerning the hand of American finance capital at the back of the attitude of the delegations of these countries.

Although such a policy of "independence" of colonies, and of economic dependence of "independent countries" is proving successful today, from the point of view of big finance capital and of the imperialist system, it nevertheless also affects capitalism very unfavourably in many ways. All these occurrences reflect, it is true, the gigantic concentration of finance capital and its expression on an unprecedented scale, but they, at the same time, reflect the weaknesses of the imperialist order. Open annexation, the bringing of colonies under political rule or political and military pressure were far more reliable weapons of imperialism in the past. These weapons are no longer adequate, although this does not mean, of course, that the imperialists will not make very extensive use of them, if no other means are available. On the other hand, however, the methods of economic expansion we have just described involve constant interference in the domestic affairs of certain countries on the part of imperialists. It can achieve a certain measure of success, but is bound to expose the national bourgeoisie and the local reactionary forces as agents of foreign imperialism, in the eyes of the people, and isolate them from the masses. Such methods, therefore, contribute to the sharpening of internal contradictions in the different countries. On the one hand, the reactionary forces resort to violence and to the violation of democratic rights, while, on the other, the democratic and anti-imperialist movements embrace increasingly large masses of the people and draw them into the struggle against foreign imperialist pressure and the local agents of foreign imperialism.

And thus, some of the trends of present-day imperialism contain a typical and ineluctable contradiction: striving for world domination, imperialism creates conditions in the colonies for the growth of resistance against the imperialist system. All this, of course, can only still further sharpen the general crisis of capitalism.

V.

Such are the perspectives facing the capitalist world as it is moving towards a new economic crisis whose consequences are still difficult to foresee, but which will undoubtedly result in even greater and more numerous political crises, in different parts of the world. To believe that the capitalist world will in the near future achieve stability and internal peace, would mean to harbour a great illusion. For the antagonisms of which we have already spoken are bound to lead to new conflicts in all spheres. And so the world which had so eagerly yearned, and still yearns, for peace, is in danger, although it will not have war now, of not acquiring peace either—unless democratic mankind opposes the pernicious activities of the capitalist monopolies. We have "peace" today, but war is raging in Greece, in Indonesia, in China, in Indo-China, in the Philippines, in Palestine, in Spain, in Iran, etc., because such are the laws of imperialist expansion. Who can say but that to these centres, new ones will not be added tomorrow, far more important ones which will perturb the imperialist system far more deeply. In short, the capitalist world is faced with a period of unrest and turmoil in which more or less sharp clashes between the imperialist reactionary forces and the democratic, anti-imperialist forces will take place. These forces of democracy will still increase in strength, and it is also obvious that the labor movement, particularly in the European countries, has not yet reached its post-war peak.

It is essential that freedom-loving mankind should grasp the full extent of the peril of the present expansion of capitalist monopolies and finance capital. The democratic forces in the capitalist countries could make no greater mistake than to allow themselves to be deluded by the fact that they still have formal democratic rights, that their country enjoys formal independence, and forget whence the main danger arises. There is today practically not a single second-rate capitalist country into which foreign monopolies have not penetrated and placed it, to a greater or lesser degree, in an economic, and hence in a political state of dependence upon foreign finance capital. Today this expansion is still, in a certain measure, concealed in phrases about democracy and freedom. Tomorrow, in the measure in which the internal contradictions of capitalism acquire an increasingly acute form, because of the economic and general crisis of capitalism, the monopolies will display an even greater tendency to thrust one country after the other into an ever deeper state of political reaction and towards Fascism.

The main target of these monopolist circles will be the progressive democratic forces in all countries, and more particularly in the countries where these forces are in power. There can be no doubt but that the leading monopolists will, more than ever, endeavour to settle their internal imperialist contradictions by increasing their struggle against the progressive forces. And this for the simple reason that they are impelled to do so by the internal weakness of the imperialist system, which is, in its turn, a result of the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism.

This tendency makes itself felt every day in the home affairs of the capitalist countries. If we leave aside such cases as that of Greece, there is practically not one country in which we do not see a more or less sharp struggle between democratic strivings and tendencies towards so-called "strong governments," towards the revival of semi-Fascist and Fascist organisations, towards the grouping and increased activity of extreme reactionary right-wing elements. Behind all this stand the circles of finance capital and of monopoly trusts and cartels, just as, after the first world war, they backed and financed Adolf Hitler. This tendency is all the more active as the contradictions increase in acuity. Obviously, the more backward the political consciousness of the masses is in a certain country, the more confusion and lack of activity there is among the masses, the more these masses have been deluded by phrases of the reactionary politicians — the more the ruling capitalist elements like to rant with democratic phrases. It is perfectly clear today that the regime of bourgeois democracy is palatable to imperialism only so long as the masses live in darkness, and while democratic phrases can serve as a cloak for the shameful picture of exploitation and oppression, of the trampling of justice and truth, of parasitism and decay, offered by present day imperialism. When, however, the masses begin to discern the truth, when the level of their political consciousness begins rising, and when they begin to play a conscious part in the political life of their country, then the monopolist propagators of "freedom from fear" begin forgetting their "democratic principles." When, for instance, at the Paris Peace Conference, last year, the representatives of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia demanded that Trieste should be given all democratic rights, or at least part of the rights which the British and American ideologues of democracy used to consider were basic elements of democracy in general, then one of the representatives of traditional Western parliamentary government made roughly the following reply:

We have always been champions of democracy and we do not allow anyone to take precedence of us in this respect, but — in Trieste, conditions are not propitious for the application of democratic principles.

There are, obviously, many territories like Trieste in the world, where, in the opinion of certain imperialist circles, "the requisite conditions for democracy are absent." This explains why the theory of the necessity of a "strong Government" is being advocated with increasing insistence, even in such countries as France. This explains, too, why, in the Western parts of Germany and Austria, denazification has become a derision of the conscience of suffering freedom-loving mankind. This explains why the Fascist Franco is still in power in Spain. This explains why war criminals and quisling elements still enjoy protection, why the reactionary imperialist circles in the U.S.A. and Great Britain are interfering systematically in the domestic affairs of other countries — of course, in the interests of the most reactionary elements in these countries.

For all these reasons, the reactionary forces have made, and are still making, every endeavour to turn the United Nations Organisation and its institutions into a sort of international police organisation — possibly into something reminiscent of the Holy Alliance in the first part of the Nineteenth Century—the task of which would, i.e., be to enforce the order of the imperialist monopolies, and the quelling of democratic and anti-imperialist movements in the world. No effort was spared in order to abolish the right of "veto." It is, however, perfectly obvious what lies at the back of all this. It is, in essence, a tendency to make the United Nations Organisation, by means of the method of outvoting, into the instrument of a bloc or group of States, or even of a single State. The organisation for the collective safeguarding of peace would thus be transformed into an instrument of imperialist expansion, into a weapon for preparing new wars. The very principle of collective security would thereby be discarded, and sacrificed to imperialist aims.

It is the task of the democratic forces to frustrate all such attempts and to wage a tenacious struggle in order to make the United Nations Organisation into a genuine collective custodian of peace. The struggle for true democracy within each capitalist country, and the struggle for a democratic peace and democratic co-operation among nations, are obviously closely bound up.

All these facts, therefore, confront all the democratic, freedom-loving forces of the world with important tasks in the sphere of international politics, tasks upon whose solution, ultimately, hinges the result of the struggle between the forces of

reaction and the forces of progress inside each country. It is, in the first place, essential that democratic forces should co-operate closely, and give one another active support in the struggle for a genuinely democratic peace and co-operation among nations. It is clear where the main danger lies, and freedom-loving mankind must see actively to it that it is not once again driven into a catastrophe by the forces of imperialist reaction and of Fascism. Any attempt to underrate the importance of the factor of international politics, or to confine oneself exclusively to domestic problems, or to withdraw into some sort of "neutralisation" in the field of international politics, is bound to result in the defeat of those who make such an attempt. Just as peace is indivisible, so is the struggle for a genuine democracy.

Through the prism of such conditions in the capitalist world, our masses can perceive even more clearly what they have obtained through the achievements of our national liberation struggle, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with Comrade Tito at its head. We are not confronted with the prospect of an economic crisis and of serious internal conflicts, nor with that of economic subjugation on the part of any imperialist powers. Before us is the prospect of industrialisation, of electrification and of the advance of agriculture, the prospect of the welfare and the culture of our people attaining ever higher levels. Such prospects can only face truly independent nations which have, for all time, thrown off the yoke of foreign imperialism.

Knowing how to appreciate their own freedom, our peoples are watching with sympathy the liberation struggle of the oppressed people and of the masses which are still laboring under imperialist oppression. At the same time, our peoples favour a policy of peace, of international agreement and of peaceful international co-operation, regardless of the social and economic structure of this or that country.

That is why the foreign policy of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia is the peace-loving policy of peoples who wish to build in peace, but who will always defend their just interests consistently and tenaciously, as well as the true interests of peace and democracy. Together with the Soviet Union and the other truly democratic countries and forces in the world, the peoples of our country will fight actively for the establishing of democratic, peaceful relations in the world, because they know that this struggle is no less important than the internal construction of our country.

N.S.W. LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE

J. R. HUGHES

THE Annual General Conference of the Australian Labor Party in New South Wales took place this year in a situation favoring reformism.

The Australian nation emerged victorious from the second world war, escaping the bitter experiences of the invaded European countries. The Australian people relied on the leadership of the Labor Government during the war years and were prepared to continue their support in the post-war period.

Since the end of the war the Labor Party in this State has won two election victories — the Federal elections in which most Labor seats were retained and the State elections in which comparatively greater gains were made.

Another very important factor influencing the pre-conference situation was the election of McGirr as Premier and his skilful and constructive declarations of policy. The prompt introduction of the 40-hour week was taken by large sections of the people as an indication that his Government not only had a programme of vital reforms, but were prepared to implement it. This constructive election policy won large sections of the working class to support the Labor Party and assisted in its election successes.

Rank and file members of the Labor Party approached the Annual Conference period with high hopes that Labor's policy would at last be implemented; the right wing leadership looked forward to an era of even richer plums of office as Conciliation Commissioners or the like.

These conditions were reflected in the Conference. It was plain that the extreme right wing had consolidated its position with the right wing leadership of the A.L.P. No bitter struggles took place in connection with policy matters, nor was there any forceful criticism of the leadership of the Party. This in turn led to the lack of any enthusiasm at the Conference and, in fact, the quality of the delegates compared unfavorably with previous years and the conduct of some left much to be desired.

The desire of the right wing leadership to achieve peace within the Party led to what might appear as extremely contradictory decisions, and because of the lack of a militant grouping among delegates the rank and file failed to conduct any real struggle against undemocratic trends and proposals.

Because of the unity between the right wing and the extreme right wing it was possible for Conference to be managed in an extremely clever way. Indicative was the early introduction of the resolution on the socialist objective. The resolution paid lip service to the need for socialisation of industry, diverted attention along the lines of legislative enactment of socialism and drew attention to the constitutional difficulties which it was claimed stood in the way and could be removed only by referenda. The presentation of this "token" resolution succeeded in preventing discussion on the large number of excellent, practical agenda items from Branches and Unions calling for nationalisation of important monopoly industries.

Most of the resolutions from the Branches and Unions on policy matters were good and, like those on nationalisation, expressed the desire of large sections of the A.L.P. rank and file to see Labor's platform implemented, but most of them were either sidetracked, as in the case of the nationalisation items, or were watered down and presented in composite resolutions from the Agenda Committee.

Such actions by the management of the Conference are of course indicative of the fact that the extreme right wing in the A.L.P. act as the agents of monopoly capital and seek to divert the struggle of the Labor masses into the most ineffective channels.

It was not possible, despite the unity in the camp of the right wing, for them completely to ignore the genuine interest of the workers in such immediate questions as the housing shortage, public health, high prices and similar matters. The decisions of the Conference on these questions were progressive and were in line with the constructive speech delivered by Premier McGirr to the Conference.

The decisions reached on these matters should be put into operation. The programme is one that every progressive citizen can well support. The solution of the housing problem and other points in the programme are not matters which solely concern the A.L.P. They affect every worker, the middle classes, the farmers and rural workers. Communist and other militant workers should rally to ensure united support and action which is the only guarantee of its implementation. Trade unionists, non-party workers, farmers, professional people, must be shown the need for unity to implement the declarations of the A.L.P. Conference on these vital issues.

The right wing seized the opportunity which Conference presented to continue their attacks against the Communist Party. The extreme right wing went to the lengths of absurdity by proposing that any member of the A.L.P. who supported proposals put forward by any Communist either in a Union or on the Labor Council or elsewhere should be called upon to show cause before the Central Executive of the A.L.P. why they should not be dealt with.

Shortelle, one of the leaders of the extreme right, not only stated that such persons should be excluded from the Labor Party, but declared that any delegate opposing his proposition should be dealt with.

The farcical nature of the proposal was demonstrated by the fact that at meetings of the Labor Council Shortelle, Jackson and other right wing A.L.P. members had supported proposals moved by leading Communists. To date we have not heard of these A.L.P. leaders calling on the Executive to deal with them.

The principal red-baiting propositions, however, were contained in the report on the development of A.L.P. Industrial Groups. It is through these groups that the right wing hopes to secure a large measure of control of the trade unions. The constitution of these Groups provide that they shall select candidates to run for positions in the various trade unions and lays down that any member who opposes the selected candidate or does not work to assist in securing the election of the candidate shall be excluded from the Group.

One clause in the Industrial Group constitution permits the exclusion of A.L.P. members from the Groups where any Group might consider the member as "unsatisfactory." On the other hand it permits the enrolment of non-members of the A.L.P. In other words a person excluded from A.L.P. membership by the A.L.P. Conference can be a member of the Industrial Groups whilst genuine A.L.P. members can be excluded; a Group can exclude an A.L.P. member on the votes of non-members of the Labor Party.

This extraordinary departure from the general constitutional position of the Labor Party found only few opponents at the Conference, but the general feeling displayed an uneasiness nonetheless. It has certainly aroused hostility among more progressive members in the Branches and Unions.

It is however important to keep in mind that these A.L.P. Industrial Groups consist of workers in the various factories — the rank and file workers in industry. The main body of these workers are concerned with the problems of the working class and with a constructive policy for improving the standard of living, working conditions, housing, education and a whole number of other matters. Despite the desire of the right wing to use these Groups for their own ends, it will be possible for Communists to unite with genuine working class members of the Groups around the positive problems in their factory and industry.

The favorable situation referred to earlier will undergo considerable change.

At the Conference Prime Minister Chifley took the opportunity of warning against trade recessions. He spoke of the threat of certain American business interests and of the danger to the "Golden Age" which he had foreseen in Australia, which might lead to unemployment and economic crisis.

Communists know the economic structure of capitalism and the inevitability of recurring economic crises within the general crisis of capitalism. When the crisis develops in Australia the Labor Party will be faced with the problem of meeting the situation.

In the economic crisis of the early 30's, when thousands of workers were on the dole, the Labor Party in office in the State and Federal spheres sought a solution to the crisis, not in the workers' way, but in the capitalist way. They introduced the Premiers' Plan, placing the full burden of the crisis on the workers.

The struggles inside the Labor Party against this reactionary policy gave rise to a tremendous progressive upsurge that brought sweeping changes in leadership in New South Wales.

Just as the recent A.L.P. Conference was a reflection of the general economic and political situation of today, so the A.L.P. conferences of the future will reflect the struggle of the A.L.P. workers for a militant solution to their problems and will again bring the progressive sections into battle against the extreme right wing and the reformist policy of class collaboration.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY: THE WAY TO THE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND

WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

[From "Political Affairs," New York, April, 1947. Reprinted from "Glos Ludu" ("People's Voice"), Warsaw, No. 330. Excerpts from an address delivered at a meeting of party activists of the P.P.R. and the P.P.S. in Warsaw, November 29, 1946. The author is the Vice-Premier of Poland and general secretary of the Polish Workers' Party.]

AN agreement on unity of action and co-operation concluded between the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) and the Polish Workers' Party (P.P.R.) must be included among political events of great weight and importance. . .

Under the existing alignment of political forces in Poland unity of action of the workers' parties and a united front of the working class constitute a basic condition for the firm establishment of all the social and political achievements so far attained. On the basis of unity of action of both workers' parties, with close co-operation with other democratic parties, the Polish Workers' Party established the conception of the Polish way of development toward socialism. This conception is significant because it does not include the necessity of a violent, revolutionary political upheaval in the development of Poland and eliminates the necessity of a dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of government in the most difficult period of transition. On the basis of realistic views we have established the possibility of development toward socialism through the system of people's democracy in which the bloc of democratic parties exercises the power of government. This conception, calculating on a peaceful, evolutionary development, would have been difficult to conceive without the presupposition of close co-operation of both our parties and of a worker-peasant alliance.

Some people repeat constantly that the Polish Workers' Party is aiming at the dictatorship of the proletariat and wants to establish socialism in Poland by following the same road as the Soviet Union. It is not necessary to establish that those who make such assertions do so not only because they do not understand Marxism at all, not only because they do not know how to draw conclusions from the differences between historical epochs and concrete historical situations, but because, above all, they want to falsify historical facts and to make it easier for themselves to wage a struggle against our party.

Because this problem has so far not been discussed extensively in public by our party and because of its importance for strengthening the unity of action of both our parties, I consider it advisable to clarify it from the point of view of the party which I represent.

First, I should like to call your attention to three basic differences, easily perceived by all, which mark the paths of development of the Soviet Union and Poland.

The first difference is that the social and political changes in Russia were effected through a violent revolution and in our country in a peaceful way.

The second difference is that the Soviet Union had to go through the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, while in our country there is no such period; and it can be avoided.

The third difference characterising the variation in the ways of development of both countries is that the government in the Soviet Union is in the hands of the Councils of Delegates, or Soviets, which combine the legislative and executive functions and constitute the socialist form of government, whereas in our country the legislative and executive functions are separated and the government is based on a parliamentary democracy.

Nothing would be more false than a belief that these differences originated from the subjective will of individual people in Poland and in the Soviet Union or resulted from the political line of parties functioning in Poland and the Soviet Union. The internal disposition of class forces existing during the Russian Revolution and during the period of the taking over of the government of Poland by the democratic camp decided the differences in the ways of development of Poland and Russia.

Why was it necessary to have a violent revolution in Russia to overthrow the czarist government and to effect social and political changes?

Two causes made the revolution necessary: first, oppression by the czarist government; second, the power of world capitalism, or, to put it differently, the weakness of world democracy.

Lenin said that the power of the czarist government rested on a well-organised and strong class of landlords, on an even better organised and strong class of Russian capitalists teamed with foreign capital, and on a strong state apparatus and ingrained czarist traditions. These were the three "whales" that could not have been defeated in a peaceful way. It was necessary to defeat them through revolution.

Besides these three internal elements, which gave the czarist government its power to oppress, there was also an external element in the form of the power of capitalist states which supported the czarist government in its struggle with the revolution. Moreover, in 1917 world capital was, in an ideological and governmental sense, much stronger than at the end of the Second World War when the democratic forces were coming to the fore.

All these elements, which in 1917 constituted the strength of the Russian czarist government and could have been broken only by a violent revolution, were in a different position in Poland in 1944. The working class and the toiling masses of Poland did not have to use violent means to overthrow the landlords and big capitalists; for these forces were weak, politically compromised and isolated. That is why it was possible to remove them in a different way.

The weakness of the Polish landlords and capitalists at the moment when the democratic camp was taking over the government was due to the fact that they did not have the state apparatus needed for the struggle with the democratic forces. It is true that, in defence of these classes, various reactionary and fascist groups came forward; but they did not have enough strength to overcome the strength of the democratic camp. The main and basic armed strength of the polish capitalists, landlords and reaction in general — Anders' army — was outside the country, and unable to do much in defence of their interests.

Therefore the primary cause which permitted the peaceful overthrow of reaction in Poland was the complete shattering of the state apparatus in Poland as a result of the September catastrophe and the utter illusoriness of the apparatus of the London delegates in Poland.

At the moment of the liberation of Poland, the power was simply lying on the street. It was picked up by democracy, which proved itself stronger than reaction.

Besides this primary cause there were also others. A very large part of reaction compromised itself in the eyes of the nation as a result of the September disaster of Poland and the anti-Soviet policy of the emigre governments. Many reactionaries fled from Poland with the Germans or later, in order to organise and prepare their forces abroad for the struggle with the democratic forces inside the country. All this also had an influence in weakening reaction and made possible a peaceful transformation of our social and political conditions.

Another factor which facilitated our taking over power was the inertness of foreign capital in Poland. German capital could not act as a force at all; for, as a result of its defeat, it was eliminated; and the whole nation was inflamed with hatred toward the Germans. Foreign capital of other origin was actually taken over by the Germans, and that also paralysed its power and prevented it from playing any independent role.

Moreover, all reactionary elements, under the influence of the disaster of Hitlerism and the victories of the Soviet Army, were imbued with fright and incapable of waging an effective struggle against the democratic forces.

Finally, the democratic camp attained power on the wave of the struggle for national liberation. Reaction subordinated the struggle with the occupation forces to its endeavors to gain power in the country. The trend of war developments, however, was not unfolding in accordance with its interests, was not creating favorable perspectives for it to take over power at the moment of the liberation of the country; for everything indicated that Poland would be liberated by the Red Army. Hence, reaction was opposed to armed struggle with Germany. And while reaction's chief watchword was a call to stand ready with arms, the watchword of democracy was an armed struggle with the occupation forces. The stand of reaction on the struggle for national liberation compromised it in the eyes of the Polish nation and in the democratic opinion of the world.

No one had greater opportunities and a greater moral right to take over the reins of government after the expulsion of the Germans than those who had thrown all their strength on the scale of struggle for national liberation.

Reaction rested its claims to power on the provisions of the "Sanacja" (Pilsudskyite) Constitution and on the so-called continuity and legality of governments of Poland. But when the developments of events convinced it that a concrete struggle for the liberation of the country was of greater weight and importance in the formation of the state of affairs in Poland than a title of legal inheritance of power from "Sanacja," when the P.K.W.N. (Polish Committee of National Liberation) was formed and took into its hands the reins of government in Poland for further organisation and direction of the struggle for national liberation, then reaction decided on a desperate, mad and simultaneously criminal step from the viewpoint of involving aimless shedding of the nation's blood. It called the Warsaw uprising at a time when it was known in advance that the Germans would drown it in a sea of blood. But this particular bloodshed was needed by reaction in order to conceal with it its former stand on the struggle for national liberation and to use it later as a pretext to take over the reins of government. However, it was too late. The government was already in the hands of a united democratic camp.

All these circumstances contributed to the creation of a historical opportunity which made it possible to remove reaction from power in a peaceful way and to introduce great social reforms

by the democratic forces without bloodshed, without a revolution and civil war. The Russian masses did not have such a historical opportunity at the moment when they were reaching for power. That is why the revolution to overthrow the czarist government was unavoidable. But in our country it was possible to overthrow reaction in a peaceful way.

Due to the same alignment of class forces which resulted in the October Revolution in Russia, the necessity arose for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to assure the victory of the revolution. In the face of the counter-revolution of the landlords, the capitalists and the right generally in city and village, which was supported by armed intervention on the part of the capitalist states, the Soviet Union had to proceed on the road of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat was born in a situation of war and horrible hunger, in a situation when the revolution, threatened with defeat, had to crush absolutely the sabotage in supplying foodstuffs for the army, for the working class and for all people who worked in the cities. Revolutionary Russia, fighting against domestic and foreign counter-revolution in order to retain power, simultaneously had to fight the imperialist invaders in order to defend her lands from conquest.

Because the domestic counter-revolution allied itself with foreign interventionists, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a form of state power, was the greatest guarantor of the defence of the country, of the retention of power and of the repulsion of the imperialist invaders.

The problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the situation then existing, amounted to the following: whether the October Revolution would destroy the counter-revolution regardless of the means to be used; or whether, in the case of hesitation, it would itself be strangled and destroyed by the counter-revolution. If there had been no dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, if the October Revolution, after achieving power, had permitted, under the then existing disposition of forces, a parliamentary way of deciding the problems of social reconstruction, it would have been crushed by the landlords and capitalists, who would then have established their own dictatorship and would have exacted a terrible revenge for the attempt to deprive them of their power and fortunes. . .

We proceed on the basis that, under Polish conditions, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the form of government, can be avoided. We base ourselves on the following considerations:

1. Polish democracy also attained power during a war, but there is a basic difference between our situation and the situation in Russia after the October Revolution.

We took power without applying the force of revolution against reaction. The weakness of reaction permitted us to apply democratic methods of exercising power.

Our strength lay in this, that we took power under the slogan of liberating our country from German occupation and we were able to realise it.

Reaction was unable to utilise its ideological influence in the greater part of the nation, it was unable to organise the masses for a struggle to overthrow our power; for the masses shared our opinion that the nation's main objective was to fight the Germans, to liberate the country. In this struggle the power of democracy and of the government created by it was strengthened.

The dictatorship of the working class, the class which was and is at the head of the democratic camp, was unnecessary; for the resistance of reaction did not overflow into a wide wave of counter-revolution. Reaction was unable to organise such resistance.

2. In taking over power in July, 1944, we had the certainty of victory over Germany. The working class in Russia, on attaining power in 1917, found itself faced with the catastrophe of war and with the threat of the rape of its country by world imperialism with which domestic reaction was allied.

3. When taking over power, we were confronted only with a boycott by world reaction, which at first did not recognise our democratic government in reborn Poland. However, the struggle in our case was limited to suppressing the activities of the diversionary groups of Polish reaction. This was due to the growth of strength of world democracy as a result of the defeat of fascism during the war. This strength is far greater than it was at the moment of the overthrow of Russian czarism. World reaction cannot organise more extensive assistance to Polish reaction; for the disposition of political forces in its own countries does not permit it to do so.

We are witnessing the growth of democratic strength in the French nation after the Second World War. We also see the development in England, where the nation declared itself against reaction in the elections, giving the majority of the votes to the Labor Party and expressing in this way its democratic tendencies. Similarly in other countries, in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Italy, the strength of the democratic forces is everywhere growing.

This power of world democracy is strengthening our democracy, for it is not permitting world reaction to extend such help to Polish reaction as the landlords and capitalists in czarist Russia received during the first years of the socialist revolution.

We should remember that the working class in Russia, when it took power, was confronted with armed intervention by fourteen capitalist states which wanted to strangle the October Revolution.

4. When taking over power we were also confronted with great economic difficulties, which we still feel to this day. But our difficulties, our shortages of supplies are so much smaller and we can overcome them so much easier, among other things because the Soviet Union is extending help to us, while revolutionary Russia had to rely exclusively on herself. On the one hand the capitalist states tried to separate her with a barbed-wire fence of isolation from the rest of the world, while the internal counter-revolution organised sabotage and brought the terrible disaster of hunger upon the workers and upon the cities in general.

5. There is furthermore the fact that the Soviet Union was able to erect a powerful industry only at the cost of tremendous hardships imposed on society and that, in close connection with the industrialisation of the country, she was faced with the problem of the collectivisation of agriculture.

We, however, find ourself in a far better situation. Independently of the possibilities of receiving foreign credits for the reconstruction and development of our industry, we can effect that purpose with lesser hardship on our people. This is made possible by the fact that the actual productive potential of our industry, proportionate to our population, is far greater than the productive potential of Russia before the realisation of its Five-Year Plans. Similarly, there is not the slightest need for us to follow the Soviet pattern of agricultural economy. We have rejected collectivisation, since in Polish conditions it would be harmful in the economic and political sense. . .

This position of ours results from the character of the social and political system of Poland. Our democracy and the social system which we are building and establishing have no historical precedent. And our experiences till now show that the results are good.

Ours is not a country with a typical capitalist system; for our basic branches of industrial production, the banks and transportation have been nationalised.

Ours is not a country with a socialist system: for the non-socialised sector of production occupies a very important place in our national economy. We have recognised the necessity and usefulness of individual initiative and non-socialised forms of production in a definite segment of industrial production; we have rejected completely the collectivisation of agriculture. We have, however, created conditions permitting us to regulate the non-socialised segment of industrial production in accordance with the needs of the entire national economy.

Our type of democracy is not similar to the traditional democracies existing in other countries, even in those which are governed by a parliamentary socialist majority.

Our people's democracy differs, or rather is distinguished from, the democracies existing in the West by such facts as that our democracy needed only a very short period of time to expropriate the landlords and to nationalise big and middle-size industry, while the western democracies are approaching social reforms very timidly. Therefore, under the democratic systems of the western countries, the actual rulers are the big capitalists and bankers, or at least they have the deciding role in governing the country, while under our democratic system this is impossible.

Our democracy is also not similar to Soviet democracy, just as our social system is not similar to the Soviet system.

In the Soviet Union, which has solved the problem of class antagonism, there exists only one party — the Communist Party — while in our country several democratic parties operate legally.

Polish democracy is exercising power through a multi-party parliamentary system. The Polish National Council serves today as a temporary form of that system; tomorrow the form will be the Parliament, chosen in general elections. Soviet democracy realises national power through Soviets, and its parliamentary system is based on principles different from ours.

Our democracy has many elements of socialist democracy and also many elements of liberal-bourgeois democracy, just as our economic system has many features of socialist and capitalist economy. Our type of democracy and our social system we have designated "People's Democracy."

EVATT ATTACKS CIVIL LIBERTIES

TOM WRIGHT

DR. EVATT, Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, and an ex-Judge of the High Court, has sneaked through Parliament the Approved Defence Projects Act. This legislation attacks civil liberties as viciously as did Bruce's 1926 amendments to the Crimes Act.

This infamous betrayal of the labor movement was perpetrated unostentatiously on June 3 and 6. On June 3 the bill was introduced by its author, Dr. Evatt, who made a twenty-six minutes speech. **No one else spoke.** The debate on the second reading commenced at 3.13 a.m. in the closing hours of the session. All of the proceedings including the committee stage occupied one and three-quarter hours and the betrayal was accomplished. There was no division, the legislation being agreed to on the voices.

According to statements attributed to Mrs. Doris Blackburn, only twelve members were awake at the time. Only one member of the Labor Party spoke to the measure, Dr. Evatt, its perpetrator. There was one voice in defence of civil liberties, Mrs. Blackburn's. The only other speakers were Menzies, Cameron, Corser, White and Holt of the Opposition who gave their wholehearted blessing to this iniquitous measure.

It is necessary to ask how one Labor Party Minister, supported by five open enemies of the labor movement, could get away with this flagrant attack on the democratic rights of the Australian people.

First it is clear that the Bill was never properly discussed in the Caucus, that its terms were never read or explained by its author. Secondly, Ward, Frazer and Beazley, to mention three who are usually alert in defence of civil liberties, were absent from the House at the time of its enactment. However, Dr. Evatt has landed the Government with legislation which becomes its responsibility.

This new edition of the Crimes Act is termed "an Act to provide for the protection of Approved Defence Projects and **for other purposes.**" Section 3 defines an approved defence project as "Any work or undertaking for the testing of long range weapons which is approved by the Minister of State for Defence as an immediate defence project **and including** any other work or undertaking, being carried out either within or outside Australia, for the defence of Australia or any territory of the Commonwealth, which is so approved as an immediate defence project."

Section 4 provides that "Any person who without reasonable cause or excuse by boycott or threat of boycott of any persons, property, work or undertaking, prevents, hinders, or obstructs or endeavours to prevent, hinder or obstruct the carrying out of an approved defence project . . . **or by speech or writing** advocates or encourages the prevention, hindrance or obstruction of the carrying out of an approved defence project . . . shall be guilty of an offence." The maximum penalty is one year's gaol or a £5,000 fine. (On June 20 the rocket range was gazetted as an approved defence project.)

The excuse, or avowed reason, given by Dr. Evatt for his repressive legislation is the pamphlet, "Rocket Range Threatens Australia," by Alf Watt, Secretary of the Communist Party in S.A., from which he quoted to show that trade unions might oppose the rocket range project. The hypocrisy of this excuse will be apparent when it is recognised that prior to this legislation, the Australian Communist Party had made it perfectly clear that it would not support any proposal to "boycott" the rocket range but would persist with its criticisms of Dr. Evatt's foreign policy, which involves Australia in the war plans of American Imperialism, and that it would support the humanitarian appeals on behalf of the tribal aborigines, threatened by the rocket range. There can be no doubt, for example, that another pamphlet, "The Rocket Range, Aborigines and War" containing a speech by Dr. Duguid is an indictment of the rocket range policy as outspoken as Alf Watt's and equally distasteful to the chief arbiter of Australia's foreign policy in the Labor Caucus.

When comparing the new act, particularly Section 4, with the 1926 Crimes Act amendments, sponsored by Sir John Latham, who afterwards became a Judge of the High Court, one is struck with the similarity in terms. However, Dr. Evatt, who as a judge condemned the corresponding sections of the Crimes Act, could not very well use this Act for his own purposes, although it contains all and more than he requires.

It is also to be noted that, as a Judge, the Attorney-General had questioned the validity of the Crimes Act. The new Act seeks its constitutional basis in the specific "defence" powers vested in the Commonwealth Government.

An examination of the new Act reveals that it is an offence for any person, in speech or writing, to state what may be held to prevent, hinder or obstruct a Government project or even to state that any person should have this right. In effect any person can be imprisoned or fined for criticising the Government.

Already there has been some exposure of this attack on civil liberties and a number of protests. The Rev. W. Bottomly of Melbourne has called it "the greatest blow to freedom dealt by any Federal Parliament since federation." Mr. Brian Fitzpatrick of the Council for Civil Liberties has forecast that if Dr. Evatt attempts to enforce the Act many men and women will get up and denounce the Government projects and dare him to prosecute. Demands for repeal of this legislation are being made in the trade unions.

Mr. A. E. Monk, Secretary of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions, reported to the Melbourne Trades Hall Council that he had discussed the matter with Dr. Evatt pointing out its menace to trade unions pursuing their normal industrial activity.

It is dangerous for the labor movement to assume that the Government will not dare to use the Act in its broad interpretation. There is a sinister aspect in the persistence with this legislation following an orgy of red baiting in parliament around the question of the rocket range, despite a clear exposition of Communist Party policy, and the game of shuttlecock between the Attorney-General and the Opposition over the timely furphy of an alleged plan for a Communist Party monopoly of trade with Indonesia. Is Dr. Evatt so much enmeshed with American warmongers that internal war preparations like the U.S. Labor Bill must have their counterpart in Australia? Certainly Dr. Evatt did not get authority or support for his Act from any section of the labor movement he is supposed to represent.

Past experience has also shown that repressive legislation, introduced for a specific purpose, is often used at a later date for quite other purposes. One outstanding example of this was the use of the dictation test in an attempt to exclude the New Zealander, Gerald Griffin, and the Czecho-slovak, Egon Kisch, from entering Australia in 1934 to attend a conference in connection with the International Peace Campaign. The dictation test was introduced specifically to exclude only persons from Asiatic countries.

Spokesmen of the Labor Government have already announced the Government's intention to repeal the objectionable sections of the Crimes Act. The labor movement and all democrats must demand the repeal also of Dr. Evatt's Defence Projects Act.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA ON THE MOUNTBATTEN AWARD

DELHI, June 20, 1947.

1. The Mountbatten Award does not give India real independence but is the culmination of a double-faced Imperial policy which, while making concessions to the national demand to transfer power, sets in motion disruptive and reactionary forces to disrupt the popular upsurge, obstruct the realisation of real independence, throttle the growth of democracy and destroy the unity and integrity of India.

2. **British Imperial Aims.**

The growing mass upsurge of the various sections of the Indian people, the States' people's struggles in State after State, the gigantic wave of working-class strikes, peasant actions, the brave anti-imperialist demonstrations of students and the militant mood of the armed forces brought the imperialists face to face with the unprecedented strength of the national liberation movement.

In addition, British imperialism emerged greatly weakened politically and economically out of World War II. Its main imperialist rival, the United States, vastly strengthened in the war, threatened to sweep it out of its traditional imperial bases. At home, the British Labor movement would not back the reconquest of India. All over the world, democratic opinion, immensely strengthened with the defeat of fascism, demanded Indian independence.

Hemmed in from all sides, the Imperialist rulers have been forced to enter into negotiations with Indian leadership, talk of agreeing to Indian independence while they seek new forms of indirect rule. This has been the central aim of British policy ever since the Cabinet Mission Plan and the Mountbatten Plan is the latest variant, despite obvious differences. The sole purpose is to disrupt the people, strengthen reaction, get into alliance with it and thus make Indian independence formal.

(a) **Control Through Partition.** The British policy of divide and rule, exploiting Hindu-Muslim differences, produced an unprecedented civil war. It has now culminated in the final act of partition of the country into two hostile States which they plan to control by entering into new alliances with reactionary forces in the different partitioned areas.

The British imperialist aim is to influence the reactionary leadership of the League to keep Pakistan a British Dominion, to allow British capital to have almost undisputed sway over the undeveloped Muslim majority areas, to utilise the North-west as a strategic base and as a base for the domination of India as a whole.

British Big Business, by entering into partnership with Indian Big Business, aims to continue to dominate the economy of India. By its agreements with Indian capital it expects to preserve intact its capital and retain and extend its control over vital industries in India. It hopes to use its Indian partner as its tool to influence the military and foreign policy of the Indian Union, despite its republican form. It expects to achieve this aim, through reliance on the great influence of Indian Big Business over the extreme Right on the Congress leadership.

The Communist Party warns the Indian people that these are the new methods of control over India that British imperialism aims to employ in order to preserve its domination of India.

(b) **Utilisation of Princely Puppets.** In the Imperial Plan for controlling the India of the future their traditional puppets, the Indian Princes, occupy a position of supreme importance.

The Plan, by granting the Princes the option to stay away from the Indian Union, gives them a weapon to drive a hard bargain with the forces of Indian nationalism, retain their feudal privileges as far as possible and act as a brake on the democratic movement of the entire people. Thus imperialist strategy is one of putting checks and balances in the new State against the national leadership and attempting to circumscribe freedom and democracy to the utmost possible extent.

It is the selfish British imperial effort to place their fifth column inside all the organs of the Indian States of the future so that they can influence its foreign policy in the interests of their British masters.

But at the same time British imperialism encourages in a subtle manner some of the big Princes to remain "independent," in case they cannot get favorable terms from the Congress and League, so that such "independent" States can be used as its outposts on Indian soil.

The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that the struggle against Princely autocracy is at once the struggle against British manoeuvres to limit and control Indian independence and democracy and for their full realisation.

(c) **Perpetuation of colonial social order.** In the background of its constitutional manoeuvres Imperialism is carrying forward the struggle to save the colonial social order for existing vested interests so that in alliance with them it may retain control not only over Indian economy, but also the Indian State. Hence, through the links of Indian vested interests with the popular ministries and the steel-frame of the Indian bureaucracy, it seeks to

influence the economic and administrative policy of the provincial ministries and the Central Governments so that these governments resist radical economic measures. The results of these efforts, if successful, will lead to intensification of the economic crisis and further deterioration in the conditions of the people.

With the same end in view, the bureaucracy seeks desperately to drive a wedge between the national movement, whose leaders are at the head of the government, and the rising working-class and peasant movements. This they strive to do through use of unprecedented mass terror against workers and peasants — who constitute the main social force among our people in the vanguard of the fight against the British-created social order and for a rapid transition to a new, democratic social order.

The strategy of British imperialism is to prevent a united national revolt by exploiting all the weaknesses in our national and social life and disrupting the unity of national forces. It is a strategy to forge a new alliance with Princes, landlords and Indian Big Business to be able to control through them Indian States of the future as also Indian economy and thus manoeuvre the transition from direct to indirect rule.

3. **Disruptive Procedure.**

The procedure outlined by the Mountbatten Plan is as disruptive as the Plan itself and calculated to ensure its fulfilment through a series of British awards.

The Boundaries Commission and other Commissions dealing with financial and other aspects of division are only intended to worsen Hindu-Muslim-Sikh relations so that the British arbiters can give their awards intensifying the communal conflict still further.

4. The very fact that British imperialism does not hope any longer to rule India directly is recognition of the undisputed strength of the Indian freedom movement. Its desperate manoeuvres reveal not its strength but its utter weakness, which has forced it to make important concessions to the urgent demands of the national liberation movement, e.g.

(a) Transfer of power to Congress and League Governments on Dominion Status basis by August 15.

(b) Assurance, though equivocal, that Britain shall not seek to establish independent relationship with the Princes.

(c) Constituent Assemblies, despite their limitations, are free to declare for independence and make their own Constitutions.

The Communist Party is of the opinion that new opportunities for national advance have been won. The two popular Governments and the Constituent Assemblies are the strategic weapons in the hands of the national leadership. It is the task of the national movement to ensure that they are used for the rapid realisation of national aims.

The concessions have not been voluntarily given by the British Government but extracted through the continuous pressure of the Congress leadership for transfer of power and the rising tide of popular struggles of the workers, peasants, students and States' people which grew despite British-provoked civil war, despite all efforts to check and suppress them, and which showed the new spirit of the people. The British Government agreed to these concessions because there was no way out for it and hence its desperate last step of partition.

The path forward is beset with difficulties. Sharp alternatives face the national movement and our entire people.

Either imperialist manoeuvres succeed, exploiting all the fissures in our national movement, thus making Indian independence formal, **or,** national forces unitedly ensure that the Constituent Assemblies draft Constitutions on the basis of independence of the country and the popular Governments firmly resist imperialist pressure to extort economic and military concessions.

Either the Princes are appeased and the British fifth column is retained inside our country, **or,** with the support of the entire country and the popular Governments, the States' people are actively aided to win their own liberation and bring one-third of our land under the banner of independent India.

Either the anti-national and anti-democratic activities of the vested interests are checked and the task of nation-building is begun to ensure food, cloth, jobs, and a living wage, prospect of a new life to workers, peasants and the common people, by the joint efforts of the popular Governments and popular organisations, **or** Indian economy gets mortgaged to British Big Business and the Indian people pass through bitter suffering.

Either partitioned India grows into two hostile States with reaction strengthened within each **or** the progressives intervene and carry forward the struggle for reunion by demanding a complete break with British imperialism by their own States and friendly relations between them in mutual interest.

The Communist Party has consistently warned against the dangers of imperialist manoeuvres if the national movement fails to forge a united front.

It warned against partition. It suggested recognition of the right of national self-determination and the immediate implementation of fundamental democratic measures to undermine communal separatism and to preserve and strengthen Indian unity on the basis of the unity and equality of every nationality.

The Communist Party warned against the intrigues of vested interests with the popular Ministries. It demanded that the Ministries break the resistance of vested interests and meet the needs of the people.

It warned against our political parties getting entangled in the imperialist Plan and demanded a sharp break with it.

National unification behind the popular Governments for the realisation of complete independence demands that people's vigilance be roused against the compromisers in the national leaderships, people's indignation against the vested interests, and national conscience against communal provocateurs.

In the present transitional period the unification of national forces against reaction in each State is the only guarantee against imperialist manoeuvres.

The Communist Party is fully confident that imperialist intrigues can be decisively defeated. The allies of imperialism have a very narrow social basis. They are the enemies of our people who place profit and self-interest above patriotism and national interest. The very economic crisis that they are intensifying will move the common people against them. The national movement will not tolerate any compromise of real independence if it is kept fully informed and mobilised.

[The programme for struggle put forward by the C.P. of India, which follows in the original article, is unfortunately too long to publish.]

THE LAST DAYS OF FRANCO

PASIONARIA

(Report at the Spanish Communist Party Congress, held in Paris, March, 1947.)

WE are holding this Congress during the last days of the Franco regime, which has brought Spain to physical and moral ruin, while the democratic forces of Spain are organising themselves for the last stage of the struggle for the re-establishment of the Republic. Franco tried to turn back the wheel of History, but History marches implacably forward.

Established by Hitler and Mussolini, Franco's regime has always been at the service of foreign interests, and its fortunes were naturally influenced by the victory of the Allies. There is one milestone in history which marks the inevitability of Franco's downfall — Stalingrad. This victory was a blow for Fascism, including Franco's brand of Fascism, and a signal of hope for the forces of progress.

The Franco regime is crumbling. The workers' organisations are building themselves up again in clandestinity; there are strikes and demonstrations protesting against hunger; the peasants are showing resistance to the Franco regime, dozens of illegal newspapers are being published. National feeling is reappearing in Catalonia, Euzkadi and Galicia. The parties of the Right, who were originally part of Franco's bloc, are now pursuing an active policy independent of Franco. Representatives of the Chambers of Industry and Commerce for the whole of Spain have openly expressed the opposition of the financiers and business men to the Franco regime, according to an article published in the **New York Post**, pointing out the necessity for a change in the present regime and greater freedom for commerce and industry to allow it to fulfil its mission of national reconstruction. Certain elements of the Church are also showing disagreement with Franco's regime. In the army, too, Franco is losing authority, and many military leaders are seeking ways of ending the present regime.

What is happening in Spain is no surprise to us, for Fascism everywhere is government by terror and criminal oppression, giving rise to corruption and national degeneration; Franco's Fascism is no exception. In his hands, Spain is brought to ruin. On the one hand, there is the terrible poverty of the people and on the other, fabulous fortunes made by the new rich, the Falangist class.

While the workers' wages have more or less stayed at the level of 1936, the cost of living has risen generally by 472 per cent and the cost of foodstuffs by 534 per cent.

The extreme hardships suffered by the ordinary people stand out in sharp contrast with the enormous profits declared by big business, whose principal share-holders are the Falange chiefs. Typical example is the Aznar shipping company, of which Nicolas Franco, the Caudillo's brother, is one of the main shareholders: profits for 1945 — 72,200,000 pesetas. Since 1937, this company has distributed dividends to the value of five and a half times its capital. These rates of profit, which are general throughout Spain, are not an indication of real prosperity, but of inflation, which will lead inevitably to an economic crisis on a scale without precedent in the history of Spain. Signs of it are already occurring, in the lack of markets and foreign currency. The production of steel has declined alarmingly; the production of coke from gas is now only 35 per cent of that of 1935; phosphates, essential to agriculture, 71 per cent of the 1935 level; lead, 71 per cent; copper, 40 per cent; sulphur, 20 per cent. The decline in sulphates and copper is particularly important because it has repercussions on agriculture and the production of the necessities of life.

One of the forms of struggle against the regime is sabotage of production. The workers do not want to produce for Franco. The peasants are resisting the Falangist decrees because the land is not theirs, and the products of it not for their consumption. The following details appear in the financial review of the Bank of Vizcaya: "In comparison with 1935, production of coal in 1944 has decreased in the following proportions: Anthracite, 1 per cent; bituminous, 29 per cent; lignite, 43 per cent."

As for agriculture, the decrease in the area sown reaches phenomenal proportions. In 1935, for instance, the total area sown with wheat was 11,250,000 acres; in 1945 total area had decreased to 8,750,000 acres. Similar decreases are shown in the case of oats, maize, beans, potatoes, beetroot and onions.

There is a perfectly simple explanation for these decreases: the peasants are not sowing because they are reduced once more by the Franco regime to the state of servitude which the Republic had abolished. Remember on the other hand, the great contribution made to the war effort by the peasants of Valencia, Castilla, Andalucia and Extremadura, when these regimes were the granaries of Loyalist Spain. In those days a Republican Minister, Vicente Uribe, a member of the Communist Party, brought new democratic life to the fields of Spain, and awakened patriotic feelings which were in danger of being suffocated through bureaucratic delays and corrupt interests. In those days our peasants gave their sweat and energy to the land, and their sons and their blood to the defence of the Republic and liberty.

Let those who dream of reactionary solutions for our country, and think that anything will do to satisfy our people, remember these things. Let them not forget that Spain once knew freedom, and that a people who have been free will never be content to live in slavery.

Doubtless many people will wonder how it is that after defeat of Hitler and with such a situation existing in Spain, Franco can still maintain power. We have said before, and we say it again, Spain is not a purely national problem, but a problem of an international character. Proof of this lies in the determined efforts on the part of reactionary circles to prevent a democratic solution of the Spanish question. Today, as in 1936, Spain is a crucial point in world politics.

Franco is shamelessly surrendering Spanish sovereignty to imperialist groups in exchange for their support of his regime. In the struggle between the rival imperialist groups of Great Britain and America, Spain is a pawn of immense importance. It is vital for England to maintain and consolidate her influence in Spain, because this ensures the defence of her Empire routes and hinders American efforts to oust her from the world markets. Moreover, Spain thus becomes a bridgehead for commercial and political penetration into Europe and Africa, while at the same time it keeps open the doors to Latin-American markets.

For the Americans, the conquest of economic and political influence in Spain means the power to stand across the trade routes of France, England and Italy; to penetrate into Morocco; to ensure lines of communication to the petrol of the East; to create new American bases in the Mediterranean; to open American routes to the European market and to add new links to the long chain of strategic points acquired by the U.S.A. throughout the world, both during and after the war. And it is quite on the cards that one day Truman may appear as the saviour of poor little Franco, as he did recently with reactionary Greece.

For this policy international imperialism needs a reactionary Spain, ready to lend itself to these aggressive, anti-democratic intentions. This amply explains why, two years after the victory of the democracies, Franco can still remain in power.

There is no secret about the open, bare-faced intervention of foreign agents in their attempts to re-establish the monarchy as a substitute for Franco. There are certain imperialist groups interested in the continuation of a fascist or a semi-fascist regime in Spain as an instrument against all democratic countries; and when certain people say, perhaps quite sincerely, that if the Communists were not in the Republican government it would receive greater support from Britain and U.S.A. they are judging the policy of the dominant groups in those countries too naively. The British imperialists and American reactionaries have no desire to see the Republic re-established in Spain, even if it were a moderate republic. They want to keep Spain in a position of weakness and instability; with Franco or without, with a king or a regency; no matter, but certainly without democracy, without freedom, without sovereignty.

In spite of all this, we know that the efforts of these reactionary groups will fail. Everywhere, including those countries where imperialist circles have great influence, the weight of the democratic forces and all peace-loving people is greater than that of the groups who dream of new aggressive ventures and of imposing new regimes of tyranny and oppression on the people.

We are optimistic because we know that the working-class and the democratic forces of every country are on our side; that the great Soviet Union is also on our side defending the cause of the Spanish Republic against its enemies in the international conferences. Further proof of this solidarity is the action of the French Government in closing the frontier, and the attitude of those governments which have broken relations with Franco, those which have never established relations, and those which have established relations with the Republican government. The decision taken by U.N.O. is an encouraging sign; and although it is still not what the Spanish people deserve, it has enormous importance, because for the first time in a conference of such scope, Franco's regime has been recognised as fascist, thus recognising implicitly the justice of the Republican cause. This decision is the first step in more far-reaching decisions which will lead to the final liquidation of Franco.

We are optimistic because of the increasing acts of solidarity expressed in the decisions of the Trade Unions; the creation in Britain of the Parliamentary

Committee for Aid to Republican Spain; the action of the workers of Metro-Vickers, of the workers of Chile, of Cuba, of Holland, and of Norway, the great demonstrations of solidarity organised by the democratic peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Palestine. The peoples of Latin-America, too, who are fighting against imperialism, are continuing to help us because they know that only a free, democratic Spain can open new horizons of liberty for America, and establish firm bonds of fraternal relations between Spain and the countries of America.

But above all, we are optimistic because we know the fight our people are waging and we know that they hate Franco's bloody regime.

I call on the workers of all countries, on all peoples and democracies, to increase their acts of solidarity with the cause of the Republican Spain, to defend the cause of the Republic as their own; to prevent the supply of raw materials to Franco; to insist that their governments break relations with Franco and recognise the government of the Spanish Republic.

When the question of the regime which is to succeed Franco comes up for discussion, the Communist Party declares without any hesitation that the only regime which can succeed Franco is a democratic Republic, and the Communist Party will devote all its energies and strength to the establishment of the Republic.

Franco's propaganda has concentrated on the bogey of the Communist danger, continually presenting the conservative forces with the dilemma of "Fascism or Communism." In its manifesto of September, 1942, the Communist Party completely exploded this line of Franco propaganda, exposing the falsity of this dilemma, and pointing out the democratic solution to the situation: the re-establishment of the Republic.

In answer to the anxiety of the forces which have become allies of the working class in its fight against Franco, the Communist Party today ratifies the policy which it has consistently maintained and defended, and declares: "Abiding by the programme laid down at our Congress at Toulouse in 1945, the Communist Party considers that the regime which is to succeed Franco must be a Republic. As an independent party of the proletariat, the Communist Party pledges itself to fight for the Republic, within the democratic standards established, together with all the national democratic forces, both in the functions of the State, and in the work of reconstruction of Spain in restoring the national economy which has been ruined by Franco.

"We consider that one of the essential premises for the development of democracy is the introduction of a profound agrarian reform, together with the solution of the national problem, including that of Morocco; and the Communist Party will fight for the solution of the problem of the ownership of the land, and the question of nationalities and colonial peoples, in accordance with fundamental democratic principles and the interests of the working class, the people and the Republic.

"The Communist Party considers that the bourgeois character of the democratic Republic for which it is fighting does not exclude, but rather presupposes, the active participation of the working class in the administration of the country and the consolidation of democratic institutions. The Communist Party will fight for the due representation of the working class in all state organisms, since only in that way will it be possible to create solid and lasting institutions in our country.

"It is also false that the Communist Party wants to force a civil war. The war is already on: it never stopped. Franco himself said so in his speech at Burgos on October 1, 1946, when he declared: 'We thought that with our crusade we had achieved peace, and nevertheless, as you know, we have had ten years of war.'

"We are just the people most interested in avoiding bloodshed, because it is always we who make the greatest contribution to the sacrifice. We want peace, justice and the re-establishment of normal democratic order; we want to live and work in conditions of legality, because in that way we can develop our organisations with greater facility, and prove the falsity of our enemies' accusations, and make our programme known throughout the country."

The Republican parties need not see a rival in the Communist Party, but rather an ally in the long period of democratic development which will open after the downfall of Franco. We Communists do not agree with those who say that the Republican parties have no part in the Spain of tomorrow. On the contrary, we believe that they have an important part to play, and we shall support and defend collaboration with all Republican parties and individuals who are sincere in their desire to fight for a true progressive democracy in our country.

It has been said that the obstacle to the solution of the Spanish question is the position between intransigence and compromise, and the Communist Party is blamed for obstructing the solution. This is a lie, designed to justify a defeatist viewpoint.

I repeat, the Communist Party is more interested than anybody else in finding the true solution corresponding to the wishes and needs of the people, because ours is the party which is fighting hardest and shedding most blood in seeking a true solution.

To those who claim that the monarchy is a solution, may we point out that our people has never taken up arms for the monarchy as a form of government, yet they fought heroically for three years for the Republic; and the flower of Spanish youth has died in Franco's prisons after being

subjected to terrible tortures and still remained faithful to their democratic ideals. To forget all this, to forget all that has happened since 1936, would be an act of treachery towards all those who died for the Republic.

The Communist Party insists that the people should decide, that they should be consulted. But in order for the people to decide, the conditions for freedom of decision must first be created; the Communist Party declared in December, 1945, and repeats today, that it is willing to accept the decision of the people once Franco and Falange have been thrown out.

In the fight of the Spanish people against Franco, the Communist Party is in the vanguard. When others were demoralised by defeat, the Communist Party declared that the defeat of the Spanish people was a cruel, bloody defeat, but that it was only a temporary defeat, that the fight had not ended. What is more, the Communists began to organise the fight against Franco in each region, province and village. They organised in secret, and those who were in danger of their lives took to the mountains and initiated the guerrilla movement which has now become so strong. From the very first the Communist Party was the soul of the popular resistance, the organiser of the fight.

A conspiracy of silence is maintained around the heroic fighting that is going on in Spain, but the Communist Party lives among the peasant guerrilla fighters and the men fighting in the mountains of Andalucia, Aragon, Asturias, etc. The fighting now extends not only to the mountains, but also the plains, villages and towns, on such a scale that Franco can no longer hide the existence of these fighters; and the leaders of these guerrilla bands are such men as Cristino Garcia, Ramon Via, and many others whom we are proud to claim as ours, not because all those who fight are Communists, but because all those who fight think, as the Communists think, that only the hard road of struggle and sacrifice will lead to victory over Franco. The increase in guerrilla activities is clearly shown by the fact that in 1945 the average number of guerrilla incidents was 29 per month; in 1946, 37 per month; and for the first months of 1947, 40 per month.

The struggle of the guerrillas has taken on a more political, more offensive character; their blows are directed at the regime and those who serve it, so that the people seeing their interests defended by the guerrilla fighters, do not hesitate to give them their support in the fight for liberation.

The Communist Party is in the forefront of the fight against Franco, in the guerrilla fighting, in the organisation of trade unions, and in publishing dozens of newspapers. The activity of our Party is no secret; the whole of Spain knows about it. It is not surprising, therefore, that our Party is increasing, and that the workers and peasants see in it their party, a national party fighting in the interests of the people. Even in the prisons, the Communists have organised hunger strikes in solidarity with the prisoners of Alcala de Henares and Carabanchel; and by their firmness in the face of torture, have proved that no terror can shake the resistance of those who fight for the cause of freedom and liberty.

We repeat again and again the need for unity in order to achieve the liberation of our people; and above all, the unity of the parties of the working class with the parties of the Republic.

This necessity became clear in the days of the war. Unity was necessary then in order to carry on the war and to win peace; it is necessary now in order to strike the last decisive blow at Franco's regime. The attitude of the Communist Party remains one of condemnation of Franco, and willingness to join in common action with all other anti-Franco forces who sincerely desire the downfall of Franco and are prepared to respect the will of the people. The Communist Party declares: neither intransigence towards non-Republican anti-Franco forces, nor liquidationism. We must finish with Franco, but not merely in order to substitute any kind of regime.

Collaboration, for a certain period, in accordance with a definite policy, with forces whose aims differ widely from our own, does not mean that we are renouncing our revolutionary principles. We are prepared to go forward with all who want to fight Franco, because we want to put an end to the suffering of our people and to prevent the complete ruin of Spain.

The Communist Party has given thousands of its best members to the fight, and if all the Republican groups had thrown their forces into the fight with the same energy, the question of the Spanish regime would be in a very different position today. Unfortunately, many sections of the Republican camp lack confidence in their own strength and in the fighting power of the people. This attitude is false and dangerous. Victory lies within the reach of the Republicans but to attain it we must remain united, in a solid Republican front against the intrigues and manoeuvres of those who are opposed to the establishment of a democratic regime in Spain.

The dangers of capitulation have not completely disappeared, and the only way to defeat these intrigues is to maintain unity among the anti-Franco forces.

There is now a Republican government, recently formed under the premiership of a Socialist, and in which the Communist Party is participating, but it is paradoxical that although there is collaboration at government level, there is as yet no Republican front supporting the government, on which it can rely to carry out its policy. It is vital that all disunity in the Republican camp should be stamped out, and so deprive those so-called democratic

groups in certain countries of their only pretext for refusing to help Republican Spain.

To those who say that there is already the Alliance of Democratic Forces, we reply that that is not enough. It does not represent all the anti-Franco forces in Spain, and so far has not played the leading role in the fight against Franco; all our past experience shows the need for a more solid, wider organisation than the Alliance; an organisation directly responsible to the government and leading the fight in Spain for the re-establishment of the Republic.

This question came up for discussion under the Giral Government, and we supported it as we considered it correct and necessary. The Council of Resistance should include the forces of the Alliance, plus the Republican parties, the guerrilla groups, the intellectuals, the resistance movements of Catalonia, Euzkadi and Galicia, the Youth organisations and all other groups carrying out any form of anti-Franco activity. Their activity should be co-ordinated with those of the Spanish Republicans outside Spain, and should therefore be in close contact with the government which will give it all the economic and political help it may need.

We consider that no form of struggle should be rejected if it will help in the fight against Franco: we are not opposed to the Government's negotiating with anti-Franco forces of the Right. What we do oppose are the defeatist compromises initiated by those who serve not the Spanish people, but interests foreign to Spain.

The Government will be strengthened in its dealings with non-Republican forces if the fight in the interior of Spain continues to develop and increase. The recent wave of strikes is evidence of the Spanish people's will to fight. In the course of 1946, the number of strikes and protests against insufficient food reached 160, according to information we have received, which is still incomplete. These show the possibilities of mobilising the workers in defence of their rights, even under a police regime such as Franco's.

We Communists have a clear sense of our responsibility as the Party of the proletariat, as the vanguard of all the democratic forces of our country. Therefore, we cannot allow personal feelings to influence our policy and activity. Our policy is inspired only by the defence of the interests of the people and the fight for the Republic; and this decided our participation in the present government.

Certain individuals urged us to refuse to take part in the government and to protest against the formation of a government by Llopis; but this course would only serve to injure the cause we fight for. We participated in the Giral Government and we now participate in the Llopis Government; not because this government is completely satisfactory to us, but because so long as Llopis remains faithful to Republican principles we shall support his government as officially representing the Republic. We Communists are not indifferent to individuals, but our policy is one of principles, and we abide by the programme we are fighting for. Let there be no mistake about this; the Communist Party has never refused to work with anybody except Franco. It is absolutely false that the Communists and Socialists should behave as enemies towards each other. In the past we have collaborated with Largo Caballero, with Prieto in a government headed by Negrin, and now we are collaborating with Llopis.

The experience of October, 1934, the electoral victory of the Popular Front, and our common participation in the war have proved the value of unity between the Socialists and Communists; today that unity is just as necessary to bring about Franco's downfall. For our part, we shall work unceasingly to strengthen and improve relations with the Socialists.

Finally, a few words in answer to those who criticise our participation in the government. The Communist Party does not satisfy itself with merely shouting "Long live the Republic." We follow up that cry with action. If within the government itself tendencies appear which are dangerous to the Republic and democracy, we take the steps necessary in each case.

As to those who are so concerned about our integrity, I would remind them that the Communist Party has never made participation in the government the be-all and end-all of its policy. We participate in the government when we consider it necessary in the defence of the interests of the working class and the people.

Another point: the Ministers and deputies belong to the Party, and the power to resign these posts belongs to the Party and not to the individuals. A Communist Minister, moreover, gives his salary to the Party, and it is the Party that decides how much he is to be paid. In this way, our Party does not become divided into two groups of militants; the privileged ones enjoying government sinecures, and the rest of our membership. For a Communist, a political position is a new responsibility and not a way of making a living.

Therefore, when we have to choose a comrade for a government post we discuss the matter with a view to choosing the man who is best for the job. The comrades hold their jobs at the disposition of the Party, but they also know that the Party with all its authority stands behind them. These methods serve to form our members in a true sense of responsibility, and that is the best guarantee of the loyalty and sincerity of our deputies and Ministers in carrying out the trust they are charged with.

THE NEW DEAL FOR EDUCATION

DORA CRAWLEY, B.A., Dip. Ed.

THE Conference held in the Sydney Town Hall last Easter, 5th and 6th April, showed clearly that the people of N.S.W. were not only intensely interested in Education, but that they definitely supported the New Deal for Education. It was the Teachers' Federation, the Parents and Citizens' Federation and the Federation of Infants' School Clubs which decided to call a State Conference, and this conference turned out to be one of the largest ever held in Australia. It consisted of 844 delegates from 790 organisations in city and country, actually representing over a million people, and was organised by a committee representative of eighteen organisations. These organisations were —N.S.W. Teachers' Federation, Federation of P. & C. Associations, Federation of Infants and Nursery School Clubs, Country Women's Association, N.S.W. Labor Council, Primary Producers Association, Aust. Journalists' Association, People's Council for Culture, Returned Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia, N.S.W. State Union of Students, National Youth Association, Parks and Playgrounds Movement of N.S.W., British Medical Association, New Education Fellowship, School (Oslo) Lunch Advisory Committee, United Associations of Women, National Council of Women, Federal and State Public and Essential Services Council.

This was the broad and representative nature of the conference. It was the unity between country and city, amongst workers, middle class and intellectuals that so enraged the capitalist Press. The evening of the first Conference day the "Sun" was out with its story of "President's Call to the Communists". This attempt to brand the Conference as the brain-child of the Communists only, and thus discredit and disrupt it, had been made by the Press even prior to Easter in the form of articles and letters. But the failure of this attempt was glaringly apparent in the wonderful unity of the delegates and in the smoothness of the whole proceedings.

Even Mr. H. B. Turner, Liberal M.L.A., included in his remarks the fact that he was impressed by the unanimity of the speakers at the Conference. What will the press have gained when the 844 delegates report to their organisations, and the truth of Mr. Lewis' statement is contrasted with the distortion in the "Sun"?

However, the important point is that the Conference did display remarkable unity and now the job is to maintain and build on this unity. The work is far from finished, the Conference was only the beginning; it made plans for the New Deal, these plans, these decisions must be well publicised and around them the same progressive forces, which mean all those sincerely interested in the children of the nation, must be drawn to see that the decisions are implemented.

And these proposals the Conference made. In the first place the Teachers' Federation laid down five principles on which it proposed to base its activities for a New Deal for Education. These were:—

1. Government responsibility for education at all stages;
2. Maintenance of the principles underlying public education as laid down by the Parkes Public Instruction Act;
3. Commonwealth aid for Education;
4. The doubling of the State education vote;
5. A New Deal for Education is dependent upon unity of action of the nations for peace.

These principles were the essence of the conference resolutions dealing with the basic principles and needs, international understanding, education in the countryside. However, the organisational resolution must be read in full, as it is the keynote of what form the future activity around the New Deal is to take:

1. That the New Deal for Education Conference Committee be appointed, together with additional representatives from other central organisations, to conduct the New Deal for Education Campaign throughout New South Wales and to make every endeavour to assist to build similar movements in other States for the purpose of developing a Commonwealth-wide campaign. This Committee to be known as "The New Deal for Education Committee".

2. That the delegates to the Conference report back to the organisations they represent and endeavour to induce those associations to take an active part in the campaign.

3. That delegates undertake to organise New Deal Committees in the localities and workplaces and wherever possible local and district New Deal Committees be representative of all local organisations.

4. That delegates do everything possible to form Parents and Citizens' Associations or Infants' School Clubs at every school throughout the State, and that such associations be urged to affiliate with the Federation of Parents and Citizens' Associations or Federation of Infants' School Clubs.

5. That the incoming New Deal for Education Committee —

   a. Forward resolutions carried at Conference to the Prime Minister and Premier for implementation.

   b. Approach organisations, including political parties, to give full support to resolutions carried at this Conference, together with all other organisations it is possible for the New Deal Committees to contact.

6. That all organisations represented at the Conference approach the Prime Minister, the Premier, Federal and State members of Parliament and candidates in Parliamentary elections by a) letters, b) telegrams, c) deputations, and d) public meetings, to gain support for the resolutions carried by this Conference, with specific reference to the request that the Commonwealth Government spend £100,000,000 on education in Australia, and the New South Wales State Government increase its educational expenditure to £17,000,000.

THUS WE HAVE THE JOB AHEAD OF US CLEARLY OUTLINED, AND WITH THESE MATERIAL GAINS WON THEN MUCH CAN BE DONE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION ITSELF.

BOOK REVIEW

LENIN : SELECTED WORKS (Two-volume Edition)

J. W.

ANYONE who reads the **History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union** must be struck by the way in which the Party leaders had a constant grasp of the situation at any moment. They had 'their eye on the ball'. As compared to bourgeois politicians who, generally, after long deliberations, produce a solution to a problem which they hope will settle it once and for all, Communists realise that there are no 'permanent' solutions, that everything depends on the 'conditions, time, and place', and that courses of action must be shaped and altered in accordance with changing conditions.

The **History of the C.P.S.U.** makes clear, too just how much the Communist Party and the working-class movement owes to Lenin. In particular it emphasises the importance of Lenin's works, **What is to be Done, One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward,** and **Two Tactics of Social-Democracy.**

In these books Lenin discussed the necessary fundamental requirements of a working-class party which is honestly striving for socialism, and the correct basis on which the work of the Party should be built.

In reading these books, or any other of Lenin's works, one is struck by the same feeling that here is someone who has a complete grasp of the essential aspects of the problem with which he is dealing.

Shaw's summing-up of Marx could equally well be applied to Lenin. "There is not a word of fear, nor appeal to chance, nor to providence, nor vain remonstrance with nature . . . nor any other familiar sign of the giddiness which seizes men when they climb to heights which command a view of the past, present and future of human society. Marx keeps his head like a god. He has discovered the law of social development and knows what must come. The thread of history is in his hand."

The First Volume of Lenin's **Selected Works** contains, with most of the more important of his writings up to the 1917 revolution, the four books I have mentioned. (The main exception is **Materialism and Empirio-Criticism**, published as a separate volume.) Besides his longer works, there are a number of shorter articles on various subjects.

This is a theoretical text-book of the first importance. And when I use the word 'theoretical' I mean, not abstract theorising, but the systematised knowledge gained from practical activity and from careful study and analysis of objective, concrete facts. There is not a chapter in the book in which Lenin does not refer to some actual happening and draw a logical and intensely practical conclusion therefrom.

That is why Lenin, while basing his studies on the fundamental scientific laws first enunciated by Marx and Engels, was able to elaborate those laws and to show how they operated under the changing conditions of monopoly capitalism.

In the "Right of Nations to Self-Determination", for example, the question, 'What is self-determination of nations'? is answered, not by an abstract discussion on general principles of 'freedom', but by an acute examination of the conditions of oppressed peoples.

'What is meant by the terms?' asks Lenin. 'Shall we seek for an answer in legal definitions deduced from all sorts of "general concepts" of law? Or should we seek an answer in the historical and economic study of the national movements?'

The theory of the national and colonial question, of which the basic ideas were stated by Marx and Engels, was developed for the period of Imperialism by Lenin and further elaborated by Stalin. On the basis of this theory, the Indian Marxist, Adhikari, was able to analyse in a specific and concrete manner the present day problem of Indian independence, and to propose a realistic solution. (See **Indian National and Hindu-Muslim Unity,** by G. Adhikari.)

I use this illustration purposely in order to show how pertinent are Lenin's works to the study of present-day problems. Although he wrote of historical events and developments of his day, the conclusions he drew form part of the permanent

basis of Marxist theory, without which an understanding of the world movements of today is impossible.

Permit me to refer briefly to one other book included in this volume. It is the classic work **Imperialism.** I recall some discussions I had with a banking friend on the subject of Marxism. I could not persuade him that the subject was worth studying. Finally I lent him a copy of **Imperialism.** He read it and returned enthusiastically. 'This man knows what he is talking about,' he said. He had learnt that Lenin knew far more about the basic operations of finance capital than he himself, whose business it was to study banking and finance. Perhaps a trivial incident, but one which indicates how clearly Lenin could grasp and explain the essential features of any subject.

The volume contains, in addition to Lenin's works, a few short speeches and articles by Stalin. One sentence from these is particularly appropriate here. 'Only Lenin could write of the most intricate things so simply and clearly, so concisely and boldly that every sentence did not so much speak as ring like a rifle shot'.

The volume, which has recently been published in English by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, is the first of two which comprise the **Selected Works.** It is exceptional value for the 8/6 for which it sells.

Questions & Answers

conducted by L. H. GOULD

Would you elaborate on the distinction between imperialism as a "policy" of capitalism and imperialism as a "stage" of capitalism? . . . How does Lenin's characterisation apply to the U.S.A. imperialists today? —Mrs. Summers.

World events in recent decades have fully revealed the essential features of imperialism—the domination of the financial oligarchs, the resort to extreme reaction, military aggression to seize the territories of other States, and so on. (For a fuller description of imperialism, see this column, April, 1947.)

To say that imperialism is a "policy" of the capitalists is to say that they "elected" or "preferred" to become imperialists; that they made their "choice" out of a number of alternative policies; that instead of "choosing" the path of violent annexation of other people's territories the capitalists of any country could just as well have embarked upon peaceful good-neighbourly relations with all the rival capitalist powers!

In characterising imperialism as a stage of capitalism, Lenin at once pointed to the elemental nature of the further development of capitalism from its free competitive stage; in other words, capitalism advanced to its highest stage (monopoly capitalism, or finance-capitalism, or imperialism) because of objective necessity, because of the laws of capitalist development which operate independently of the will of the capitalists.

The distinction is of decisive importance to the Labor Movement. If Kautsky and the other "theoreticians" of the Second International were correct in defining imperialism as a "policy," then all sorts of possibilities existed — imperialist wars were not inevitable, the various imperialisms could merge peacefully into a super-imperialism which, in turn, would pass on easily and peacefully to Socialism. If this were true, the need to struggle for Socialism was ended, in fact struggle for Socialism would even become, according to Kautsky, "anti-Marxist"! Lenin waged fierce polemics against Kautsky's definition of imperialism, branding it as "bourgeois reformism" and a "slurring over and a blunting of the most profound contradictions of the latest stage of capitalism, instead of an exposure of their depth."

Here is the relevant passage from Lenin:—

"Imperialism is a striving for annexations—this is what the political part of Kautsky's definition amounts to. It is correct, but very incomplete, for, politically, imperialism is generally a striving towards violence and reaction. We are interested here, however, in the economic definition. The errors in the definition of Kautsky are clearly evident. The characteristic feature of imperialism is not industrial capital, but finance capital. It is not an accident that in France, it was precisely the extraordinarily rapid development of finance capital and the weakening of industrial capital, that, from 1880 onwards, gave rise to a sharpening of annexationist (colonial) policy.

"The characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely the fact that it strives to annex not only agrarian but even the most industrialised regions (the German appetite for Belgium; the French appetite for Lorraine), first, because the fact that the world is already partitioned makes it necessary, in the event of a re-partition, to stretch out one's hand to any kind of territory, and second, because an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between a number of great powers in striving for hegemony, i.e., for the seizure of territory, not so much for their own direct advantage as to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony (for Germany, Belgium is chiefly necessary as a base against England; for England, Bagdad as a base against Germany, etc.)."

This was written in 1916, in the midst of the imperialist world war. Vast changes have occurred since then. Thirty years ago a number of imperialist States dominated the world, and were engaged in a bloody war to strengthen colonial slavery by a more "equitable" division of the colonies and more "team work" in their exploitation, and to strengthen the oppression of national minorities inside the "great" nations, and to strengthen and prolong the system of wage slavery. Today the world is divided up, on one side, into an enormously weakened imperialism, and on the other, a system of advanced democratic States headed by the Soviet Union. Many of the great imperialist States have disappeared from the earth. But Lenin's brilliantly-correct analysis of imperialism still applies, almost word-for-word, to U.S.A. imperialism of today.

We may note the leading ideas in the statement:—

1. Imperialism is in general "a striving towards violence and reaction." This is confirmed by a thousand acts of violence by the U.S.A. imperialists, already perpetrated or planned (anti-Labor legislation; suppression of democratic bodies in western Germany, Korea, and the Philippines; their role in Greece and Turkey; the mounting stock of atom bombs, and so on).

2. "The characteristic feature of imperialism . . . is finance-capital" . . . The Morgans, du Ponts, etc., are by far the most powerful group of finance-capitalists in the history of capitalism. No one can dispute for a moment the fact that these oligarchs possess preponderating power to decide the fate of their country internally and its relations abroad.

3. "Extreme extension of annexationist (colonial) policy." U.S.A. imperialists regard themselves as the "logical" successors to control of the colonial empires, now rapidly slipping from the hands of their weakened rivals — the imperialists of Britain, France, Holland, etc.

4. "It strives to annex not only agrarian countries but even the most industrialised regions." U.S.A. imperialism is reaching out to annex, under varying labels and pretexts, the whole of the remaining capitalist world, including the colonies, including the British dominions, including Britain itself! Hitler set the example earlier, beginning with his conquest of Austria and Czechoslovakia. In essentials, Truman's policy differs not at all from Hitler's.

5. "Striving for hegemony . . . to weaken the adversary." This is the "American century." American imperialism feels it must drive with the utmost speed towards organising, controlling, regimenting the capitalist countries ("leading" them) in the many tasks of preserving capitalist exploitation and, in particular, the task of weakening and destroying the main adversary, the ever-growing forces of democracy and Socialism.

MacArthur's decisions on the Japanese whaling fleets and the Anguar phosphate mines appear to have awakened some glimmer of consciousness of U.S.A. imperialist designs among A.L.P. leaders, for example, Mr. Chifley's statement at the recent N.S.W. A.L.P. conference. But upon the united forces of Australian Labor-democracy will devolve the historic responsibility of combatting the horrors now being prepared for us and the free peoples everywhere by the war-mad imperialists of U.S.A. and their agents and Fifth Columns in every capitalist country.

(References: Lenin, Imperialism; L. Sharkey, July Communist Review.)

EVOLUTION FROM TWO ANGLES

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

I HAVE just returned from the United States, where I was one of five British biologists invited by Princeton University to a three-day discussion on evolution, palaeontology and genetics, which was a part of the celebration of the University's bi-centenary.

The object was to bring together men who were studying evolution from two different angles. The palaeontologists study the changes which have taken place in time, for example, the differences between the bones and teeth of modern horses, asses, and zebras, and their ancestors in the pliocene period before the great ice ages.

The geneticists study the nature of the differences between different closely-related animals and plants, for example between fish in Mexican rivers which clearly belong to different species, and rarely hybridise in nature, but yet are near enough to give fertile hybrids in captivity, so that one can see how the differences between the species are determined.

One might compare it with a conference in which historians were brought together with students of contemporary economics and politics. But the comparison is not quite fair, because we know a good deal about the economics of even two thousand years ago; for example, the prices of corn, copper, and slaves in terms of gold in ancient Rome.

And we certainly do not know, though we can often guess, what were the selective advantages or disadvantages of a particular detail of tooth shape in horses or elephants ten million years ago.

Nevertheless such meetings are now more worth while than they were twenty years ago, for several reasons. The palaeontologists have ample records of some species.

They can say how much the teeth varied in a population of extinct horses all buried in the same quicksand, and whether the change in tooth form found in horses buried a million years later could have been due to selection of the variations in a particular direction. Darwin believed that they could, though he had practically no knowledge of variation in extinct animals.

The evidence which we can now bring from the study of variation in fossils strongly supports Darwin's theory, though, of course, a very great deal more evidence is needed, just as we need more evidence to support or counter the Marxist explanation of change in prehistoric human societies.

The conference began with a review of the methods which have been used to date various rocks. By far the best evidence is from the amounts of lead formed by the transformation of the elements in radio-active minerals. The main difficulty is that radio-active rocks are generally igneous, formed by volcanoes or in the molten depths of the earth, while fossils are mostly found in sedimentary rocks, laid down by water. So only a few fossils are really accurately dated.

However, we know that the age of great reptiles came to an end, and mammals became the dominant land animals, about seventy million years ago; whereas the earliest vertebrate fossils, of primitive jawless armoured fish, were formed a little over four hundred million years before our time.

And some other dates, such as that at which our ancestors came out of the water, are also pretty well known. One striking conclusion was the very uneven rate of development in different groups.

Some shellfish have remained practically unaltered for four hundred million years, down to details of the attachment of the muscles for closing and opening the shells, and pulling in parts which project outside them. In the same time the vertebrates have evolved from jawless fish to men, hoofed animals, carnivores, birds, and all the huge range of vertebrate forms. Even such a relatively advanced animal as the opossum has stayed put for seventy million years. There is no inevitable law of progress.

One cannot help thinking of the law of the uneven development of capitalism. But as there are many more families of animals than capitalist States, the evidence is even more impressive. Darwin called his great book **The Origin of the Species.** But it is now clear that we have to explain two rather different processes.

The first is a change in a whole population, such as the increase in the length of the molar teeth of ancestral horses, which enabled them to chew grass, a process which would have worn down their short-toothed tree-browsing ancestors' teeth in a year or so. The other is the division of one ancestral species into two or more, such as wild horses, wild asses, and various kinds of zebra. These two processes are quite distinct.

Probably a majority of the conference thought that a species never, or very rarely, splits up in the same habitat.

Horses and zebras evolved from a common ancestor in different countries. Although there may be a good deal of variation in colour and structure between members of a species living together, this rarely seems to reach the stage of splitting a species in two.

On the other hand, quite a small geographical barrier, such as a valley between two mountain ranges, may cause a species to split into two new ones which after some thousands of years are unable to cross with one another.

The Californian botanists are studying a number of plant species in the making, because in this part of the United States there are many fertile areas separated by desert since the ice ages, and big differences have arisen in the last 20,000 years; whereas except for a few mountain plants this had not happened elsewhere in the United States within the same time.

On the other hand, the industrial areas of Europe offer the most striking examples of changes in populations in response to changed environments, notably the development of hereditary black varieties of moths in the black countries of England and Germany. The geneticists stressed the belief that evolution could be explained in terms of known causes, and without any supernatural intervention. They also pointed out that evolution was the result of struggle, not merely a "struggle for life between individuals, but a struggle between opposing processes, such as mutation, which tends to make a species variable, and selection which reduces variability." In fact some of them used good dialectical materialism without knowing it.

Thanks to the war, British and American people understand one another less than they did ten years ago. These misunderstandings may be disastrous to the world. A few hundred meetings where workers in different occupations met their opposite numbers would do much to bridge the gap.

Now that the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. are coming together, fraternal relations between British and American unions should become easier, and I very much hope that other workers will get together, as scientific workers are beginning to do.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT
TO THE EDITOR,
COMMUNIST REVIEW,
695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY,
AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIRST
OF THE MONTH.

EDITORIAL

THE decision of Federal Cabinet to nationalise banking has thrown the bourgeoisie into a hysteria of rage and fear. They paint awful pictures of the worker losing his savings, the clerk his job, the farmer his farm, along with the ruin of the small shopkeeper if the Government proceeds with its plan to nationalise the private banking concerns.

In addition, we are to see the end of "individual initiative," "personal freedom" and liberty in general, according to the mouthpieces of monopoly capitalism — posing as the defenders of the savings of the toilers and the "liberty of the individual."

Their outcry is, as usual, arrant hypocrisy and blatant scare-mongering. On every occasion a progressive measure is mooted, the same profit-hungry pack howl against it as a threat to the poor.

These bourgeois demagogues are concerned neither with the poor nor with liberty. It is fear for their own profits and for the "liberty" to suck the blood of the people through the control of the financial institutions that causes these parasites to raise their voices in a crescendo of hate.

Since the foundation of Australia a handful of wealthy men have increased their wealth and power through their ownership of the banks. In Britain and elsewhere they have done so for centuries. In what way has this private ownership of the banks helped the toilers? Think of the thousands of small farmers and property-owners who every year are expropriated by the banks. Of what use was so-called "free" banking to the people in the dread depression years? Contemplate the slums, and low wage standards, and one realises the prostitution of the press when it is used to depict the government's proposal as "Nazism" and a blow to the toiling people. The rage of the millionaires and their lackeys then arises from the fact that banking is not only extremely lucrative for them but is a vital nerve-centre of monopoly capital. The bourgeoisie realise that nationalisation of banking eventually leads, inescapably, to the nationalisation of key industries, iron, metal, coal, transport, etc., and the twin of banking: Insurance.

In the pre-war depression it was the bankers who demanded and forced a wholesale reduction of our living standards—the so-called Premiers' Plan.

The decision of the Chifley Government to nationalise private banking is of far-reaching economic and political importance. It is the biggest step ever taken by the Labor Party. The Chifley Government has been chiefly characterised by its conservatism and tameness. Why did it decide upon such a drastic step (for a liberal reformist government) as Government control of banking?

Undoubtedly, the answer to this is to be found in the approaching depression, in fear of the effect of the British and American economic crises upon the weaker Australian economy and the adverse decision of the High Court against the Government's decision which required local government bodies to do their business with the Commonwealth Bank.

The position of the Labor Government itself is threatened by impending economic crisis. The Menzies-Fadden reaction has been impatiently awaiting economic dislocation in order to renew its offensive against the Labor Governments and scramble back to power.

As recently as the last Federal Elections Mr. Chifley was still fascinated by his dream of a post-war "golden age." The system of price-control and wage-pegging, of considerable public works and the attraction of British and U.S. capital and immigrants by the million would, in his view, not only avoid crisis but pave the way to a "wondrous age of industrial-commercial expansion." This Keynesian fantasy has been dissipated already by the crisis which grips world capitalism. Hence the need for action.

Nationalisation of banking, while it has the united opposition of the bourgeoisie, enjoys the undivided popular support of the workers. Its announcement was received with joy in the workshops and mines. The Labor Party itself, from its inception, has preached the doctrine of bank nationalisation, sometimes as an "alternative" to Socialism.

The Douglas Creditors have sowed many illusions among the masses about finance and its control as a magic cure-all for the ills and evils of capitalist society. While nationalisation of banking is an excellent measure to provide the government with means to combat depression, nevertheless, the reality of nationalisation, while capitalism remains the predominant economic form, will soon dispel the illusions created by Labor Party and Douglas Credit propagandists who painted too rosy a picture of the benefits of public control over finance. To insulate Australia against economic crisis requires also nationalisation of the basic industries in order to permit of economic planning.

The new democracies of Europe and the Soviet Union are reporting amazing economic successes in their post-war reconstruction, precisely because not only banking, but the commanding heights of industry too are in the hands of the State, which permits of the various economic plans of these countries.

Neither is nationalisation synonymous with "socialisation." Nationalisation, as we have known it in the Australian railways, is in reality State Capitalism — a goose that lays golden eggs for bondholders but does not raise living standards of the rail workers any higher than those in the surrounding private industries. It can be a "paradise for the exploiters and a hell for the workers," Lenin wrote.

Everything then depends on the type of nationalisation — the terms under which the State takes over from the former private owners.

If it is on similar terms to that of the railways or the 12% paid to shareholders in the Bank of

England by the British Government, it can strengthen capitalism as a whole and, far from raising living standards, would (like the enormous annual interest bill on the railways) tend to depress the standard of living. Hence, the terms of the nationalisation must be critically examined by the labor movement.

Nationalisation, however, is important politically. It encroaches on private capitalism and renders ultimate socialisation the easier, as Lenin pointed out in his work **Approaching Catastrophe.**

The bourgeoisie is putting great pressure on the Labor Government on the issue of nationalisation of banking. Labor Governments in such circumstances are inclined to waver, develop weaknesses and give way to the will of the bourgeoisie.

A vast mobilisation of the masses and the most vigorous campaign must be waged in order to rally the utmost support for the government's proposal in order to counteract the danger of a retreat on the government's part and to prepare the way for further inroads upon private ownership of the means of production, for the nationalisation of the basic industries of this country.

BRITAIN'S CRISIS

L. L. SHARKEY

THE crisis in Britain is not a cyclical crisis of overproduction. It is not the same type of "depression" that Australia experienced in the 'thirties and which is obviously overtaking the U.S.A. now.

It is the "general crisis" of monopoly capital, of imperialism, which is manifesting itself so sharply in Britain at the present time.

British imperialism has long been in decline. This was clear in the period between the two world wars. From the conclusion of World War I till the outbreak of the Second World War Britain had a permanent unemployed army living on the dole, numbering millions. Recall the "depressed areas," the derelict industrial areas which once served an overseas market.

The war created a market for the British capitalists, as the Government purchased everything that could be produced. Now the war-created market has vanished, the old chronic crisis manifests itself, albeit in a different form.

The crisis of British imperialism has been rendered more acute by the war. In pre-war times the unemployed army and chronic "depression" reflected the gradual loss of Britain's premier position as the "workshop of the world" and the chief imperialist power controlling a colonial empire embracing a population sometimes estimated as high as 500,000,000 people.

Britain's early supremacy was based on the possession of coal and other vital raw materials which served as a basis for the early development of capitalism. New industrial powers greater than Britain, such as the United States and Germany, arose to dispute possession of the world market, not to mention lesser imperialist States and a general world-wide industrialisation, which also transformed the British Dominions and, to a lesser degree, penetrated even into the Colonies (India).

The first world war visibly weakened Britain's position, just as it accelerated the development of monopoly and imperialism and generally strengthened the position of U.S. capitalism as against Britain.

British monopoly-capital showed an ever-growing tendency towards that parasitism referred to in Lenin's **Imperialism;** to become a rentier living on overseas investments. This led to the decline of plant and equipment in the British heavy industries, whose technique has notoriously lagged behind that of up and coming rivals (U.S.A. and Germany).

Lenin's law of the uneven development of capitalism, while it worked to Britain's advantage a century ago, to-day has made British capitalism its victim insofar as British capitalist industry lagged behind that of its rivals, and far behind the new post-war colossus, the United States.

Let us examine the coal position in order to see what has been happening. Fifty years ago, Britain still retained her monopoly of the coal market and on the surface seemed likely to continue to do so. The coal barons drew enormous profits from coal and re-invested practically nothing from them in modernisation of the mines, nor did they do anything to improve the lot of the mineworkers —the Union was fought ruthlessly even on the most moderate demands for reforms.

The First World War undermined the po[sition] of the British coalowners. Mines were open[ed] in Europe and the Far East whose production were cheaper. America and the Ruhr contin[ued] to advance. Oil began to compete with coal.

As a result of the criminal policy of the "private enterprise" coalowners, British mines are today out of date; 20% of the black coal is taken out of the seams by the old pick-axe method; in 1945, 1% was mechanically loaded as against 45% in the U.S.A. Modern mechanical haulage in the mines is almost unknown.

This results from the policy of the coal barons who tried to maintain their position and beat their rivals by "cheapening costs," that is, reducing the British miners to a practical starvation level. In the Second World War, the worn-out industry almost collapsed. Britain, the former home of King Coal, could not produce enough to satisfy her own needs. Production fell from 287,000,000 tons in 1913 to 235,000,000 in 1938 and 195,000,000 in 1944.

Exports ceased and American coal supplied ships even in British Mediterranean ports. There

are 70,000 less miners than before the war and it is claimed that not one young man in ten years has entered this underpaid, overworked, ill-equipped industry. Today, the mines need at least 100,000 new workers. In an effort to halt the catastrophic results of the "profit motive" in the coal industry, the mines have been nationalised by the Labor Government with the tacit approval of the Tories because of the hopeless mess in the industry. The coal barons do not lose a halfpenny, they have been more than generously compensated by the Attlee Government.

Comrade Berlioz, in **Cahiers du Communisme,** summed up Britain's decline very neatly :

"To understand what is going on, we must go over the whole history of England from the eighteenth century, follow step by step the development of capitalist production there, first in the period of free trade professed by the Manchester School and its cotton manufacturers who supplied the whole world, then in the imperialist period of the Birmingham Unionists. We will only give the broad outlines.

"It was because of its abundance of coal and minerals that Great Britain stood for long at the head of the capitalist nations. For decades everything bowed before the triumph of this country, which had rapidly become a gigantic industrial town, intermediary between all the peoples who received manufactured goods from her and supplied her with food and raw materials.

"This tremendous development of commercial production — it was in England that Karl Marx was best able to study the laws of the system and its evolution — naturally led British capitalism to be the first to show the characteristics of imperialism, defined in masterly fashion by Lenin: concentration and formation of monopolies; fusion of bank capital with industrial capital and creation of a financial oligarchy; export of capital, etc.

"Great Britain had also been the first power in [the] race for territorial division of the world. In 1815 [she] already possessed a vast Empire; she was in[creasing] in Canada, the Antilles, Bengal, Australia, the Cape, Ceylon, etc. India's subjection was completed in 1856. She was in a good position to round off her conquests in the years after the colonial struggles of the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Egypt, South Africa, Burma). In 1914, the British Empire included 33½ square kilometres of land and 400 million inhabitants, almost a quarter of the earth's population.

"In 1862, British capital invested overseas amounted to 3.6 milliard francs; in 1914 it reached almost 100 milliard, and the colonies held first place on the list. According to an economist whom Lenin quotes, if England's national income had nearly doubled from 1865 to 1898, in the same period income from abroad had increased nine times. If 'training the Negro to work,' as Lenin added, 'is the merit of imperialism, the 'danger' of imperialism is that Europe will shift the burden of the physical toil of heavy industry onto the colored races and itself be content with the role of **rentier,** and in this way perhaps pave the way for the economic and political emancipation of the colored races.'

"In these few words is summarised the **parasitism** of imperialism. Great Britain gradually took to living idly on the exploitation of her Empire and her bankers' investments there. To get an idea of this economic parasitism, 'the gangrene of imperialism,' read the vivid pages in which Victor Berard **(England and Imperialism)** depicts the lives of the English lords.

"But in this way the sated shareholders of Britain neglected the fundamental law of the uneven development of capitalism. They fell asleep on the achievements of the past, took no interest in the modernisation of the decrepit basic industries, while other countries were arising, making up their leeway, taking possession of British markets: Germany, the United States. For a long time only half the British imports were paid for by export of goods, the balance being secured by income from the Empire and overseas.

"In the First World War British imperialism changed its policy with the aim of correcting a new and unfavorable relation of forces. Yet the cost was high; it hastened the tendency of the Dominions to become industrialised economic units gradually breaking away from London; it gave to the colonial national movements an impulsion that was hard to keep in check.

"From then the crisis of contradictions within the Empire has continued to develop. It was greatly assisted by the last war, which so lessened Great Britain's world position and increased that of the United States. Half — if not more — of the British investments in the world were lost. The deficit in the balance of trade (£385 million in 1936) is no longer compensated by income from investments, big colonial tributes are no longer coming in; from a creditor, she has become a debtor nation: America doles out credits and takes advantage of this bounty to try and impose on her the abolition of preferential tariffs which, to a certain extent, still make the Empire a unity, protected against rival imperialisms."

Such is a thumb-nail sketch of the history of the British Empire, its rise and decline.

Frederick Engels, too, long ago at the time of Britain's industrial expansion posed the question to the Manchester Liberals of what their answer was to the spread of capitalist industrialisation and commercialism over the world and the consequent restriction of markets. "Where is thy answer, Liberalism," he asked.

Today, Britain has reached the position foreseen by Marx and Engels. There is no capitalist answer —neither Toryism, Liberalism, nor Labor Party reformism can recreate the conditions of the early period of capitalism which gave Britain industrial predominance and an easy conquest of the greatest colonial Empire in history. Germany, Japan and other imperialist states that sought to establish simi-

lar empires have gone down, exhausted and in ruins, in the effort, because they were not faced with the conquest of backward "colonial peoples" but could win such empires only through world wars against the most powerful imperialist states, headed by Britain and U.S.A.

The desperate struggle of German imperialism, too, compelling Britain to fight two world wars in a failing effort to keep her pre-war imperialist position, has enormously accelerated the pace of decline of British imperialism.

The other great and decisive factor is the national revolutionary movement in the British colonial empire.

India could no longer be "held by the sword," it is plain that it was but a matter of time when the British overlords would be forcibly ejected. So India has been given dominion status and self-government while the British ruling-class manoeuvres to retain as many key positions as possible and save what it can from the Indian debacle by utilising the divisions and discords created by the Indian reactionaries: the Princes, wealthy Moslem and Hindu big capitalists, etc.

Egypt, too, has served a quit notice on British imperialism which here strives at least to retain the important Sudan colony.

In the desperate effort to maintain as much as possible of British imperialism, Bevin has kept 1,200,000 men abroad under arms. This has proved to be a burden beyond the present strength of Britain and is one of the prime factors causing the present crisis.

The capitalists and the Government declare that, to avoid bankruptcy, British exports must be stepped up by 75%.

Where is the market to be found? Europe is in a state of collapse.

The new Indian "Dominions" will not, because of their peoples' poverty, provide a sufficient outlet. American imperialism has taken over Japan and what there is of a market in Chiang Kai-sheks' part of China.

Wall Street is taking over Turkey, Greece, and the Middle East, especially the oil in the Arab countries. In Germany, outside the Soviet zone, Wall Street is visibly taking over.

Canada is drawn further and further into the American economic and political orbit. Latin America is being "annexed" along the familiar American imperialist line of economic and financial penetration and control. And the dollar situation is preventing trade between Britain and Australia and the United States. Added to this is the handicap of the backward industries faced with American competition!

There is no lasting way out to be found in bigger overseas markets.

Continuance of the present policy means ever-growing dependence on United States imperialism.

For class reasons, Churchill and the Tories have already chosen this path. They sing the praises of "unity of the English-speaking peoples," "Anglo-Saxon leadership," etc., etc., which they assert is necessary to "stabilise the world," "maintain world peace" and so on, when what they really mean is that they believe American capitalism has the means and certainly the desire to suppress the advancing world-wide peoples' democratic movement, and for an ultimate war with the Soviet Union and those European democracies which they term "Soviet satellites."

This plainly means absorption of the British countries, and the domination of Wall Street imperialism. The French traitor, Laval, was not worried over the fate of France. "Hitler will smash Russia, that is all that matters," Laval said. In their own way, the British rulers are saying the same thing. "America is anti-Soviet, America will fight the Socialist revolution everywhere. America alone can attempt to save world capitalism, that is all that matters." Such is the theme song of those who are prepared to place the Wall Street yoke on their shoulders.

The instrument of this policy is Ernest Bevin.

For there is a way that offers to Britain the possibility of escape from her present dire economic straits and American domination.

This possibility was opened up by the recent trade negotiations in Moscow where Britain was offered sufficient supplies of wheat and vital raw materials to assist her on to her feet economically, and release her from dollar bondage.

The rejection of Soviet trade and trade with the new democracies is due to class, political reasons and not an inability to reach an agreement on trade, not, as Bevin was reported to have said, because trade is not possible until the Soviet Government trade monopoly has been abolished.

This is desperate lying to get out of a tight corner, because the Soviet Union has always developed trade with countries who desire it.

Government trade also is a tenet of Socialism and the Labor Party sometimes alleges itself a Socialist Party.

The trade agreement with the Soviet Union was rejected because this brought Britain into more intimate and friendly relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which is contrary to the policy of an Anglo-American, anti-Soviet bloc preached by Churchill and implemented by Bevin. The alternative policy soon revealed itself. It is a grim one for the British — and Australian — people.

The reimposition of wartime controls, that is, industrial conscription for the workers, who are to be strictly controlled, a cut in the already meagre rations and an extension of hours of work—that is what the British proletariat have been asked to sacrifice to the Churchill-Bevin imperialist foreign policy. The rejection of economic agreement with the Soviet Union means the continuance of the policy of the Anglo-American bloc, greater dependence on Wall Street and hostility to the Soviet Union, with war as an ultimate perspective.

Such is the policy to which the welfare of the British people is sacrificed. It has already caused serious complications within the British Parliamentary Labor Party, whose rank and file are beginning to realise where the path Bevin is treading is leading them; 150 Labor members are mentioned as in opposition in their recent Caucus, and only half the Labor Party's Parliamentarians voted for the new "Powers" Bill.

This disquiet reflects the growing opposition within the rank and file of the trade unions and the Labor Party organisations. The British working-class movement finds itself at the cross-roads. A crisis is developing within its ranks upon whose outcome Britain's future hinges.

Unfortunately, the British labor movement is still strongly impregnated with imperialist ideology and conceptions which allows the Bevins to put across their tales about Greece, Palestine and the rest as "vital" to Britain. They cannot yet see that Britain's freedom depends on a free world, but believe Britain's "position" depends on the subjugation of foreign peoples along the line of "imperial communications" and so forth.

These imperialist concepts hamper the opposition to Bevin within and without Parliament.

A break with the old imperialism, which can be restored neither by Wall Street dollars nor British bayonets, a genuine nationalisation of key industries and real workers' control of industry, repudiation of the policy of subordination to Yankee imperialism, economic agreements and friendly political relations with the Soviet Union and the new European democracies and last, but not least, demobilisatoin of the huge army, which Britain in any case cannot afford: these are the methods of combating the decline and opening up the perspective of Socialism.

The alliance with aggressive American imperialism leads but to new dangers and catastrophes. Is it not from New York and Washington that daily there are bellowed threats of war and boasts of American weapons, atom bombs, germicidal and chemical preparations for war? Boasts of its Navy which has displaced British naval power as "Mistress of the Seas"? Is it not America that is faced with an economic catastrophe, a new "depression"?

America, too, therefore, will soon face economic problems which can be solved only along similar lines.

Britain's crises touches Australia nearly. Already we are feeling its economic effects in this country.

An aggravation of Britain's crisis threatens Australia's staple agrarian industries, in particular. Britain is still our chief market. Already Britain's plight has destroyed Prime Minister Chifley's pipe-dream of a "golden age." The Australian Prime Minister now speaks of a coming depression, which only the Communists, armed with Marxist theory, were able to perceive earlier.

Crises in both Britain and the United States, although from different causes, threaten Australian economy with a collapse.

That the Federal Government is beginning to realise the seriousness of the situation and rid itself of the "golden age" hallucination, is becoming plain in its concern over control of prices, for which the A.L.P. official organ in N.S.W., the **Standard**, proposes a referendum to maintain Government control, and in Federal Cabinet's proposal to nationalise private banking.

These proposals are very much to the point and must receive the fullest backing, but nationalisation of key industries, coal, steel, metal, engineering, building, etc., are also essential if Australia is to strive for a stabilised economy free from economic earthquakes.

Our foreign policy is subordinated to that of Bevin and Churchill and is also based on the myth that Australia needs American imperialism's military "protection" against "aggression" on the part of the Soviet Union!

The repudiation of Bevin's foreign policy by the British Labor movement calls also for the repudiation of Dr. Evatt's "Australian" foreign policy, which is a weak, and sometimes demagogic, echo of Marshall, MacArthur, Bevin and Co.

Present policies are leading Britain, America, Australia, New Zealand and Canada to loss of power of independent action, to economic disaster and to the danger of a new war.

The working-class movement must enforce a sharp change.

THE INDONESIAN CONFLICT

R. DIXON

THE Dutch assault on the Indonesian Republic, in a desperate attempt to restore their imperialist control, has recoiled on them.

The sight of well-armed Dutch troops attacking the virtually defenceless Indonesians aroused a world-wide demand for action to put an end to the war in Indonesia. U.N.O. had to take action. Not even the American imperialists, who are now striving to destroy U.N.O. because they cannot transform it into an instrument to further their imperialist ambitions, could stem the protest.

It is true the decision of U.N.O. merely to order a cease-fire in Indonesia is unsatisfactory, because it leaves the Dutch in possession of their ill-gotten military gains, but it showed that when great masses of people move, U.N.O. can become an important weapon of struggle against war, and that is something to alarm the imperialist warmongers everywhere.

Australia played a very important role in the fight against Dutch aggression. The Waterside Workers' Federation, immediately the Dutch mili-

tary attack was announced, strengthened the ban on Dutch shipping and urged similar action by waterside workers in other countries.

The Australian trade union movement, generally, denounced the Dutch imperialists and they called upon the World Federation of Trade Unions for international action to put an end to the war, and urged the Federal Government to bring the matter before U.N.O.

The protests of churches, university students and others showed that the vast majority of Australians supported the trade unions in the stand they had taken. There is no doubt that the decision of the Australian Government to refer the conflict in Indonesia to U.N.O. was influenced by this powerful movement of the people.

The Australian decision to refer the Indonesian war to U.N.O. was not welcomed in either London or Washington.

British and American monopolies have big investments in Indonesia, in rubber and tea plantations, oil, etc. Because it is a small and weak power, Dutch imperialism over many years pursued an "open door" policy in Indonesia, permitting the entry of British, American and other foreign capital and thus aligning those powers against the Indonesians on the one hand and, on the other, securing allies in the event of war with some other imperialist power.

The Indonesians in their struggle for independence, therefore, have to contend with the British and American imperialists as well as the Dutch.

When the resolution calling for a cessation of fighting in Indonesia came up for decision before the Security Council, the British, French and Belgian delegates refrained from voting. They opposed the Polish proposal that Dr. Sjahrir, spokesman for the Indonesian Republic, should be permitted to address the Security Council.

The U.S. imperialists, on the other hand, proposed to the Dutch, even while the matter was before the Security Council, that they should arbitrate. The Dutch immediately accepted in the hope that this would sidetrack any proposal that U.N.O. should appoint an impartial commission to handle the issues that caused the conflict.

For many months Yankee Imperialism has played a particularly bad role behind the Indonesian scene. At every stage they sought to sabotage the Indonesian demands. They supplied the Dutch with arms and finance. Almost simultaneously with the Dutch attack in Indonesia and the American offer to mediate, the International Bank in New York, dominated by U.S. imperialism, made a loan of 195,000,000 guilders to the Dutch. When the Dutch attacked the Republic, the U.S. State Department demanded of the Indonesian Government that they should not apply the scorched earth policy or damage the oil properties of Standard Oil, in Sumatra.

From all this it will be readily seen why the Dutch so promptly accepted the American offer to mediate in Indonesia.

Although the Government of the Indonesian Republic accepted the "good offices" of the U.S., they made it clear that they wanted U.N.O. to arbitrate. Further, they proposed that a U.N.O. commission be sent to Indonesia immediately to investigate the situation on the spot, the commission to include Soviet Russia, Britain, France, China, U.S.A., Australia, India and a number of Arab countries.

Unlike the Dutch, the Indonesian Government has been frank and open on all of the issues. They have won profound sympathy and support throughout the world. The aim of the American and British imperialists to impose a peace on the Indonesians that would leave much of the Dutch power intact and the foreign monopolies in possession of their estates and industries is, therefore, becoming much more difficult.

Of great significance is the powerful support for Indonesian independence coming from various countries of Asia oppressed or threatened by Imperialism. Out of a population of 70,000,000, there are 60,000,000 Moslems in Indonesia. The Indonesian Government made a strong appeal for support from Moslems all over the world and especially to the Arab countries and India.

The Middle Eastern countries, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, etc., are supporting Indonesia. In India, Hindus and Moslems, divided on many big internal issues, are united in their support for Indonesia. The Indian Government has forbidden Dutch planes to use the Indian aerodromes, and Indian dockworkers have imposed a ban on Dutch ships trading with Indonesia.

Expressing the new spirit that is spreading through oppressed Asia, Pandit Nehru, Indian Congress leader, sent a chill down the spines of the imperialists when he thundered against the Dutch: "We will not tolerate foreign armies operating in Asiatic countries," and later: "No European country has any business to use its army in Asia."

This seems like a Monroe Doctrine for Asia. When seen against the background of the revolutionary-democratic wave that is engulfing Asia, from China, all through Southern Asia to India and the Middle East, it is a warning that the days of British, French, Dutch and, also, American Imperialist exploitation and oppression in Asia are nearing their end.

For 350 years the Dutch have violated, plundered and exploited the Indonesians. Whatever development took place in Indonesia under the Dutch was designed not to benefit the Indonesians but to facilitate the extraction of wealth and profits for the Dutch. The industrial development of Indonesia has been deliberately held back.

The people, poverty-stricken because of Dutch rule, were denied the most elementary democratic

rights. They had no real say in the government of the country, no freedom of speech, or of the press. Trade unions were suppressed and Nationalist organisations banned. The Indonesians found their lives ordered and directed by the hateful Dutch oppressors.

Dutch imperialism ruled by force in Indonesia, they commanded no support amongst the people.

When the Japanese came Dutch power collapsed. There was no Dutch resistance, only cowardly capitulation. The Indonesian people refused to help the Dutch, a fact which clearly demonstrates that 350 years of Dutch control had resulted in only hatred and bitterness amongst the Indonesian people.

When the Japanese were defeated the Dutch trusts and combines demanded that the Indonesians slavishly submit, once again, to their rule. They wanted their estates and profits back, they wanted to fasten themselves upon the backs of the Indonesian people, deny them freedom and seize their wealth. But a new situation confronted them.

The movement for national independence in Indonesia, which long before World War II was already very powerful, received a great stimulus with the collapse of Dutch power and culminated, with the defeat of the Japanese, in the proclamation of the Indonesian Republic on August 17, 1945.

The Republican Government and its various organs, army, police, etc., constitute the State power of the Indonesian nation. Under their own government the Indonesian people have for the first time experienced democracy. For two years the Republican Government has ruled in Java, Sumatra and Madura, clearly refuting the absurd Dutch claim that the Indonesians are not yet ready for self-government.

Under the Cheribon Agreement the Dutch were forced to give de facto recognition to the Indonesian Republic, whilst the Republic, on the other hand, agreed to recognise the Netherlands Crown.

In spite of this, however, the Dutch imperialists, who have never given up their hopes of uprooting the Indonesian Republic, demanded of the Republican Government that a joint Dutch-Indonesian police force be established, under Dutch control, to maintain "law and order" in Java, Sumatra and Madura, although the Republican Government for two years had maintained law and order much better than when the Dutch were in complete control before the war.

The Dutch also demanded that they, and not the Republic, should appoint the diplomatic and trade representatives of Indonesia to foreign countries.

The Indonesian Government rejected both of these proposals as encroaching upon the sovereignty of the Republic.

When the Indonesian Government was reorganised and Dr. Sjarifoeden became Premier of a Cabinet that was stronger and more determined to press Indonesian claims than the Government led by Dr. Sjahrir, the Dutch decided to attack.

The Dutch forces have a great superiority of arms. The Indonesian military forces have very few modern weapons of warfare. The Government and the army command, therefore, decided to avoid pitched battles with the Dutch, to employ a scorched earth policy and wage guerilla warfare.

These military tactics have proved effective.

The Dutch militarists planned a short, sharp campaign. They informed the world that they were resorting only to "police action" and that the opposing forces would be "dispersed" within a week or 10 days, and that a "new Government" would be established with which the Dutch would negotiate.

They were wrong. The Dutch military gangsters only succeeded in seizing a number of large towns and ports. The Indonesians hold all the surrounding territory and have cut off Dutch spearheads. Instead of a passive population they are confronted with bitter hostility from the united Indonesian people. Thirty per cent. of Java's foreign-owned estates have been destroyed in accordance with the scorched earth policy, and vast supplies of rubber, oil, rice and other products that the Dutch planned to seize intact from the Indonesians have gone up in a "sea of flame".

The Sjarifoeden Government is intact. The Dutch have failed to establish the puppet government they had planned for.

The military aggression of the Dutch imperialists, which was calculated to defeat and enslave the Indonesians, has by no means strengthened the hold of the Dutch on Indonesia. It was an act of desperation which has intensified the hatred and bitterness of the Indonesian people and rendered even the co-operation envisaged in the Cheribon Agreement much more difficult.

There are still dangers for Indonesian independence, however. U.N.O.'s cease-fire order leaves the Dutch in possession of their military conquests. Nevertheless the offer of U.S. imperialism to mediate is the chief danger.

Not only the Dutch but also the American and British Imperialists want the Indonesian conflict settled outside of U.N.O. They are opposed to a U.N.O. Commission being appointed to arbitrate. American "mediation" will be a blow at Indonesia's aspirations and can only result in a settlement satisfactory to the Dutch, British and American monopolies.

The Indonesian Government, aware of the line-up of imperialist forces, is demanding that a U.N.O. commission arbitrate in the conflict. They have undertaken to abide by whatever decisions such a commission makes.

Australia is vitally concerned in the outcome of the Indonesian struggle. Reactionaries in Australia, Mr. Menzies, the newspaper magnates and others, who demand "neutrality", are in fact sup-

porting the Dutch imperialists. Their policy not only means the enslavement of Indonesia by the Dutch, but jeopardises the future of Australia. An Indonesia in chains to Dutch imperialism will always be a danger to Australia, a menace to our living standards, freedom and to our defence.

For the working class there can be no neutrality in this struggle. The 70 million people who inhabit the Indonesian islands are our closest neighbours. Having won their freedom and independence with the sympathy and assistance of the Australian people, they can be powerful friends and allies of ours, and that will be of immense importance for the defence of Australia.

The support of the trade unions of this country for Indonesian independence, the ban on Dutch ships, has created a firm bond between the Australian and Indonesian peoples that must be consummated in the future in the form of trade and defence agreements.

THE POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

LU TING-YI

(Lu Ting-yi is chief of the Department of Information of the Chinese Communist Party. This is a translation of an article which appeared in the "Yenan Emancipation Daily" in January, 1947.)

IT is now the new year 1947. We wish to make a survey of the entire international situation from all sides in order to dispel certain misconceptions in this field.

For the past year and more and right up to the present, because of the complicated changes in the situation and because of demagogic propaganda spread intentionally and widely by both Chinese and foreign reactionaries, there are still some people in the camp of democracy in China whose understanding of several basic questions of the post-war situation is not in accord, or not wholly in accord, with the actual state of affairs. These people include some Communists, some Left-wing critics, some middle-of-the-road critics. The purpose of this article is to offer a general interpretation of several of these basic questions.

Sixteen months have elapsed since the victory in the anti-fascist war. These sixteen months have been a period of extremely complicated changes in the international political situation. The course of changing affairs has taken many twists and turns. One set of conditions prevailed at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in London in September, 1945; there was a change at the time of the Moscow Foreign Ministers' Conference in December of the same year; another change took place in February and March of last year; while from September of last year onward still another change occurred.

After the many changes of the past sixteen months we have ample assurance in saying: the development of the international situation accords entirely with the prediction of Mao Tse-tung.

In "On Coalition Government," the political report of Comrade Mao Tse-tung to the Seventh National Convention of the Chinese Communist Party in April, 1945, he made the following prediction as to the new world situation that would follow World War II:

"This new situation differs greatly from that of the First World War and the so-called 'peaceful' period that followed. At that time there was no Soviet Union, such as the present one, nor was there such a degree of consciousness as is now shown by the people of Great Britain, the United States, China, France and the other anti-fascist allies, and naturally there could not be such a world unity as the present, headed by three great powers or five great powers. We are now living in an entirely new situation. In the world there now exist peoples and their organised forces who have been awakened and united and who are in the process of becoming more so. This determines the goal to which the wheels of world history are turning and the path that should be followed to reach it.

"The defeat of the fascist aggressor countries and the emergence of a general situation of peace will not mean there will be no more struggle. The widely scattered remnant forces of fascism will certainly continue to make trouble. The anti-democratic forces remaining in the camp of the anti-fascist war against aggression will continue to oppress the people. Therefore, after the realisation of international peace, the struggle between the anti-fascist masses of the people and the remnant forces of the fascists, between democracy and anti-democracy, will continue to occupy a major part of the world. The broadest peoples' victory can only arrive through a long period of energetic efforts to overcome the remnant fascist forces and anti-democratic forces. The attainment of this victory will certainly be neither very quick nor very easy, but it will nevertheless certainly come. The victory in the anti-fascist war—the just World War II—has opened the road to victory in the peoples' struggle in the post-war period, and it is only after such a victory that a stable and lasting peace can be guaranteed. This is the bright future lying before the peoples of the world."

I hope that all my readers will read carefully these words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung several times. This will help to a comprehension of the basic questions of the present international scene.

These words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung bring out two basic points :

The first basic point: victory in the anti-fascist war has opened the way to progress for the democratic forces in all nations. The extent of the progress of these democratic forces will be incomparably greater than after the First World War. An attack by the anti-democratic forces on the peoples of all nations must of necessity come. But the democratic forces will in the necessity of things be able to overcome the anti-democratic forces, secure their own victory, and win firm and lasting international peace. There are two necessities involved here: one, that the anti-democratic forces will of necessity attack, and, two, that the democratic forces will of necessity be victorious.

Thus all erroneous pessimistic contentions are swept clean away. These pessimistic contentions are: alleging that the extent of the progress of the democratic forces after World War II will be less than after World War I; statements about the "supercolossal" reactionary strength of American imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek and about how they will oppress the people of China and of the whole world until they will be unable to draw breath; statements that World War III is inevitable or that it will soon arrive, that firm and lasting peace cannot be attained, etc. All these points of view are clearly in error. The reason that these errors are made is that some people are misled by the temporary and outward appearance of the might of the international and domestic reactionary forces, or are blinded by reactionary propaganda and thereby overestimate the strength of the reactionaries and underestimate the strength of the people.

The second basic point: the struggle between the forces of democracy and anti-democracy will cover the greater part of the world. That is, in the world there is a Socialist Soviet Union in which there have long been no anti-democratic forces and therefore no internal struggle between democracy and anti-democracy. Other places in the world besides the Soviet Union—that is, the whole of the capitalist world—are filled with struggle between democracy and anti-democracy. Thus, following World War II, the dominant contradiction in the actual political world is between the democratic and anti-democratic forces within the capitalist world, not between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, and also not between the Soviet Union and the United States. To be more concrete, the dominant contradictions in the world at present are those between the American people and the American reactionaries, the Anglo-American contradiction, and the Sino-American contradiction.

The demagogic propaganda by reactionaries in China and abroad is thus thoroughly swept away, so that all good-hearted people will not be misled by it. Such dogmatic propaganda is: that the present dominant contradiction in the present world is that between the capitalist and socialist countries, that the Soviet-American contradiction is dominant while Anglo-American and Sino-American contradictions are secondary; that socialist and capitalist countries cannot peacefully co-operate, that Soviet-American war is inevitable; etc.

We shall elucidate below: (1) Who are the anti-democratic forces? What is their present and what will be their future role? (2) Who are the democratic forces? What is their present and what will be their future role?

After World War II, American imperialism took the place of fascist Germany, Italy, and Japan as the fortress of the world reactionary forces. The reactionary forces of the world are precisely the American imperialists with the addition of the reactionaries in various countries — China's Chiang Kai-shek, Great Britain's Churchill, France's de Gaulle, etc., and the fascist remnants — Spain's Franco government, Japan's Yoshida cabinet, Germany's Von Papen, Schacht, etc. The reactionaries of all countries and the fascist remnants have now all become traitors, directly or indirectly supported by American imperialism, selling out the peoples of all their respective countries.

America's wartime industrial production more than doubled in comparison with the pre-war period. American monopoly capital experienced tremendous growth during the war. At that same time, a gang of warlords arose in America. After the close of the war this gang of monopoly capitalists and militarists, this bloc of an extremely small handful of fanatical aggressors, advocated a policy of imperialist aggression to expand markets, wrest the markets, colonies, and semi-colonies of other capitalist countries, oppressing primarily the great colonial-imperial countries, Great Britain and France, and oppressing China, while at the same time exercising sole domination over Japan and Latin America. The American imperialists are carrying out this aggression under the slogan of "Open Door Policy," "Equal Opportunity," etc. Because American productive technique is very high and American monopoly capital tremendous the U.S. imperialists, no matter where they penetrate, need only have the conditions of "Open Door" and "Equal Opportunity" to be in an overwhelming position to drive others out and monopolise the market. Besides this, the American imperialists are undertaking large-scale military preparations against all other capitalist countries, colonies, and semi-colonial countries under all sorts of pretexts. Their military bases are spread over many countries outside the Soviet Union. American imperialism has through "peaceful" means occupied many "Pearl Harbors" in various countries while saying that this is "to prevent another Pearl Harbor."

In February and March of 1946, world reactionaries schemed to incite war against the Soviet Union. This was typified by the reactionary speeches of Churchill. That this aroused alertness in everyone was as it should be. Churchill's agitation met with opposition and the cold shoulder

from people all over the world, and the schemes of the reactionaries met with sorry defeat.

But the "Anti-Soviet War" propaganda begun by Churchill was treasured and continued by the American imperialists. The reason they cherish this kind of propaganda is not that they intend to launch an anti-Soviet war at the present time, but that the propaganda may be used as a smokescreen behind which to carry on their great world-wide aggression and their domestic oppression.

"Anti-Soviet" — what does this mean? Hitler's anti-Sovietism was another name for enslaving the German people and trampling on the peoples of Europe. Fascist Japan's anti-Sovietism was another word for enslaving the Japanese people and invading all countries on both sides of the Pacific. The anti-Sovietism of the American reactionaries cannot but be a word for enslaving the American people and launching aggression against the whole world.

There are, however, points of dissimilarity in the meaning of the present anti-Soviet slogan of the American reactionaries and that of the German and Japanese reactionaries in the past. Germany is very close to the Soviet Union and, granted the other conditions, German fascists could attack the Soviet Union. Japan and the Soviet Union were contiguous, but because the national strength of Japanese fascism was not as great as that of Hitler, Japan could only attack China and the Pacific areas and was defeated before she could invade the Soviet Union. America is very far from the Soviet Union and there are vast territories separating them. These in-between territories comprise all the capitalist countries, colonies and semi-colonial countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Under these and other conditions it is very difficult for the United States to attack the Soviet Union. The real significance of the American anti-Soviet slogan in the post-war period is its usefulness in oppressing the American people and in invading all countries outside the Soviet Union by "peaceful means."

(To be concluded next issue.)

"GOLDEN AGE" IS NOW A FADING MIRAGE

E. W. CAMPBELL

THE drying up of the world dollar pool and the near-exhaustion of the American loan to Britain has shown up Mr. Chifley's Golden Age as a receding mirage.

Twelve months ago Mr. Chifley confidently forecast that Australia stood on the threshold of a "wondrous age of industrial and commercial expansion." At that time the Attlee-Bevin Cabinet had just committed itself to an unofficial Anglo-American pact directed against the Soviet Union and the new European democracies. The "pay-off" for this new "Munich" sell-out was the 4,000,000,000 dollar Wall Street loan to Britain. It was expected by the borrowers that the loan would tide Britain over until 1950, by which time, they hoped, she would somehow or other have struggled back to her feet.

U.S. moneylenders, however, had different ideas. The ink had not dried on the signatures to the loan agreement before price rises in the United States cut the loan's value by more than one quarter. Further American price increases since have cut its value to about three-fifths of the original sum advanced.

Only a small portion of the loan, which is now nearly exhausted, has been applied to feeding British workers and re-equipping British industries. Most of it has gone towards the upkeep of more than a million British soldiers in a dozen foreign countries and the feeding of defeated Germans in the British occupied zone.

Several weeks before the current British dollar crisis broke into the open, Mr. Chifley was compelled by the unmistakeable signs of developing crisis in America to hedge on his earlier Golden Age forecast. He told the N.S.W. Labor Party conference that it seemed that an "economic recession" was on the way in U.S.A., but he hoped that Australia would be geared to meet it.

Australia will never be geared to meet the coming crisis while her foreign and economic policies are meshed to fit in exclusively with those of Britain and America.

As the dollar loan to Great Britain continues to run out like beer from a broached keg, Mr. Chifley will be compelled to take an even more sober view of things than he did at the A.L.P. conference.

While Mr. Chifley retreated from his Golden Age fantasy at the A.L.P. conference and at the same time recognised that certain groups [illegible] U.S.A. were striving for world domination, nevertheless, indicated that Australia would continue to maintain close ties with Britain and America. There is nothing objectionable in Australia maintaining close ties with Britain and America providing this is not done at the expense of worsening our relations with other countries. But Mr. Chifley gave no indication that it was the Government's intention to strive for closer political and economic relations with the Soviet Union, the new European democracies and colonial countries in process of liberation.

Circumstances today demand, with greater insistance than ever before, a change in the Evatt-Chifley policy. All the influence that Australia is capable of bringing to bear must also be used to change the present Bevin-Attlee policy. Unless the Bevin-Attlee policy is soon changed the deepening dollar crisis will compel Australia to drastically reduce her exports to Great Britain and at the same time cut her imports from both Britain and America.

The Bevin-Attlee policy rejects closer trading relations with the self-governing Dominions, the Soviet Union and the new European democracies and aims at exporting more goods to the dollar areas and less to sterling areas like Australia — a policy which not only deepens British subservience to dollar imperialism but hits the economy of Australia.

Curtailment of imports from Britain will greatly increase the shortage of consumer goods in Australia and make it harder to obtain the capital goods without which Australia will find it difficult to maintain the present level of employment, much less enter upon a "wondrous era of industrial and commercial expansion."

Biggest items on Australia's list of imports from Great Britain are textiles and machinery. Per[illegible]s the most important item imported from the [illegible]lar area is petrol. Imports of all three items will have to be further curtailed unless the current Attlee-Bevin policy is reversed. This will mean that clothes rationing, instead of being relaxed, as promised earlier, may have to be tightened up; petrol rationing, instead of being abolished, may become more severe, throwing additional burdens onto the transport system. Cutting down of machinery imports from Great Britain will seriously hamper the expansion of Australian industry and contribute to the spread of unemployment, unless alternative supply sources are tapped.

Australia's chief pre-war providers of capital goods — machinery and machine tools, etc. — were Great Britain, North America, Germany and Czechoslovakia. Imports from Great Britain will have to be cut severely, while Bevin and Attlee remain under the hypnotic influence of the Yankee dollar; additional imports from America are out of the question, while Chifley and Evatt are satisfied to play Trilby to Bevin and Attlee's Svengali; [illegible]rmany is not in the picture and will not re-enter [illegible]hile the Anglo-American pro-Nazi policy prevails; so there remains Czechoslovakia.

Australia at present ranks fifth last on the list of 28 countries with which Czechoslovakia has extensive trading relations. The only countries below Australia are Iceland, Palestine, South Africa and defeated Germany. Czechoslovakia's nationalised industries are turning out large quantities of high-class textiles, which could help relieve the shortage of men's and women's clothing and certain manchester lines in Australia. Czechoslovakia's nationalised industries are also turning out large quantities of machinery and machine tools, which could help re-equip Australian industries, which, in spite of war-time expansion of the engineering industry, are still dependent on imports for certain lines.

The Skoda works in Czechoslovakia, quite recently, supplied all the equipment to establish an electric power station at Skaerbaek in Denmark. Australia's premier city, Sydney, still suffers periodical blackouts because the main power house at Bunnerong cannot obtain urgently needed plant from Great Britain.

In return for the textiles and machinery which Czechoslovakia, an "easy currency" country, could send to Australia, she could take in return Australian wool, Australian ores and other products. The development of the Czechoslovakian market for Australian wool would help to avoid the slavish cringing to America to cut the wool tariff by a few cents a pound, in return for which the Chifley Government has expressed its willingness to sacrifice the future of the Australian dried and canned fruits industries and jeopardise the future of other important primary industries like sugar.

Others of the new democracies may soon have products, including capital goods, which can be readily exchanged for Australian products. Poland is already exporting textile machinery from Lodz. Restored industries in Silesia are starting on big machine-building projects. Poland will also be a big timber exporter before long and in a position to help break bottlenecks in Australia's housing programme. Poland, like Czechoslovakia, will need increasing quantities of Australian wool to supply her large textile industry.

It's not good enough for Mr. Attlee to refer in passing in the House of Commons to Australia's help in the past and to look forward to the unquestioning continuance of this assistance. The Australian people, if called on, will be quite willing to come to the aid of the British people, but not on the Bevin-Attlee terms.

In the common interests of the people of Britain and Australia the least the Chifley Government must demand in return for Australia's assistance in surmounting the present crisis is that the British Government should :

- Reject article nine of the American loan agreement, which forces Britain to cut imports from Australia when a shortage of dollars compels her to cut imports of identical lines from America;
- Accept the offer of mutual trade agreements from the Soviet Union and new European Democracies;
- Carry out a courageous policy of nationalisation of key industries and the acquisition of landed estates — deer parks, shooting boxes, and fox-hunting grounds — to be put under cultivation to help solve the food crisis.

Inside Australia, to really gear the nation to meet the coming economic crisis the Chifley Government should push ahead with the Labor Government's own programme of nationalisation of key industries; peg prices and profits; cut hours to 40 a week throughout Australia and increase the basic wage by at least the minimum of £1 demanded by the trade unions.

FRENCH POLICY DRIFTS TO THE RIGHT

JACQUES DUCLOS

(From "Democratie Nouvelle," June, 1947)

THE political situation in France before the war was marked by the chronic repetition of moves to the right following more or less closely on elections favorable to the left. Among the most typical examples of this evasion of the decisions of universal suffrage we can quote the 1924-28 legislature, which began with the victory of the Cartel des Gauches (Radicals and Socialists), to end up with a government led by Raymond Poincare, who had suffered a major defeat in the 1924 elections.

In 1932 the elections went to the left, and after the attempted coup d'etat plotted by the Fascists on 6th February, 1934, the rightward trend of French policy was to bring to power one after the other Doumergue, Flandin and Laval. But the formation of the Popular Front of bread, freedom and peace, with the particularly active participation of the Communists, was to lead to a democratic victory at the 1936 elections. This victory was a very promising one; it could have allowed, as the Communists proposed, the mustering against the increasing Hitlerite danger not only of all the more or less advanced democrats, but also of the great mass of patriots, worried about their country's future owing to the pressure and threats of Hitlerism.

But once again the people's will, which had clearly favored the left, was translated into a policy going further and further to the right. This policy was to lead us to the shame of Munich and then to the 1939 war which, in the minds of the Fascists and also of some other individuals, was to lead to the liquidation of the international Communist movement and the destruction of the land of Socialism.

Such class aims, in complete contradiction to the national interest, could not fail to lead the country to catastrophe, while playing into Hitler's and Mussolini's hands. During the black night of the occupation, we saw the so-called patriots of yesterday becoming accomplices of the invader, while the mass of the people, led by the working class, embodied the permanence of the national spirit through ceaseless and many-sided struggle.

But in this battle on which the future of France and also, to a certain extent, the future of international democracy depended, the possessing classes, the upholders of big capital, showed great capacity for manoeuvring. The possessing castes, rich families, business circles took all possibilities into consideration with the aim of protecting themselves on both sides.

During the first phase of the war, when a Hitlerite victory seemed certain to a pack of short-sighted politicians, the governing classes made common cause with Hitler. But this did not stop them from having their representatives in de Gaulle's clique, which, in the beginning, seemed to be as reactionary as that of Petain and differed solely on the problem of the attitude to be taken towards Hitler Germany.

Later on, of course, General de Gaulle was to be induced to talk of the Republic in his speeches and proclamations, but he did it more from calculation than conviction. Carrying on the resistance from outside, he was certainly not unaware that the resistance movement within France, on the soil of our invaded country, was avowedly Republican. Moreover, the important, not to say decisive, role played by the French Communist Party in the development of the struggle against the invader helped to give the French resistance a progressive, anti-reactionary character which General de Gaulle deemed it wise to take into account.

Certainly, for this officer with his reactionary training, brought up to scorn the Republic, there could be no question of adopting an attitude which would have led him to regard the cause of France and that of democracy as inseparable.

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From the moment of his arrival in Paris, when he was received as a distinguished guest by the Parisian people, who had just freed themselves by force of arms through the victorious insurrection in whose triumph the Communists had had a large share, General de Gaulle's first thought, his main concern was to reduce the French Communist Party's role in the political activity of the country to a minimum, and to isolate it. To do this, he sought to establish a basis for agreement between the Socialist Party and the Christian Democrats, who were shortly afterwards to form the "Popular Republican Movement" (M.R.P.).

On the basis of an alliance between the Socialist Party and the M.R.P., the municipal elections of April, 1945, appeared as an attempt to strike a blow at the influence of the French Communist Party, whose efforts and sacrifices for the liberation of the national soil had nothing to fear from comparison.

The elections, which were to have a provisional character owing to the absence of the prisoners of war and political deportees who were still held in Germany, did not give the results that General de Gaulle had expected. The position of the Communist Party, far from being weakened, showed itself on the contrary to be very strong, and reaction immediately understood that if unity of Communists and Socialists were realised, it would enable the working class to be a decisive force in the evolution of the French political situation.

The French Communist Party, conscious of its responsibilities, forcibly and clearly put the question of working-class unity and the formation of a French Workers' Party, which would result from the fusion of the Communist and Socialist Parties.

Unity of action, which had developed after the Liberation in fairly satisfactory conditions, was to be challenged again later on by Leon Blum, who had in the meantime returned from Germany where

he was imprisoned in very different conditions from those inflicted on ordinary political deportees.

Leon Blum's plan at the Socialist Congress of August, 1945, was to prevent organic unity of the working class, to prepare for liquidation of the unity of action between Communists and Socialists, and to create favorable ideological conditions for the co-ordination of efforts between the Socialists and the M.R.P.

At the Socialist Congress, Leon Blum attacked the conception of dialectical materialism and proposed to revise the first article of the Socialist Party Rules, which is formulated in this way: "The Socialist Party is founded on the following principles: international working-class understanding and action; political and economic organisation of the proletariat as a class party for the conquest of power and the socialisation of the means of production and exchange, that is, transformation of capitalist society into a collective or Communist society."

The text that was to be substituted for this was just confused and equivocal twaddle inspired by alleged "humanistic socialism" and intended quite simply to combat working-class unity and at the same time to justify coalitions between the Socialists and the M.R.P.

It was under these conditions that the Socialist Party and the M.R.P. agreed with de Gaulle to organise a referendum intended to limit the powers of the National Constituent Assembly, which was to be elected on October 21st, 1945.

The M.R.P., strong in its agreement with the Socialists, made itself out to be a republican party. Yet within it, beside a certain number of real resistance members, were to be found old reactionary gangs, happy to be able to appear under a democratic mask. The new feature in the political situation was the use by a party of reaction and by the clerical forces of France of a progressive mask to deceive part of the population. And it can be said that this political ambiguity, which obstructed the evolution of the situation in France, was the work of the Socialist Party in general and Leon Blum in particular.

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Nevertheless, after the elections of 21st October, 1945, to the first National Constituent Assembly, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party held 54.64% of the seats in France itself and they had an absolute majority in the Assembly through the support of a number of overseas deputies.

Consequently it would have been possible, when General de Gaulle voluntarily gave up power in January, 1946, to make the Communist Party and the Socialist Party the prime movers of French policy; but the Socialist Party strove to give the M.R.P. a most important role and aided the work of this group against the Constitution, which was subject to popular ratification.

After the Constitution had been rejected at the referendum on 5th May, 1946, elections took place on 2nd June, 1946, to appoint the second National Constituent Assembly. The Communist Party's vote increased, but the Socialist Party's dropped in favor of the M.R.P., into whose hands it had been playing.

Now, in the Second Constituent Assembly, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party only held 50.18% of the seats in France and only narrowly gained an absolute majority in some particular cases, through the support of the overseas delegates.

So the consequence of the Socialist Party's policy of division had been to weaken the Left, whereas undoubtedly, if the Communist Party's proposals for unity had not been rejected, we would have seen the working class and democratic forces emerge victorious from the elections.

The new constitution having been endorsed by universal suffrage on 13th October, 1946, elections for the National Assembly were held on 10th November, 1946; while the Communist Party increased its vote, being at the head of all the parties, the Socialists suffered another setback and a noticeable loss of seats. The two parties now hold only 47.56% of the seats in France and, in spite of a considerable Communist advance in the overseas territories, the Communists and Socialists no longer have a majority in the Assembly.

Yet, if the Socialists had been willing, it would have been possible even in the Assembly to form a democratic group around the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

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But this road was not taken by the latter, whose first gesture, after the elections of 10th November, was in practice to block the candidature of Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the Communist Party, to the presidency of the Government.

Since the Communist candidate had not been elected and the M.R.P. candidate, Georges Bidault, had been ousted after receiving less votes than Maurice Thorez, Leon Blum's candidature was put forward.

The issue was the formation of a transition government which was to last only till after the election of the President of the Republic, fixed for 16th January, 1947; but in some circles it was hoped that the government could be returned after this election.

Quite obviously, reaction's plan, after Leon Blum's election as President of the Government on 12th December, 1946, was to bring about the elimination of the Communists from the government.

The formation of an all-Socialist government was held to offer the best possibility of removing the Communists, and that is why Leon Blum's Government was greeted with joy by the reactionaries, happy to have at last found a government without Communists.

But after the election of the President of the Republic, continuance in power of the Leon Blum government did not prove possible. The return of the Communists to the Government could not be prevented without outraging the people's conscience. Nevertheless, in reactionary circles and even in the

Socialist Party the return of Communists to the government was looked on as a transitory measure and nothing would be neglected to bring about their exclusion.

It had become indispensable to drive the Communists out of the government because their presence hindered the development of a policy tending to deviate towards the right, both in foreign and home affairs.

In the matter of relations with the peoples of the French Union, the Communist Party stood out against the policy followed in Vietnam and demanded the cessation of hostilities, in a spirit of absolute loyalty to the principles expressed in the new Constitution of the French Republic. On the other hand, the Socialist Party once more showed the difference between words and deeds by supporting a policy of force inspired by the most detestable colonial methods, which it no doubt condemned in principle, but carried out in practice.

The French Communist Party, representing loyalty to democracy as well as the real national interest, emphasised that a policy of force towards the overseas peoples must finally result in undermining France's position. This would be to the advantage of imperialists who want to enslave our country and transform it into an obedient instrument of their expansionist policy.

Moreover, even before the Moscow Conference, changes could be noted in the conduct of France's foreign policy. The M.R.P., which had declared its desire to hold aloof from all blocs, chose to integrate France into a so-called Western political system. The clearest result of this is to lose us our rights to reparations and, in relation to Germany, to make France a card that the poker-players of Washington will use as they think fit.

The reconstruction of France is the last thing this policy cares about. It is more concerned with Germany's economical revival, under the wing of the international trusts, and for aims in which there is nothing particularly democratic.

France's interest demanded that in maintaining our absolute national independence we should make full use of the identity of the interests of our country and those of the U.S.S.R. on the matter of reparations and security, but quite a different path was taken. This is a characteristic of the drift to the right in French policy.

Who can doubt that pressure was exercised from outside to obtain such results? Business men and politicians from across the Atlantic made their pressure felt, and even the spiritual powers came to the aid of the temporal powers. The Vatican, which once, when our country was a big exporter of capital, proclaimed that France was the eldest daughter of the Church, is now turning away from our poor, anaemic, amputated franc and looking towards the land of the dollar, where the Church's doctrines can find more substantial support. So it can easily be understood that the Vatican's directors should have urged on the faithful a western policy that is less concerned with France's national independence than with the retention of certain class privileges.

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On the question of internal policy, the problem facing France is whether it is the privileged classes or the masses who, in the end, will pay for the country's reconstruction.

At the Communist Party's call, the workers boldly took up the battle for production. The level of French production reached 70% of the pre-war figure, but, on the other hand, while the ratio of prices to the pre-war period was 837% at the end of April, that of wages was only from 500 to 550%, according to grades. These figures show how the living conditions of the working masses have fallen, while capitalist profits were considerably increased. Moreover, they are trying to hide this fact by skilful dissimulation which assists tax evasion.

These conditions led the workers to ask for bonuses on production. No one can dispute the legitimacy and justice of this demand, yet the government would not accede to it. It was because the Communist ministers defended the workers' interests within the government that they were driven out by President Paul Ramadier on 5th May last.

Nevertheless, since then the government has been forced in self defence to agree to grant bonuses on production, because of the workers' calm, cool determination to enforce their rights.

People in high places are always talking about a stable currency, which is good; but they are trying to present the granting of bonuses on production as leading to inflation. This intentional sophistry tends to give the wrong emphasis to the problem of the security of the franc, which is closely linked to a firmer policy for lower prices. This policy, moreover, is in no way contradictory to the grant of bonuses on production and output, for capitalist profits have considerably increased recently.

But, through the weakness of the policy of the government, which did not wish to bring the masses into the struggle for lower prices, it had to be noted at the end of May, that if, from the beginning of the year to the end of April, the fall in prices initiated by Leon Blum had only been 3.3%, the rise had been 5.9% in May for retail prices, which gives an increase of 2.4% over January, while wholesale prices have just risen by 11.7%. These figures suffice to show how legitimate are the demands of the working masses.

Moreover, the problem of budgetary stability comes up with some force, and, to obtain it, on the one hand the inflated military expenses, necessitated by the existence of an over-large professional army, must be reduced; on the other, there must be more fairness in the placing of tax burdens. Capitalist profits must be hit harder and in particular there must be an end to the exemption from tax which benefits a considerable section of profits classed under the heading of reserves.

And so, against a background of bitter struggle, we see a drift to the right taking place in France

which could hold many dangers for the future and for the independence of the country, unless the popular forces succeed in checking it.

The working class is not isolated; its demands are the better understood by the peasants because it understands their demands. And the town middle class, struggling against a routine-loving and expensive bureaucracy, are also able to understand the workers' legitimate anxiety for a rise in their purchasing power. The shopkeepers can understand this position the better because already, while production has not yet reached the pre-war level and the needs of the masses are immense, signs of a slump can be seen, as a result of the crying lack of purchasing power.

The problem of this alliance of the working class and the middle classes is of the greatest importance. Official circles know this, and that is why it was hoped in high places that the workers, instead of fighting factory by factory, achieving bonuses on production, would start a general movement which could have been used as a bogey to mobilise the middle class behind reaction and isolate the working class, the better to defeat it. But the workers mean to remain masters of their own tactics and not have them imposed by their opponents.

The Ramadier government pushed its anti-working class activity very far by issuing a decree of requisition against the gas and electricity workers. Certainly, this decree has not been applied, but it is a dangerous precedent which can be used in the future.

So the Ramadier government is following a policy that is drifting to the right. Governmental circles, it is felt, desire to earn the confidence and aid of dollar diplomacy, whose best surest guarantee, moreover, General d to be.

In the eyes of some people the g ment is, no doubt, considered to be a stage in the move to the right which allows preparation for a future government still more definitely rightist, and the possibility of a de Gaulle government later on.

That is why it is correct to denounce as unacceptable the government policy which, on the pretext of avoiding de Gaulle, is, in short, carrying out his policy, which can finally lead only to the enslaving and oppression of France.

The working class and the mass of the people of France have a tremendous task to carry out, a task with international significance. If France continued to go to the right to the point of being but a kind of protectorate in which freedom would only be a memory, the cause of world democracy would be sorely stricken. But the French people will not allow these fatal moves along the path of reaction to come about. It will struggle, will fight to bring France back to the left, which will, moreover, bring up the question of the return of the Communists to the go ernment.

In the awe-inspiring and formidable battle being fought between democracy and reaction, a battle which, under different aspects, has just caused some stir in Hungary, in Italy, and which is the backcloth of the world political situation, France, to remain faithful to her revolutionary traditions, must defeat reaction. That is the great objective and the dominating idea of millions of French men and women who are concerned about their country's future.

THE MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

Statement by the Central Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain.

THE Communist Party condemns the proposals for the partition of India set out in the Mountbatten Plan, and reaffirms its support for the full independence of a united India.

The Mountbatten Plan can provide no final solution for India's problems.

The Communist Party recognises that within the sub-continent of India there are diverse national groups with their own languages and cultural traditions, and it is only through a self-determination of these nationalities that a real and lasting unity of the Indian people will be achieved. But the present proposed partition of India into Hindu and Moslem States, alongside the equally artificial boundaries of the Princes' States, has nothing in common with national self-determination.

It will aggravate Hindu-Moslem conflict and give rise to dangers of new conflicts over boundaries.

It hinders progressive development and urgently needed all-India planning.

It creates economic chaos; divorces agricultural areas from industrial areas; cuts across railway and irrigation systems; weakens India and opens the way for new imperialist intrigues to play off one section against another.

Government spokesmen have endeavoured to throw the responsibility for partition on to the shoulders of the Indian leaders.

But partition is the legacy of 200 years of "divide and rule." It is the result of the British Government's policy throughout the negotiations since the end of the war, namely, the refusal to hand over power to a sovereign, elected Constituent Assembly and to the majority leadership of the Indian people, and the placing of the right of veto in the hands of an obstructive minority.

Every effort will now be needed to overcome the difficulties created by partition, and to build an All-India Union based on the free participation of all the various national groupings of the Indian people.

The major Indian political organisations have accepted the Mountbatten Plan only as a temporary compromise. Congress has made it clear that it will continue to strive for the aim of a united democratic Republic of India.

All well-wishers of India will hope that the newly formed Dominion Governments will find the way to the closest possible practical co-operation, leading to the future unity of India.

The Mountbatten proposals for speeding up the promised transfer of power and for establishing Dominion Governments reveal the deepening crisis of the old imperialist rule in India and the powerful advance of the Indian liberation movement. Imperialism is compelled to make far-reaching concessions, at the same time as it endeavours to qualify these concessions by the imposition of partition, the maintenance of the power of the Princes, and new intrigues to maintain a military and economic grip upon the country.

The establishment of Dominion Governments, even though at present restricted in effectiveness by the evils of partition, will represent an important advance on the present status of the Interim Government. The existence and functioning of responsible Cabinets based on elected majorities (even though for the moment on a restricted franchise and communal electorates) will open the way to rapid democratic advance and planned economic and social development. It will enable Indian representatives to carry further forward the progressive role of India in the United Nations.

The fulfilment of these tasks will require the closest co-operation of all progressive sections of the national movement and the working-class movement on a common platform of democracy and national freedom.

The Indian working-class movement, the Communist Party, the All-India Trades Union Congress and the All-India Peasant Association, have stood in the forefront as the representatives of the unity of interests of the common people of India. They have maintained that unity unbroken in face of communal divisions and antagonisms; they have led the way in the fight to overcome such divisions. And they will lead the way forward in the fight for a united democratic India, based on national self-determination and voluntary co-operation of all national groupings, and for full political, economic and social liberation.

We in this country have a special responsibility to see that the transfer of power shall be real and effective in this critical hour of India's advance to freedom. We must be on guard against all the many intrigues and manoeuvres which will be employed by reaction to sabotage the establishment of a fully free, democratic and united India.

In particular, the Communist Party will campaign for the complete withdrawal of British troops and all military missions from India and the Indian States.

It will resolutely oppose the contracting of special treaties or the establishing of special direct relations with the Indian princes.

It will demand the full and equitable settlement, over a period of time and by methods agreed upon, of the sterling debt, in order to promote as rapidly as possible the reconstruction and industrialisation of Indian economy.

Similarly, we shall oppose any attempts to impose unequal economic agreements upon India or to interfere in the free development of her economy.

We shall expose and resist all attempts to encourage reactionary sections in India—whether among the Princes or within Pakistan, Hindustan or any part of India—to seek British support and interference for their special ambitions. For such interference can only hinder the development of national unity for an All-Indian Union and sovereign democratic independence.

Above all, we shall work for the closest political and economic collaboration between the British people and the people of India on a democratic and equal basis in the interests of world peace and world prosperity.

We, therefore, welcome the new Dominion Governments in India as allies and friends of the world democratic forces, believing that their people, who have suffered so much under imperialist rule, can and will play a great part in the world today against the aggressive demands of British or American imperialism, and for the strengthening and protection of the democracies.

We further believe that it will be to the great advantage of both British and Indian people if, on the basis of complete equality, the closest economic collaboration is established with a view to rapid development of India's economy and for the expansion of trade and the frustration of American ambitions to impose its dollar imperialism and political domination throughout the world.

WHO IS STARTING A NEW ARMAMENT RACE?

MAJOR-GENERAL M. GALAKTIONOV

THE world has just come through the most sanguinary and destructive war in history, a war started by the fascist aggressors. The nations want peace. They want a durable and lasting peace, not the kind that existed between the first and second world wars. The peoples cannot reconcile themselves to a peace that is actually filled with preparations for a new war and a race in armament — it outrages their sense of morality and justice.

History has made it perfectly clear what an armament race means. It manifests itself in very definite ways: in the excessive piling up of armaments and the spread of militarism in certain countries. It inevitably leads to a monstrous inflation of military expenditure and weighs as a heavy burden on the people. Although blood is not flowing on the battlefields, war invades every artery of the life of the nations.

One need not waste many words to demonstrate that armament races are started by those who are preparing for war. The examples of Hitler Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan are fresh in our memories. These countries frantically built up their armaments precisely because they were aggressor countries.

History also teaches that an armament race may be started under the hypocritical flag of peace. From time immemorial aggressors have exploited the old Roman proverb: Si vis pacem para bellum —if you want peace, prepare for war—as a pretext to impose, by means of preparing an aggressive war, a **Pax Romana** on other nations—a peace based on the Roman sword.

Peace and armament race are mutually exclusive concepts. If there is an armament race there is no real peace. This concept of modern democracy has been embodied in the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 14, 1946, on the principles governing general regulation and reduction of armaments. The resolution says :

"In pursuance of Art. 11 of the Charter and with a view to strengthening international peace and security in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, the General Assembly recognises the necessity of an early general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces."

Accordingly, the General Assembly recommended the Security Council "to give prompt consideration to formulating practical measures" for the implementation of the decision.

But when the Security Council proceeded to carry out this instruction, it appeared that the American and British representatives were interpreting the General Assembly's resolution in a way which was in obvious contradiction to its real meaning and purport.

At the meeting of the Security Council of February 4, the American representative, Senator Austin, declared :

"Following the first world war the United States had bitter experience with unilateral disarmament. My government will not repeat this error. Twice in the past generation we were compelled to take part in great and bloody wars. In neither case were we equipped at the outset with armaments which other peace-loving states might have wished us to possess Had we possessed adequate armaments, both wars might have been avoided."

By this reference to history, Austin is proclaiming the very ancient motto: to prevent war, we must arm for war. But does not everybody know that the first world war came in the wake of the armament race started by Germany, and that the second world war broke out because the aggressors were allowed the opportunity to arm. The League of Nations swamped the problem of general disarmament in futile and interminable talk. Both these examples show that piling up armaments does not prevent war; it leads to war. Yet Austin declared :

"In any plan or programme for the general regulation and reduction of armaments practical security arrangements must be the primary considerations. Members of the United Nations must have definite and concrete assurances that effective enforceable safeguards regarding such security arrangements have been established before committing themselves to final plans for a reduction of armaments and armed forces."

Thus Austin is not willing to regard reduction of armaments as one of the major safeguards of the peace and security of nations, as is specifically laid down in the General Assembly's resolution. On the contrary, he holds that armament reduction must have as its premise "practical arrangements" for and "safeguards" of security. But what can be the value of such arrangements and safeguards if the armaments of the individual countries are not reduced, not even regulated by general agreements of the United Nations? Is it not obvious that in talking about safeguarding peace and security, Austin is actually advocating unrestricted arming — for the United States, of course, in the first place. His assurances of his desire to safeguard peace are unconvincing, for growing armament is indicative not of a stronger peace, but of preparation for war. Austin's statement can only be interpreted as an ideological camouflage for a new armament race.

The British representative, Sir Alexander Cadogan, speaking in the Security Council's Conventional Armaments Commission on March 24, fully endorsed Austin's arguments. He said that in examining the problem of the general reduction and

regulation of armaments, the following principles must be observed :

"First, reduction and regulation of armaments and armed forces depends primarily upon the establishment of international confidence," and, "secondly, on completion of international arrangements for collective security. . . . These arrangements should, therefore, be completed before any practical measures to regulate or reduce armaments are actually adopted. . . Thirdly, the establishment of an effective system of international control and verification must precede the adoption of any system for the regulation and reduction of armaments."

This is just as in the days of the League of Nations: talk of collective security runs parallel with actual increase of armaments. And the parallel lines never meet.

In considering the armament race which has already begun, it is necessary to bear in mind the peculiarities of the present situation. Hardly two years have elapsed since the end of the war. During the war, the countries of the United Nations that took an active part in the fight against Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan were compelled by force of circumstances to create huge armies and abundant munitions of war. This fact must not be lost sight of when examining the problem of general regulation and reduction of armaments.

It was on the initiative of the Soviet Union that the question of reducing armaments was raised. Thereby our country demonstrated its genuine desire for universal peace and security. It is precisely in the present condition of affairs that the question of general regulation and reduction of armaments, which assumed enormous proportions during the war, acquires particular urgency. Since the General Assembly adopted its resolution, the Soviet representatives have been energetically insisting in the Security Council that it be put into effect without delay. The desire of the Soviet people for enduring peace was reflected in the drastic reduction of the allocations for military expenditure in its budget; they now amount to only 18 per cent of total expenditure.

The attitude of the American and British representatives in the Security Council testifies to a diametrically opposite position, namely, a refusal to accept a general regulation and reduction of armaments at once, without delay. The chief and evident concern of the United States and Great Britain is to retain and partly even to increase their major wartime armaments.

It is quite clear that the United States wants to preserve the advantages in armaments it attained during the war. This applies first and foremost to the atomic weapon. But there is another reason why the American militarists fear a clear and explicit statement of the issue and open discussion. We are referring to the U.S. navy, which attained immense proportions and is superior to the navies of all the other countries put together. This year the United States is reducing her naval appropriations from last year's $6,500 million to $4,400 million. But, of course, this does not imply any reduction of armaments, for the American navy remains the strongest in the world nonetheless. Lastly, the United States has no desire to reduce its air force, and is taking energetic measures to equip it with the most-up-to-date machines.

It is quite understandable that, retaining these major positions in the field of armaments, the United States could consent to a certain reduction of its army from its wartime strength to 1,070,000 men. After all, this is a huge army, bearing in mind, firstly, that the United States has no reason to worry about the security of its land frontiers, and, secondly, that before the war it had a regular army of 174,000 men. America was also able for the time being to give up compulsory military service and to count upon filling an army establishment of this size by voluntary recruitment.

In spite of all this, in the new fiscal year military appropriations to the vast sum of more than $11,00[illegible] million are contemplated, which represent nearly one-third of America's total budget expenditure. In the budget discussions in the Senate and House committees it was revealed how great is the discontent of the people with the heavy burden these immense military expenditures impose upon them.

While placing every obstacle in the way of a reduction of armaments, the American militarists are endeavouring to maintain industry in a state of readiness for a mass-scale production of armaments and are spending vast sums on scientific research for the invention of new weapons and the perfection of old ones.

All these measures for the retention and increase of armaments are designed to back expansionist plans of the United States: the creation of a chain of military bases in areas located thousands of miles from her frontiers, the military measures in Canada, Japan, China, Iran, Turkey, and Greece, the dismemberment of Germany, and so on.

As to Great Britain, her desire is to preserve and enlarge her naval and air arms in the first place. The new budget provides for an expenditure on the air force of £213,000,000, which is £19,000,000 more than the wartime expenditure. Expenditure on the army is cut; its size is reduced, but it still remains at the very high strength of 1,210,000 men. Conscription is introduced in Britain in peacetime. The debate in the House of Commons on the national service bill reflected the intense dissatisfaction prevailing in the country at the growth of militarism. The government was forced to make a certain concession to public opinion and introduced an amendment to the bill reducing the term of military service from eighteen months to one year.

More than one-fourth of the budget expenditures — some £900,000,000 — is allocated to the armed forces. This will lay a heavy burden on the country's economy. The plea of security advanced by government circles is swamped in a sea of accusations levelled at the maintenance of British troops in many countries that were not former enemies and the huge expenditure this entails.

The criticism which the new armament race policy is meeting both in Great Britain and the United States indicates that it is causing serious alarm among the masses. Past experience teaches that armament races can never lead to any good, and that if peace and security are to be safeguarded, speedy and effective measures must be taken for general regulation and reduction of armaments.

It is from this angle that one must evaluate the position taken by the Anglo-Saxon representatives on the Security Council in the discussion of measures to effectuate the General Assembly's resolution on general regulation and reduction of armaments.

PICASSO AND THE ARTS UNDER CAPITALISM

JOHN OLDHAM

TO many Communists Picasso is puzzling. They consider his art obscure and unintelligible. Yet Picasso all his life has had a great love of humanity. In his early painting of the "Blue" and "Pink" periods, it was from the ordinary people that he drew his inspiration. Then, when Franco attacked the democratic forces in Spain, far from thinking that the artist is "above" politics, he contributed much of his fortune to assist the Spanish Government, and used his art to attack and expose the fascists. He played an heroic part in France during the occupation. And now he is a Communist.

Yet in the "Tribune," 6/8/46, Derek Karton, a French writer, while paying a tribute to Picasso as a man, made the following statement :

"But having said this one must still add that both the Picassos and the Massons suffer fatally from the 40 years of barren experimentation with form in which the most talented artists have indulged in their despair with the world in which they found themselves."

I do not agree with Karton's statement as reported in the "Tribune," but for the moment it will serve to illustrate the profound contradiction that appears to exist between Picasso as a man and Picasso as a painter.

We cannot estimate Picasso and his work without some clarity on two fundamental questions:— first, What is art, especially visual art? and secondly, What effect does capitalism have on art and the artist? But before we deal with these, something about his life and work may be useful.

Picasso was born in Malaga, Spain, in 1881. His father was a professor of painting in Barcelona. He used drawings to express himself from his earliest childhood, and at the age of 14 painted a beautiful representational portrait of his sister which is the envy of many mature artists today. He went to Paris in 1900 and has spent most of his life there. At first influenced by representational experiments, he soon began experimenting on his own account, challenging all accepted canons of picture painting. In the words of one of Australia's foremost art authorities, Mr. Hal Missingham, Director of the National Art Gallery :

"His development of the form of painting created such a stir and such a commotion that the noise of battle has not yet died away. . . Whatever form his paintings take, almost all have an unmistakeable touch of magic, a sureness about them that is satisfying and exciting. He paints objects as he thinks and feels them, by no means as he sees them. . . Like all really first-rate artists Picasso is above classification. He is, I think, the spirit and moving force of our epoch."

Picasso has quite definite views about himself and his art. Interviewed about 1930, he said :

"I am not a pessimist. I do not hate art, for I could not live without consecrating all my hours to it. I love it as the total aim of my life. Everything that I do relative to art gives me great joy."

And of patrons — bourgeois patrons — "They take what they can and where they can. . . They make everything in their own image, from God to a picture. That is why the patron is the destroyer of painting."

From the above it is clear that Picasso has a very great reputation as an artist, and that he is sincerely devoted to his art.

Now for the two questions I mentioned earlier. First, What is art? Here is my definition: "Art is that particular quality attached to the products and activities of man, which gives us an emotional and intellectual stimulus distinct from the material use-value of the work." Visual art is the art which includes all man-made objects intended to appeal predominantly to the sense of sight — that is, the sense of sight rather than the sense of hearing, touch, smell or taste. Visual art then includes an enormous field. It includes painting, photography, the film, sculpture. It includes many objects in which the use-value predominates. But for our purpose it is important to separate the artistic value from the use-value. To illustrate: two chairs may be made by two men. Both may fulfil their function of supporting a human being in a sitting posture quite adequately. But one may be a great work of art, the other purely a use-value.

If we accept the foregoing definitions, it is clear that painting is only part, though an important part, of visual art. Picasso is a painter. Most of his work consists of colors, lines and tones applied to a flat surface enclosed in a frame.

Many of us today still demand of our painters entirely representational paintings and drawings, and we judge a painting in terms of the closeness of its direct imitation of nature. Yet in dealing with

music, we would not dream of making the same demand of our composers.

Painting is a visual art, dealing predominantly with the sense of sight. Music is an art dealing almost exclusively with another of our senses, the sense of hearing. Painting draws its inspiration from the world around us, and interprets this inspiration in a visual way, on a flat surface, with colors, tones, shading and textures. There is a definite range of colors, based on the colors we detect in nature, and these colors have a range within themselves from dark in tone to light. The composer, whether of songs or instrumental music, draws his inspiration from the world around us, but interprets it in terms of sound, using an instrument (either human or otherwise) which gives him a range of notes from which he may select those he requires for his composition. The notes are based on the sounds we detect in nature. They range from high pitch to low, from soft tone to loud.

If a musical composition is just an arrangement of notes which brings out fully the quality and beauty of the notes themselves, and which doesn't attempt to represent anything exactly from life, we can still admire it even though we are not great students of music. But if one of our painters makes a composition of colors and tones which brings out fully some quality of the colors and tones themselves, and doesn't attempt to represent anything exactly from life, some people say: "What's he driving at? Can't he paint things as we see them?"

I am not advocating that our painters should all go abstract. That would be a catastrophe. But just that when we see an abstract painting by any painter, let us approach it with sympathy and an open mind, not condemn it with ignorance and prejudice.

Now for our second question: "What effect does capitalism have on art and the artist?" One most significant result of capitalism which greatly affected the arts was the enormous extension of the division of labor. During feudalism many of the useful objects needed by man were works of art produced by individual craftsmen. Crockery was made by the potter on the potter's wheel and so on. The craftsman could take a joy and a pride in the work of his own hands. What happened when capitalism took over? To quote Marx:

"While simple co-operation leaves the mode of working by the individual for the most part unchanged, manufacture thoroughly revolutionises it, and seizes labor power by its very roots. It converts the laborer into a crippled monstrosity, by forcing his detailed dexterity at the expense of a world of productive capabilities and instincts. . . The knowledge, the judgment, and the will, which, though in ever so small a degree, are practised by the independent peasant or handicraftsman, . . . these faculties are now required only for the workshop as a whole."

This process has been greatly accelerated in recent years by the widespread use of mass production. Perhaps the best example is a Henry Ford assembly line where a worker does a simple operation with two fingers of one hand for the whole of his working life.

For the artist — and by artist I also mean the artist-handicraftsman — the advent of capitalism and the acceleration of the division of labor was disastrous. Other specialists such as scientists and engineers were useful to capitalism, and science received an enormous stimulus. But art was considered a luxury. In the words of Marx: "Capitalism is hostile to art." The artist has either to take a "useful" job in industry as described above or starve in a garret. Many artists who didn't take the industrial job became outcasts from bourgeois society, were treated as useless and slightly queer. Works of art, instead of being incorporated in the general process of social life, were relegated to special museum-like structures called galleries, standing apart from the life of the community.

Capitalism was hostile to art, and conversely artists became hostile to capitalist society. They sought a solution to their problems by retiring into an ivory tower, became obsessed with personal problems.

It was into this environment that Picasso was born. It has been in an environment of decaying capitalism that he has spent the whole of his creative life.

Despite the fact that Picasso was not fully conscious of what was going on around him, I believe much of his work reflects very effectively the anarchy, horror and cruelty of capitalism in decay.

As far as they are interested in art, the capitalists wish it to be ordered, romantic, express serene beauty, gloss over ugliness. Picasso refused to subject himself to the lies and deceit involved in this sort of painting.

One of the objects of Picasso was to break through the romantic vision or conception of painting handed down to us from the immediate past. And in this he achieved his object. His success has been an inspiration to other arts, particularly architecture. That is why I cannot agree with the characterisation of the work of this painter by Karton as "forty years of barren experimentation with form." It is true that during those forty years Picasso was experimenting with form, but these experiments were far from barren.

Communists naturally wish to see great social themes expressed in works of art; but I believe that Communists should be careful in their criticism of art and artists, should be quite certain they understand their subject before indulging in criticism in Marxist terms. By this I don't mean that Communists should hesitate to criticise the politics of an artist. If an artist indulges in politics, either consciously or unconsciously (and we must encourage them to do so) we must be exacting in our criticism.

Capitalism is hostile to art. And in greater and greater numbers artists are becoming actively hostile to capitalism. Artists, frustrated and disgusted with their treatment in capitalist society, are seeking a solution to their problem. They can be our allies in the class struggle, for their problems cannot be solved until socialism is achieved.

When an artist comes to the class struggle, when he makes the final important step of joining the Communist Party let's accept him as we accept any other skilled tradesman. We don't say to carpenters, or ironworkers: "From now on, you must not experiment in form and method. From now on, you must produce only Communist houses, Communist machines and Communist chairs and tables."

Let's say instead to our artists, in the words of Comrade Harry Gould:

"Be Communists! Feel, as a Communist should, a hatred for social oppression and injustice. Try to understand what is happening in the world, what fascism means, what the free enterpriser aims at. . . If you do, then you will, I am sure, imbue your art with greater feeling and vision. You will know what to write about, or sculpt, or compose, and the added knowledge and purer emotion will advance your art."

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

NORMAN FREEHILL

ERNEST BEVIN, knight in shining armor for all that represents freedom, democracy and independence, having thumped a few tables to pieces, is almost in tears at the obstinacy of the Egyptians. Obstinacy about the Sudan. Obstinacy about the British keeping their army in Egypt.

Mr. Bevin is sentimental about "the way being left free for Sudanese independence." About the British Army in Egypt Mr. Bevin has not the same smoke-screen material of sentimentality.

Mr. Bevin wants the Sudan to continue its present independent course (under British control) with the right to complete independence "when the time is ripe" (British monopoly capital to decide when the time is ripe).

Mr. Bevin discussed this with Sidky Pasha—representative of the Egyptian Federation of Industries and agent of British Imperialism—in December last. In return for this I'll take my—and Winston's—troops out of Egypt, just across the Canal. This will pacify your nationalists and be a nice, handy position from which we can move in again to protect your interests—and ours, of course!—should your intellectuals, workers and peasants take too seriously this dangerous democracy talk which is floating around the world.

This gangster-hijacker bargain between Mr. Bevin and Sidky Pasha was set out in a protocol in December. Its publication caused an uproar comparable to the public reaction to the infamous Hoare-Laval Pact to divide up Abyssinia.

The uproar in Egypt was so great that Sidky's "health" was affected and he resigned. Nor has the protest eased in the succeeding months.

Under the pressure of the rising Nationalist wrath Nokrashy, on January 27, said the matter would go to U.N.O.

The progressive forces—intellectuals and workers—built on the move with a slogan: To U.N.O. —but with a democratic Government! This is disturbing to a Government which restricts the franchise and, when the votes are cast, makes doubly sure by faking the ballots. It will also disturb Dr. Evatt, "Stabber Jack" Beasley and other Australian politicians and spokesmen tailing behind British Imperialism, who boil with indignation about the wrongs of the poor, downtrodden Fascist elements in the new democracies, but who have carefully overlooked, amongst a host of other things, the "minor" matter of British subjugation of Egypt and the Sudan.

Nokrashy Pasha succeeded Sidky Pasha as Prime Minister. He heads a Government which represents only the extreme right wing of Egyptian reaction. The popular (bourgeois) party, the W.A.F.D., is not represented in the Government. In the Sydney Morning Herald of March 22 was a nauseating article on Nokrashy headed "Egypt Is Led By Her Worthiest Son," in which was said: "His two noted characteristics are his honesty and courage."

What might be said of Nokrashy is that he is better than Sidky. Just as it might be said of Lucky Luciano that he is better than Al Capone.

Nokrashy reads the Bevin-Sidky-hatched protocol as he wants to: Complete unity with Egypt so that the unselfish feudal lords and boutgeoisie can prepare the Sudanese for "self-government." This cuts the string which Bevin so cleverly attached to the protocol, a string which he thought was sufficiently long to bolt the Sudan door to Egypt or unbolt it to Britain, as circumstances might require.

It's an awkward situation. But the boys at the Foreign Office told Mr. Bevin not to lose heart. Just as General Smuts got petitions signed by West African chiefs calling for absorption into the Union of South Africa, so the Foreign Office minions in Sudan have been seeking signed declarations from its bribed Sudanese officials and subsidised Sudanese tribal chiefs requesting separation from Egypt and a British trusteeship until the Sudan is ripe for independence!

Sir Abdel Rahman Al Mahdi Pasha, staunch friend of the British, went to London to help on the good work of Imperialism.

The general crisis of capitalism is sharpening. The structure of Imperialism is rending under the stress and strain of its inherent contradictions. So widely is this recognised in international circles as to render difficult the old-time hypocritical diplomatic subleties: the niceties of speech that cloaked the threat of murder and large-scale theft.

In March of last year, Prime Minister Attlee announced that it had been decided to withdraw

British troops from Egypt "unconditionally." In this he was consistent, as British Governments have been making the same promise since 1881! And the Foreign Office maintained its consistency by ignoring Attlee's promises, just as it has done Bevin's, when such promises cut across Imperialist interests. The troops are still in Egypt!

The Executive Committee of the British Communist Party expressed its opinion of Attlee's promise re Egypt (and other colonial and dependent countries) in these terms: "The subject people are not deceived either by specious constitutional reforms or by declarations of sham independence, which seek to deflect the demand for freedom, but which leave unchanged the real substance of power, the fact of military occupation and the economic relations which are the essence of Imperialist domination."

The statement specifically demanded (inter alia) the complete withdrawal of troops from the Sudan and Egypt.

All Mr. Bevin's word-spinning cannot hide the fact that the Egyptian people do not want the British armed forces; cannot hide the fact that Britain has armed forces in Egypt for protection of its Imperialist interests in Sudan, Egypt, Lebanon, Transjordan, Irak, Iran, India, and Africa.

As the influential London "Economist" indicated clearly early in the discussions, Britain is adamant about the Sudan and Egypt. Egypt (said the "Economist") must be adequately defended "against any conqueror wishing to tamper with its riches and with the many British Imperial interests which lie just beyond."

So too with the Sudan, for British finance capital keeps a grip on Sudan's revenue and British industrialists and their Indian offshoots take 66 per cent. of its cheaply-produced raw products (chiefly cotton).

"The Economist's" cold-blooded declaration of Imperial gangsterism makes Mr. Bevin's task of "explaining" a little difficult.

However, his thumps and rants for Sudanese independence ("when the time is ripe") are equalled only by the altruism and high-mindedness of the Egyptian feudal landowners and bourgeoisie. The Sudanese (they say, without table thumps) must be given the right to ally themselves with their economic, social and blood brothers of the Nile Valley!

"We just could not face the British people if we failed to guarantee the Sudanese that independence which means so much to them," says Mr. Bevin.

"We would start back aghast at our reproving consciences if we did not insist on our Sudanese brothers being linked with us," say the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

Pretty fiction, star-distant in each case from the fact, which is that the British Imperialists and the Egyptian feudal lords and war-profit-bloated Egyptian capitalists cannot agree to split the rich Sudan watermelon between them.

Why don't they? For two main reasons, both being contradictions inherent in capitalism.

First contradiction is that which is expressed in the antagonism between the Imperialist Powers in their fight for territory, for sources of raw materials, for markets.

To that clash of economic interests is added the second contradiction, "the antagonism between the handful of ruling 'civilised' nations and the hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples of the world." In this case "dependent" Egypt and "colonial" (under a mask of the condominium) Sudan.

And the moves for independence in both Sudan and Egypt are rampaging these democratic days.

Out of exploitation and oppression by "a ruling 'civilised' nation," has arisen in Egypt and the Sudan a class of proletarians ". . . . a native intelligentsia, the awakening of a national consciousness, the strengthening of the liberation movement."

Current history brings out with stereoscopic sharpness those Leninist truths.

Sections of the colonial bourgeoisie at times even forget their long-range economic interests in the bitter, burning shame of past oppression.

For the British Imperialists have made little pretence of hiding their domination of both Egypt and the Sudan. Incident after incident in Egypt's history since the 'Sixties has shown, how insolent has been the rule of the Effendi.

Some of these incidents have eaten like acid deep into the consciousness of the people. The British Government admitted in the House of Commons on May 15, 1919, that about 1,000 Egyptians had been killed because of the killing of some soldiers and a British officer who, earlier, had been responsible for the death of an Egyptian.

Let us glance briefly backward at the Sudan. Sudan was freed for British capital—and democracy, of course!—in 1898. Australia of those days, saturated with the metho. spirit of imperialism, sent a contingent. The battle for Sudan was frightfully tough! But democratic machine guns and cannon and civilised armies triumphed over the spears of the barefooted barbarian Sudanese.

For the next half-century British guns and martial law protected the Sudanese from such devices of the devil as hospitals, education, health measures, trade unions, and the vote. British Imperialism saw to it that the Sudanese did not get involved in modern rubbish such as factories, manufacture and industry generally. It mapped out a policy which forced the Sudanese into poverty and semi-feudal bondage. It used every device to keep the eight million or so peoples divided. Artistically-created antagonisms between the Arabic north and the multi-racial south were carefully fostered to keep the people from unitedly demanding their rights.

The actual political set-up was clearly stated by Sir Sidney Low in "Egypt in Transition":—

"The Sudan is divided into 14 provinces, each presided over by an English Mudir or Governor, responsible to the Governor-General, who is nominally responsible to the Khedive (now King) of Egypt and to the King of England; actually responsible to nobody, unless it be to the British Agent in Cairo who is, in theory, one of the foreign Consuls-General, and, in reality, the representative of the British Government, which controls the Government of Egypt."

A little cotton-ginning was the only industry allowed the Sudanese. Main activity was and is the cotton growing of the big English monopoly, the Sudan Plantation Syndicate.

Sudan is not a colony. (This statement always wins a laugh in the Sudan!) It is ruled under a condominium which provides for joint rule by England and Egypt. (This statement always wins a laugh in Egypt!)

Sudan is dry in the north, has a huge rich agricultural area in the south, but, most important, within its area lies the source of the White Nile, chief wealth-giver to the lower Nile irrigation areas. And the flooded and irrigated narrow strip of highly fertile land along the banks of the Nile is Egypt. The rest of Egypt isn't even good building sand.

But the Sudan has other great importance to Mr. Bevin's masters: it has a Red Sea coastline.

As Douglas Wilkie said in Sydney "Sun," 23/9/46: "Britain has economic and strategic interests in the Sudan, plus an obligation to the Sudanese, who are less likely to get a square deal from their Egyptian neighbours than their British oppressors." (Oppressors! Tch, tch!)

Over the past 10 years or so a national movement has emerged in the Sudan—the Graduates' General Congress. Formed with British approval and pursuing for some time a progressive educational policy (it has built more than 100 schools since its formation) it has striven to eliminate illiteracy. These efforts won for it place in the hearts of Sudanese and allowed it to move to a political activity which, in 1941, could demand self-determination with economic development by the Sudanese. The hand-picked, British-owned, Sudanese "Government" refused to pass the demand along to London.

The Graduates' Congress recently joined with the Ashigga, Unionists, Liberals and Liberal-Unionists in forming the Sudanese National Front. In March the S.N.F. demanded "establishment of a democratic Government in the Sudan as quickly as possible."

An S.N.F. delegation visiting Middle East countries was repudiated by the recently-resigned Governor-General (Sir Hubert Huddlestone), which suggests that the United Front is worrying the Foreign Office.

It looks as if the worries are likely to increase. In June, the British Civil Secretary of the Sudan Government (Mr. Robertson) suspended three National Front papers for their anti-Imperialist comment. The Sudanese Journalists' Union protested and all Arab papers in the Sudan decided to cease publication. Popular feeling rose so high that tanks were brought out by the British authorities. However, so general was the protest that the suspense orders were withdrawn.

The paper "Al Balagh" commented dryly that suspension was the British way of "granting the Sudanese the right freely to decide their future."

Now (August 11) comes word of a strike of 7,000 Sudanese railway workers. With the workers allied to the Sudanese intelligentsia and nationalist bourgeoisie the Sudanese may decide to do their own deciding.

The Egyptian landholders have their eyes to the rich land in the south and their thoughts on the control of the Nile head-waters which are the life-blood of Egypt. In addition, the war-nourished Egyptian industrialists, now frantic for markets, and realising that their exploited, poverty-stricken peasantry cannot absorb local industrial production, are looking to the Sudan and elsewhere in the Middle East.

But British finance-capital also has its eyes on the land (it has its hands on it anyway!) and on Sudan as a market. British finance-capital also has its thoughts on the control of the Nile waters, realising full well that this means the control of Egypt.

Nokrashy Pasha borrowed in June last a well-worn red bogey from his Turkish feudal friends and sent a shiver up the spine of the U.S. State Department as a preliminary to asking for "a substantial loan." According to that paper "Al Nida" "Negotiations have made definite progress. Egypt has accepted the American condition by which a special position in the defence of the Canal Zone will be granted to the U.S.A."

Disturbing to Egyptian and British bourgeoisie is that the Egyptian workers are gathering strength. Hundreds tried to prevent supplies being loaded on the Dutch liner "Volendam" at Port Said (S.M. Herald 11/8/47) and there is increasing evidence of widening union and political activity.

Hard-pressed by the stand-over tactics of its bloated American brother, British finance-capital is almost frantically holding to what it has, and will relinquish even a portion only as a final desperate compromise. At the moment, armed with the huge Egyptian sterling balance — probably £500,000,000 — which it holds in its grip, it believes it can out-blackmail, out-bully, out-sell and out-fight what it must view as the insolent Egyptian upstarts.

The Sudanese and the Egyptian people should benefit from this strife between Egyptian and British capital. To what extent is difficult to say in view of the division among the Egyptian bourgeoise and the numerical weakness of the proletarian leadership and the extreme backwardness of the peasant masses of both countries.

Still, these days events move quickly, and when thieves fall out . . . !

TASKS OF AUSTRALIAN SCIENTISTS

H. G. HIGGINS, B.Sc. (Hons.)

NEVER before in our history have such urgent tasks in the social sphere confronted Australian scientific workers as at the present moment. Never before, perhaps, has Australian science been better equipped to meet the challenge, but much remains to be accomplished.

Recent wild and irresponsible allegations against certain scientific individuals and organisations are in keeping with the generally strained relations between world reaction and science. Imperialism, monopoly capitalism, needs the services of science and technology for its very existence (in no matter how unstable a form); on the other hand it fears the irresistible march of human knowledge and ingenuity, which will inevitably be a determining material factor in the final elimination of class society.

Not only does imperialism depend largely on science in its quest for super-profits in those periods of uneasy "normality" between the recurring, enlarging cycles of war and economic crisis which have been part and parcel of its existence, but it now seeks to conscript science into continuous service of its war aims. Such an attempt involves a denial of the great tradition of scientific freedom, of the unfettered interchange of ideas and results without which development must be stifled.

These contradictions have not sprung up suddenly since the development of the atomic bomb; they have been a part of the system of imperialism and have grown with it. The release of nuclear energy, however, has sharpened the antagonisms, and has made them apparent to the majority of scientific workers. That is why a broad front can be built up against the imperialist war-mongers; attacks on scientists are attacks against all progressive forces, including the working class.

Some of the more subtle stooges of monopoly capitalism, those better experienced in distortion and suppression of facts, realise that excesses of the kind indulged in by Mr. Abbott under parliamentary privilege will tend to alienate the support of the masses. For instance, a report of Mr. Abbott's criticism of Sir David Rivett's remarks at Canberra on the necessity for freedom in scientific research appeared in only one of the four Melbourne dailies. Similarly the concluding phases of the defeat of Mr. Edmunds ("Liberal" member for Hawthorn in the Victorian Parliament) at the hands of Melbourne University students and staff (whom he had vulgarly abused and red-baited) were not marked by the same press publicity as his earlier efforts, and he was even turned on by sections of his supporters.

In Australia manifestations are not lacking of the imperialist drive to press science into the service of war, and the voice of Wall Street does not go unheard.

Any legitimate preparations for defence of our country will certainly be supported by Australian scientists. During the war against fascism, they threw themselves into the struggle, both within the services and in civilian capacities. Their whole efforts were directed towards the application to military purposes of established scientific principles. That was the urgent task then, but in the changed conditions of today there must be a re-initiation of fundamental research and a re-orientation of its application towards fulfilling the needs of the people.

It is not impossible that "military scientists" of exalted status may seek to implicate a wide circle of scientific workers in projects quite remote from defence, at the behest of those circles in the United States which constitute the only real threat to peace in the world today. If successful, their unwelcome attentions would cast a pall of secrecy over many of our laboratories, with the attendant threats of dire penalties for trumped-up breaches of official confidence. Experiences in Britain and Canada have shown that such frame-ups are not confined to regimes such as those of Hitler or Truman.

For scientists, too, the struggle against secrecy will be integrated with other proposals, such as the development and expansion of research into nuclear physics in Australia. Whereas a year ago we viewed these problems of secrecy, military control, atomic diplomacy, as vitally important but rather remote, we now find them knocking at our own back door.

Particularly significant is the forthright statement of Sir David Rivett, who, as chairman of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, presumably speaks for that body, to the effect that neither C.S.I.R. nor the Universities should be implicated in preparations for aggressive war. His sentiments will certainly find the widest support amongst the majority of the workers in those institutions.

The full use of science and technology does not come automatically under a capitalist economy—indeed it can never be achieved. Only a constant struggle, in which scientists as well as administrators must play their part, can lead to the best development of productive resources under any prevailing set of economic conditions.

Sometimes the struggle will be directed against the unconscious inertia of moribund authorities, but more often against the conscious obstruction of financial interests for whom larger profits do not coincide with better living standards for the people. Our geologists and engineers must show how better utilisation can be made of our mineral resources, how brown coal can solve the power problem in Victoria; our foresters must show why our timber resources have been so depleted, and how rational utilisation can be achieved; our architects must overcome the adherence to obsolete building codes; our doctors must campaign for the eradication of tuberculosis. Many more examples could be cited. Sometimes it will be difficult to find even a partial solution of a problem without making it clear that the means of production must be publicly owned. A socialist Australia could well become the happiest place on earth.

The social aims of science have been to the fore in the deliberations and activity of the Australian Association of Scientific Workers, and this circumstance has probably been responsible for Mr. Abbott's attacks upon this very reputable body. He resents the existence of an organisation of men and women, of many political views, who nevertheless have this in common: that they seek a satisfactory solution of the problems besetting science as a part of society generally. Interest in these matters is extending in a healthy way to other organisations concerned primarily with the economic conditions of technical workers.

This brings us to a consideration of our tasks in the economic sphere. The scientific trade unions such as the F.S.T.W., the A.A.E.S.D.A., the C.S.I.R.O.A., are developing apace and are playing a real part in the general struggle of the employed classes for better wages and conditions. The economic interests of the middle class generally, and of scientific and technical workers in particular, are becoming ever more closely identified with those of the industrial workers. This basic fact must be brought home to the members of the scientific unions, and ready support will be found for its general acceptance, despite sporadic resistance from a few "senior scientists" who are irretrievably committed to the bourgeois system and its ideology.

There is room in these organisations for the development of union principles: of solidarity, of 100% unionism, of an abhorrence of scabbing. Such development will contribute materially to the workers' struggles in critical periods, and will refute the pious efforts of right-wing politicians, employers, and managements to organise "volunteers" from among staff members.

One significant trend is the evident desire for co-operation between the various economic organisations, which has been called forth principally on the basis of securing better conditions of employment generally for scientific and technical workers. Mutual discussions, joint action, and exchange of experiences are welcomed because they strengthen the hand of any body of workers in negotiations with employers. It is possible, for example, to discover anomalies in salaries paid for similar services, and these can be used to raise the general level, to improve the lot of some employees, and thus to strengthen the organisation. In N.S.W. last year a move was made towards the establishment of a Federation of Scientific and Technical Associations; in Victoria at the present time joint discussions are being held between several leading scientific and technical unions, and a Committee of Technical Associations has been set up for their perpetuation.

These federative activities have more than a purely reformist significance, and are to be encouraged by all progressive scientific workers, who desire to forge the closest unity with the great working class in its struggle for emancipation.

Scientists have grave responsibilities in the present period, and only by meeting them conscientiously and resolutely can they contribute to defeating the growing threat of a new fascism. Attacks on intellectuals, anti-Semitism, and the all-out offensive of the capitalist class against Communists form too familiar a pattern to be taken lightly, and the most strenuous efforts to counter them must be put forth by all who realise the effect of fascism upon science and upon humanity.



Questions & Answers

conducted by L. H. GOULD

On what grounds do you deny that the Jews of the world constitute a single nation? Why is the Communist Party critical of Zionism?—J. Greene.

The assertion that the Jews constitute a nation is clearly refuted by the facts of life, by history, by social and political development. Nationhood requires as fundamental pre-conditions that a people must occupy a common territory and possess community of language and economic life. The Jews do not.

What common **national** interests are there, or can there be, between, say, English-speaking Jewish workers in Australia, Greek-speaking Jewish guerillas in Greece, wealthy American Jews who support Truman's imperialist provocation against democracy everywhere, Yiddish-speaking Jewish farmers in the Jewish Soviet Autonomous Region of Biro-Bidjan? The question has only to be asked to reveal the absurdity of the claim that the Jews are a nation! (It is true of course that the Jews in capitalist lands have this much in common, that

they are all subject to varying degrees of anti-Semitic prejudice and outrage).

This does not at all mean that the Jewish people cannot form themselves into nations. If the conditions are favorable they can, and in fact, they are doing so today. Two new nations, Jewish nations, are now in process of formation, one in Biro-Bidjan, the second in Palestine. There is nothing extraordinary in this development. The emergence of the "new British nations" (Canada, Australia, etc.) provides an historical parallel; the Australians and Canadians exhibit all the necessary characteristics of nationhood.

What are the characteristics, the pre-conditions, of nationhood?

Modern nations, says Stalin, are the product of rising capitalism. He defines a nation: "A historically-evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." He pointed out that every nation "is subject to the law of change, it has its history, its beginning and end."

The question, What is a nation?—was of fundamental significance in the Russian Revolution. About half the total population of Tsarist Russia consisted of subject nations and peoples. The Jewish question naturally occupied a prominent place. Were the Jews a nation? Should they (i.e., the Jewish workers in Tsarist Russia) have their own political party? The various anti-Marxist viewpoints of that pre-1917 period (and since!) are well summarised in the following definition of a nation by Otto Bauer, a leading theoretician of the reformist Second International: "A nation is the aggregate of people bound into a community of character by a community of fate."

Stalin made the following devastating answer:

"We thus have a community of national character based on a community of fate and not necessarily connected with community of territory, language or economic life.

"But what in that case remains of the nation? What national community can there be among people who are economically disconnected, inhabit different territories and from generation to generation speak different languages?

"Bauer speaks of the Jews as a nation, although they 'have no common language'; but what 'community of fate' and national cohesion can there be, for instance, between the Georgian, Daghestanian, Russian and Armenian Jews, who are completely disunited, inhabit different territories and speak different languages?

"The Jews enumerated undoubtedly lead the same economic and political life as the Georgians, Daghestanians, Russians and Armenians respectively, and in the same cultural atmosphere as the latter; this cannot but leave a definite impression on their national character; if there is anything common to them left it is their religion, their common origin and certain relics of national character. All this is beyond question. But how can it be seriously maintained that petrified religious rites and fading psychological relics affect the 'fate' of these Jews more powerfully than the living social, economic and cultural environment that surrounds them? And it is only on this assumption that it is generally possible to speak of the Jews as a single nation.

"What, then, distinguishes Bauer's nation from the mystical and self-contained 'national spirit' of the spiritualists?"

The foregoing explains the critical attitude of the Communists towards Zionism. Communism regards prejudice against Jews (also against other minority groups and peoples, against foreign peoples, etc.) as the product of the class struggle—in brief, the need of the oppressors to find new victims and to produce a scapegoat. The solution of the Jewish problem must therefore be regarded as part of the general solution of society's problems, namely, the united struggle of the forces of Labor and democracy against capitalism. The only real hope for persecuted minority group is to ally itself actively with the militant progressive movement, and in turn, the latter must protect the minority group suffering persecution because of their religion, race or nationality.

Zionism, however, sought the solution of the Jewish problem mainly, one might say entirely, within Jewry itself; its specific answer was to be the creation of Palestine as a Jewish State which would be the "national home of world Jewry." This conception derived from the "mystical" interpretation of the Jews as a nation. Zionist leadership has been bourgeois, bourgeois nationalist. This explains its orientation on British imperialism following the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which promised the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine; it also explains why, in more recent years, one section of the top Zionist leadership has switched from reliance on Britain to the more powerful imperialism of Truman and Vandenberg.

Communists differentiate between Zionism, as the conscious or unconscious tool of imperialist intrigue in the Middle East, and the legitimate needs and aspirations of the Jewish settlement in Palestine, now numbering 600,000, and almost entirely the result of savage persecution in capitalist countries.

The aspirations include, in particular, the winning of nationhood; but this cannot be the "Jewish State" conception of Zionism, or at least that section of it, which denies equivalent rights to the Arab population. Further, the claim by some Zionists that the establishment of such a "Jewish State" would "normalise" the position of Jews in all lands has played into the hands of anti-Semites and other agents of imperialist reaction. A Jewish national home in Palestine will be a national home only for the Jews in that country. Thus, the fantastic notion that the Jews of all lands constitute a single nation leads to echoing the anti-Semitic slander that the Jews "don't belong."

Jewish people in Australia are Australian by nationality, and will remain so irrespective of what happens in Palestine. Apart from a Jewish person here and there motivated by sentimental or family reasons, no Australian Jew has the least intention of going to Palestine. Similarly with Jews who live in Britain, U.S.A., the Soviet Union!

Much more could be said about Zionism, but of immediate significance is the division of Zionism into three main groupings, a division brought into sharper relief as a result of M. Gromyko's historic declaration on Palestine at UNO'S General Assembly.

One grouping continues orientated on British imperialism; the second, on USA imperialism; and the third is linking up more and more with the Left.

This third grouping sees the basic solution, quite correctly, in the unity of the Arab-Jewish peoples in Palestine. Progressive unity of the two peoples, and these with world democracy, will transform into living reality Gromyko's proposal: "The legal rights of the Jewish and the Arab people in Palestine will be protected really only by creating an independent democratic Arab-Jewish State."

(References: Stalin, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question).

L.W.: The word is obviously used only in a figurative sense.

BOOK REVIEW

AUSTRALIAN COMMUNISTS AND SOVIET RUSSIA (L. L. SHARKEY)

NORMAN FREEHILL

IS the Australian Communist Party "Russian dominated" in seeking strict price fixing, increased wages, slum eradication, and better housing for the Australian people?

Is it a crime that the Communist Party works for peace and co-operation between all the peoples of the world?

Is the Party to be condemned because it exposes the plans of the American imperialists to plunge the world into the unspeakable horrors of a Third World War?

Is it anti-Australian when it exposes the danger of American Imperialism to Australia's sugar, fruit and other industries?

Was Churchill a traitor when he opposed Chamberlain? Lloyd George when he denounced Munich?

Mr. Sharkey takes up the charges and shatters them, one by one. He uses facts — unanswerable arguments! — to rip away from Truth the layers of lies laid on so lavishly by the press and spokesmen of reaction.

The Australian Communist Party denounced von Luckner. Opposed the export of pig-iron to Japan. Condemned Italy's attack on Abyssinia.

It opposed Chamberlain's appeasement policy which was slavishly followed by Menzies and Co. and accepted by most of the A.L.P. leaders.

It denounced the treacherous "non-interventionist" policy which helped Franco (aided by Germans, Italians and Moors) to crush the young Spanish democratic republic brutally, bloodily.

The Australian Communist Party condemned Munich, which handed Czechoslovakia over to the Fascists.

No words were too harsh, no abuse too vile to hurl at the Communist Party on those occasions. Its members who led the protests were fined and jailed.

History proved that the Party was right. And history will prove the Party right in its opposition to the ruthless Imperialism of Wall Street.

The Communists of Australia, charged with being "agents of a foreign power," are in good company. The Communists of France were so charged; were called "traitors." History has written the names of 75,000 of them (members of the Resistance, murdered by the Nazis) in letters of gold. Their defamers betrayed France to the Nazis. They ended on the gallows, in prison, disgraced in the eyes of all decent people.

The Australian Communists are concerned primarily with Australia. They bend their efforts to improve conditions in the homes, factories, localities. Yet they never swerve from their objective: A Socialist Society, in which poverty and fear will be no more; where peace will rule and exploitation of man by man will cease.

French Communists strive to do for France; Belgian Communists to do for Belgium; English Communists for England, what the Australian Communists do for Australia.

If there was no Soviet Republic, the Australian Communist Party would still serve the people; still strive for Socialism.

The Australian Communist Party, Mr. Sharkey points out, makes no secret of its aims. Its policy is set out in the **Communist Review**, in **Tribune**, the **Guardians**, in pamphlets and books.

It also makes no secret of its internationalism. For it believes "that the working peoples of all countries must co-operate in order to improve their living standards and achieve the goal of a Socialist Society."

This is a timely pamphlet. It should be read, of course, by every Party member. Far more important is that every Party member should see that a copy is in the hands of every supporter, every person confused or misled by the flood of falsehood in the daily press.

[Price sixpence from Current Book Distributors, 695 George Street, from Pioneer and progressive bookshops.]

THIS IS MY STORY (LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ)

SENDER GARLIN (New York)

HITLER'S residuary legatees are busy. Their voices may be heard in Congress, on the radio, in the press. The American imperialists, seeking to stifle democratic movements everywhere, in order to establish world mastery, know that the conquest of the human mind is a vital part of their war strategy. It is this political climate that makes possible the publication of the "revelations" of one who in 1945 absconded from Communist circles in order to make a well-timed and well-publicised entry into the Catholic Church. If ever there was a time for such political pornography, it is the present.

It is as difficult to "refute" Budenz's collections of half-truths, mis-statements, libels, slanders and vilifications as it is to catch a greased pig. How, for instance, was one to refute one of Budenz's predecessors—Jan Valtin—when the latter told how the seventy-four-year-old Romain Rolland was offered the choice of "girl companions" by an alleged Moscow agent? Can such miserable falsehood be refuted by documentary evidence?

One thing is quite obvious about Budenz's chronicle: he prepared himself for his task by a most conscientious reading of all previous confessions by kindred spirits, including Victor Serge, Walter Krivitsky, Jan Valtin, Alexander Barmine, Eugene Lyons, Isaac Don Levine, Ben Gitlow and all the others who have made a career of describing the Communist movement "from the inside."

Budenz has lots of stuff about "secret agents." I read about it before in concoctions by Kravchenko and his friends. It's the kind of stuff that's easy to write. You don't have to prove a thing. You assert it loudly, violently, "colorfully," and the more luridly fictitious your yarn is, the more impressed are the reviewers. For these gentlemen of the literary stock-exchange who are so stern in appraising the historical truth of a novel, say, by Howard Fast when he deals with John Peter Altgeld, are suckers for Budenz's stuff.

Budenz proclaims that he wrote his book "in humility." A few examples: He writes that "some people began to call me 'the best known man in the labor movement'." He suggests that a letter he wrote for the Republican New York Sun was somehow responsible for the popular front policy enunciated by Georgi Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. To build up his authority as a "Communist leader" who participated in the highest councils of the organisation, he tells of meetings in which he allegedly participated. And always, of course, he played a stellar role. The picture he presents of himself is one of master-organiser, theoretician, editor, silver-tongued orator, and giant battler for human freedom. To those who, like myself, had the melancholy privilege of working with Budenz, these self-serving declarations can only bring wry smiles. All told, it suggests the day-dream of James Thurber's classic, **The Secret Life of Walter Mitty.** It must be said for Mr. Mitty, however, that his dreams were harmless.

It would be a mistake to think that Budenz has given himself this terrific build-up merely for the purpose of propping a sagging ego. It is the regulation formula of the informer seeking to impress his clients with his impressive "background," his extensive "connections," and his ability to play the fingerman against militants in the labor movement. That Budenz has had a measure of success in this business has already been amply demonstrated: he is permanent star witness for the Un-American Committee, and announces that he is working on another book which "will evaluate the Reds in the labor movement."

Budenz gaily acknowledges that for a number of years after his first meeting with Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen he felt like an "onlooker" even though posing as a devoted Communist. "At the Daily Worker," he recalls, "I criticised copy, made proposals and revisions on pieces to back the line—and fingered a rosary in my pocket as I did so."

Yet, Budenz's principal leitmotif is the "duplicity" of the Communists!

Throughout the narrative, too, one encounters the phrase, "I made notes at the time," and one is impelled to ask, for whom?

But the answer is no longer a mystery. Whether Louis Budenz entered the Communist movement ten years ago for the purpose of ultimately bertaying it, only Budenz and Monsignor Sheen can say. But that his conduct while he was ostensibly a Communist (according to his own testimony) savored of the stoolpigeon is beyond question.

The description of his "conversion" to Catholicism is as phony as the rest of his story. It is full of contradictions and retroactive explanations. This conversion—if indeed it was that—was not a religious one. If he is a convert, then so was Jacques Doriot who deserted the French working-class movement to do the dirty work of the fascists who sought to destroy France.

The spectacle of Budenz collecting wages from the Daily Worker—cash made available frequently through contributions of loyal Party members—while his real sympathies lay elsewhere, is certainly not one that suggests either St. Augustine or St. Francis of Assisi. Duplicity is a mild word.

One thing must be said for Budenz; he is consistent. He lies on virtually every page. He lies when he says that the Communist Party demands a religious test for membership. He lies when he says that "when a member takes up a new post, he must file a complete new biography," giving his entire history "and a list of his relatives." Budenz's imagination is so inflamed for the purposes of his book that he doctors up speeches made by former colleagues. He quotes from alleged talks before the Daily Worker staff by James S. Allen and Milton Howard, for instance. I happened to be present on both occasions. Although he is lavish in the use of quotation marks, Budenz attributes remarks to Allen and Howard which do not bear the slightest resemblance to what these men actually said. In the same category are Budenz's malicious yarns about Art Shields, a veteran labor journalist of sterling character. Budenz uses another device, seemingly more important; he lifts sentences from Party documents and puts them in the form of statements made "confidentially" to him by "highly-placed Communist leaders."

Monsignor Sheen's agent says that American Communists are imprisoned in a "Red straitjacket." What impels the members of the Communist Party to submit to such a cruel fate? Do they celebrate their thralldom by fulfilling manifold assignments involving hard and detailed work, and by contributing from their hard-earned wages to fund drives to fight the Budenzes and their kind?

Budenz's libels are not even original. Some have been plagiarised from Gerald L. K. Smith. He asserts, for instance, that in the Communist Party, "to have been born in Minsk, Dvinsk or Pinsk was much more valued than birth in Minneapolis, Detroit or Pittsburgh."

This crude bit of anti-Sovietism aside for the moment, the facts in Budenz's own career would prove him a liar. It was Earl Browder's preoccupation with the form rather than the substance of an American Party that made possible Budenz's elevation to the National Committee a few short months after he joined the organisation.

Budenz's dedication of his book to the Virgin Mary is disingenuous. A more appropriate dedication would be to J. Edgar Hoover, the National Association of Manufacturers and Columbians, Inc.

NOW WE CAN DATE THE PAST

PROF. J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

UNTIL a generation ago the only events which we could date accurately were those which were part of a history where each year had a numerical date, such as the year 412 after the founding of the city of Rome, or a date by names of officials, such as the year when Caesar and Bibulus were consuls.

Even where the lengths of kings' reigns were accurately recorded, one does not know if "ten years" means ten years and one day or ten years and three hundred days, so the uncertainty soon piles up.

About 30 years ago, a number of historic eclipses were accurately dated, so that we know the date of the siege of Troy within ten years, and, what is more remarkable, that the city of Ur in Iraq was destroyed by the Elamites in 2283 B.C. This is still the earliest dated event in human history.

Where there is no written history, there are two methods by which we can give an exact date to buildings or tools, which tell us a good deal more about men than lists of kings and battles.

One method is by tree rings. In a country like Arizona, where there are so many dry years that the trees are growing under a severe handicap, far more wood is formed in a wet than a dry year. By examining recently-cut trees one gets a calendar for several hundred years back.

Douglass, the pioneer in this investigation, was not content with this. He examined tree trunks from abandoned "Indian" buildings which had been preserved in the dry climate.

He found some whose ring pattern overlapped that of living trees. That is to say their outer layers showed the same succession of broad and narrow rings as the insides of trees recently felled. From these he worked still further back in the same way, until the earliest date determinable is about A.D. 400.

Thus he was able not only to date houses and tools, making a cultural history possible, but other workers, by examining giant Sequoia trees, have obtained at least a rough history of the weather of California for the last 3,000 years.

In wetter countries, annual layers of mud are laid down in some lakes. When heavy rain or a big thaw brings down a lot of mud, the layer is thick. In this way different mud sections can be compared and finally synchronised. And where human tools are embedded in the mud they can be dated.

This method of dating by annual mud layers works best in the neighbourhood of retreating ice sheets. It has been particularly used by de Geer to date mud layers or varves, as they are called, in Sweden.

But, unfortunately, men were rare or absent in the neighbourhood of these giant glaciers, so such records can only be used rather indirectly to date human events.

Still they do give us the earliest dated event. In the year 7912 B.C. the fresh water lake occupying the northern Baltic basin, but considerably above the present sea level, burst across Southern Sweden in Vestergotland, opening a valley which lowered the lake level by 90 feet. The present connection further south was only opened later, when the sea level had been raised by melting ice.

We have a pretty good record of successive events during the ice ages.

For example, it is quite clear that there were four main cold periods with warm ones between them. But whether the last one went on for 50 or a 100,000 years is not so certain. It may be certain a generation hence.

The Yugoslav scientist, Milankovitch, claims to have dated the ice ages on the basis of an astronomical theory. At present most geologists do not accept his calculations. This does not mean that they think he is wrong, merely that they are not convinced. In another 20 years they may be convinced.

If Milankovitch is right, we can date the big climatic changes of the last half million years with errors which vary between five per cent and 20 per cent.

The ice ages began about 600,000 years ago according to his calculations. Other estimates give over 700,000 years.

The method of annual mud layers can be used to date sections of the past.

Sometimes the evidence for a yearly cycle is overwhelming. For example, fossils of adult insects are found in one part of each layer, and of their larvae in another.

Bradley counted enough varves in the Eocene formations of Colorado, Utah and Wyoming to be able to say that a particular epoch lasted between five and eight million years. During this time a thickness of about 2,000 feet of sandstone and oil shales was laid down in two lake beds.

But this only gives us the duration of about a third of the Eocene period or a tenth of all the time which has gone by since these rocks began to form. Other estimates are based on the rate of animal evolution.

Far the best dates for remote events are given by radio-activity.

If a rock contains uranium, just one atom in 6,578 million of this element is transformed every year.

Most of them pass through the stage of being radium, a few through that of being actinium, and in each case end up as lead. A very tiny fraction split in two, as in atom bombs. Thorium, another radio-active element, behaves in a very similar way.

Thus, if a mineral is found containing uranium, but no thorium or lead, one could calculate its age from the amount of lead contained in it. However, this would be almost useless in practice, because one could never be sure that some lead had not been present in the original mineral.

Fortunately, however, the lead derived from radio-active atoms has a different atomic weight from ordinary lead. So it is possible to find out how much of the lead in a mineral was derived from the uranium or thorium in it, and thus estimate its age exactly.

On this basis enough rocks have been dated to fix the dates of all rocks carrying fossils with an error which rarely reaches ten per cent. We thus have at last the time scale of evolution.

We know that about 500 million years have gone by since the earliest rocks were formed, containing well-preserved animal remains in quantity, and 400 million since the first record of the vertebrates.

Two hundred and seventy million years ago our ancestors left the water, and 70 million years ago the mammals took over from the giant reptiles and became the dominant land animals.

The complete story of how these figures were reached is, of course, a very long but extremely interesting one.

Any good public library should contain Zeuner's **Dating the Past** and Holmes' **The Age of the Earth,** and Zeuner's series of clues make even the best detective stories look pretty elementary. Most of his ideas are generally accepted; however, Milankovitch's theory is still on trial.

And in 1941 Holmes, as a result of more lead analyses, has arrived at 3,000 million years for the age of the earth, whereas the oldest known rocks are little more than half this age.

In later articles I am going to try to tell something of what has happened in this vast period of time, in order to help my readers to form a picture of our world in time, like the picture which they form in space when they learn geography.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor.... L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT
TO THE EDITOR,
COMMUNIST REVIEW,
695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY,
AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIRST
OF THE MONTH.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

R. DIXON

(Report to the Central Committee meeting, September 12-14, 1947.)

OUR discussion this week-end will be concerned mainly with the developing economic crisis.

The developing crisis takes on different forms in different countries; different forms in the United States, for instance, and Australia to that of Britain and Europe.

In Europe the people are suffering from impoverishment and under-production, resulting from the devastation caused by the war. Britain also is suffering from the aftermath of the war, but the main thing in her case is that the crisis is intimately linked with the decline, the general decline of British Imperialism, as part of the general crisis of capitalism.

In trustified America there is an enormous glut of production and vast wealth, an immense production of consumer goods, capital goods and luxury goods. The crisis now developing in the United States, in that classic land of private enterprise, is a crisis of over-production which, as it develops, threatens to bring down the whole capitalist system. It will spread from one capitalist country to another; it will hit not only America and Canada, but also Australia and the capitalist countries of Europe.

The reason why this vast production of the United States cannot bring help and succor to the peoples of Europe and Asia who are hungry and suffering from want, is rooted deep in the capitalist system, is connected, also, with the general crisis of capitalism.

The general crisis of capitalism began before World War I. The first World War, the establishment of Socialism in the Soviet Union which meant that one-sixth of the world was wrested from capitalism, and the economic crisis that broke out in 1929, all sharpened the general crisis of capitalism.

World War II deepened, in every sense, the general decay of capitalism. In World War II those powerful bastions of imperialism, German and Japanese Imperialism, were destroyed and there was set in motion that second round of revolutions that has torn Eastern Europe from the maw of Imperialism. In the colonies great revolutionary struggles began for independence from Imperialism.

The revolutionary wave is continuing throughout the capitalist world, is growing in size and scope. The general crisis is a crisis of the capitalist system, a system that is decaying, that is disintegrating under the blows of the working class and of the colonial peoples who are striving for their independence.

The American monopolists are attempting to patch up the capitalist system, to save the capitalist world, to save it for American Imperialism. Thus the Truman doctrine and the Marshall Plan which aims to strengthen reaction in Europe, to fight Communism, and to prepare for war against the Soviet Union.

The aim of the Marshall Plan, the aim of the American monopolists in general, is to stabilise capitalism. But there can be no stabilisation of capitalism. When the American Imperialists render assistance to Europe Chiang Kai-shek cries that the Communists are getting the better of him in China. When they help China the Dutch Imperialists shout that the Communists and revolutionaries in Indonesia are threatening them. When they help the Dutch the British Imperialists cry out that they are threatened with crisis. The European reaction calls for more U.S. help otherwise western Europe will go left. American Imperialism is rushing from one part of the capitalist world to the other, trying to keep capitalism together.

European and Asiatic reaction seeks a way out which leads to ever greater subservience to American Imperialism. The progressive forces in the world, they claim, must be checked. The reactionaries know that their only hope of checking the forces of progress, the revolutionary-democratic movement that is developing throughout the capitalist world, lies in American Imperialism. They consider it is better to be the stooge of American Imperialism than to be overwhelmed by the working class and revolutionary forces of Europe and the colonial countries. All their hopes, therefore, are centred in American Imperialism.

Now a new element is coming to the fore. The cyclical crisis of over-production is beginning in the United States of America. This crisis will deal a shattering blow to this last and most powerful citadel of the capitalist world. The disaster confronting the American monopolists is, at the same time, a disaster for world reaction. Denied American support, or confronted with a big reduction in this support as must inevitably follow from the economic crisis, what will happen to reaction in France, Italy, Greece and China which depend for their existence upon American Imperialism?

The electoral victory of the progressive forces in Hungary, the advance and growth of the Communist Parties of France and Italy, the movement of the working class in Britain expressed in the strike of the Yorkshire miners and other unofficial strikes, all indicate the growth of the working class struggle in Europe. They show that the revolutionary advance of the masses is proceeding unchecked, despite all the efforts of American Imperialism and reaction.

n China, likewise, the situation is rapidly de-
ping.
Chiang Kai-shek China is bankrupt economi-
is going through a process of inflation and
omic crisis, and is faced, within a period of
hs, with complete military collapse. Further,
new democratic China is now preparing its
s to launch a combined offensive against the
g Kai-shek regime within a few months, and
urge the democratic forces of the world to
v and render all support to this struggle,
, they say, will tear another "great gap in
imperialism."

we also add the events in Indonesia, Indo-
, Burma, India, you will see how the revo-
ary wave is mounting in the capitalist world.
enin's description of Imperialism as decaying
lism never had more meaning than at pre-
New great victories for the revolutionary-
cratic forces stand ahead.

hat is how things are in the capitalist world.
et us look now at the socialist part of the
There we see a completely opposite pic-
Do we read in the newspapers about a new
developing in Czechoslovakia, Soviet Russia,
goslavia? Of course not. There is not a
about economic crisis in Eastern Europe be-
the peoples there are rapidly rebuilding,
ing the peaceful reconstruction of their coun-
They are developing industry, agriculture
ade, and are raising the living standards of
ople. Soviet Russia is already in the second
f the Fourth Five Year Plan which will restore
r-devastated areas by the end of 1948 and
p production far beyond the levels of 1940,
t pre-war year.
Czechoslovakia, where they have national-
0 per cent. of the industries, production is
y 90 per cent. of pre-war levels and by the
next year will be 110 per cent. of pre-war.
me thing can be said of Poland, Yugoslavia,
ia, and also of Rumania and Hungary. All
pidly advancing. It is true that they are
nted with difficulties, but they have enor-
enthusiasm and the will to overcome all
ties. The destiny of these countries is in
nds of the people and they know that having
ed the power of big capital, there can be
archy in production or the market as under
lism—no economic crisis or mass unemploy-
Prices are falling whilst wages are rising.

he peoples of the countries of Eastern Europe
nsciously marching to a new future.

ith capitalism sinking rapidly into economic
it is most important to show what is hap-
g in the countries where the working class
rogressive forces of the people are in power,
ow the immense difference between the two
ns, socialism and the new democracies on
ne hand and capitalism on the other.

The crisis in the United States is a crisis of over-production. Marx long ago pointed out that the basic cause of economic crisis rests in the contradiction between the social form of production and the capitalist appropriation of the product. Explaining how this contradiction manifests itself Cde. Stalin, at the 16th Congress of the C.P.S.U., said: "This basic contradiction of capitalism is expressed in the contradiction between the colossal growth in the productive capacity of capitalism, calculated to secure the maximum of capitalist profit, and the relative reduction of purchasing power of millions of toilers whose standard of living the capitalists are all the time trying to keep within the limits of the lowest possible minimum."

An examination of American capitalism will reveal precisely how correct is that statement of Comrade Stalin.

American monopoly capitalism emerged from the war much stronger than when it entered. Two-thirds of the manufacturing capacity of the capitalist world and three-quarters of its investment capacity is now in America.

The capitalist world is dependent upon America.

Production in the United States today is almost double the annual production of pre-war years.

Price levels are rapidly rising. Since last year, when big business forced the abolition of price control, prices have risen by more than 50 per cent. The wages of the working class lag far behind this increase in prices.

The first result of this is that the American monopolists are reaping profits that are two, three or four times greater than in pre-war years.

The second thing is the growing impoverishment of the working class and smaller income earners, which is leading to a rapid shrinkage of the internal American market.

In other words the gap between production and consumption is widening. Stores and warehouses are full of products, factories are closing down, workers are being thrown on to the unemployed scrapheap.

The maintenance of high levels of employment in the U.S. is also influenced by the state of foreign trade.

High prices also hit those countries buying U.S. commodities. Britain in 1946 obtained a three billion dollar loan from America at 2% interest. Almost immediately American capitalists jacked up prices so that the purchasing power of the loan shrank by one-third. The Yankee monopolists made a rake-off of 1,000,000,000 dollars on that deal alone.

American foreign trade is a very one-sided affair. The U.S. sells far more than she buys. In 1946-47 exports amounted to 21 billion dollars, whereas imports amounted to only 8 billion dollars. Thus America sold 13 billion dollars worth of goods more than she bought.

Apart from the fact that most of the countries of the world are impoverished as a result of the war, the question arises: How, in the light of these figures, can they pay for American goods? The dollar pool of the capitalist world is empty. There is an acute dollar shortage and, in addition, practically all the gold in the capitalist world is in the United States.

The dollar crisis developed sooner than expected. In 1946 it was anticipated that the British loan would last until 1950. Four months ago the loan was expected to last until June, 1948, but it disappeared in the months of July and August of this year. The British capitalists had to suspend the convertibility of sterling into dollars. American trade immediately suffered because Britain was forced to drastically cut imports from the dollar countries. Western Europe and the South American countries also decided on substantial reductions in trade with the United States, likewise Australia and New Zealand.

You can see what is happening. By raising prices and by limiting imports through high tariffs, etc., the American monopolists not only increase the poverty and hunger in Europe and Asia, but they have hastened the economic crisis by bringing about a grave slump in American overseas trade.

Thus the prices grab of American monopoly capital has led on the one hand to a serious shrinkage of the home market, and, on the other hand, to a serious decline of the export market.

In the light of this evidence, there can be no doubt that the crisis is already developing in the U.S.A. American monopoly capital, which is the very heart and strength of world capitalism, is on the downward path.

By what way do the U.S. monopolists hope to get out of their difficulties?

Their solution for the crisis is at the expense of the workers and farmers of the U.S.A. and of the smaller capitalist countries throughout the world. The very methods American imperialism employs to overcome the crisis, however, will deepen and prolong it and spread the crisis to all capitalist countries throughout the world.

In Britain, the basis of the crisis is different. It rests in the decline of British imperialism. Once the workshop of the world and its largest market and greatest power, Britain has become what the Americans call a third-rate power.

The British ruling class and their social-democratic lackeys like to maintain the myth that Britain is still a first-rate world power and can maintain her world position and conquests.

The British Labor Party's policy for a way out provides for the reorganisation of British industry, including the nationalisation of some industries, so as to increase its competitive ability with other countries and, as a result of this, to vastly expand exports. They aim to increase exports to 175% of pre-war years; that is, to develop trade in a world already dominated by American trade. The Labor Party believes that to get out of the crisis the capitalists must intensify the exploitation of the working class of Britain. (The strike of the Yorkshire miners shows that this policy is not going over.) They believe, also, that the hold of British Imperialism on the colonies must be maintained. They brought forward the plan which has resulted in the division of India and the fratricidal strife now taking place, in order to maintain the economic positions of the British monopolists in India and their political hold on that country. The Labor Party follows a policy that is dividing Europe and the workers of Europe, thereby preventing or weakening the advance to socialism. In association with these ideas, or proposals, the Labor Party of Britain believes that they must collaborate with American imperialism, even if this means becoming the complete stooge of the American monopolists.

The Labor Government's rejection of a trade agreement with Soviet Russia, which would have helped substantially to meet Britain's grain needs and made her less dependent on the U.S., shows how closely they are linked with American Imperialism.

The Labor Government's policy cannot solve the British crisis.

The way out for Britain, and for the British working class in particular, is to break with the policies of finance capital, of imperialism. The way out is to reorganise British industry and agriculture on a new basis. The British labor movement must strive for unity in the ranks of the European working class, unity amongst the nations of Europe, which must result in strengthening the cause of socialism in Europe. It must fight for freedom and independence for the peoples of the colonies. On the basis of these policies Britain must seek co-operation and trade with European countries and with Soviet Russia and develop its relations with the peoples of the colonies and dominions on the basis of equality, independence, and respect for mutual rights. Above all the British labor movement must put an end to the policy that is making Britain the satellite of American Imperialism.

This, and this only, is the way the British people must fight their way out of the crisis that is now overwhelming them.

The reactionary, anti-working class policy of the British Labor Government must be reversed and that can be done only by the British working class movement, although the working class movements in the dominions and the colonies can help.

The strikes developing in Britain show the growing movement amongst the workers of Britain. Unfortunately the British workers appear to be without the necessary leadership to fight the crisis. It would appear that the British Communist Party has not yet been able to take the path of organising the working class of Britain for a com-

plete break with Imperialist policy. Only the mass struggle, conducted at high levels, can radically change the situation.

What plan do the imperialists of America and Britain advance to meet the crisis? We have heard a lot about the Marshall plan, which is an extension to the rest of Western Europe of the Truman doctrine for bolstering up the reactionary regimes in Greece and Turkey. The Marshall Plan aims to co-ordinate the economies of the countries of Western Europe. The new democracies of Europe value their independence and freedom too much to submit to the dictatorship of dollar Imperialism.

The countries of Western Europe must co-ordinate production and the distribution of manpower and raw materials, according to General Marshall. When they have drawn up a plan for this, and presented it to America, and requested American aid, the Yankee monopolists will say on what terms the help will be granted.

We are told that the aim of the Marshall Plan is to save Europe. The truth is quite different, however. In the first place, the purpose of the Marshall Plan is to save American Imperialism. It will provide the dollars Europe needs to buy the products of American industry. The American monopolists propose to take four or six billion dollars from the American taxpayers each year to provide the peoples of Europe with the dollars to buy from America.

Thus the Marshall Plan first and foremost is designed to maintain a high level of American trade with Europe, to enable the U.S. monopolies to dominate European markets and to try and preserve American Imperialism from the economic crisis.

The second major purpose of the Marshall Plan is to bring all of Western Europe under American domination, just as Greece and Turkey are at the present time.

The third purpose is to speed up the preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

The American imperialists, in trying to dominate the markets of the world, to seize new markets, are finding that trade and customs barriers conflict with the interests of American monopoly capital and they want to dispose of them.

In the discussions in Paris on the Marshall Plan the establishment of a customs union was proposed, inspired by the American monopolists.

The American representative in Paris, Clayton, has attacked the plan drawn up by 16 countries on the grounds that it does not adequately provide for mutual aid between the countries themselves, that it lacks proposals to restore the convertibility of European currency, and that it shows no agreement on the abolition of trade barriers.

This last point is virtually a demand by the U.S. for a European customs union.

Thus, in essence, the Marshall Plan, as Molotov pointed out during the Three Power discussions that took place earlier, encroaches upon the sovereignty of the peoples of Europe, it means the loss of independence of the countries that adhere to the Marshall Plan. It is one of the most brazen attempts of the American imperialists to establish their domination in Europe that we have witnessed.

But the plan does not stop at that. Germany and the Ruhr are key points in the Marshall Plan. German industry, and especially Ruhr industry, must be restored and become the major supply centre of Europe, restored on the basis of private enterprise under American control. Already the U.S. is taking over the dollar commitments of Britain in the British zone, in which the Ruhr is situated, which means that America will assume general direction of the vast industrial area, the Ruhr. German monopoly capital is to be restored with American help. The security of Europe and the world is in great danger from American policy.

In the Pacific the American monopolists are pursuing a policy on similar lines to that in Europe. In Japan, under MacArthur's occupation, the old ruling classes have been left in control. The feudal-monarchist-monopolist reaction is dominating Japan at the present time.

The landlords still have their estates and the monopolists their industries, but with this difference, that American monopoly capital have bought into Japanese monopolies just as they are linked with German monopoly.

The American imperialists see in Japan a bulwark in Asia against the great democratic-revolutionary movements that are threatening the rule of Imperialism. Japan is to become a military and industrial base for American imperialism in preparation for war against the Soviet Union.

The American plan provides for the restoration of industry in Japan, with American capital closely allied to Japanese industry. They aim to unload vast quantities of cheap Japanese goods on the Asiatic markets and also to restrict and hold back the industrial development of countries in Asia.

Thus, in both Europe and Asia, American policy aims at the restoration of German and Japanese imperialism. The former American secretary of State, Dean Acheson, dealing with this aspect of American policy, said it aims at: "The reconstruction of those two great workshops of Europe and Asia, Germany and Japan."

There we have the essence of the Marshall Plan and American policy in the East—the restoration of Germany and Japan.

The Marshall Plan and MacArthur's policy in Japan reveal the unlimited expansionist aims of the American monopolists.

The Marshall Plan and MacArthur's policy are part of the war preparations of American imperialism, which are being rapidly speeded up.

Add to these plans the striving of American imperialism to sweep away tariff walls, abolish trade preferences, and you can see how they also aim to dominate the markets of the world.

American policy leads to war and economic crisis, and we must expose it still more concretely and widely.

Within America the opposition to this policy is growing. The fight against high prices is developing, there is united trade union opposition to the shackling trade union bill passed through the American Congress, the Wallace movement for a third party is receiving immense support from one end of the U.S. to another. There is no doubt that these activities and movements will be speeded up as the resistance to American policy grows in the rest of the world, and as the economic crisis breaks in the United States.

The policy of American imperialism impinges upon Australia. The resurgence of Japan endangers Australian security. The Marshall Plan and MacArthur's policy, apart from the danger of war, enable the American monopolies to oust Australia from markets in Europe and Asia.

The foreign policy of the Australian Government will make this country a satellite of American Imperialism, and lead to the eventual loss of our independence.

Here it is necessary to say a few words about Dr. Evatt's recent visit to Japan because this visit, in itself, was a disaster for Australia in that it tied Australia's Pacific policy to that of America, including the revival of Japanese imperialism, with all the dangers that means to this country.

Dr. Evatt is a complete stooge for MacArthur. Recall the reports in the press about his arrival in Japan. He arrived like a roaring lion, but after a discussion with MacArthur he was as quiet as a lamb. He publicly approved of McMahon Ball's policy, on arrival in Japan, but after speaking to MacArthur he forced his resignation. He was for 20 years of occupation of Japan, but after his discussion with MacArthur he decided that 10 years' supervision by a civilian committee would be sufficient. At the Paris Conference last year he declared that a two-thirds majority was the very antithesis of democracy. In Canberra this year he declared it was the very essence of democracy.

We must rally the people for a more vigorous fight against the foreign and trade policies of the Government.

We want a policy for peace and for co-operation with all countries of the world, especially with the Soviet Union and the countries of Asia.

We want a policy that results in recognition of the mutual rights and interests of all countries, that will ensure the independence of the small powers and colonies as well as the big powers.

We want a foreign and trade policy that will promote trade throughout the world on free and equal terms, and not on terms that lead to the subordination of countries, to their domination by American Imperialism.

Now I turn to the economic situation immediately confronting this country. The situation today is in many respects different from 1929, when the last economic crisis developed. It is useful to study some of the aspects of the crisis of 1929-33 in order to get a picture also of the way things can, or may, develop in the approaching crisis.

The industrial crisis which broke out in 1929 was preceded by the agrarian crisis. For two or three years before 1929, prices of the basic exports of this country, wool and wheat in particular, were falling. Secondly, in 1929 Australia had an overseas interest bill of £28 million, and no substantial funds in London to meet it. Thirdly, in the years prior to the economic crisis this country was raising loans in Britain to the tune of twenty-five or thirty million pounds per year, which were suddenly cut off as the economic crisis developed.

The external position of Australia today is better than in 1929. The prices of basic agrarian products, wool and wheat in particular, are high. The poultry, farming, vegetable growing and dairying industries have been badly hit by the restriction of the market after the American and British armed forces left the country and are facing severe difficulties. But insofar as wheat is concerned prices are still rising, and wool is maintaining a very high level.

But what of the future? Will the prices of wheat and wool, which are so basic in the exports of this country, be maintained?

America today, is the main purchaser of Australian wool. As the economic crisis develops in the United States of America, there will be a substantial fall in the American demand which, inevitably, will affect the world price of wool. A fall in wool prices is to be expected. Insofar as wheat is concerned, this year there is a vast American and Canadian crop, but, on the other hand, a severe drought in Western Europe. It may be that the situation in Europe will hold off any catastrophic drop in the price of wheat for twelve months or more, but there is no question that as the economic crisis develops in the United States there will also be a decline in the world price of wheat. Nevertheless, as wheat today is about 500 per cent. higher than pre-war the fall in price would have to be catastrophic to even revert to pre-war levels.

Thus, for another 12 months, at least, it appears that wheat price levels will remain fairly high.

These questions must also be examined in the light of the drive of American Imperialism for abolition of trade preferences. If successful this will be a very severe blow to basic export industries of this country such as sugar, meat, tinned and dried fruits and sooner or later wheat.

We must conclude that as the crisis develops in America it will result in a fall in the prices of basic exports. Further, as the American trade drive develops, and as their demand for the abolition of Empire preference becomes effective —as it will if the British and Australian policy is persisted with—we can expect a still more severe drop in the volume of exports.

In this event the trade balance, as in 1929, will inevitably tend to swing against Australia, because import prices are substantially higher than Australian export prices. If that happens we will very quickly find out what the sterling balance in London is worth.

Interest payable overseas is down to about £16,000,000 per year, but on the other hand the interest bill payable in Australia has gone up to £63,000,000. The total interest bill today is £79,200,000 a year and, in the event of economic crisis, will play havoc with the budgetary position of the Government. Sooner or later this interest bill will have to be scaled down. The many small investors in the loans that were raised during the war, which shot up the Australian interest bill so much, mean that we will have to examine this question very carefully.

The external position of Australia today is much stronger than in 1929, but it can rapidly change as the crisis unfolds in the United States of America, and as the American drive for markets, and especially for the British and European markets, intensifies.

Since 1929 there has been a very substantial growth of industry in Australia, and this is another factor to be taken into account.

The present economic situation is characterised by a boom, the kind of boom that precedes economic crisis. There is full employment. The Government claims that industry is almost 100,000 workers short. We are faced with rising levels of production, rising prices and profits. On the other hand, real wages are falling, a relative reduction is taking place in the consuming powers of the masses.

In spite of increased production there are still shortages. Housing in particular is in short supply. The shortage of consumer goods is largely due to the high level of demand throughout Australia. Retail stores are doing a bigger business today than they have ever done and are making bigger profits than ever before.

Propaganda in the capitalist press would make it appear that production in Australia is actually at a low level. We are told that the reason for this is the slackness of the worker and also, as another factor, full employment which takes from the bosses the effectiveness of the disciplinary weapon of the sack.

Let us consider this question of production. Is production falling or is it rising? Here are some figures. Factory production in New South Wales in 1939 was valued at £218 million; in 1945 at £388 million, an increase of 78.9 per cent. (1945 prices you will recall were not much higher than the 1939 level.) The national income of Australia in 1938-9 was £803 millions; in 1945-6 it was £1,247 millions, an increase of 55.3 per cent.

Total production in this country must be approaching 50 per cent. above 1939 levels.

Let us now consider the claims that are producing less than pre-war.

N.S.W. factories in 1939 employed workers, in 1945 315,000 workers, an increase 37.5 per cent. The value of factory output, have already shown, increased from £218 million in 1939 to £388 million in 1945, a 78.9 per cent increase. Thus the number of workers increased by 37.5 per cent. whilst the value of output increased by 78.9 per cent. Those figures show, beyond any shadow of doubt, that the workers today are producing more per head than before the war.

Or take once again the national income figures of £803 million in 1938-39 and £1,247 million in 1945-46, an increase of 55.3 per cent. In contrast, wages and salaries in 1938-39 were £432 million, in 1945-46 £610 million, an increase of 41.2 per cent.

However, wages and salaries are not a real indication because salaries include those paid to directors of banks and industries, railway commissioners, politicians and so on. The basic wage is the best indication. In 1945-46 the basic wage was up 25 per cent. on 1939. National income therefore, increased by 55.3 per cent., whereas the basic wage increased by over 25 per cent.

If those figures prove anything they prove that the introduction of machinery and other speed-up methods have resulted in the workers producing more than before the war. They show that the exploitation of the Australian working class has increased, that the surplus value wrung by the capitalist class from the workers is much higher than in 1939.

There has been a tremendous increase in production in Australia. On the other hand the market is becoming more restricted. Inflation of prices is an important factor in this, because although the Government claims that prices have gone up 30 per cent. whilst wages have gone up 34 per cent., which would make it appear that real wages are higher today than before the war, the position is actually quite different. Some months ago I had occasion to make an investigation into prices and although it was impossible to get complete figures it was possible to show that the cost of living had gone up by approximately 60 per cent., whereas wages had risen at that time by only 28 per cent. Prices very rapidly outstripped the advance in wages, and as a result profits have skyrocketed.

Figures given by the Commonwealth Statistician show that whereas in 1938-39, profits, interest and rent amounted to £357,000,000, in 1945-46 they amounted to £493,000,000 — an increase of £136,000,000. Since then profits have jumped much higher in a whole number of industries. Take the balance sheet of B.H.P. and subsidiaries for the year ending June, 1947. They showed a nett profit of £1,762,985. They put aside £2,057,550 for taxation and a further £2,058,972 for depreciation. Their total working profit, therefore, was £5,868,316, an enormous figure. Thus, in spite of higher taxation, for which huge sums are set aside, profits exceeded those of the war years.

The increase in prices means that real wages have fallen. Profits are rising at the expense of the standards of living of the working class. Here we can see the basic contradiction that Marx has drawn attention to—the contradiction between the rapid expansion of production and the relative decline in the consuming power of the people. From all this it follows that Australia is confronted with the danger of a fall in overseas prices and in the volume of exports, and with the growing gap between production and consumption. Unless changed these developments will end in economic disaster. Boom conditions prevailing today cover up the development of the crisis. The economic crash, however, can come very quickly. This problem, therefore, must be tackled immediately by the Party and the working class movement.

The starting point in the policy of the Communist Party to fight the crisis is to raise standards of living. In contrast, the policy of the Labor Government is to peg wages whilst permitting prices to rise fairly freely. This is a matter of first rate importance for the trade unions. They must fight not only for higher wages but also against rising prices which threaten to sweep away the gains made. The trade unions, so far, have not swung into the campaign on prices. Local struggles in which housewives have participated have taken place and must continue. The urgent need, however, is for powerful trade union action.

The introduction of the 40 hour week has resulted in demands from big business for the lifting of price controls to permit of immediate price increases. Some demands are for a 20 per cent. increase in prices even though the reduction in hours is only 9 per cent. The aim of the monopolists is to push prices sky high.

The Chifley Government was intending to abandon price control by the end of this year, but owing to the restrictions resulting from the crisis in Britain, it is now seeking power which will permit the Federal Government to deal with prices and rents. Naturally, we will support such a referendum. In the referendum campaign we will develop the campaign against rising prices and rally the masses to insist upon the pegging of prices.

The Government has indicated that it intends to permit the passing on to the consumer of the increased costs resulting from the 40 hour week. Prices, so far as most industries are concerned, are to be raised. Some industries, we are told, can bear the increased costs but most industries will be permitted to raise prices.

In addition, because of the Government's policy of allowing big business to raise prices to offset wage increases and reductions in working hours won by the trade unions, we can expect a further price rise resulting from the wage increases won in the victorious struggle of the metal workers. It is obvious, from these facts, that we are going to witness a rapid rise in prices in the immediate future which will arouse hostility amongst housewives and workers in general. We must, therefore, organise and draw the women and the trade union movement into the struggle against higher prices.

Communist policy is that prices must be pegged, or reduced. On the other hand, wages must be raised, the basic wage must be increased. If wages are raised while prices are pegged, living standards will rise.

Now that the 40 hour week campaign has concluded, the trade unions should plan a nation-wide campaign for an increase in the basic wage, and in opposition to any further increase in prices.

In order to assist some sections of farmers it may be necessary to increase the price of their products. The policy of the Party is to support an increase in the prices of some farm products. Farmers in the dairying industry, sugar farmers and also vegetable growers are in serious difficulties, and we believe that just as the workers must fight for and achieve higher wages to raise their standard of living, the small farmers, in order to raise their living standards, must achieve an increase in prices for some of their products. While fighting against higher prices in general, we recognise at the same time that in some industries limited price increases may be necessary to help the small producer. We are also advocating other measures to assist the farmers, such as improved and democratic marketing organisation and the scaling down of debts. If these measures are taken, together with further taxation reduction on lower incomes, and if the working class supports the legitimate demands of farmers and middle classes, the farmers and middle classes will benefit and the basis will be created for much firmer support from them for the struggles of the working class movement.

In the struggle to raise standards of living, the workers and farmers will be opposed by the men of the trusts. The monopolists are responsible for rising prices, they are behind every reactionary move and measure taking place in Australia.

The fight against economic crisis is also a fight to break the power of the monopolies, to destroy their hold over the economic life of the country. Economic crisis cannot be combatted while ever the monopolists, whose policy is forcing Australia along the road to crisis, dominate in the economy of the country.

The Federal Government has decided to nationalise the trading banks. The banks are the nerve centres of capitalism, and exercise powerful control over industry and agriculture. The banking monopoly in Australia is highly centralised.

Big business is geared for the battle against bank nationalisation, and will fight to the limit against it. Some of their speakers even suggest that before the issue is settled there will be bloodshed.

How do we estimate the decision of the Labor Party to nationalise the banks?

The Labor Party bases itself upon private enterprise, has always governed in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Now it appears they are attacking the very citadel of bourgeois power in Australia, the banks. Does this mean that the Australian Labor Party is shifting from its liberal-bourgeois position to a more Left, socialist position? Is it taking the path of socialism? Are big changes taking place in the character of the Labor Party?

I do not think so. The decision of the Labor Party to nationalise the banks does not mean any fundamental departure from the general policy of the Labor Party, which is based upon the preservation of private enterprise. Nor is there any change in the character of the Labor Party. The main object of Labor's proposal to nationalise the banks is to strengthen capitalism in Australia.

The decision of the High Court invalidating Section 48 of the Commonwealth Bank Act made serious inroads on Government legislation to enlarge the powers of the Commonwealth Bank. The funds of Municipal Councils, State governments, and government enterprises, banked with the Commonwealth Bank, would have substantially strengthened the financial position of the Commonwealth Bank, and this is necessary to give effect to the Government's economic programme.

The Labor Party is also convinced that the economic crisis is developing, and their theory is that to combat economic crisis, control of credit is essential. Labor Party leaders say the Government r ust be in a position to expand credit as the crisis develops and contract it in times of boom. The Labor Party believes that by control of the banks and the financial resources of this country it will be in a position, at least, to "cushion" the economic crisis.

In other words, the step the Federal Government is taking to nationalise the banks puts them, they believe, in a better position to organise the Australian capitalist economy, and, thereby, to preserve capitalism from the collapse that may follow from the blows of the working class in the event of an economic crisis. The decision to nationalise the banks was not made with the aim of advancing the country towards Socialism, even though bank nationalisation is progressive. It is, however, in the interests of the working class, and, seen objectively, must help forward the cause of Socialism.

The Labor Party leaders see in nationalisation a measure to stabilise capitalism.

The monopolists are opposed to nationalisation because the banks are the very essence of monopolist control over industry and agriculture. Government control of the banks will weaken monopoly. Hence their determination to fight it.

The Government's proposals for bank nationalisation will not change the capitalist-worker relationship in Australia any more than nationalised railways have changed this relationship. The Government has announced its intention of compensating bank shareholders on very liberal terms. Hence in Australia, with a capitalist bureaucracy in control of the State, nationalisation will not mean, insofar as the workers are concerned, any very fundamental change, because the banking management of the Commonwealth Bank, which will take over the trading banks, is part and parcel of the Australian bourgeoisie. That is, the bank directors are part of the capitalist class, with the outlook of big business, and so they are antagonistic to the working class and the cause of Socialism, just as the railway commissioners, who are part of the bourgeoisie, are antagonistic to the railway workers.

This raises the whole problem of worker participation in the direction of government-controlled or nationalised industries, so that these industries and institutions will be run in the interests of the people instead of as an agency of the capitalist monopolies.

Nationalisation of the trading banks will weaken the power of the monopolists throughout Australia, of the mortal enemy of the working class. On the other hand, bank nationalisation will strengthen Australian democracy. For these reasons we support it. At the same time, however, we must avoid creating any illusions, the illusion that nationalisation is the way to avert economic crisis, the illusion that the Labor Party is now changing its colour and becoming a lovely pink, the illusion that with bank nationalisation the power of the capitalist class will be crushed.

To avoid economic crisis we must fight the whole power of the capitalist monopolies, and in this connection nationalisation of the banks, which is but a part of monopoly although a most important part, is not sufficient. Communist policy is to go further and nationalise the coal, steel, sugar and shipping monopolies as a start, and others in turn.

Even with nationalisation on this scale a big part of industry would still remain in the hands of private capitalists. In the national interest, therefore, the Government should have far-reaching controls over all industry so that industry in general may fit in with a national plan of production.

With the nationalisation of the banks and of the powerful industrial monopolies and control over private industry, it would be possible to plan production on a national scale, to put an end to the trends towards over-production, to expand industry and agriculture in new directions, and to raise the real wages and living standards of the workers and other low income earners.

The struggle to achieve these things is a struggle to unite the working class, to change the character of the Government, to develop in every way movements of progressive forces in Australia, and on this basis of struggle and movement to bring about a position where Australia gets a government which includes representatives of all sections of the progressive forces in the country, including the Communist Party.

In general, the Communists have differences with the Labor Party on the question of how to fight against economic crisis. We support, however, all measures of the Labor Governments to stimulate housing, their plans for public works which, we believe, must be rapidly expanded, for combatting soil erosion and developing the resources of the countryside. Finance must be available for all these works. Bank nationalisation will help greatly.

In order to overcome economic crisis, we Communists believe that the way forward is not by the preservation of private enterprise, or the right of the capitalists to increase their profits at the expense of the working class, but to raise standards of living at the expense of profits, to smash the power of monopoly and establish controls over private enterprise, to promote government enterprise and public works, and on the basis of these measures to develop a national plan of production that will overcome the anarchy in production and the market created by capitalism.

These are the issues around which we must strive to mobilise the working people of Australia.

The Communist Party must campaign more vigorously for nationalisation of the banks, linking it up with nationalisation of the steel, sugar, coal and shipping monopolies, and proceed to develop the United Front of the working class and to draw the trade union movement into the struggle. On this issue of nationalisation of the banks there is an immense amount of support in the labor movement. It is consistent with the platform of the Labor Party, of the Communist Party and the trade union movement. The basis, therefore, exists for the widest possible development of working class unity.

The banks are making a drive in the farming and middle class electorates. This is very serious. During the crisis of 1929-33, reaction organised big farmers' movements in the Riverina and elsewhere against the working class, and also they formed the New Guard. Today they are making insane efforts to build their connections with farmers and middle class people, to swing them against the labor movement and against nationalisation of the banks.

The working class movement of Australia must strive to link up with the middle classes and farmers. The Communist Party must organise the campaign in the countryside. We must take up and fight for the demands of the farmers and middle classes and show how nationalisation of the banks will hasten the achievement of these. The trade union movement must also come into this struggle for the farmers and middle classes.

Comrades, we all recall the crisis of 1929-33, how the bourgeoisie and the Labor Party sought to place the burdens of the crisis on the backs of the working class, how they inflicted very grave defeats upon the labor movement. We recall how the reaction organised farmers against the labor movement and the fascist New Guard; we know also they were able to split the Labor Party in that situation.

In the crisis that is now approaching, the 1929-33 defeats of the working class must not be repeated and the only guarantee for this is the Australian Communist Party. Our Party, alone, has a policy that corresponds to the needs of the working class. Our Party alone has a policy that shows the people of Australia and, first and foremost, the working class, the way to fight economic crises.

The Communist Party today is much stronger than it was in the year 1929 when the crisis broke out; the working class movement of Australia is also much stronger and has behind it the experiences of World War I, the crisis of 1929-33 and World War II. This is the working class that is now confronted with a new economic crisis.

We must win and unite the working class for the policy of fighting economic crisis, for the struggles that are necessary to win through to victory. The role of the Communist Party in this struggle is decisive. For this reason we need a stronger Communist Party, a much better organised party, a party which has a higher ideological level and better cadres.

The lag in recruitment to the Communist Party is a serious matter. Reaction is growing in Australia whereas the Communist Party shows only a slight increase in membership. We must build the Party in the factories and unions, in the suburbs, in the towns and throughout the countryside. We must win the farmers to our Party. We must plan big drives to establish the Party in country centres at all major points and to develop the struggle to associate the farmers with the struggles of the working class against monopoly capitalism. We must build the Party in struggle, in the big struggles that lie ahead of the working class of Australia, in the fight of the working class to raise standards of living and the struggle against rising prices. We must build the Party in the struggles of the labor movement against monopoly capital, that mortal enemy of the working class which we must defeat in order to win through to victory. We must build the Party in the struggle for a foreign policy that is in the interests of the people of Australia, that will make for peace and co-operation throughout the world and that will permit the fullest development of world trade on free and equal terms. And linked with all issues we must build the Party to fight against economic crisis.

The fight against economic crisis, comrades, is a fight against the monopolists, a fight against capitalism, which is the cause of economic crises.

Our programme means that instead of the capitalist solution to the economic crisis we want a solution on the basis of the victory of the working class over the trusts and combines. Our aim in the campaign is to smash the power of monopoly, to organise production on a national scale, to raise living and cultural standards, to establish a new democracy.

In short, instead of a capitalist solution to the crisis that is approaching, we want a socialist solution of the crisis.

A.C.T.U. CONGRESS

TOM WRIGHT

(Report to the Central Committee meeting, September 12-14, 1947)

THE A.C.T.U. Congress can be described as a Congress of progressive unionism because of the progressive nature of the decisions. This was despite the fact that the left wing were not in as strong a position as at the 1945 Congress when the left wing and its supporters had an actual majority.

On this occasion we were not in the majority. There were various reasons for this, one that some of the left wing unions had smaller delegations, another that on this occasion the Congress was held in Melbourne, which is the main centre of the right wing as far as the ACTU is concerned, and this helped them to strengthen their side.

Nevertheless, on every occasion when the extreme right wing came forward to amend resolutions, it failed. As a matter of fact the great majority of the resolutions were moved by members of the left wing section of the Congress, and the left wing did actually have the initiative in the Congress from the beginning to the end of the proceedings.

I do not want you to think I am presenting the Congress as one where the left wing depended solely on its own adherents, because the decisions of the Congress were carried with the assistance of quite a substantial number of delegates who do not adhere rigidly to the left wing. In the main, the Congress was an example of successful united front activity.

The actual strength of the firm left wing in the Congress was shown in the ballots for official positions. In the ballot for the presidency, Mr. Clarey got 176 votes and I got 138. In the vote in the ballot for the two vice-presidents Mr. Healy got 139 and in the distribution of preferences he got an additional one, and I would say when it came to the issue of the ballot and the voting for nominees who were recognised Communists, that was the maximum left wing vote at the Congress.

We were not defeated in any vote throughout the Congress, apart from the ballot for positions. There is a fear amongst many workers who are prepared to support progressive policies inside the trade unions of what Communists will do if they get into official positions, and I have no doubt that this must be due to some extent to the impressions given workers in these unions. We have not developed sufficient united front work, and we have to overcome a lot of fear of Communists holding important positions. We can overcome this with correct activity.

The first important issue at the Congress was in connection with the 40 hour week, and the motion which was the basis for discussion was one moved by Mr. Condon, Secretary of the Boot Trade Employees' Union. This resolution proposed that in the event of any union taking action for the 40 hour week, the A.C.T.U. would give it support. An amendment was moved by Mr. Kenny which, in effect, supported the motion subject to the A.C.T.U. Executive deciding when it should have effect. The left wing proposition was the one from the Ironworkers' Union moved by Mr. Thornton, that September 15th should be the deadline, and that if no decision had been given the workers should stop work for that day and take the 40 hour week from then onwards.

The important thing was to get a declaration from the Congress that the workers were going to take strike action and were going to take the 40 hour week if necessary. This was accepted, the date set being changed to October 20th, and this was carried unanimously because Condon and Kenny were prepared to accept it. It was not a question of the left wing forcing it through Congress. The majority of the delegates were prepared to take strong action to win the 40 hour week, and by the way the matter was handled in the Congress we were able to get that unanimity which was such an outstanding feature.

The next important issue was the question of nationalisation, and here again the left wing were very successful. We had on this question the first division, and this division was won by 173 to 128, defeating an amendment to delete references to nationalisation of coal and steel. The motion was then carried without opposition. There were four divisions during the Congress and this vote was the biggest we got, I think because there was a good united front basis. The resolution put forward to the Congress had previously been submitted to the delegations of all unions, including the Boilermakers, who had submitted agenda items on the matter.

The fact is that the opposition speakers made a very poor job of it. This was one of the features of the Congress; whereas the left wing had a very strong, capable body of speakers, those right wing speakers who did express themselves in the Congress were mostly not very effective and some not very capable.

Another division was taken on the question of the right of Labor Councils to veto Congress decisions. You know that at the 1945 Congress we had eliminated from the Constitution the clause giving Labor Councils the right to veto decisions of the Congress. The provision previously was that unless the Labor Councils endorsed the decisions of the Congress, they were not binding on the affiliated unions.

That was obviously an out-of-date and obsolete provision in the constitution and on this occasion the right wing, through Mr. Shortelle, supported by Messrs. Stout and Hayes, moved to have this provision reinserted in the Constitution. The actual division was 141 for the reinsertion of this provision and 156 against.

I might mention that in regard to the Constitution there were a number of alterations made, but none of them of fundamental importance. One of the most important changes was the insertion in the Constitution of a provision that half of the affiliation fees by Unions be put into a seperate trust fund to be used in connection with delegates going overseas and to cover affiliation to the World Federation of Trade Unions. This had been a decision of the 1945 Congress but had not been embodied in the Rules. This helps to consolidate the affiliation to the W.F.T.U.

On the last day of the Congress there was another division on the question of the "Better Industrial Relations Conference," that was held recently at Canberra. The Executive brought forward a resolution which endorsed the statement that had been issued after the Industrial Peace Conference, that is the joint statement of the parties, and also endorsing the conducting of an enquiry into the question of incentive payments, which would then be submitted to the affiliated Unions and would also be discussed by the Executive. The left wing amendment stated quite clearly opposition to incentive payments. In the division the amendment was carried by 150 to 121 and then, put as the motion, was submitted and carried.

So far as the question of incentive payments is concerned statements since the Congress indicate that officials of the A.C.T.U. at any rate are doing their best to continue with their proposal of conducting an enquiry into this question of incentive payments, and I am of the opinion that they are actually flouting the decision of the Congress. They could not reconcile an enquiry into the question of incentive payments with the Congress decision unless they made clear it was only to find out to what extent it operates and how best to combat it. But, they have not said that. They talk about enquiring into it, in such a way as to give the impression, that if they can they will find out some method of incentive payments, that is payment by results, which they can recommend to the Trade Unions.

While there is a need to come out sharply against them on this issue, at the same time the indications are that they have no possible hope of success in securing support by the Trade Union Movement for incentive payments. As you know even right wing officials have come out in opposition, including spokesmen for the A.W.U. Nevertheless the fact they may conduct this enquiry could have a harmful effect because there is a growth of incentive payments, particularly in South Australia, which is being carried through despite the opposition of the Trade Union Movement as a whole. It is being assisted in some cases by individual Union officials and is being introduced into factories without the knowledge or consent of the Trade Union Movement. The A.C.T.U. officials, if they persist in their present attitude, are certainly encouraging the growth of incentive payments despite the opposition of the Trade Union Movement.

There was a very large number of resolutions carried, despite the difficulty of getting all of the the questions dealt with. Decisions were made on the questions of price control, housing, education, industrial diseases, against anti-Semitism, on Greece —which is a big contrast to the attitude of the British Trade Union Congress—on Malaya; in connection with the Taft-Hartley law in America; child endowment; against the Defence Projects Act and, particularly important, resolutions concerning the basic wage, equal pay, and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The decision in regard to West Australia is that the new Labor Council recently established there is given recognition and the A.C.T.U. officials are to go there to establish their association with the A.C.T.U. and to help to establish this Council.

Arising out of the report that Comrade Thornton submitted on the World Federation of Trade Unions there was endorsement of a proposal to have a conference of the Far Eastern sections of the World Federation of Trade Unions, including the Trade Unions of the Asiatic countries, the Philippines, Indonesia and Australia and of the establishment of a Far Eastern Bureau. It was on the debate on this question that Carroll of the Musicians' Union in Victoria made his attack on the Indonesians. One of the methods of propoganda being used by the Dutch in Australia is to collect statements by seamen and others, who are alleged to have gone to Java and been eye-witnesses of alleged atrocities and this Mr. Carroll had such material. He took advantage of the opportunity to get his material in by opposing the establishment of a Far Eastern Bureau, but of course, when the question was put to Congress it was carried unanimously; apparently he did not vote against it himself.

There is nothing to indicate that there was any substantial proportion of delegates who are not in agreement with the support that has been given to date in the struggle of the Indonesians. At the very end of the Congress there was an appropriate resolution of support for the Indonesians. Mr. Carroll rose to his feet in opposition at 5 o'clock, when conference was due to adjourn, the Chairman adjourned the Congress without this question being

put. Nevertheless, without the Congress decision, we have the attitude of the Federal Unions concerned with ship repair, we have the decisions of the various Labor Councils and of the A.C.T.U. Executive itself which have set down the policy of the Australian Trade Unions insofar as Indonesia is concerned.

I would say that the indications are that the leading officials of the A.C.T.U. and of the right wing in the trade unions have no real appreciation of the threat of economic crisis. You can see this, for instance, in their insistence that we must have increased production as a sort of necessary condition for improved standards and there is the indirect support they are giving to the idea of incentive payments.

They could not possibly adopt that attitude if they had any real appreciation of the threatening economic crisis.

The Congress, in my opinion, provided a good basis for the development of united front activity in the trade unions in the coming period.

Take, for example, the question of the nationalisation of the banks. Congress decision was that the A.C.T.U. itself should conduct a national campaign in support of the Government's proposal and this is, in my opinion, an ideal question for developing a very broad united front activity through the trade union movement.

There is the question of the basic wage which directly links with our discussion here this week-end, and the A.C.T.U. Congress decisions both of the last Congress and of this Congress, which re-affirmed the 1945 Congress proposal, give us a very good basis for the future development of the fight in connection with the basic wage.

Similarly with the question of equal pay. The resolution that was carried by the Congress incorporated all the most advanced union views on this question, providing a good basis for the development of broad activity through the trade union movement.

The unions are to support a Referendum on prices and other proposals were submitted in regard to the setting up of Committees in each State with trade union representation to control prices.

There is the question of support for Indonesia and the decision about setting up a Far Eastern Bureau.

We can take the Congress decisions as a basis for developing that kind of very broad activity which we want for the trade unions and to help us overcome present weaknesses.

If we find the correct united front basis for our work we will get sincere Labor Party and non-party workers to work with us, to support not only the progressive decisions we can put forward at Congress, but also to vote for us and put us into leading positions where they get the opportunity to do so.

THE GENEVA TRADE TALKS

E. VARGA

(From "New Times," May 16, 1947)

FOR several weeks already representatives of seventeen of the major capitalist countries—which together account for roughly two-thirds of the world's trade—have been conferring in Geneva. Most of these countries are represented by men of high standing. The United States' representative is William Clayton, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs; Great Britain is represented by Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade; France, by Andre Philip, Minister of National Economy, and so on. The present talks, like those in London in October and November, 1946, are only of a preliminary character. Their purpose is to prepare agreed proposals for the official United Nations world trade conference which it is contemplated holding this year.

Before dwelling on the Geneva talks, we should like to remind the reader that in the past quarter of a century there have been a series of international economic conferences. However, they all ended without any decision being reached, or with the adoption of resolutions of so general a character as to have no practical value. Let us recall the most important of these conferences.

The Genoa conference of 1922 was not attended by the United States, which at that time pursued an isolationist policy. The driving force at that conference was Great Britain. Her endeavour was—direct intervention having failed—to create a united economic front against the Soviet Republic. It was attempted, by promises of investment of new capital, to induce the Soviet Republic to recognise the tsarist foreign debts, to restore nationalised enterprises to former foreign owners, to grant foreign firms special privileges in the country, and so on. The idea, in other words, was to convert the Soviet Union into a colony of international finance capital. Naturally, the Soviet Government emphatically rejected these proposals, after which all the conference could do was to adopt resolutions of a very general character.

Equally unsuccessful was the Hague conference in the summer of 1922, at which similar demands were presented to the Soviet Union.

An international economic conference was held in 1927. All the major states were represented, including the Soviet Union and America. It adopted a number of general resolutions on freedom of trade, but bore no practical fruits.

In 1933, when the world economic crisis that broke out in 1929 had reached its climax, the biggest international economic conference hitherto held met in London. Sixty-seven countries were represented. The desire of its sponsors was to find a capitalist solution to the crisis and to solve the problem of markets, at the same time preserving the gold standard. But the conference was a fiasco. While it was discussing the preservation of gold currencies, the United States devaluated the dollar, thereby torpedoing the negotiations. Britain did not venture to form—in conjunction with the gold standard countries, headed by France—a bloc against the United States. Soon she followed the latter's example and devaluated the pound sterling.

Nazi Germany tried to take advantage of the situation to form an anti-Soviet bloc. Her delegate, Hugenberg, came forward with the sensational memorandum which prematurely disclosed Hitler's hand. This demarche on the part of Nazi diplomacy ended in failure. Thanks to its consistent policy of peace, the Soviet Union scored a big diplomatic victory.

"Paradoxical as it may seem it is nevertheless a fact that the only state which will return home with any tangible achievement from the London conference, which set out to resolve the world crisis of capitalism, is the Soviet Union," wrote, on July 4, 1933, the Vienna **Arbeiter-Zeitung**, which was far from being friendly to the Soviet Union.

This brief review demonstrates that none of the earlier international economic conferences led to any practical results.

What are the aims and objects of the present conferences?

The driving force behind, and the initiator of, these conferences is the United States. Nominally its aim is to restore "International free trade," or the "open door" principle—in other words, to revert roughly to the state of affairs that existed in the latter half of the 19th century. True, the majority of the countries had customs tariffs at that time too. In the United States they were, as now, very high. But long-term trade agreements were concluded, usually for ten-year periods, and nearly everywhere the most-favoured-nation clause operated. That is, the contracting governments mutually guaranteed that if any of the parties at some future date concluded a trade agreement with another country in which a lower tariff was specified for any commodity, that lower tariff would automatically apply to all the other parties. Consequently, in any given country the goods of all countries could compete on equal terms.

In the 20th century, when production capacity began to outstrip the capacity of the market and increasing difficulty was experienced in disposing of commodities (except in the brief boom phases of the industrial cycle), the most-favoured-nation system began to fall into decline. At first the clause was formally preserved but in practice it was circumvented. In the bilateral trade agreements the lowered tariffs were hedged around by such stipulations as to the quality of commodities that only the commodities of the contracting countries could reap the benefits.

After World War I, especially during the economic crisis of 1929-33, when the difficulties of finding markets became particularly acute, most of the countries renounced the most-favoured-nation principle and the practice of concluding long-term trade agreements. Britain created a system of imperial preferential tariffs, under which within the Empire British exporters paid lower customs duties for the same class of goods than export firms of other countries. Britain introduced duties on food imports in order to be able by way of compensation to grant privileges to the countries of the Empire. France adopted a similar course with regard to her colonies.

The necessity of maintaining the stability, or at least retarding the depreciation of their currencies compelled many countries to resort to regulation of imports. A system of import quotas was inaugurated, in order to utilise the inadequate stocks of foreign exchange for the purchase of restricted quantities of definite goods. Shortage of foreign exchange made it necessary to purchase goods in countries which were willing to accept in return the goods of the purchasing country instead of exchange. General long-term trade agreements more and more gave way to bilateral short-term agreements. They were concluded between two countries and envisaged the mutual purchase and sale of definite contingents of goods over a period of one or two years, and sometimes even of six months. In American terminology "bilateral trade" began to prevail over "multilateral trade" and "bilateral goods exchange" over "trade for cash." And this has become more so than ever since the end of World War II.

It is in this state of affairs that America's trade policy is setting itself the definite aim of restoring the foreign trade system which existed in the 19th century. America wants American goods to be able to compete in all countries of the world on perfectly equal terms with the goods of any other country. This was the keynote of the policy of Cordell Hull, former U.S. Secretary of State. During and after the war, America took advantage of the dependence of her allies on American economic assistance to compel them to recognise this principle in a number of instruments—in particular in the post-war credit agreements with Great Britain, France and other countries. Whereas Great Britain endeavoured by inserting all sorts of reservations and saving clauses in the agreements to protect her system of preferential tariffs—as a result of which the formulations bore a general and vague character—France, being a weaker country, was forced in her loan agreement with the United States to submit to all the latter's demands. She was compelled to give a promise definitely to renounce the quota system, to considerably reduce her tariffs and other trade restrictions, and to abandon the policy of subsidising exports. Whenever any two countries conclude a bilateral trade agreement the United States Government enters a protest.

In the light of this trend of American policy, the purpose of the London conference of the autumn

of 1946, the present conference in Geneva and the United Nations world trade conference it is intended to hold this year is perfectly clear. It is an attempt on the part of the United States to force all countries of the world to accept the most-favoured-nation principle for American goods.

Why is America so persistently pursuing this aim?

The economic history of the United States in the past thirty years reveals that its production capacity is greatly in excess of the capacity of its domestic market. Hence the chronic mass unemployment in that country. Today the producing capacity of American industry is greater than ever owing to the conversion to peace production of a large number of the big plants built during the war. Yet the capacity of the domestic market remains limited, and it is still further contracted by high prices. The boom is still in progress, but a crisis is in the offing. When it breaks out, the result will be a sharp drop in production and wholesale unemployment. The aim of America's economic policy is, by forcing the most-favoured-nation principle upon other countries, to ensure greater opportunities for the sale of her goods in the world market and thus to solve, or at least mitigate, the problem of disposing of her products.

In order to make this demand more palatable to other countries, the following argument is advanced. The abolition of trade restrictions, it is held, will enlarge the capacity of the world market, and this will ensure expanded production and full employment. This idea has even found reflection in the name of the Geneva conference, which is officially called: session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment. But the unsoundness of arguments of this kind is not difficult to detect.

Let us assume that absolute freedom of trade existed all over the capitalist world—no tariffs, no quotas, and even a single world currency. What would be the result?

Every commodity would then be manufactured wherever the cost of its production (including transportation charges) was least, that is, wherever the smallest amount of working time was required for its production. Consequently, throughout the world generally, not a large, but a smaller number of workers would be needed for the production of a given quantity of goods than at present, when a large proportion of commodities are produced in countries where—under the protection of import restrictions—they are dearer to produce, in other words, where a greater amount of labor is expended on them. In socialist society it is most advantageous to produce goods wherever it is cheaper to do so, for the socialist system ensures employment for all members of society by expanding the total volume of production. But in capitalist society this would inevitably lead to a decline in employment; moreover, it would be the less developed countries that would suffer most.

Under existing conditions, abolition of trade restrictions would not lead to any appreciable expansion of world trade. The European countries, China, Japan, etc., purchase little abroad, not because they are not in need of commodities, but because they have neither the gold, nor foreign exchange, nor commodity surpluses with which to pay for large imports of goods. They conduct bilateral trade not be cause they like it or out of malice, but because they can only buy when the selling country is willing to accept their goods in payment for their purchases.

What would happen if America's economic policy prevailed?

American goods would penetrate into all capitalist countries. And for the following reasons. Firstly, the cost of production of many commodities is lower in the United States than in other capitalist countries, because it possesses the most up-to-date equipment. Secondly—and this is more important—American industry is mostly controlled by powerful monopolies. Taking advantage of their monopoly position, the big corporations and trusts keep prices in the home market at a high level. In order to prevent gluts, which would lead to a drop in prices, they are prepared to sell abroad at dumping prices, even at a loss. If, therefore, American policy gained the upper hand, the consequences would be fatal to the industrially more weakly developed countries.

It may be objected that, although the weak industries of such countries might suffer from American competition, these countries on the whole would benefit by receiving cheaper goods. This was the argument not only of the British free traders in the 19th century, but also of the economists of Hitler Germany before World War II. In sum and substance, it means that the industrially backward, agrarian countries must retain this status forever, must exchange food and raw materials for manufactured goods, and must have no pretensions to a higher level of economic development.

But it can at least be said for England and Germany that they were purchasers of food and raw materials in the countries where they sold their manufactured goods. America, however, cannot act as such a purchaser, for she herself has food surpluses and needs but very limited imports of raw materials.

Before the war America imported rubber, silk and vegetable oil on a big scale. But during the war she rapidly expanded the manufacture of synthetic rubber and artificial silk (nylon) and the cultivation of soybean. As a result her need to import these commodities has greatly diminished.

Not only does America stand in little need of foreign goods; she hampers their importation by erecting high tariff walls in order to protect the home producers—the manufacturers and farmers.

This is the Achilles' heel of the American campaign for most-favoured-nation treatment. How can other countries buy goods from America if she does not buy goods from them in return?

In 1946, America exported goods to a value of over nine billion dollars (this, of course, does not include sales of military surpluses abroad); but she purchased foreign goods to a value of less than five billion dollars. And this notwithstanding exchange restrictions and bilateral trade arrangements.

Nor is there the least prospect that America will permit a free inflow of foreign goods by substantially reducing her protective tariffs. For this would threaten the superprofits of many of the powerful monopolies. True, the President has been invested with the power, when concluding trade agreements, to lower tariffs by 50 per cent. But even such a reduction would not open the American market to European industrial goods. Sir Stafford Cripps has declared that 50 per cent reduction of American tariffs would not sufficiently compensate Britain for the abolition of her preferential tariff system.

That this is actually so may be seen from the following official figures of Britain's foreign trade for 1946 (£million):

	U.S.A.	Sterling countries and Canada	Total
Exports	48	489	912
Imports	262	652	1,298

These figures show that in 1946 more than half of Britain's exports went to the Empire and less than six per cent to the United States. On the other hand, 20 per cent of her imports came from the United States.

Hence, the American market would have to be opened pretty wide to England's goods even to balance imports and exports, not to speak of compensating her for the diminished volume of her exports to the dominions and the colonies that would follow the abolition of imperial preference. It is likewise questionable to what extent British goods could compete with American even if import tariffs were altogether abolished. Under the circumstances, it is understandable why British circles exhibit no particular enthusiasm over the Geneva talks.

The **Times**, in its issue of April 10, wrote:

"From the British point of view discussion on 'elimination' of Empire preferences in return for the agreed 'reduction' of tariffs is likely to prove the crux of the negotiations. The limits of concession and demand have been explored at the conference between the Empire countries in London and there is no point in anticipating the decisions reached. (The results of the negotiations were being kept secret.) But two considerations lie on the surface—British tariffs and preference are at an extremely low level, and multilateral agreement would tend to stabilise the advantage in the world markets of such an advanced industrial country as the United States. Imperial preference is also something more than an economic bond, and it is felt within the Commonwealth that such links should not be weakened except in return for appreciable concessions, and then only subject to stringent safeguards. Bargaining by commodities will be the method adopted, but whether the American negotiators, with one eye on the 'escape clause' and another on the approval of Congress, can either make the necessary concessions or give the necessary guarantees is an open question."

The conservative **Spectator** wrote on March 28:

"A country which has a high tariff which it could only reduce with great political difficulty, which has stipulated that the maximum cut it could make in return for the concessions made by other countries is 50 per cent, and which insists on an escape clause which would enable it to get out of any agreement which it deems damaging to its own producers—such a country is hardly qualified to lead a crusade for freer trade."

The United States has no intention of renouncing its system of high protective tariffs and allowing large masses of foreign goods into its domestic market. There is even less chance of this after the Republican victory in the Congressional elections. The majority of the Republican Senators, headed by Taft, are opposed to any reduction of tariffs. And the A.F. and L. is also voicing its opposition to tariff reduction on the plea of protecting "national labor."

That the United States is not disposed to take the talk of reducing tariffs seriously is borne out by the following fact. An agreement has been reached between the Government and the Republican majority in Congress that the "escape clause" regarding tariff concessions—which was first introduced in the trade agreement with Mexico in 1943, and later in the agreement with Paraguay—shall henceforward be embodied in all trade agreements. But the "escape clause" renders all tariff concessions the United States may make illusory. The clause stipulates that America has the right to renounce a reduction of tariffs stipulated in the trade agreement if such reduction constitutes a "serious injury to domestic producers." In this case the partner to the agreement has the right to renounce it within thirty days. No one can doubt that the staffs of statisticians and economists employed by the big American monopolies can easily find proofs to show that a reduction of tariffs is injurious to their particular branch of industry.

True, voices are being raised in the American press too in favour of tariff reduction. But on closer examination it will be found that the organs of big monopolies are demanding abolition of import duties on the particular goods they purchase and at the same time high duties on the kind of goods they sell. The **Neue Zurcher Zeitung** had the following to say on this score in its issue of February 24:

"It is astonishing to note how many of the arguments (submitted to the United States Tariff Commission) resemble the demands advanced a quarter of a century ago before the adoption of the Fordney-McCumber tariff and the Hawley-Smoot tariff a few years earlier. Just as in those days, many business representatives took the stand that the import duties on the raw materials and semi-manufactures they need in their production are too high and the duties on the kind of articles they produce too low. Typical examples of this are the demands of the American Iron and Steel Institute, whose representatives claim that the tariffs on the raw materials they import are excessive, while the present tariffs on steel products are too small to prevent the dumping of such products in the United States. Equally characteristic of the protectionist standpoint of America's business interests is the assertion of the president of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers that reciprocal negotiations on wool duties represent a threat to the American woollen industry, in view of the fact that the American industry is highly vulnerable owing to the big discrepancy between wages in America and Great Britain."

It is quite obvious that in such circumstances the "escape clause" is a highly dangerous weapon in the hands of the United States.

Let us assume, for instance, that Britain found herself obliged, in return for a big reduction of American tariffs, to renounce her system of imperial preference. American goods would at once capture the great part of the empire markets, into which they are even now successfully penetrating in spite of the preferential tariffs. British industry would have to adapt itself to the requirements of the American market in order to compensate itself for the reduction of sales in the empire. If, after a year or two, say, the United States were, on the basis of the "escape clause," to cancel the reduction of tariffs, it would be an irreparable blow to Britain's economy. For British goods would again be ousted from the American market, while the American monopolies would meanwhile have consolidated their position in the empire markets. And what is true of Britain is even more true of France and the other capitalist countries.

It is therefore clear why the Geneva talks on tariff reductions for definite categories of goods are making such little headway. The industrially weaker countries might easily reach agreement among themselves; but how can they protect themselves against America's demands, backed as they are by the threat of withholding credits? That is the chief difficulty of the present conference.

Let us now examine America's foreign trade policy from the standpoint of her national economy generally.

In 1946, the United States sold abroad, including war surpluses, goods to a value of about twelve billion dollars; against this it bought foreign goods to a value of less than five billion dollars. It exported over seven billion dollars' worth of goods without receiving anything in direct return. A certain portion was exported free of charge (this includes U.N.N.R.A. shipments), but the overwhelming proportion was financed by government credits and credits of the Export-Import Bank. It is quite clear that this year too and in the immediate future generally America can export only on credit such goods as, with the present distribution of the national income, cannot be absorbed by the domestic market.

The credits granted to other countries must in the course of time be repaid, together with interest. But in what natural form must they and can they be repaid? America produces more food, cotton and tobacco than can be absorbed by the home market. The powerful American monopolies are fully determined—and are strong enough—to prevent repayment of credits in the form of manufactured goods.

It is therefore the aim of American trade policy to constantly dispose of goods abroad without receiving direct compensation. This, in other words, means selling, yet not selling. It is economically absurd to think that this can go on for a long period of years. If America wants for any length of time to export large quantities of goods, she must import large quantities of goods in return. It cannot be otherwise. And therein lies the inherent contradiction of America's present trade policy.

All this goes to show that America's attempt to force upon other capitalist countries the trading principles of the 19th century, when the capitalist mode of production was in the ascendant, cannot lead to any "recovery" of the capitalist world economy, but will only render its still more unstable.

It is yet too early for conjectures on the probable outcome of the Geneva talks, particularly as the negotiations for reciprocal tariff concessions are being conducted in secrecy. To judge by all the signs, the talks will be protracted and will possibly end in some sort of compromise. This is hinted in a statement made by William Clayton on April 17, when he is reported by Reuters as having said that the United States was not particularly interested in the elimination of all trade preferences. Clayton further added that "the United States and other countries are not yet prepared for entirely free trade."

These words indicate that, in face of the resistance of Britain and of the industrially less developed countries, India, for example, the United States is prepared to forego the immediate realisation of its full programme and to content itself with partial success. Any other course might jeopardise the international trade conference planned for this year and seriously strain relations between the United States and Great Britain.

As to the Soviet Union, it, as we know, is not taking any part in the Geneva conference.

Certain foreign press periodicals are trying to interpret this as a demonstration of hostility to international co-operation. There is of course absolutely no warrant for this malicious assertion. The Soviet Union is not taking part in the Geneva trade talks solely because the problems discussed there do not directly concern it, in view of its government monopoly of foreign trade, which is one of the immutable elements of its economic system. The Soviet Union is of course always ready for peaceful co-operation with all other peace-loving states. It has demonstrated this time and again in practice by actively resisting the machinations of the real foes of international co-operation, who are striving instead of co-operation to dictate their will to the rest of the world.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN EUROPE

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

ONE of the greatest political problems of our times arises from the fact that modern Europe, with many independent countries, constitutes a chaos of conflicting national interests. This confusion is a major hindrance to the economic prosperity of the peoples concerned and also a menace to the peace of the world. The need to unify Europe is especially obvious to an American visiting that area, accustomed as the writer is to living in one vast, continent-wide nation.

First, due to national barriers, travelling in Europe has become a veritable problem, what with the innumerable borders to cross. Visas are hard to get, often entailing weeks of exasperating negotiations. Then there are various "exit," "re-entry," and "military" permits, as well as sundry other inventions of the devil to harass and trip up the unwary traveller. Crossing a border, which is usually done about 2 a.m., is a real test of one's patience and fortitude, what with double and triple examinations of passports, strip-tease searches for possible bootlegged currency, and endless customs rummaging for dutiable objects. In many cases the border officials, the very essence of bureaucracy, consider the unhappy passengers as suspicious characters who, at best, need barely be tolerated. All these complications are, of course, serious obstructions to the free personal intercourse so necessary for a sane and ordered Europe.

Second, Europe's chaotic nationalism also erects major economic walls between the various peoples. There are mutually exclusive tariffs, quota import and export arrangements, minute and time-consuming inspection of goods in transit, monetary systems that have little or no relationship to each other, vigorous speculation in one another's currency, dog-eat-dog economic competition of one nation with another, and various other economic schemes designed to further the interests of the ruling class of one nation at the expense of all others. This chaotic economic nationalism prevents, of course, anything resembling an orderly development, much less a planned operation, of Europe's economic life.

Third, and this is the most dangerous aspect of the national problem, Europe's conglomeration of disconnected nationalities also gives rise to the sharpest political and military clashes. With various nations trying to expand at the expense of the others, there are inevitably many serious border disputes and repeated gangings-up by one group of States against another. Two scores of disastrous wars during the past century and a half testify eloquently to the explosive quality in Europe's confusion of nations and to its menace for world peace.

It is clear that if Europe is to play an important role in creating a social system that will help to bring peace, prosperity, and freedom to the harassed world, it will have to find the way to harmonise and link together its many discordant nationalities.

Present-day monopoly capitalism, however, has no effective answer to Europe's great national problem. The same forces in the decaying capitalist system that throw the big capitalist powers into ever-more violent collision with each other, also sharpen up the antagonisms among the smaller countries and between them and the great powers. The further monopoly capitalism decays, the more intense, generally, become national antagonisms. Modern Europe, with its pattern of little national bits and pieces, is the natural product of capitalism.

The ingrained capitalist way of solving the national question, in Europe as well as all over the world, is to subordinate the smaller nations to imperialist domination by the larger ones. Upon this basis the pre-World War I Austrian, Russian and German Empires in Europe were founded. Naturally, the smaller nations always resist such imperialist domination and they demand self-determination and national independence. Their militant opposition on this basis had much to do with the final overthrow of the Hapsburg, Romanoff and Hohenzollern imperial dynasties. The achievement of national independence by a whole series of small nations was one of the most significant features of the great revolutionary upsurge that followed World War I.

The League of Nations was unable to unite the nations of Europe. Within its framework France and Great Britain, true to their imperialist natures, strove to subject the smaller nations to their sway. Obviously they did not succeed, except for a time in the face of the stubborn resistance on the part of the smaller nations. Nor, in the long run, did Germany and Italy, with all their armies and national quisling traitors, accomplish their aim of forcing all of Europe into the ironbound structure of their "New Order." The welter of discordant and disunited European nations therefore remains. While

the independent status of the various countries undoubtedly protects them to a considerable degree against the incursions of the big imperialist powers, nevertheless their lack of mutual co-ordination does great harm to the economic welfare, political liberty, and peace of Europe and the world.

As regards the national question of Europe, the United Nations is not faring any better than did the old League of Nations, and for the same basic reasons. This time, within the United Nations, it is the United States that is trying, with the help of Great Britain, to secure domination over the nations of Europe (and also of the rest of the world). While many of the nations, intimidated by American imperialist pressure, are accordingly producing a new crop of quislings, the general effect is to make the fires of nationalism burn still brighter and to make the whole national question in Europe more difficult of solution.

The Pan-American Union is often cited by capitalist apologists as a solution of the national question. But this claim is false and misleading. Actually the Pan-American Union, despite its basis of formal equality, is dominated economically and politically by the United States. This loose federation in no sense brings about a true collaboration of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The rising opposition of many nations to American imperialism is proof of these facts.

Nor does the proposed United States of Europe hold the answer to the grave national question. It is not intended to. This scheme, currently advocated by Churchill tories, Social Democrats and confused liberals, suffers from two fundamental defects, either of which would suffice to destroy its progressive usefulness. First, such an United States of Europe as might be built up under present conditions would inevitably be a tool of Anglo-American imperialism. This means that the old familiar imperialist principle of the big powers dominating the little ones would prevail. This could only complicate still more the maze of nationalist contradictions in Europe. Secondly, by the same token, i.e., Anglo-American domination, the United States of Europe would be an anti-Soviet bloc. This perspective would kill at the outset any possibilities of its getting all or most of the nations of Europe together on a basis that would mitigate their national antagonisms. The so-called United States of Europe would be still-born, with many vital European States refusing even to join the organisation.

Under monopoly capitalism there can be no solution to the national question, in Europe or elsewhere. For it is just as inevitable, under the domination of the trusts and monopolies, that the powerful nations oppress and exploit the weaker ones as it is that the capitalists exploit the workers.

The problem is not insoluble, however. It remained for Lenin and Stalin, whose principles are embodied in the life and structure of the Soviet Union, to find the answer to the national question. These principles may be briefly stated: to grant all the peoples concerned the right of self-determination and full economic, political, and social equality, and to inculcate among them a spirit of brotherly, Socialist co-operation. These principles apply whether the nations are parts of the same general political union or federation, or exist on an independent basis.

The successful application of this Leninist-Stalinist solution of the national question is one of the very greatest achievements of the Soviet Union. It has transformed the old czarist "prison-house of nations" into a freely co-operating, democratic multi-national union. The main peoples that go to make up the Soviet Union not only enjoy full economic, political, and social equality, but, what is the heart of the whole system, they also possess a keen sense of concern for cultivating one another's welfare. One of the many examples of this dynamic quality of the Soviet Union is the way in which, under the various 5-year plans, the more advanced states of the U.S.S.R. systematically help in the economic and cultural development of the less advanced peoples. Such a co-operative relationship is quite unthinkable under monopoly capitalism.

The handling of the national question in the U.S.S.R. meets the basic needs of the lesser nations. It gives them greater political freedom and security, and it guarantees them faster and more all-round economic and cultural development than they could possibly achieve if they were on their own as independent nations. This explains why there are virtually no national, racial, or religious antagonisms within the U.S.S.R. It also explains why the peoples of Lithuania, Esthonia, and Latvia voted so overwhelmingly to become part of the Soviet Union (a vital fact which capitalist writers are desperately eager to obscure).

But the national question in Europe (and in the rest of the world) does not have to wait for solution until full Socialism is achieved. One of the most significant facts of the post-war situation is that the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe possess within themselves the capacity for solving the national question. This is because in these countries — Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, etc.—although capitalism, as such, has not been abolished there, the power of the big capitalists and landowners has been either completely broken or seriously weakened. Consequently, the workers, small farmers and intelligentsia, who are in full or partial control of the governments, are able to deal with the national question on the basis of the Leninist-Stalinist principles of self-determination, full economic, political, and social equality, and Socialist co-operation. These principles, applied to the new situation, it may also be remarked, form the basis of the policy of the Italian, French, and British Communist Parties toward the colonies of their countries and toward neighboring countries.

Czechoslovakia offers a fine example of the developing solution of the national question along the foregoing lines. As never before in their history, the Czechs and Slovaks are working together in a spirit of equality and friendly collaboration. Characteristically, one of the most striking features in their planned economy is the systematic raising of Slovakia's economic status to that already achieved in the Czech lands, while the economic level of the whole country is being raised. It hardly needs to be added that the Communists are the most active leaders in thus developing the new relations between the two peoples who comprise Czechoslovakia.

Yugoslavia offers an even more striking example of Leninist-Stalinist principles applied in dealing with the national question. For many decades the Balkans have served as the horrible example of small nations that could not live peacefully together. If there was any place in the world where the national question seemed to be hopeless of solution, it was precisely in that vast territory, which was long a notorious breeding ground of wars. The Yugoslav peoples, quarrelling and fighting among themselves, were in the very heart of the boiling pot of national antagonism of the entire Balkan area.

But now order and co-operation have been established among the erstwhile discordant Yugoslav peoples. Today, the six major nationalities in that country for the very first time are living and working harmoniously together. This unity, born in the fire of struggle against Hitler's army, continues into the post-war period. All differences between the various peoples have not yet been fully ironed out, but those that remain are of a minor character and the trend toward unity and co-operation is decisive. In the planned economy of Yugoslavia, similarly to that in Czechoslovakia, the whole country is being systematically developed, with special emphasis being placed on the more backward areas.

Inasmuch as the new democracies in Poland, Roumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania are animated by the same intelligent approach to the national question as that being put into practice by the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Governments, a new day has undoubtedly dawned for the Balkans as a whole as far as the national question is concerned. The former cock-pit of nations in the Balkan area is well on the way to becoming a region of epoch-making international co-operation.

Weak spots in this general situation are the reactionary regimes in Greece, Turkey and Austria. In these countries Anglo-American imperialism is in control and it is making every effort to keep the old reactionary cliques in existence. But it is safe to say that these three countries will not be able to withstand very long the new spirit of democracy and international co-operation that is sweeping through the peoples of Central Europe and the Balkans. Another danger to European collaboration lies in the Anglo-American attempt practically to divide Germany into four pieces. This project, which could only increase national antagonisms in Europe, runs counter to the whole democratic development in Middle and Eastern Europe, and in the long run it will be defeated.

The new democratic international spirit prevailing in this great area is not only expressing itself in more co-operative activities between the different national groups within individual states, but also in more friendly relations between these states themselves. These countries are already developing a whole series of economic and cultural agreements with each other and with their great neighbor to the East, the U.S.S.R. This augurs well for minimising and eventual elimination of the age-old national antagonisms in these areas. One of the most remarkable developments in this general respect is the strong and developing movement in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria for an actual consolidation of the two states. If carried out, both countries would greatly benefit from such a move.

The deeper significance of this development of international co-operation in the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe is that it points the way to the ultimate economic and political unification of that crazy-quilt of national antagonisms, modern capitalist Europe. The task of today, however, is not to come forward with grandiose blueprint plans for uniting Europe and overcoming its national chaos. Instead, what has to be done is to break the power of monopoly capital and to make the democratic forces victorious in the respective countries. To the extent and in the measure that this is done, democratic solutions of the national question will be put into effect by the democratic regimes, and the crippling economic, political, military, and social walls now dividing the peoples of Europe will increasingly topple and fall.

As Lenin and Stalin pointed out, the modern capitalist state was created under the leadership of the capitalist class in its efforts to control the national and international market. In the main, this state-building coincided historically with the interests of the respective nations as a whole. But today the capitalists, specifically the big monopolists, are no longer the leaders of their respective nations in a constructive sense, for they systematically betray their people's interests for the sake of their own class interests. The present European hodge-podge of mutually antagonistic states is the maximum that their greedy, self-seeking capitalists can do in the matter of the national question.

The constructive leadership of the nations is now passing over into the hands of the working class and its democratic allies. They alone, now, can and do speak and act in the national interest. They have as a great task, therefore, the solving of the tangled national question in Europe and elsewhere, a heritage from a capitalist system which has exhausted its historical progressive role. And finding this solution to the national question is precisely what the workers in the new European democracies are now doing.

BANK NATIONALISATION AND THE CONSTITUTION

E. F. HILL

THE proposed nationalisation of banking has led to a unifying of the working class and the labor movement. Equally it has led to a hardening of the reaction — a determination to prevent, by hook or by crook, the nationalisation proposals. The reaction, by its intense and extreme press attacks, its expensive advertising campaign, its attempt to rally all its allies, has indicated from the outset that it intends to throw all it has into the campaign and to throw it in all the time.

One of the weapons held in reserve—if the fierce propaganda and pressure politics fail — is that of the constitutionality of the proposal. It is as well to consider some of the aspects of this matter.

Australia has a federal constitution, that is, power is shared by a national body—the Commonwealth—on the one hand, and, on the other, the States. Under the Commonwealth Constitution (which is contained in a schedule to an Imperial Act) certain powers are reserved exclusively to the Commonwealth, but the main bulk of powers are exercisable by both the Commonwealth and the States. The constitution secures the paramountcy of Commonwealth law by providing that State laws inconsistent with Commonwealth law in the same field are invalid to the extent of their inconsistency. In Section 51 of the Commonwealth Constitution are enumerated 39 heads of power on which the Commonwealth may make laws. Section 51 provides :

> "The Parliament shall, subject to the Constitution, have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to—
>
> (i) Trade and commerce with other countries and among the States
>
> (ii) Taxation . . .
>
> (xiii) Banking other than State banking; also State banking extending beyond the limits of the State concerned, the incorporation of banks and the issue of paper money . . .
>
> (xxxi) The acquisition of property on just terms from any State or persons for any purpose in respect of which the Parliament has power to make laws."

Thus it will be seen that the Commonwealth Parliament may make laws with regard to banking and that there are provisions about the acquisition of property.

In ordinary circumstances, no lawyer, nor layman, would doubt that those words mean what they say—namely that the Commonwealth Parliament may do what it likes on the subject of banking or, in other words, that the power to nationalise the banks is undoubted. It has long been accepted as law that the Commonwealth power over any of the subjects reserved to it in the constitution is (subject to the constitution) sovereign — it may do what it likes on them. The British Parliament (which is untrammelled by legal restrictions in its law-making power) has been said to be able to do anything other than make a man into a woman or vice versa. And so it is with the Commonwealth Parliament on matters on which it has power to legislate.

The Constitution provides that the High Court is virtually the final arbiter of what the constitution means. It is truly said that the Constitution means what the High Court says it means. (On some questions there is an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.)

The course of decisions in the High Court has varied in accordance with the outlook of the members of the High Court bench. Until 1920, the High Court, under the influence of men like Sir Samuel Griffiths, Sir Edmund Barton and others, was jealous in supporting the rights of the States. In 1920, the whole course of constitutional interpretation was changed. Men like Sir Isaac Isaacs and H. B. Higgins, who strongly supported central development, were making their influence felt and, in addition, Australia was growing up as a nation, her industry developing, and this in itself demanded stronger central authority.

In the course of World War II, the position of the High Court was extremely important. All Commonwealth legislation, whether it be by way of Act of Parliament or regulations under Act of Parliament, can be challenged in the High Court on the ground that it is not authorised by the Constitution. The present High Court has demonstrated its social attitude on numerous occasions. In the Industrial Lighting case it held that regulations prescribing uniform and improved standards of lighting in factories were not authorised by the constitution (although the same Court upheld under the Defence power all sorts of other regulations much more remote from defence). In the Calwell v. the Newspaper monopolists' dispute, the High Court blatantly sided with the newspapers. In Mr. Calwell's libel action against the Daily Telegraph, the full High Court decided one question in the case in favour of the Daily Telegraph even though their view of the law on this particular question of libel was entirely different from that of almost every other competent lawyer, and despite the fact that the most eminent lawyer on the bench (Sir Owen Dixon) had (as a single judge) decided the same question against the Daily Telegraph. A final example was the legislation giving the Treasurer power to direct semi government bodies to bank with the Commonwealth Bank. As a matter of commonsense, anyone would think that the Commonwealth's power to legislate on banking would amply justify such a measure. However, the High Court said no.

So the High Court has power to veto the actions of the Commonwealth Parliament. In effect it occupies the position of a super-legislature. Parliament can do what the High Court says it can do.

Members of the High Court must be barristers of at least 5 years standing or Judges of the Supreme Court of a State. Before a man becomes a judge he has had a long experience in the most conservative of all professions — a profession based on protecting the sanctity of private property. The men appointed are selected by the government of the day. Under the constitution, they must be appointed for life, can only be removed for proved misbehaviour or incapacity and then only on an address from both Houses of Parliament in the same session. So this political super-cabinet is free from the ups and downs of politics—its members are there for life no matter what happens down below their lofty positions. Sir John Latham, originator of the Crimes Act and appointee of the reactionary Lyons government (the reward, indeed, of abandoning, in favour of Lyons, his candidature for the Prime Ministership) remains the Chief Justice of the High Court despite the political demise of the gentlemen who appointed him. This ex-U.A.P. Attorney-General in one of the most reactionary Cabinets in Australia's history is now the chief man in pronouncing on the constitutionality of Labor Party legislation—he approaches the problem with a lifelong background of opposition to the Labor movement and from the security of a life job at a salary of £3500.

Sir John Latham's colleagues are Mr. Justice Rich, Mr. Justice Starke, Mr. Justice Dixon, Mr. Justice McTiernan, Mr. Justice Williams and Mr. Justice Webb. Mr. Justice Rich, apart from being over 85, has always been a conservative. He, alone of his colleagues, was prepared to uphold the procedure by which Devanny (then publisher of the **Workers' Weekly**) was convicted in 1932. Mr. Justice Starke, apart from being over 75, is a militant conservative. Mr. Justice Dixon goes in for the purity of abstraction — Mr. Justice Williams was an appointee of Mr. Menzies and has a tory background. Mr. Justice McTiernan is a Labor appointee as is Sir William Webb. To suggest that such a body is above politics — is completely free from the hurly burly of life — is untenable. One cannot imagine Sir John Latham sitting over his dinner at the exclusive Australian Club, to which he and his brother Rich belong, and saying to his fellow club members — the B.H.P. directors, bank directors, ship owners and the other kings of industry: "What a fine thing this bank nationalisation is!" Whether consciously or unconsciously, a tribunal composed of such men cannot help but approach such a problem as bank nationalisation with preconceived ideas.

And so, despite the clear words of the constitution, the High Court has yet to say what they mean. Even such a remote body as the High Court has demonstrated that it cannot fly completely in the teeth of public opinion. On previous occasions it had to bow the knee to public opinion. And furthermore the Government, despite the rigid restrictions and the traditions, has, in the final analysis, the key to the situation. It is open to the government to remove any one of the High Court judges —it has a majority in both Houses and the question of the age alone of certain judges would justify a polite request for their resignations. But if the Government does not want to do this, it can increase the number of judges and outweigh the predominance of the ultra-conservative influence — a course followed by the late President Roosevelt with the American Supreme Court when he had difficulty with that body over his New Deal legislation. The time is long past when the High Court should be considered sacrosanct and untouchable.

What happens to this legislation resolves itself into the strength of the mass campaign waged in support of the bill. To those who just helplessly and hopelessly say that the legislation is doomed, because even if Chifley goes on with it, the High Court will reject it, we say that no power on earth can withstand the power of the united working class. (And incidentally, the reaction is obviously taking no chances.) Australia's labor movement is, and will be, united as never before in insisting that this legislation is consummated on working class terms. Unity in the Labor movement will rally the middle class, the farmers and other sections of the population. Given that unity, and inspiring leadership, not even the High Court will dare to say NO. Mr. Chifleys' government can help by reconstituting the High Court bench to ensure that the influence of reactionary politics is reduced to a minimum.

THE POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

LEE TING-YI

(Continued from last issue)

Of course, there are contradictions between American monopoly capital and warlords on the one hand and the Socialist Soviet Union on the other. In nature, it can be said to constitute the contradiction between the new world and the old world, and it is one of the basic contradictions in the world. The social and state system of the Soviet Union is much stronger and more stable than that of American capitalism. The Soviet Union is the protector of world peace; with a Soviet Union in existence, the greed and ambitions of American and world reaction are fundamentally difficult to realise. Therefore the American and world reactionaries hate the Soviet Union bitterly and want, moreover, to carry on an anti-Soviet struggle. But anti-Sovietism is one thing and anti-Soviet war is quite another. We are certainly not claiming that American imperialists do not wish to attack the Soviet Union. But until the American imperialists have brought into submission the people of the U.S., the peoples of the various capitalist countries, colonies, and semi-colonies, they are unable to attack the Soviet Union. But to bring these into submission is impossible. Therefore, although the Soviet-American contradiction is one of the basic contradictions in the world, it is not the urgent contradiction, it is not the dominant contradiction in the present political situation. The development of events in the past sixteen months has already proved this point.

The real policy of the American imperialists is to attack the American people and to oppress the people of the various other capitalist countries, colonies, and semi-colonies through "peaceful means." But the American imperialists conceal their real activities and are silent about them. They have no way of attacking the Soviet Union, but they make big talk about "anti-Soviet war." This is clearly setting up a smoke-screen.

Why must the American imperialists set up this smoke-screen? If this smoke-screen is not swept away what harm will it do?

The purpose of American imperialists in setting up this smoke-screen is to make the American people and the broad masses of peoples of various countries, colonies, and semi-colonies lose their vigilance with regard to the real policies of the American imperialists and therefore lose or lessen their power of resistance to attacks and aggression by American imperialism. In this way American imperialists can take advantage of the unpreparedness of the American people and the peoples of various countries, and can, with comparative ease, fascize America and transform all other countries into American colonies or dependencies. If we do not sweep away their smoke-screen, or if we do not consider this sweeping away as an important task, we shall to a greater or lesser extent fall into the trap set by American imperialism, or even, to a greater or less extent, act as megaphones for the public enemy—the imperialistic elements of the United States.

We shoud therefore not be misled by the smoke-screen of the American imperialists so that we lose our power of judgment and fall prey to the demagogic propaganda that the so-called "Soviet-American contradiction" is the dominant contradiction in the world, that the "third world war is inevitable," etc., etc. The only correct path and the duty for every person in our camp of democracy is resolutely to sweep away the smoke-screen and to call upon everyone among the American people and the peoples of the various capitalist countries, colonies and semi-colonies—to rise and recognise clearly the enemy, to save themselves from destruction, and to oppose the attack and the aggression by the American imperialists.

Standing against the world reactionaries—the imperialists of the U.S. and their running dogs in various countries—is the world democratic might.

Besides the Soviet Union, which is the main pillar, the world democratic forces are made up of three sections: the broad masses of the people of all capitalist countries, in addition to the U.S., and the broad masses of the people of all colonial countries. In terms of class make-up they include everyone, from workers and farmers right up to the patriotic elements and advocates of peace among the bourgeoisie.

The American people made heroic contributions to the anti-fascist war. The aim of their self-sacrificing struggle was the winning of world peace and democracy and a happy life for themselves. After the close of the war, however, the American people were faced with the following situation: after the defeat of foreign reactionaries, domestic reactionaries loomed. These were precisely those monopoly capitalists who during the war fattened on speculations and ill-gotten riches. In the field of domestic policy this gang of reactionary capitalists and their reactionary spokesmen in government are raising the prices of goods to press down the living standards of the people, are cracking down on strikes in order to cancel the people's liberties and are encouraging anti-Sovietism to divert the attention of the American people so that they will be off guard against attacks by the monopoly capitalists.

In the field of foreign policy American reactionaries do not call themselves "isolationists" but rather "internationalists." But these "internationalists" are international aggressors and not democratic international co-operators. These reactionary elements have their men in both the Democratic and Republican Parties. The world aggression of these reactionaries has seriously soiled the reputation of America, ruined international friendship, and is brewing the danger of war.

This is why the American people, including enlightened members of the American bourgeoisie represented by Wallace, will certainly rise for determined struggle with the reactionaries.

The capitalist countries outside of America, chiefly Great Britain and France, suffered great wounds from the war, and, compared to the U.S., they are second or third class countries. They are objects of aggression by American imperialism. The law of the uneven development of capitalism forces them resolutely to resist American oppression.

These capitalist countries are now struggling for economic recovery from the wounds of war and are simultaneously in the following situation. The democratic movement of the peoples of their own countries and the demand of independence and autonomy by the colonies and semi-colonial countries stand on the one side, and the savage aggression of American imperialism on the other.

The line taken by reactionaries like Churchill and de Gaulle within these countries is to rely on the U.S. against the democratic movement of the people of their own country and against the independence movements of the people of the colonies and the semi-colonies. The price paid for this reactionary line is that it inevitably leads to these countries sinking to the position of American dependencies.

The peoples in these capitalist countries have another line: to win democratic and social reform for their own country, to grant independence and autonomy to colonial and semi-colonial countries, and to co-operate with the Soviet Union in order to resist the aggression of American imperialism and maintain their national independence.

Beyond all shadow of doubt the peoples' line will be victorious. This line will obtain endorsement from all classes of people, including enlightened members of the bourgeoisie. The line of the reactionaries, on the contrary, must certainly fail because it will meet with the opposition of the entire nation.

Take, for instance, the most important of these capitalist countries—Great Britain. She is exerting her efforts in the post-war period to effect economic recovery. Her exports are gradually rising, something about which the American imperialist elements are not happy. American imperialism seeks to break the sterling bloc by exploiting Great Britain's need for loans and, in the name of the so-called "defence against the Soviet Union's attacks," wants Great Britain to enter into military alliance with her. These are all serious steps preparatory to swallowing up Great Britain. The British empire has its colonies and dependencies scattered all over the world. Under the policy of sole world domination of the American imperialists, the British Empire is experiencing attacks by American imperialism in Canada, Australia, South America, the Atlantic Islands, the Middle East, Palestine and Arabia, Egypt and the Mediterranean, and finally in India, Burma, and elsewhere. In certain places these clashes have already become, or are brewing, armed struggles. In the future there is the possibility of the U.S. inciting aggressive wars against other capitalist countries (first of all, Great Britain).

The Attlee-Bevin Cabinet, which continues in Great Britain the Conservative Party's foreign policy, has done many evil deeds in concert with American imperialism and has expressed mutual sympathy and understanding or engaged in common action with American imperialism on many questions. The policy of American imperialism, however, cannot but force the British people gradually into consciousness. The steady increase of votes against Bevin's foreign policy in the British Lower House is proof of this. As the consciousness of the British people grows daily, it will be very difficult for Great Britain to continue her present foreign policy, and the time when she will change her present foreign policy is not too distant.

Thus it is with Great Britain; it will be even more so with France. In face of the daily growing consciousness of the French people, France will certainly not follow in the wake of American imperialism.

The American imperialists' policy of aggression against all other capitalist countries must of necessity arouse opposition of these countries. This makes impossible, therefore, after the Second World War, what has been called the "capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union." On the contrary, because of the Soviet Union's peaceful, democratic international policies and her friendly commerce with all countries, and because Great Britain, France and other countries must resist American oppression to escape the blows of the economic crisis and furthermore restore their economies, these countries must co-operate and trade with the Soviet Union. Therefore, "capitalist encirclement" no longer exists.

American imperialism's policy toward all colonial and semi-colonial nations is to transform them into American colonies or dependencies. The American imperialists' policy toward China is a typical example. There is no difference in nature between the policy of American imperialism toward China and the policy of the Japanese fascists toward China, although there are differences in form. The means employed by American imperialism, however, surpass that of Japanese imperialism in trickery and malice. After the defeat of Japanese imperialism, the U.S. supports Chiang Kai-shek and other reactionaries in their oppression of the Chinese people. In Japan she supports Yoshida and other reactionaries in their oppression of the Japanese people, and helps them revive the policy of aggression toward China.

At present the reactionaries of both China and Japan occupy the same position as running dogs of American imperialism, while the peoples of both

China and Japan are in the position of suffering oppression by American imperialism. The war of self-defence now being waged by the Chinese people against the American-supported Chiang Kai-shek is in its nature a war for the homeland. It is a national war supported by the entire nation. This kind of war for the fatherland has been taking place in many colonies and semi-colonial countries, i.e., the Philippines, Indo-China, India, Iran, Greece, etc. These wars are all fought against American imperialism and its running dogs in various countries. They are directly or indirectly waged against American imperialism to win world peace and democracy.

The contradiction between American imperialism and the democratic forces in the capitalist world is not being mitigated, but is, on the contrary, developing and growing. When the American economic crisis comes, the American imperialists will, because of it, tighten their attacks, and the three contradictions mentioned above will become sharper. Such a period is not far off, for the American economic crisis will arrive this year or next.

The world anti-democratic forces are the American imperialists and the reactionaries in various countries. Since the world anti-democratic forces are attacking the American people and the peoples of the other capitalist countries, colonies, and semi-colonial countries in unison, the peoples of the U.S. and of the various capitalist countries, colonies, and semi-colonial countries must also act in unison to form a world-wide united front against American imperialism and the reactionaries in all countries. This world-wide united front, this colossal army comprising well over one billion people, is precisely the world democratic might.

This world-wide united front cannot possibly be of any other character than that of a united front, fighting for world peace and democracy and the independence of all nations against American imperialism and its running dogs in various countries. This united front will undoubtedly have the sympathy and the moral support of the Socialist Soviet Union.

This united front on a world scale will characterise a new page in world history, the history of the world from the end of the Second World War down to the day when stable and lasting peace is ensured. The Chinese movement for independence, peace, and democracy is an important part of this chapter of world history.

Within each capitalist country, colony, and semi-colonial country, there will also be extremely broad united fronts, as in China, against the American imperialists and against the reactionaries within China. The immediate central task before the peoples and the democratic forces of all countries is to struggle for the realisation of this world-wide united front and the united front within each country.

The facts, in this period of more than a year following the victory in the anti-fascist war, prove that the rate of world progress is very fast and that some events have developed faster than we had expected. The scope of development of the democratic forces in all countries of the world is far greater than that after World War I.

The progress of the peoples in the capitalist world during the past year and more is manifested in:—

1. The firm establishment of new democratic regimes in various countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe.
2. The progress of the peoples of Great Britain and France by leaps and bounds.
3. The flourishing development of the struggles of the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries, with China at their head, for independence and autonomy.
4. The rapid Leftward trend of the peoples of Germany, Italy and Japan.
5. The high tide of the American strike movement and the occurrence of the Wallace incident (the Wallace incident expresses the split among the American bourgeoisie just as the British Labor Party opposition in England expressed the split among the British bourgeoisie).
6. The broad development of the democratic forces in all the countries of Latin America.

The scope, speed, and progress of the peoples and the development of the democratic forces in the capitalist world are truly startling!

The international position of the most progressive country in the world — the Socialist Soviet Union — has risen greatly. At present she is devoting all her strength to the peaceful constructive work of the new five-year plan. The completion of the first year's industrial production plan one month ahead of schedule shows that it is entirely possible for the U.S.S.R. to complete and over-fulfil this new plan for construction. The struggle of the Soviet Union, in the realm of foreign policy, for international peace and the protection of the interests of small nations, achieved great victories in the recent Foreign Ministers' Conference and in the United Nations Assembly. The plot of the American and British reactionaries to isolate the Soviet Union, following Churchill's reactionary utterances of March last year, has been smashed. The victories of the Soviet Union in economic construction and in foreign policy will greatly influence the history of world development, and will be beneficial to the peoples of all countries.

The world reactionary forces are outwardly strong but hollow inside. Moreover, they are becoming daily more isolated. American imperialism is the highest peak of capitalist development, but precisely because of this it is weaker than the capitalism of any earlier period. The higher they climb the harder they fall! And the American economic crisis which will arrive this year or next cannot but be extremely turbulent in nature. The reactionary foreign and domestic policies of the American imperialists will necessarily lead, and have led, to the opposition of the broadest masses of people both within and without the country. This will increasingly result in the masses turning against them and in their allies deserting them. All the running dogs of the American imperialists in various countries, as for instance China's Chiang Kai-shek, cannot but become traitors and meet in their countries with the opposition of the entire nation. Therefore they cannot but rapidly isolate themselves, turned against by the masses and deserted by their allies. It is thus with China's Chiang Kai-shek and with the reactionaries of all countries.

The reactionary forces will collapse in the long run. They really appear very ferocious for a time and can frighten weak-willed people out of their wits so that they express pessimism and disappointment, lose their self-confidence, and even give in and surrender to the reactionaries. But the broad masses of the people and the men of strong will cannot be frightened. The peoples, in the course of their own practical experience, will recognise, not only the reactionary nature of the reactionaries, but also their feebleness. They will recognise that the attacks of the reactionaries on the people can be smashed.

To sum up: world progress, the successes of the Soviet Union, and the American economic crisis are the three factors of decisive significance in the history of the future development of the world.

The present time is still a period when world reaction can be cocky, baring its fangs and extending its talons. This is primarily because the struggles of the peoples in the various countries have not entered the higher stage, and at the same time it is also because the American economic crisis has not yet arrived. But even in this kind of period, the reactionary forces have already revealed their corrupt impotence. They have already revealed that they are hollow within and only outwardly strong. When the struggle of the peoples of all countries has reached a higher level of development and the American economic crisis has broken out, that will be the time when the great arrogance of the reactionaries will collapse. This is already not far distant. Before this time comes the people of each country will meet with difficulties, and in individual countries and regions may even meet with very serious difficulties. Difficulties of this kind, however, can and must be conquered. The present task is for every one to exert every effort and surmount these difficulties.

Following the development of these three factors — world progress, Soviet successes, and the American crisis — the democratic forces will become even more powerful and the relative strength of the democratic forces will become more favorable to the people. But it is not to be imagined that the reactionary forces will voluntarily abdicate to the democratic forces. Therefore, before we have attained what Comrade Mao Tse-tung calls "the broadest victory of the people" and "the guarantee of stable and lasting peace," there is still a long and tortuous struggle ahead. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will fear no difficulties. They will fight on till the complete victory of the democratic cause and the winning of peace and independence of the nation. We have the strongest confidence in this brilliant future; but the world bourgeoisie, on the contrary, has completely lost confidence in its future. The terrorism whipped up in various countries after the war by the anti-democratic forces against the forces of the people, their terror at the strength of the Soviet Union, their fanatical oppression of the people, their horror of the truth, their complete reliance on lies for a living — these are all manifestations of their complete loss of confidence. It is certainly not accidental that all the newspapers of the Chinese bourgeoisie express unprecedented pessimism and disappointment with regard to their future.

In general, everything has changed after the Second World War and is still continuing to change. How strong the people have become — how conscious, how organised, determined and full of confidence! How maniacally savage the reactionaries have become, outwardly strong yet inwardly feeble, turned on by the masses and deserted by their allies, devoid of all confidence in the future! It may be categorically forecast that the face of China and of the world will be vastly different after three to five more years. All comrades of our Party and all the people of China must resolutely fight for a new China and a new world.



Questions & Answers

conducted by L.H. GOULD

Why does Marxism reject psychoanalysis? . . . Does Marxism also deny scientific status to psychology?—T. S. Westwood.

Mr. Westwood continues: "I believe there is much to confirm the claim that Freud, by his materialism and atheism and, in short, his scientific approach has further advanced philosophical materialism. I feel that Freud's basic theories, however much modified by later analysts, would equip the Communist armoury with additional weapons to 'interpret and change the world.'"

Marxism categorically rejects psychoanalysis as

a science because it is devoid of scientific content and method. Despite some materialistic phraseology, it represents extreme idealism in philosophy and psychology. Freud regarded himself as atheistic, and it has been claimed on his behalf that he rescued the mind from the grip of theology and brought it back to the laboratory. His teachings nevertheless reek of irrationality and mysticism.

For Marxism, consciousness in all its forms (perceptions, ideas, etc.) derive from nature and society. "Consciousness can never be anything but consciousness of being" (Marx). In particular, man's consciousness refers to his real needs, interests, activities, his social relations, and his life experiences generally. All these occur in a specific historical context—today in the epoch of the revolutionary transformation of the exploitative society by the new Socialist order. Where does Freudianism look for the source of man's ailments? In biology, in man's organic needs, his primordial instincts and impulses, and especially in his procreative urge! Here, we are told, are the springs of the maladies and maladjustments of individual man and of society!

For all practical purposes, Freudianism ignores man's real social life, and is therefore just another variant of traditional idealist psychology. Consciousness becomes "pure consciousness"—a psychical state isolated from the outer world; an inward-turning in which ideas, concepts, etc., occur in some associative or successive relation to one another, but without connection with the individual's real experience as a social being. The Soviet writer, S. L. Rubinstein, remarked on the vitalism of Bergson and the psychoanalysis of Freud: "The alienation of the basic social content of human consciousness has produced the inevitable result that everything of living significance, and all the motives of behaviour and its dynamic tendencies, were submerged in the obscure depths of the instincts, the irrational, the unconscious."

Historically, Freudianism is only another evidence of the decline of capitalist civilisation, like Jeans' super-mathematical deity in physics, Sartre's "existentialism" in drama, or Joyce's bizarriere in letters. The road to extinction of every dying culture is strewn with a thousand fads and cults, each with its own peculiar manifestation of triviality and negativism. And political reaction! Freud and his successors had no conception of the social roots of man's physical and mental disorders, and hence were incapable of creating a science or a scientific method. But this did not prevent the psychoanalysts from producing social "theory." All is grist that comes to the capitalist's mills, and not a little mischief has been done to the cause of progress by psychoanalysis, both in aggravating the already advanced conditions of cultural decadence, and in handing to the capitalists another political weapon to fight Socialism.

I quote from an earlier article of mine on this misbegotten "science" of psychoanalysis:—

"In U.S.A. in particular, Freudianism provided society's parasites, and the host of cranks, bohemians and charlatans around them, with all sorts of thrilling adventures in titillating sick nerves and perverted tastes.

"Freudianism is a cut above spiritualism. It is so much more 'scientific,' and besides, it offers such delightful opportunities for sophisticated conversation on the mysteries of psychopathica sexualis.

"This 'science' is wonderfully simple. The Libido is the root of a great many of man's ailments . . .

"Freudianism soon went beyond being a plaything of trivial-minded people. It became a weapon in the class struggle—against Labor, of course.

"Dr. Jung, one of Freud's disciples, declared that the majority of people are unfit, mentally and physically. The laboring masses are burdened with the inferiority complex. They are inferior. According to this gentleman, the struggle of the masses is the 'revolt of the unfit'—Tito's guerillas, for example, as against Yugoslavia's collaborating capitalists, landlords and church leaders.

"'Socialism,' said Dr. Fereneczy, another mastermind of this 'science,' 'is the revolt of the neurotics against the Father-state.'" (Tribune, 12/3/46.)

Did Freud then make no contribution whatsoever to knowledge? This is not what Marxism claims, nor is it the point at issue. Fifty years now of psychoanalytical theory and practice have added some grains to man's accumulated store of knowledge. (Compare Lenin's statement: "That clerical idealism—philosophical idealism—possesses natural epistemological roots is not unaccountable. It is not groundless.") Neither is psychoanalysis groundless. It has some roots in life, but feeble ones. Freud's clinical successes with mental and nervous disorders, and with some psychically-determined organic ailments and pathological states, were achieved mainly among middle class patients in Vienna. Out of this were fabricated theories of therapeutic method and schemes of social behaviour and reorganisation. But Freud's Viennese patients can no more be accepted as normal types of humanity than the English shopkeeper in whom the Utilitarian philosopher Bentham discovered the "normal man."

One practical example will have to suffice to demonstrate the fundamental difference between Marxian method and Freudian "method." The Soviet Government built the great White Sea Canal with the labor of large numbers of society's "maladjusted" in the persons of thieves, forgers, prostitutes, pickpockets, wreckers, political offenders. The colossal job completed, tens of thousands of these former social outcasts returned to their homes re-educated, rehabilitated, regenerated; they were now free men and women, with substantial monetary rewards, proudly wearing decorations for heroic labor, their future assured. What an interesting (and what an amusing!) thing it would have been to have given the Freudians the task of restoring these outcasts to society! What a fiesta of learned papers and reports on "complexes," "mechanisms," on bruised Libidoes and maladjusted Ids and Egos!

No doubt there were many failures in the White Sea Canal experience. It is also true of course that the government administrative staff there included officials skilled in dealing with psychological problems (e.g., to decide which among the prisoners would respond better by being given manual labor rather than clerical, which should work in groups or in isolation, and so on). But in contrast to Freudian fantasy, Soviet psychology found the basic solution in providing the required material conditions. Whence arise thieving propensities? In society. The cure must be sought there too. Mental characteristics (of which thieving propensities are one manifestation) cannot be understood at all by reference to biological factors, real as these are. Hence the Soviet method: "In concrete activity, in work, in adult social practice, in child-training, mental characteristics not only appear, but are formed" (Prof. Rubinstein, quoted in **Science and Society**, Vol. 10, No. 2).

About psychology, that is, the general body of traditional teachings on psychology, but considered apart from psychoanalysis. Psychology cannot be accounted a science, because its subject-matter, its sphere of research and practice as defined by the various psychology schools cannot be delimited as can be done more or less precisely with, say, geology or physics. Psychology is a sub-department of many other sciences, particularly physiology. Insanity and some other mental disorders respond to drug-therapy (the most famous example perhaps is treatment of idiocy of cretinism by glandular extract); psychology thus merges with physiology, chemistry and other sciences.

To proceed. The alienist, the psychiatrist, the "mad-doctor" as he is called in parts of Britain, succeeds to the extent that he can make a unitary approach, i.e., treat his patient's mental ailment as the composite product of anatomical, physiological, psychological, etc., conditions, all of which must be related to his specific experiences as a member of society. In short, not preoccupation with "mind," but with the many operative factors in the body-mind interactionism of every person. From this scientific presupposition alone can be explained the cures effected in individual cases sometimes by "purely physical" means and sometimes by "purely psychological" ones: drugs or hypnotism, surgery or "transference," ray treatment or suggestion, diet or, as recommended by the ancients, soft music. (By the way, man's first scientific beginnings in medicine led to war against the pet superstitions of that period. Thus the Hippocratic Writings in the 5th century, B.C.: "I am about to discuss the disease (epilepsy) called sacred. It is not, in my opinion, any more divine or more sacred than other diseases, but has a natural cause, and its supposed divine origin is due to men's inexperience, and to their wonder at its peculiar character." Despite professed materialism in outlook, preoccupation with psyches is a very short cut to supernaturalism.)

A final point, suggested by the warning of Prof. A. A. Abbie at the recent Science Congress in Perth, that "despite material and physical benefits of modern life, the modern mind was becoming less able to cope with problems of modern existence" (Sydney Sun, 24/8/47). We refer to the advice frequently tendered to Communists that a "study of psychology" would help the movement. We, briefly, reply:—

Marxism welcomes anything that will help. The study of text-books on psychology (which is what the advice really boils down to) is also not ruled out. But infinitely more useful, more scientific and more effective is the day-to-day theoretical and practical political work of the Party—agitation and organisation around the needs of the masses, and the remoulding, re-educating and reshaping of ourselves and our fellow-exploited to fit all of us for the task of rebuilding society. Mankind's worst "mental ailment," the one that creates myriads of mental, nervous and physical disorders, has been the ideological acceptance by the exploited of their status as "economic categories," as appendages of machines for the production of profit for the parasites. All this is coming to an end!

Within the past 30 years giant imperialist States have disappeared, or are disappearing from history, and in their place are emerging new democratic States with splendid promise of physical and mental health for the people. It is a fact that the insanity rate in capitalist lands is mounting alarmingly year by year; it is also true that mental disorders are diminishing in those countries where social parasitism is ending. Prof. Abbie's alarm merely expresses the gloom and agony of a doomed civilisation. Marxists, in all modesty, can claim to be eminently successful practical psychologists, not by analysing psyches (!), but by social, i.e., political, activity, by the development of the class struggle which means, from a psychological standpoint, direct and immediate contact, and on a colossal scale, with behavioral and characterological problems.

What an achievement—to change the ideology of mankind! The manifestation of man's needs ("man's passions, emotions, etc., as true ontological affirmations of man's nature"—Marx), and the manner of their satisfaction vary from period to period; man changes the world and changes himself in the process. But these momentous historical processes are beyond the purview of the Freudian; he is too absorbed in the psyche. The "method" of all cultists is essentially formal and static, however decked with "scientific" trappings. And notwithstanding claims to originality, they merely sanction the old evils in a new way.

(References: As the basic issue is epistemology, indispensable will be Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism"; Prof. Rubinstein, "Consciousness in the Light of Dialectical Materialism" (January, 1947, "Communist Review"); T. A. Jackson, "Dialectics," chapter 7, "As To Freudianism").

BOOK REVIEW

AMERICAN EXPANSION PAST AND PRESENT (A. LEONTYEV)

A. KEESING

THE most sedulously cherished myth, beloved of Yankee bourgeois historians and their Wall Street paymasters, and one that finds not a few credulous adherents even among progressives in other countries, suggests that there is something exceptional about American capitalism. Maybe it was the circumstances of the birth of the trans-Atlantic republic in a struggle against colonial oppression; the inspiring aroma of the new-world atmosphere; or was it the traditional legend of political and social equality, of abundant opportunity for all that gave rise to the belief that American capitalism had no need for the imperialist expansionism and colonial exploitations of its European elder brothers?

At this moment, when the super-monopolies of the U.S.A. are engaged as never before in a drive to subject the whole world, transforming it into an exclusive super-market for American commodities and capital investments; at this very moment when American military forces are to be found in something like fifty 'independent' countries, feverishly engaged in the construction of bases thousands of miles from the home territory, and when American money is being openly used to undermine the political integrity of foreign regimes, at this moment American propaganda is most feverishly engaged in accusing others of expansionism while proclaiming its own disinterested innocence of anything but the noblest acts and motives.

The Soviet Union, it says, in the face of all established and visible facts, is hell-bent on conquest, on extending its system. That is to say, it remains correctly neutral when democratically-minded states liberate themselves from the 'freedom' of private enterprise, refusing to countenance attempts of capitalist intrigue from abroad to override popular will in such countries. This strict adherence to the provisions of the Atlantic Charter and other international agreements on the part of the Soviet constitutes "expansionism" in the eyes of Wall Street, because it restricts their possibilities of dominating the economic life of such countries, and usually results in the refusal of their peoples to become gratuitous enemies of the U.S.S.R.

Whether they really believe their own childish propaganda is beside the point. More important is the attempt to deflect public opinion from the real state of affairs, from the reality of American expansionism which is visible to the naked and untrained eye everywhere, by shouting and yelling from the housetops, "Beware! Russian imperialism, Soviet expansionism!", although these be but figments of fearful and panic-stricken imaginations.

For fearful and panic-stricken they are, not of the Soviet Union or the new-type democracies, whose peaceful intentions are patent, but of their own peoples. And well may capitalism be fearful as it observes the forward march of popular and progressive thought in every corner of the globe.

Thus the appearance of the pamphlet **American Expansionism Past and Present,** written by the distinguished Soviet economist, A. Leontyev, is most welcome. Leontyev, as a professor of political economy, has written a number of text books on his subject which are in use everywhere, but which call for at least a basic acquaintance with the science. In this pamphlet, however, his aim is to expose a lie that threatens the peace of the world to the widest possible audience. His style is therefore clear, simple and direct.

First of all he summarises the legend: "The United States, they are told, never resorted to conquest. If it did interfere in the affairs of other nations, it did so solely in the interests of these nations themselves and was prompted by motives of humanity, civilisation and peace. . . . This assertion has every advantage but one—it absolutely does not conform with the facts."

This statement, unlike American propaganda, is fully supported by facts of history. Between the Declaration of Independence and the end of the last century the U.S.A. acquired about 3,000,000 square miles of additional territory. Some of this, acquired in minor colonial wars against desperately weak adversaries, was paid for, a total amount of $50,000,000 being spent on territorial acquisitions. "This does not exceed the cost of a New York skyscraper and was, of course, not compensation for territory acquired, but only a mask to cover up forcible annexation."

Most interesting is the story of how President McKinley communed with God one night, as a preliminary to annexing the Philippines. "There was nothing left for us to do," according to the divine revelation, "but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilise and Christianise them as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died." And then, a little later: "The Philippines are ours forever. . . And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either." There you have the gist of the civilising mission of the U.S. monopolies.

Leontyev tells in detail many another unsavoury story of the insatiable appetites of the imperialists, the fake revolutions staged in Latin-American republics to provide the excuse for intervention, the theft of the Panama Canal zone from the Republic of Columbia, the military and financial pressure used to smash popular movements.

Finally the writer brings his story up-to-date with a chapter on the present bid for world supremacy. Today the United States is openly attempting to obtain world hegemony, an attempt which is by no means the first of its kind. But today it can only be done at the expense of other imperialist powers. The Du Ponts, Rockefellers and Morgans are in a hurry to occupy the place vacated by the Hitlerite monopolies.

But in the words of Leontyev: "The situation today is not the situation the predecessors of the present pretenders to world supremacy had to contend with. Yet the latter sometimes slavishly copy the old methods. The anti-Communist campaign, which is one of their chief trumps, is a striking example of this. The vocal numbers of the trans-oceanic anti-Communist choir now performing with the assistance of official conductors and soloists awaken memories of similar performances of the partners to the notorious anti-Comintern pact. It may be argued, of course, that the present-day schemers for world hegemony will endeavour to avoid the fatal mistakes of their forerunners. But did not Hitler boast that he would never repeat the suicidal blunders of William II? Yet he did repeat them, and, as we know, in far worse form."

AMERICAN EXPANSION PAST AND PRESENT, by A. Leontyev. 32pp., 6d from Current Book Distributors.

GERM WARFARE: WHAT CAN HAPPEN

Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S.

THE American Association of Scientific Workers has just published a most important report, as important for what it leaves out as for what it includes.

This report, of which the New York Times gives a summary, was written by Drs. Roseburg and Kabat in 1942, and deals with the possible use in war of bacteria, viruses, and other methods of producing disease. It does not, of course, deal with later developments, which are secret.

The document stresses the danger of what they call "retro-activity," that is to say, infection of the United States forces, civilian population, or agricultural stocks in such warfare, and points out that the United States are particularly vulnerable because they are isolated. One European state might not dare to infect another, but could risk infecting the U.S.

The authors examine the possibilities of using one poison, and a number of human and animal diseases.

The poison is that made by Bacillus botulinus, which causes the most deadly form of food poisoning. It is about 10,000 times more poisonous than potassium cyanide; a ton of it dropped into a group of reservoirs would poison 10,000,000,000 gallons of water so that it would be death to drink a pint.

Many water-borne diseases are ineffective if the drinking water is boiled, but Weil's disease, an infectious jaundice, can be caught even by washing in infected water.

The authors are more interested in airborne diseases. Anthrax, plague, influenza, and psittacosis or parrot disease, are all sometimes, and some of them usually, airborne.

In recent years the technique of making very fine sprays has been enormously developed, largely for the purpose of disinfection. Unfortunately they could equally well be used for infection, either by low-flying aeroplanes or special apparatus dropped by parachute. Infected insects could also be used. Ticks carrying relapsing fever, it is stated, could well be dropped from aeroplanes, and although the mortality would not be high, the victims would be ill for months. At least 15 diseases are regarded as possible weapons.

The authors recognise that most of these diseases could not be used in field warfare, owing to the danger of back infection. For it would be possible to immunise soldiers against some, but not all of them. They think they would be most effective against naval bases, particularly on islands which it was not desired to occupy.

The report then deals with the possibility of infecting agricultural plants and animals, of which it lists a number of diseases.

The authors are very emphatic that all such weapons, except perhaps botulinus poison, would be dangerous to the State using them, and warn the Government of their country against doing so.

Since 1942, a good deal has happened. The results of American research are embodied in the secret Merek report. One can judge of its contents by rumours, and particularly by the fact that very little has been published regarding certain lines of research, just as very little was published on the physics of the atomic nucleus after 1940.

The key to further development is probably the fact that inheritable changes can be produced in bacteria and viruses, as they can in higher plants and animals, by X-rays, or by incorporating artificially radio-active elements into the food on which they are grown.

Generally the result is weakening of one of the chemical functions of the germ, just as the majority of artificial mutants in higher plants and animals are weaker than their parents. But, as I explained in a recent article, about one mutant in a 1,000 in barley gives a higher yield than the original form. So we may expect that a small

proportion of the mutants formed in bacteria, fungi, or viruses, will be more deadly or more infectious than the original type.

I am sceptical of the stories which I have heard of the production of new human diseases along these lines. To test their effect it would be necessary to kill a number of people; and even so it would be impossible to be sure whether or not they would spread as an epidemic.

On the other hand new animal, and above all, plant diseases, could be made and tested without much danger of their spreading. I am inclined to believe that they have been made. The most effective weapons would be a disease with delayed action, which had no obvious effect on an infected plant, but prevented its seeds from germinating.

Such a disease could be used by the United States against crops such as rice or millet which are not much grown in their own territory. It would probably be impossible to produce a disease which would kill off all varieties of a plant species; but even so such a weapon could be terribly effective in producing famine.

It is clear that even if Britain were neutral in a war where such weapons were used, we should be in mortal danger. For we are densely populated, and depend on imported food, so that even if we could buy abroad in a famine-stricken world we should find it very hard to avoid infection of our own crops.

Our main defence should be a foreign policy designed to avoid future wars whether or not we think we can be neutral. But something can be done for our defence, if such weapons are ever used.

In the first place, we can have a National Health Service which is efficient and trusted. Every attempt to sabotage such a service is a blow at our national defence. We also need a greatly extended service to guard against plant and animal diseases.

Even if some of our doctors, vets, and agricultural experts had not enough to do in peacetime, they would be of vastly more use as defenders in wartime than are the soldiers in Greece, Palestine, and other overseas areas today. You can't kill bacteria with Bren guns.

Finally, I believe that as soon as the world food shortage is over, we ought to start storing at least three years' supply of wheat in Britain. I tried to say this on the radio in 1934, but the B.B.C. refused to allow me to broadcast it; though had this policy been adopted, Hitler's U-boat campaign would have stood no chance of success.

Of course, bacteriological warfare is a misuse of science, and a terrible one. But the scientists engaged on such research may well have believed, for some months at least, that they were engaged in protecting American crop plants or studying the methods by which human diseases are spread.

Any scientific method which can be used for good purposes can also be used for evil ones, and the only way to prevent them being used for evil is to see that the Governments of all countries are controlled by their peoples, and not by militarists or financiers.

And if such methods of warfare are possible, we ought to organise defence against them. I hope that this article will wake up at least a few thousand people to the very real dangers which lie ahead of us.

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Vyshinsky Spotlights Warmongers

FULL SPEECH

ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

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FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES—AGAINST THE INCENDIARIES OF A NEW WAR

Speech of A. Y. Vyshinsky at the Plenary Session of UNO General Assembly on September 18.

ONE year has passed since the first session of the General Assembly. It is necessary to look back upon the road traversed during this time, to analyse the work performed during this period by UNO, to draw certain conclusions and to outline possible prospects. Each delegation, each member country of UNO, is bound to discharge this duty impartially and conscious of its great responsibility in this matter, which requires perfect clarity, impartiality and respect for truth which should reign supreme.

Looking back, the Soviet delegation is bound to note that during the period under review the work of UNO has been marked by grave shortcomings. These shortcomings should be resolutely and consistently exposed and named. They consisted mainly in a departure from the most important principles placed at the foundation of the Organisation, and, on a number of occasions, even in a direct violation of several important decisions of the General Assembly.

These shortcomings are to a considerable extent due to the efforts of such influential member States of UNO as the U.S.A. and Great Britain to make use of the Organisation in their narrow group interests, in disregard of the interests of international co-operation on the basis of the principles formulated in the Charter.

The policy of exploiting the organisation by various States in their selfish and narrowly conceived interests leads to the loss of its prestige, as was the case with the League of Nations of sad memory. On the other hand, the unsatisfactory state of affairs in UNO, which unfavourably affects its prestige, is a result of the fact that the above-mentioned States ignore the Organisation and attempt to take a number of practical actions outside UNO and over its head.

It is necessary to turn our attention to the grave danger UNO is facing as a result of such a policy, which is incompatible with the principles of the Charter and with the aims and purposes the United Nations set themselves while forming the Organisation.

U.S.A. AND GREAT BRITAIN AGAINST REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

Among the most important shortcomings in the activities of UNO one must note in the first place the unsatisfactory progress of the work for the implementation of the decision of the Assembly of December 14, 1946, on a general reduction of armaments. The resolution on a general reduction of armaments, passed unanimously by the General Assembly last year, meets the vital interests of the masses of the people who continue, despite the termination of the Second World War, to shoulder the burden of war expenditure and the enormous hardships caused by the ceaseless growth of armaments.

The Assembly's decision on a general reduction of armaments was at the same time an expression of the desires and demands of the peace-loving peoples for the establishment of enduring peace and international security, an expression of the demands dictated by the suffering they experienced and the sacrifices they made. It was precisely for this reason that the decision was received by the peoples of the world with profound satisfaction and the hope that it would be carried out rapidly and fully.

This hope, however, was not justified.

When attempts were being made in the Security Council and the Commission for Ordinary Armaments to outline practical measures for implementing the decision of the General Assembly on the general regulation and reduction of armaments, the representatives of the U.S.A. and Great Britain advanced such conditions for the reduction of armaments as could not but disrupt the implementation of the abovementioned decision of the Assembly.

All the activities of the American and British delegations in the Commission for Ordinary Armaments prove that the U.S.A. and Great Britain refuse to reduce their armaments, refuse to disarm, and hinder disarmament, which gives rise to alarm among the peace-loving nations.

The statement made by Mr. Bevin at Southport to the effect that he does not intend to assist in disarmament provides a convincing answer to the question as to the causes of the unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to the implementation of the Assembly's decision on a reduction of armaments.

The same thing is revealed by the recent speech delivered by Mr. Truman in Petropolis, when the American President emphasised that the armed forces of the U.S.A. would be preserved, and when he did not mention by a single word the undertaking to effect a reduction of the armed forces — an undertaking assumed by the United Nations in accordance with the decisions of the General Assembly.

As we have said, this attitude of the U.S.A. and Great Britain with regard to the reduction of armaments and the absence of positive results in implementing the tasks formulated in the resolution of December 14, 1946, engenders justified alarm and anxiety about the success of the cause which we have launched; and this is especially intensified

U.S.A. DISRUPTS THE WORK FOR THE

Millions of common people are especially alarmed by the unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to the prohibition of atomic and other main weapons of mass destruction. This alarm is further justified in that the atomic weapon is a weapon of attack, a weapon of aggression.

After a year and a half of the work of the Atomic Energy Commission, not a single task set it by the resolution of the General Assembly of January 24, 1946, has been accomplished, and, moreover, no progress whatever has been made in its implementation.

The Soviet Government, on its part, took a number of steps to assist in a positive solution of this problem.

Supplementing and developing its proposal concerning the conclusion of an international convention on the prohibition of atomic and other main weapons of mass destruction, the Soviet Government moved for consideration by the Atomic Energy Commission a proposal on the main principles of international control of atomic energy.

This proposal, however, met with resistance, chiefly on the part of the United States. Expecting to preserve its monopoly in atomic arms, the U.S.A. resists every attempt to secure the destruction of its stocks of atomic bombs and prohibition of their further manufacture, and at the same time consistently extends production of these bombs.

The differences that arose on this basis among members of the Commission hinder its work and paralyse all efforts directed at an effective solution of the problem with which the Commission is charged.

There is no doubt, however, that many differences could have been eliminated if certain delegations, including the American, had approached the subject in a more impartial way. For instance, it would have been possible to eliminate the difference which arose in connection with the proposal of the Soviet delegation on destruction of the stock of atomic bombs after the convention on the prohibition of atomic weapons comes into force.

It is known that a majority in the Commission agreed in principle to the need for destroying stocks of the atomic weapon and for using the nuclear fuel they contain for peaceful purposes only. The delegation of the United States alone persists in objecting to the destruction of the stock of atomic bombs, thus preventing the adoption of the decision on this subject approved by a majority in the Commission.

by the race of armaments, including atomic weapons, and by the warlike preparations of certain States possessing great military and economic might. This undermines confidence in the sincerity of the peaceable declarations and statements of determination to rid coming generations of the calamities of war.

PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS.

The situation which has arisen in connection with inspection also merits attention. Until lately the American delegation emphasised the especial importance of inspection. In the proposals of the Soviet delegation inspection also figures as a fundamental measure following the prohibition of the atomic weapon. At present, however, the American delegation has suddenly begun to belittle the significance of inspection and to push other questions to the foreground, such as the transfer of atomic plants to the possession of an international organ, their management, licensing, and so on.

In doing so the America delegation refuses to consider the opinion of competent scientists who — as stated, for instance, in a memorandum of the Council of the British Association of Scientific Workers, uniting prominent men of science — object to the possession of the means of production of atomic energy by an organ of international control.

It is known that in this memorandum the British scientists emphasised that the granting to this organ of full ownership of the means of production in the usual sense of this word would cause difficulties, since it would entitle the organ of atomic energy control to decide whether a given country has the right to build energy plants, and would also entitle that organ to prevent the utilisation of energy produced by such plants or lay down terms for the supply of such energy.

Criticising the principle upheld by the American delegation since the time when Mr. Baruch was active, the British scientists rightly say that such restriction would create an opportunity for interference in the economic life of each country to an extent not necessary for preventing the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes.

This is the voice of men of science who consider this problem from the angle of the interests of scientific progress, which is incompatible with unrestricted control by some centralised international organ over scientific research pursuing peaceful objects, those of discovering and increasing the supply of energy.

This is why the memorandum of the British atomic scientists advocates a plan which would provide a guarantee against the accumulation of dangerous materials without permission of the organs of atomic energy control and would at the same time enable all countries to display initiative in the construction on their respective territories of plants producing atomic energy in addition to other power resources.

THE SOVIET UNION STANDS FOR PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS AND STRICT INTERNATIONAL CONTROL.

In the interests of the consolidation of general peace, the Soviet Union proposed a convention be concluded prohibiting the use of the atomic weapon on all occasions. The proposal of the Soviet Union met with wide response and support in all countries. The memorandum of the British Association of Scientific Workers says that such a convention seems highly desirable and that it is difficult to justify the unwillingness of Great Britain and the U.S.A. to agree to it.

Dealing with the demand of the U.S.S.R. for the destruction of stocks of atomic weapons and for the discontinuation of their production, the British scientists write that this demand seems to them highly reasonable.

The Soviet Union favours strict international control over atomic energy plants, which, however, should not grow into interference in those branches of national industry and in those matters which are not connected with atomic energy.

Here, too, the British atomic scientists are right when they express the wish in their memorandum published on January 23 that the right of inspection be restricted as far as possible and that it should not become a means for expressing excessive curiosity with regard to lawful industry and other activities.

In their memorandum published in August the British scientists point once more to the necessity of establishing definite limits for the right of inspection, which should not serve the purpose of organised economic and military intelligence. The memorandum points out that the U.S.A. and other adherents of the Baruch plan should be induced to formulate guarantees ensuring a situation in which no plan for inspection could turn into a thoroughly elaborated system of espionage.

Proceeding from the above-mentioned principles of the organisation of international control, which, I repeat, should be real, strong and effective, the Soviet delegation deems it necessary to set certain limits to the organs of inspection, to restrict their rights to tasks of the actual control of atomic energy and preclude the possibility of the control organs being exploited for arbitrary interference with any branches of the national economy, regardless even of the fact that interference of this kind can only undermine and ruin the national economy of any country.

The American delegation and certain other delegations supporting it especially insist that all plants producing atomic materials in dangerous quantities should be owned and managed by the international control organ, which thus turns into the owner which will act in the interests of the majority of the members of this organ, of whom the Soviet Union cannot expect an attitude of goodwill.

But it is precisely this situation that delegations grouping themselves around the American delegation and acting under the latter's direction are out to achieve.

The above-quoted memorandum of the British scientists makes no secret of the fact that the American plan for atomic energy control envisages measures which may be interpreted as perpetuating the domination of the United States in the field of atomic energy. The Soviet delegation objects and will object to such a situation and will insist that the international control organ should not be dominated by any single country, but that all its participants should enjoy equality in all activities of this organ.

In this connection it should also be recalled that the representatives of the U.S.A. in the Atomic Commission stubbornly object to the simultaneous establishment of control over atomic production in all stages from extraction of the raw materials to the finished output.

The representatives of the U.S.A. propose to postpone indefinitely the establishment of control over the most dangerous final stages of atomic production, in which the U.S.A. regards itself at the present time as the monopolist. At the same time they insist on immediate introduction of control of the initial stage — that of the extraction of raw materials. It is perfectly clear that the American attitude can only be interpreted as one aimed at preventing the extension of control to the United States, whereas all other countries would be subordinated to international control right now.

Such is the situation with regard to the atomic problem. Naturally one cannot expect the success of an undertaking in which certain delegations display no desire to co-operate for achieving the aims set in the resolution of the General Assembly of December 14 last year.

We cannot tolerate such a situation or reconcile ourselves to the fact that the threat of utilising atomic energy for the mass destruction and extermination of a peaceful population has not yet been eliminated. The conscience of the nations cannot reconcile itself to a situation where, despite UNO's appeal to put an end to the atomic weapon and to the other main weapons of mass destruction of human beings, the production of the means of mass destruction is not only continued but constantly extended.

THE TRUMAN-MARSHALL PLANS ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF UNO.

Especially vivid examples of the violation of the principles of the Organisation and of disregard for it are provided by the so-called Truman doctrine and Marshall plan.

As proved by the experience of recent months, the proclamation of this doctrine signified that the Government of the U.S.A. plainly renounced the principles of international co-operation and agreed actions of the Great Powers and proceeded to try and dictate its will to other independent States, at the same time obviously making use for political pressure of the economic means set aside in aid of certain needy countries.

Striking evidence of this is provided by the measures being carried out by the Government of the U.S.A. in Greece and Turkey, outside of UNO and over its head, as well as by the measures being outlined under the so-called Marshall plan in Europe. This policy is in sharp contradiction to the principle proclaimed by the General Assembly in the resolution of December 11, 1946, that aid to other countries should never be used as a political weapon.

It is now obvious that the Marshall plan is only a version of the Truman doctrine adapted to the conditions of post-war Europe. When advancing this plan, the U.S. Government evidently intended, with the assistance of the Governments of Great Britain and France, to confront the European countries needing aid with the necessity of giving up their inalienable right to dispose of their economic resources, of planning their national economies at their own discretion, and intended to place all these countries in direct dependence on the interests of the American monopolies, which are striving to avert an imminent crisis by intensifying the export of goods and capital to Europe.

It is known that not all the countries of Europe despite want and the difficulties of post-war economic rehabilitation, agreed to such an impairment of their sovereignty, to such intervention into their domestic affairs, while the countries which took part in the well-known negotiations on this subject in Paris realise ever more clearly the true meaning of these offers of aid.

It becomes ever more obvious to everyone that the implementation of the Marshall plan will mean the subordination of the European countries to the economic and political control of the U.S.A. and the latter's direct intervention into the domestic affairs of these countries. At the same time this plan represents an attempt to split up Europe into two camps and to complete, with the help of Great Britain and France, the formation of a bloc of a number of European countries inimical to the interests of the democratic countries of Eastern Europe and, primarily, of the Soviet Union.

An important feature of this plan is the desire to confront the countries of Eastern Europe with a bloc of several West European countries, including Western Germany. This envisages the utilisation of Western Germany and of German heavy industry in the Ruhr as one of the most important economic bases of American expansion in Europe, contrary to the national interests of the countries which were victims of German aggression.

It suffices to recall these facts to establish beyond any dispute the utter incompatibility of such a policy of the U.S.A., and of the British and French Governments supporting it, with the fundamental principles of UNO.

ACTIONS IN CONTRADICTION TO UNO CHARTER.

Similarly, one cannot describe as normal a situation in regard to relations between the members of UNO in which foreign armed forces continue to remain in the territories of member-States of the Organisation as a means of political intervention in their domestic affairs, which creates relations between States marked by inequality and dependence and contradicting the UNO Charter.

British troops are still in Egypt contrary to the latter's will, in Greece in violation of the Constitution of her State, in Transjordan which has applied for admission into the Organisation. American troops still stay in China, which by no means contributes to the establishment of internal peace and tranquillity in that country.

The stay of foreign troops in non-enemy territories should not be allowed unless it is connected with the guarding of communications with former enemy territories during the period of their occupation. The consolidation of general peace and mutual confidence among nations calls for the earliest and positive solution of the problem of the evacuation of non-enemy States by foreign troops which are not employed for guarding communications with former enemy countries.

One should note also that certain members of the Organisation have failed to comply with the important decisions of the Assembly on the Spanish question (the Argentine), on discrimination against Indians in South Africa, on the trusteeship of the former mandated territory of South-West Africa (the Union of South Africa). The General Assembly cannot overlook such actions of certain members of the Organisation which disrupt the objects set in its decisions and undermine the prestige of UNO.

In this connection, we cannot but dwell on developments in Indonesia. These developments can only be described as an act of aggression against the Indonesian people committed by a State which is a member of the United Nations. The unprovoked armed attack of Holland on the Indonesian Republic has evoked the lawful indignation of all honest people in the world.

Has UNO, however, rendered due protection to the Indonesian people? We all know that this did not happen. As a result of the examination of the Indonesian problem by the Security Council, certain States exerted considerable efforts to belittle the significance of the developments in Indonesia and to impose on the Security Council a decision on this subject which can by no means be regarded as adequate for protecting the lawful interests of the Indonesian Republic, which has become the victim of an armed attack.

Clearly, such decisions cannot fail to undermine the prestige of UNO, which is called upon to ensure the maintenance of peace among the nations.

Noteworthy is the fact that, while certain influential Powers fail to take a proper interest in the elimination of the unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to the solution of the Spanish and other problems mentioned above, they display special interest in the Iranian problem, which remains on the Agenda of the Security Council one year and a half after its final settlement, and after Iran herself has requested that this question be withdrawn from the agenda of the Security Council.

Noteworthy also is the stubborn desire of the delegates of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, at any cost and contrary to common sense, to keep the Iranian problem on the agenda of the Security Council, evidently for some specific purposes.

The more noteworthy is the fact that the inordinate stubbornness displayed in this case by the American and British members of the Council could not be shaken even by the perfectly grounded explanation of the General Secretary to the effect that there is no reason for the Council to deal with the so-called Iranian problem.

In regard to the Council for Trusteeship, the Soviet delegation believes it necessary to note the following :

At the meeting of the General Assembly on December 13, 1946, the delegation of the U.S.S.R. criticised the agreements on trusteeship of the former mandated territories presented to the Assembly for confirmation since neither the procedure of preparation itself of these agreements nor some of their articles met the demands of the UNO Charter.

The fact that these agreements, with the above-mentioned shortcomings, were made the basis for the organisation of the Trusteeship Council certainly could not but influence the attitude of the U.S.S.R. delegation regarding the election of members of the Council set up on the basis of these agreements.

The Soviet delegation still adheres to the view expressed on this subject at the Assembly meeting on December 13, 1946. The delegation of the Soviet Union as a permanent member of the Trusteeship Council would like to hope that the violations of the Charter which have taken place in concluding trusteeship agreements will be rectified, which undoubtedly would help the Trusteeship Council to accomplish the tasks it faces. It is self-evident that this would meet the interests of UNO as a whole and those of the population of the territories in trust.

The unsatisfactory conditions in the work of UNO are not accidental, but the result of the attitude towards UNO of a number of member countries and primarily of the U.S.A. and Great Britain. This attitude does not help to strengthen the Organisation or to promote the cause of international co-operation. On the contrary, it weakens and undermines UNO, which undoubtedly conforms to the plans and intentions of reactionary circles in those countries under whose influence such a policy is pursued.

As to the Soviet Union, its policy in regard to UNO is a policy of strengthening this Organisation, a policy of extending and consolidating international co-operation, a policy of unswervingly and consistently observing the Charter and implementing its principles.

The strengthening of UNO is possible only on the basis of respect for the political and economic independence of States, respect for the sovereign equality of nations, as well as consistent and unreserved observance of one of the most important principles of UNO — that of the agreement and unanimity of the great Powers in passing decisions on the most important problems concerning the maintenance of international peace and security.

This is in full conformity with the special responsibility of these Powers for the preservation of general peace and forms the guarantee of the defence of the interests of all member countries of UNO, great and small. The Soviet Union deems it its duty resolutely to fight any attempt to shake this principle, whatever motives may be employed to cover these attempts.

MR. MARSHALL'S NEW PROPOSALS.

It remains for me to say certain things in connection with the speech of the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall. In his speech he dealt with questions which have already more than once served as a subject for discussion. Most of these questions figure as separate items on the agenda of the Assembly and consequently we shall be able to state our views on them in the proper place and at the proper time.

Mr. Marshall also raised in his speech some new problems, on some of which the Soviet delegation believes it necessary to dwell at once.

The first is the question of the threat to the independence and territorial integrity of Greece. Leaving the discussion of this question on the proper scale to the moment when the Assembly will take it up in accordance with the established procedure, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary only to note that the very raising of this question is devoid of any foundations whatever.

The charges against Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania advanced by the American delegation are totally arbitrary and unsupported by any proof. They go much farther than the conclusions of the

majority in the Commission, which did not gain the support of nearly one-half of the members of this Commission, and which do not stand criticism if one considers in the least seriously the data on which these conclusions are based. It will not be difficult to prove that the report of the majority of the Commission on the so-called Greek question is full of contradictions and crude distortions which deprive the conclusions of this majority of all significance.

As to Korea, Mr. Marshall quite arbitrarily and wrongly presented the case in such a light that the futility of the work of the Soviet-American Commission for Korea was charged to the Soviet party and moved a proposal which plainly violates the Moscow agreement of the three Ministers of Foreign Affairs on Korea, achieved in December, 1945. Under this agreement, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R undertook jointly to prepare a solution of the problem of the unification of Korea in an independent democratic State.

Mr. Marshall's new proposal is a violation of the undertakings assumed by the United States and therefore wrong and unacceptable. Instead of observing the Moscow agreement on Korea and taking steps to work out the measures envisaged by it and to present them to the Governments of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and China for joint discussion, the Government of the United States prefers to violate its undertakings and tries to shield its unilateral and absolutely unjustified actions with the prestige of the General Assembly.

The Soviet Government is unable to agree to such a violation of the above-mentioned agreement on Korea and will insist on rejection of the proposal of Mr. Marshall as running counter to the undertakings assumed under the three-Power agreement on Korea.

Then comes the question of the interim committee for "constant attention to the work of the Assembly" and for deciding on matters of a "permanent nature." Mr. Marshall proposes to envisage the establishment of a permanent committee of the General Assembly under the name of the "Interim Committee for Peace and Security."

Despite the reservations contained in the American proposal to the effect that this committee would not touch on questions the main responsibility for which rests with the Security Council and the special commissions, this proposal leaves no doubt that the attempt to create an interim committee is nothing but a poorly disguised attempt to replace and circumvent the Security Council.

The functions of this committee in examining situations and disputes prejudicing friendly relations are nothing but the functions of the Security Council specified, in particular, in Article 34 of the Charter. For this reason alone, these functions cannot be transferred to any other institution whatever the name this institution may bear, without obvious and direct violation of the UNO Charter, to which the Soviet delegation certainly can by no means agree and to which it will resolutely object.

I repeat that if the above-mentioned new proposals, as well as the old proposals in a new form, are moved by the American delegation for consideration of the General Assembly, the Soviet delegation reserves its right to give a fuller analysis of these proposals when these questions are discussed in essence, and will insist on the rejection of these proposals as running counter to the principles, objects and tasks of UNO, as being proposals the acceptance of which can only undermine the very foundations of UNO.

AGAINST THE PROPAGANDISTS AND INCENDIARIES OF A NEW WAR.

The Soviet delegation believes it necessary to place before the General Assembly a question of major importance concerning the measures against the propaganda of a new war that is constantly intensifying in a number of countries.

More than two years have passed since the Charter of UNO was signed in San Francisco and subsequently ratified by 52 States. It signified the beginning of the activities of the new international association which set itself the task of ensuring peace and the security of nations and developing and strengthening international co-operation for assisting in the economic and social progress of nations.

The creation of UNO dates back to a time when the chief enemy of the democratic countries — Hitler Germany — was routed and when the defeat of Japan was near at hand. The attempt of these enemies of humanity to establish their world supremacy met with utter failure as a result of the historic victory of the democratic countries headed by the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. Two traditional hot-beds of war were destroyed.

We wish to be certain that they have been destroyed for ever, that the task of complete disarmament of Germany and Japan will be brought to a consummation and those States will never again threaten the freedom-loving nations with war and aggression.

We wish to be certain that the stern lesson which aggressive States learned during the past Second World War has not proved futile and the fate of the severely punished aggressors in the past war will serve as a frightful warning to those who covertly and overtly conduct preparations for a new war in disregard of the undertakings they have assumed to develop friendly relations among nations and to strengthen peace and security throughout the world.

War hysteria, fanned by the efforts of militarist and expansionist circles in certain countries, and primarily of the U.S.A., keeps spreading and assumes an ever more menacing character. For a long time already the press — mostly the American press — as well as that of countries obediently following the U.S.A., such as Turkey — has been conducting a frenzied campaign aimed at influencing world public opinion in favour of a new war. All means of psychological pressure, such as newspapers, magazines, radio and cinema are being used for this purpose.

This propaganda of a new war is being conducted under the most varied slogans and pretexts. But no matter how diverse these slogans and pretexts are, the essence of the entire propaganda is the same: to justify the furious race of armaments in the U.S.A., including the atomic weapon, to justify the unlimited striving of influential circles in the U.S.A. to carry out the plans of expansion permeated with the same "idea" of world supremacy.

The American press most vigorously preaches a new war and calls on the people to prepare for it as effectively and as early as possible. A great number of newspapers and magazines, mostly American, day in and day out clamour about a new war, systematically bringing this corrupting psychological pressure to bear on the public opinion of their countries.

The warmongers conduct propaganda disguised by a hue and cry about the strengthening of national defence and the need for struggle against the war-danger with which other countries allegedly threaten them.

Propagandists and warmongers resort to every means in their effort to intimidate people who are poorly informed about politics with tales and malicious fabrications concerning the alleged preparations for an attack on America by the Soviet Union.

Certainly, they know perfectly well that they are telling lies, that the Soviet Union by no means contemplates an attack on any country, that the Soviet Union is giving all its strength to the cause of the rehabilitation of the war-torn districts and generally of the territories which suffered from war, to the cause of the rehabilitation and further development of its national economy.

The propagandists and warmongers active in the United States, as well as in Britain, Turkey, Greece and certain other countries, are well aware of the fact that in the Soviet Union the entire people — workers, peasants and intellectuals — unanimously condemn all attempts to kindle a new war. Indeed this would be impossible in the Soviet Union, in a country engaged in peaceful constructive work, absorbed in peaceful labor, of which it has enormous reserves, in the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged districts, in strengthening and developing further its national economy damaged by the heavy blows of the war imposed on the Soviet Union by the Hitlerite bandits.

In the Soviet Union, in the country of Socialist democracy, in a country engaged in the peaceful building of a new life, there is not nor can there be anything bearing even a remote resemblance to that which is taking place in certain countries believing themselves democratic and progressive while admitting such shameful actions as the propaganda of war and the poisoning of the public mind with the venom of man-hating and hostility to other nations.

If anyone in the Soviet Union permitted himself an utterance even remotely resembling those mentioned above and permeated with criminal craving for another manslaughter, such an utterance would meet with a stern rebuff and public condemnation as an action gravely endangering society.

Nevertheless, gentlemen who have made it their profession to bait the Soviet Union and other democratic countries of Eastern Europe, as well as consistent democrats and opponents of a new war in other countries, are not sparing in false and slanderous allegations which these provocateurs and warmongers fabricate and spread all over the world along numerous channels.

They insistently preach the inevitability and even the necessity of a new war on the pretext of the alleged need for forestalling the aggressive policy . . . . . of the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe. This is indeed shifting the blame. Truly, as the Russian proverb says, the bear is mauling the cow and is yelling for help.

The preparations for a new war are being conducted literally before the eyes of the whole world. The propagandists and warmongers do not even attempt to hide it. They openly threaten the peace-loving nations with war while at the same time trying to shift on them the responsibility for unleashing a new slaughter.

As seen from a number of indications, the preparations for a new war have already emerged from the stage of mere propaganda, psychological pressure and a war of nerves. Numerous facts prove that in certain States — this especially refers to the U.S.A. — war hysteria is being fanned by practical measures of a military strategical nature combined with such organisational and technical measures as the construction and organisation of new military bases, redistribution of the armed forces in conformity with plans for future military operations, intensification of the manufacture of new armaments and feverish work for perfecting armaments.

Simultaneously, military blocs are being formed, military agreements on so-called mutual defence are being concluded, measures are being taken for the standardisation of armaments and plans for a new war being worked out by the General Staffs. . . .

It was not without reason that the well-known American radio commentator Leon Pearson found himself compelled to admit in his recent broadcast that American officers are slowly and thoroughly preparing for the next world war, in which Russia will be the adversary.

This is how the propagandists and incendiaries of a new world war are acting. Fearing a new crisis they are kindling a new war, thus hoping to

eliminate the imminent threat of a crash and loss of their profits.

The instigators of a new war nurture the insane plan of subjugating by force of arms those countries which are fighting for their independence and are rejecting the right of other Powers to interfere in their internal affairs. The warmongers are trying to impose upon them their own standards in external and domestic policy.

While kindling a new war and inciting their followers to a struggle against certain States, those who wish to start another war conflagration expect to achieve their object by means of a localised war. Evidently they disregard the experience of the past wars which teaches that in the present epoch every new war will inevitably turn into a new world war. They forget that a new world war with its senseless destruction, devastation of a great many towns, annihilation of millions of people and of immense material values accumulated through human labor will mean another supreme disaster for humanity and will hurl it many decades back.

The most active part in this propaganda for a new war has been assumed by the representatives of the American capitalist monopolies, the representatives of the biggest enterprises and leading American industries, banking and exchange circles.

These are the circles which made big profits out of the Second World War and amassed enormous fortunes as a result of this war, as was also the case some time ago in connection with the First World War.

If we compare the figures for the five pre-war years, from 1935 to 1939, with those of the five years of the Second World War, from 1940 to 1944 inclusive, we shall find that the profits of all American corporations in the five pre-war years, after deduction of taxes, totalled 15,300 million dollars, whereas during the five years of the Second World War the profits of these corporations, after deduction of taxes, amounted to 42,300 million dollars.

According to data of the Department of Trade, the net profits of these corporations during the six years of war, from 1940 to 1945, amounted to 52,000 million dollars.

The magazine **Economic Review,** published by the Congress of Industrial Organisations, cites in its issue No. 11 for 1946 interesting figures showing the growth of the profits (after deduction of taxes) of 50 companies in 1945 and 1946. These figures show that some monopolies made exorbitant profits out of the war, mounting to 200 and 300 per cent. and more, while on some occasions these profits reached even 500 and nearly 800 per cent. as, for instance, in the case of the Atlantic Sugar Company. According to this magazine, these profits exceeded four times the average profits during the period 1936—1939.

As to the profits from trade, according to John Steelman, Director of the Economic Stabilisation Board, in October, 1946, they reached an all time record. Thus war proves not so very hateful for those groups of society in certain countries which take advantage of war calamities for the sake of enrichment.

It is not accidental, therefore, that James Allen, in his book **International Monopolies and Peace,** notes the loss of equilibrium and fundamental dislocation observed in the economic life of capitalist countries and quotes from the report of the Government organisation studying this problem an assertion which provides grounds for the conclusion that only in conditions of war is the modern economic system capable of ensuring approximately full employment. This frank admission hardly requires any comment; it speaks for itself.

It should be noted that the capitalist monopolies, which secured a decisive influence during the war, preserved this influence even after the war, skilfully taking advantage of Government subsidies running into thousands of millions of dollars, and of the protection which they invariably enjoyed and continue to enjoy on the part of various Government organs and institutions. This is facilitated by the close connections the monopolies maintain with Senators and members of the Government, who themselves more often than not belong to the circle of directors of or participants in monopolies.

These conditions have placed their imprint also on industrial scientific research, concentrated in the laboratories of various big factories, joint stock companies, trusts and concerns. This should be said about research into the utilisation of atomic energy as well.

Such capitalist monopolies as the du Pont Chemical Trust, the Monsanto Chemical Company, the Westinghouse Company, the General Electric, Standard Oil and others, are mostly intimately connected with this work and are complete masters in this field. Before the war they maintained the most intimate connections with the German trusts through cartels, and many cartel agreements specified that after the war the exchange of information was to be resumed.

All these facts provide an adequate explanation of the exceptional interest taken by various capitalist monopolies in the production of the atomic weapon. These facts can provide the explanation of the stubborn resistance to the just demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon and for the destruction of the stock of atomic bombs, the production of which cost enormous sums of money.

The capitalist monopolies' hunt for profits and their efforts to preserve at any cost and further to develop those war industries which ensure high profits, cannot fail to influence the line of foreign policy, by accentuating militarist, expansionist and aggressive tendencies in this policy in order to satisfy the constantly growing appetites of influential monopoly circles.

This is the ground which feeds the propaganda of a new war in the United States, where the initiators of this propaganda are not only prominent representatives of influential American industrial and military circles, influential publications and important politicians, but also official representatives of the American Government.

THE WARMONGERS NAMED

It is not fortuitous that among the especially vehement instigators of a new war are those closely connected with trade, industrial and financial trusts, concerns and monopolies. I see no need of naming many of them. It is enough to dwell on a few, dealing, of course, with their personalities, personal views, personal qualities, and so on, but chiefly with those social groups, institutions, industrial, technical and scientific Associations whose views and interests those persons represent.

1. The member of the House of Representatives, Dorn, on May 7 while the House of Representatives was discussing the proposal on appropriations for "aid" to the Greek and Turkish Governments, made a cynical statement, worthy of the inveterate warmonger, to the effect that the Soviet Union cannot be checked with 400 million dollars, but that this can be done with the help of a big air force and the bombardment of the potential industrial centres of the U.S.S.R., the industrial district of the Urals mountains and other vital areas.

2. The President of the National Industrial Conference Board, Jordan, slandered the Soviet Union. According to this insolent person the U.S.A. should produce many atomic bombs and release them quickly, regardless of whether there is any ground to believe that a given country is producing armaments.

3. The former U.S.A. Minister to Bulgaria, Earle, made a provocative statement before the House of Representatives Committee for Un-American Activities, to the effect that the U.S.A. must immediately resort to atomic bombs against a country which refuses to accept the American project of inspection. Intimidating his audience with Soviet "jet bombs released from submarines," he insisted on secret development of the most frightful weapons and on informing the Russians that when the first atomic bomb is dropped on the U.S.A. the Americans will destroy every village in Russia. He insisted on the use of atomic bombs against the Soviet Union.

4. Eaton, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, published an article in the "American Magazine" saying "we can still block Russia psychologically. If we achieve no success we should smash her by force of arms."

5. Senator McMahon, former Chairman of the Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, stated in Congress that the U.S.A. must be the first to drop atomic bombs if an atomic war is inevitable. In another speech he said that if agreement on the international control of atomic energy could not be achieved, the U.S.A. had four possibilities left to it: firstly, to accumulate a tremendous stock of atomic bombs; secondly, to launch war immediately; thirdly, to set up an international control organ without the Soviet Union; fourthly, to fix the date for international control coming into force and to proclaim any country refusing to submit to it to be guilty of aggression.

6. Senator Brooks, of Illinois, in his speech in the Senate on March 12 this year, was not ashamed to declare cynically that if the United States had heeded the advice tendered by the Republican Party before the war and had permitted the Germans to destroy Russia, Truman's present programme would not be necessary. He added that during the war the U.S.A. helped the Soviet Union, while now the U.S.A. may be compelled to fight the Soviet Union.

7. General Deane, former Chief of the U.S. Military Mission in the U.S.S.R., stated in his book that the U.S.A. war programme should be calculated to cope with the special situation that may result from a war with Russia.

8. Harwood, Vice-President of the industrial company Cutler Hamper Inc., stated according to the newspaper "Journal" that the atomic bomb is an ineffective weapon because it destroys excessive quantities of property instead of destroying only human beings. This same Harwood cynically stated at a conference of the American Professional Institute in Milwaukee the following: Although this may seem cruel, the type of arms which we must possess if we have to fight, is a weapon which will kill only human beings. Such a weapon will eliminate the necessity during a future war of rehabilitating countries and property on such a wide and expensive scale.

9. John Foster Dulles, in his speech delivered in Chicago on February 10 this year, called for a rigid course of foreign policy in regard to the Soviet Union, asserting that if the United States renounced this course and counted on the possibility of arriving at some compromise with the Soviet Union, war would prove inevitable. In the same speech he boasted that since the fall of the Roman Empire no country ever disposed of such an enormous material superiority as the United States, and he called upon the U.S.A. to take advantage of this might for achieving its aims.

The meaning of these utterances is clear. It is the sometimes overt and sometimes purely disguised instigation of a war against the U.S.S.R. It is the provocative attempt to divert attention from the true warmongers, to shield their incendiary activities with demagogic slander about "social revolution throughout the world" and similar ravings, calculating on the credulity of simpleton listeners.

Such are these instigators of a new war from the ranks of American politicians who do not hesitate to resort to deliberately slanderous outbursts against the Soviet Union and to fan hatred for the

U.S.S.R., nor to inculcate systematically the idea that a new war is unavoidable and necessary, and who systematically appear in the role of propagators and incendiaries of a new war.

Their statements found an echo in the organised utterances of the inveterate reactionaries of the notorious American Legion, some of the participants at the recent congress of which, intoxicated with the war craze, shouted that "nobody should have illusions that America would not take the sword if circumstances so required."

Numerous organs of the American reactionary press, in the hands of such magnates as Morgan, Rockefeller, Ford, Hearst, McCormick and others, do not fall far behind the reactionary politicians engaged in instigating a war. Morgan controls the magazines **Time, Life** and **Fortune,** published by the well-known publishing house Times Incorporated, one of the biggest shareholders of which is the firm Brown Brothers, Harriman and Co. It is known that the biggest capitalists of America own big publications and keep them under their control —magazines, newspapers, bulletins—and have their own publishing houses which invade the book market with appropriate literary products.

All these publications, at the bidding of their bosses, conduct a fierce propaganda for unleashing a new war, resorting to all possible insinuations and falsehoods, fabricated in the appropriate spirit, with the aim of arousing hatred against the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries of a new democracy.

Day in, day out, the pages of these newspapers and magazines are filled with provocative appeals calling for attacks on other countries which allegedly endanger the security of the U.S.A., although these organs of the press, as well as their masters, know very well that nobody is planning to attack the U.S.A. and that the U.S.A. faces no danger in this respect.

One cannot avoid mentioning as an example such publications as the **New York Herald-Tribune** and a number of other similar organs, mainly of the Hearst press, which systematically publish all possible provocative articles, imbuing the minds of their readers with the idea that "military action" will be necessary "if Europe collapses or if it falls under the control of the Soviet Union."

Utterances of this sort are not few in number. But the main thing which should be pointed out is not the fact that such utterances are made, but the fact that they do not meet with a due rebuff, which merely encourages ever new provocations on their part.

This press is completely in the hands of the owners of various newspaper enterprises and is doing what it is told to do, presenting its literary exercises as an expression of public opinion and pretending to be the mouthpiece for the feelings, desires and aspirations of the American people.

It can be safely stated, however, that the American people, as well as the peoples of other democratic countries, is against a new war, the wounds and scars of the last one not having healed yet on their bodies. In the majority of cases, however, the people has no possibility to speak of its needs and desires in the books, magazines and newspapers published in millions of copies. This is naturally to the advantage of the propagators and instigators of a new war, who utilise their advantageous position to the detriment of the interests of the peace-loving peoples.

What I have stated above should be amplified with a few words regarding the propaganda for a new war which is being conducted by various scientific institutions and universities.

Mention should be made in this connection of the symposium entitled "Absolute Weapon," recently published by Yale University, in which a group of learned authors, speaking of the atomic weapon and of control over the application of atomic energy, could not do better than come to the conclusion that "the most effective existing method of preventing war is the ability to start an atomic war literally at a moment's notice."

Under the mask of scientific objectivity, this book describes diverse variants of an atomic war and says that if the American air forces "succeed in making use of bases in Northern Canada, then the towns of the Soviet Union will be at a considerably shorter distance," and that "it will be possible, using our bases, to demolish the majority of large cities of any other Power."

In this book, devoted to the so-called "absolute weapon" (the atom bomb) the group of American authors indulges in dubious speculations to the effect that "if we (that is, the Americans), are not able to deal the first blow and thus to eliminate a threat before it materialises, that is, to undertake something which our Constitution definitely forbids us to do, then we are doomed to perish as a result of atomic attack . . . ."

This book, under the guise of "scientific" discussion, speaks of the danger of "unilateral actions on the part of this or that great Power," and says that if any "unilateral actions" are taken in future, they are most likely to come from the Soviet Union. This argument leads to the provocative conclusion that "a serious danger for the U.S.A. lies in the fact that, without due warning on our part (that is, on the part of the U.S.A.), the Soviet Union one fine day may begin a war against us."

The above extracts from this book are sufficient to make it clear how variegated are the forms and methods of propaganda in the United States for a new war directed first of all against the Soviet Union.

How far the propaganda for a new war goes, accompanied by demands for manufacturing the most homicidal kinds of weapons, may be judged by a report published in the **Chemical Engineering News,** where, in a section entitled "Science and Civilisation," all the murderous advantages of bacteriological warfare are openly propagated. The same end is served by an article in the magazine **Army Ordnance** about a new toxin, in the research of which, according to the magazine, 50 million dollars have been spent, expenses which, to use the author's phrase, "are fully justified," since one ounce of this toxin suffices to kill 180 million human beings.

While reading all this so-called scientific literature, one realises what devilish activity is being developed by the instigators and propagators of a new war with a view to creating a certain atmosphere, dazing the minds of the people with a war craze.

The frame of mind created in public circles by propaganda of this sort, disseminated by reactionaries all over the world, and particularly clearly felt in the spheres of American influence, may be judged by an article by the English journalist Vernon Bartlett, published early in August this year in the London **News Chronicle.** This article contains the following significant lines:—

"The moment a man arriving in the zone under General MacArthur's Command finds himself in Okinauwa on his way to Japan, he is shocked by the tone of the American newspapers' references to the Soviet Union. The American soldier certainly cannot be blamed if, after reading these newspapers, he comes to the conclusion that war against Russia is apparently a matter of a few months. The Japanese would be fools if they did not take notice of this frame of mind verging on hysteria."

This report tallies with a report of the magazine **News Week** which published an article by the foreign editor of this magazine, Kern, who recently returned from Japan.

Kern says that in Japan the American generals are systematically influencing Japanese military men, convincing them of the imminence and necessity of a war against the Soviet Union. Kern reports that a considerable number of Japanese "suicide" pilots, who came to American aerodromes, have declared their readiness to take part on a new war against the Soviet Union which they had heard had already begun. Kern points out that the Japanese would probably welcome the possibility of fighting against Russians and that the Japanese Army maintained by the United States would probably be able to "seize Russian Asia" to the east of Lake Baikal.

"The domination of the United States at sea," Kern adds, "would make a landing in almost any place possible, while Japan itself would enjoy safety under the protection of the superior American air fleet and navy. These menacing strategic facts explain why the absence of Russia at the peace conference for Japan will never be felt."

MAIN DIRECTIONS OF WAR PROPAGANDA

For a long time already has this propaganda for a war been systematically conducted in the United States of America. The main directions of this propaganda are as follows:

1. Fear of the Soviet Union as a mighty Power which allegedly aims at world domination and is preparing an attack on the U.S.A. is propagated and inculcated in all possible ways, by shameless use of various slanderous fabrications and provocative outbursts against the U.S.S.R.

2. Open propaganda is being conducted for increase of armaments, for the further improvement of atomic weapons, while no attempt whatsoever is being made to restrict and, even more so, to prohibit the use of atomic weapons.

3. Open appeals are being made calling for an immediate attack on the U.S.S.R., accompanied by provocative attempts to frighten people with the military strength of the Soviet Union on the one hand, and to convince them of the necessity to make use of the present situation when, in the opinion of the instigators of a war, the U.S.S.R. is weak in a military respect, having not yet completely recovered after the Second World War.

4. The war psychosis, incited and fanned by the militarist and expansionist circles of the U.S.A., is being maintained in American society by all possible means.

Progressive people in the U.S.A. are seeing this and are making efforts to expose the war preparations now under way in America, and to sober the minds of the people possessed with the war craze. These progressive figures of the U.S.A. and the progressive section of the American press are exposing the war preparations which are being conducted in the U.S.A. on the instigation of military groups and various reactionary organisations.

Thus the chairman of the organisation of "Progressive Citizens of America," Kingdon, wrote in **New York Times** in this connection that in the centre of all this propaganda are militaristically minded people holding high posts in the War and Navy Departments, members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, leaders of monopolies lending an attentive ear to the call for war, and some representatives of clerical circles. The military party, Kingdon goes on, hopes that it will be possible to engineer some incident and to use it as a pretext for dropping atom bombs.

The magazine **American Mercury,** in its issue of February this year, analysed the plan of the American Army in preparation for a third world war. This article states that "industrial preparedness constitutes at present the key to all Government planning in Washington where the possibility of a third world war is taken into consideration."

Since this conclusion has been dawn by such military authorities as Patterson and Royall and other leaders of the American Army, this article acquired particular significance.

The above-stated facts make it fully evident that the main instigators of the propaganda and the provocation of a new war are American reactionary circles which pursue only their self-seeking interests and are ready for the sake of these interests to plunge humanity into a new, devastating world war.

The American reactionaries are not alone in these efforts. They are supported by their adherents in some other countries who are busy framing military-political or simply political Western, Northern and other blocs.

In this connection mention should be made of some utterances of British political figures who, true enough, do not speak so resolutely as their American counterparts, but act mainly on the quiet, though in the same alarmist spirit.

Everybody will remember Churchill's Fulton speech in which, referring to the "general strategic conception," as he called his main utterances, the British ex-Premier committed "a dangerous act calculated to sew the seeds of discord between the allied States and to hinder their co-operation," as Generalissimo Stalin justly said in this connection, emphasising that "the orientation of Mr. Churchill's line is that of war, a call to war against the U.S.S.R."

We all remember that Churchill opposed to the organisation of the United Nations, as an association of people speaking in different languages, the association of people speaking only English, thus following the example of Hitler who began "unleashing the war by proclaiming a race theory and declaring that only the German-speaking people constituted a superior nation." (Stalin.)

We remember also many other points from this speech in which Churchill resorted to insinuations and slander against the Soviet Union.

Churchill senior is echoed by Churchill junior who, in his statement made in Sydney on September 3, broke the record in warmongering.

The family utterances of the Churchills in themselves would be interesting only to a few, but they are symptoms of the dark work which is being conducted in certain British circles against the cause of peace and which is directed towards the organisation of a new war, either in the form of repeating Churchill's notorious military march on Russia or in any other form, no matter which.

In this connection mention should also be made of the fact that the Anglo-American combined Chiefs of Staff continue functioning in Washington to this day. It is known that on this combined Staff Great Britain is represented by a Military Mission headed by General Morgan and the U.S.A. by a Military Mission headed by Admiral Leahy. This Anglo-American Joint Staff, which was set up for co-ordinating military operations against Germany and Japan, still exists, for nobody knows what purpose, despite the fact that the war ended two years ago.

There is no need to list the numerous facts of the unbridled, slanderous and provocative campaign for instigating a war against the Soviet Union, going beyond all permissible limits, which for a long time has been conducted in Turkey. The Turkish reactionary press strives to keep abreast with the American reactionary press. "The crawfish with its claw follows the horse with its hoof" says a Russian proverb.

The Turkish press, which day in, day out disseminates abominable slanders against the Soviet Union, which allegedly plans to seize Turkey (the newspaper **Aksam**), indulges in provocative prophesies to the effect that "the United Nations will try to deal a decisive blow to Russia from the Black Sea coast" (**Demokracy Hsan**). It instigates the Turkish people for preparations for a war and simultaneously extolls the military might of the United States of America, asserting that it inevitably must join the war against the U.S.S.R.

A certain Daver, in an article published in the notorious **Cumhuriyet**, declares with cynical frankness that war is "the only way to set Moscow on the right path." He is seconded by Deputy Ati, editor-in-chief of **Ulus**, who declares that "it is high time for America and Britain to take more decisive measures."

The editor of the newspaper **Tanin**, Yalcin, notorious for his provocative activity, follows suit. In September of last year he wrote that the time had come to "invite the Russians to a sincere talk to a table over which the atom bomb should be suspended." He demanded that an ultimatum be presented to the Russians and declared that "atom bombs would rain on them if they did not agree to establish a new international order." The same Yalcin recently wrote that the language of ultimatums is the only one to be used in talking to Moscow and he demanded: "unite the whole world against Russia."

Similar provocative appeals are voiced by other venal scribes, as for instance Advyz of the reactionary Turkish paper **Erkenekon**, Professor Nihat Erim, Deputy and Member of the Foreign Committee of the Mejlis, and several others.

This provocative clamour is vigorously supported by the Greek reactionary newspapers, in particular by the newspaper **Elinikon Ema** which the other day published an article saying: "Let the Russians not forget that the Russian main oil source in Baku lies within a mere 100 kilometres, as on a platter."

And all this goes on with impunity before the eyes of the whole world.

Such are the intrigues of the enemies of peace, instigating a new war for the sake of their selfish interests, for the sake of making profits out of war which brings new sufferings and disasters to mankind. No doubt this campaign of instigation of a new war is severely and resolutely condemned by millions of people.

The Soviet Government believes that such a situation is intolerable for the conscience of the peoples who bore the entire burden of the recent Second World War, who paid with their blood, sufferings and with devastation for this war imposed upon the peace-loving peoples.

SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR MEASURES AGAINST PROPAGANDA FOR A NEW WAR.

On behalf of the Soviet Government, the delegation of the Soviet Union declares that the U.S.S.R. believes it to be the urgent task of the United Nations Organisation to take measures against the propaganda for a new war which is now being conducted in certain countries, and first and foremost in the United States. For this purpose, the Soviet delegation proposes that the following resolution be adopted:—

"1. The United Nations Organisation condemns the criminal propaganda for a new war, conducted by reactionary circles in a number of countries, in particular in the United States of America, Turkey, and Greece by means of dissemination of all kinds of fabrications through the press, radio, films, public speeches containing undisguised appeals for an attack on peace-loving democratic countries.

"2. The United Nations Organisation regards permission of, and the more so support for, such propaganda for a new war, which inevitably will become a third world war, as a violation of the duty assumed by the members of UNO, the Charter of which demands 'the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace' and 'not to endanger international peace, security and justice'. (Article 1, Para. 2; Article 2, Para. 3.)

"3. The United Nations Organisation believes it necessary to urge the Governments of all countries to forbid, under pain of criminal punishment, propaganda for war in any form, and to take measures to prevent and stop propaganda for war as an activity dangerous to the public and threatening the vital interests and well-being of the peace-loving peoples.

"4. The Organisation of the United Nations reaffirms the necessity for the earliest implementation of the decision of the General Assembly of December 14, 1946, on the reduction of armaments, and of the decision of the General Assembly of January 24, 1946, concerning the exclusion from national armaments of atomic weapons and all other basic armaments destined for mass destruction, and believes that the implementation of these decisions meets the interests of all peace-loving peoples and would constitute the strongest blow at the propaganda and instigators of a new war."

Generalissimo Stalin, in his message of greetings to Moscow, said that Moscow is the herald of the struggle for permanent peace and friendship among peoples, the herald of the struggle against the incendiaries of a new war.

These words of the leader of the Soviet peoples found a deep response in the hearts of the Soviet people and, we believe, in the hearts of all common, honest, progressive people the world over. The Soviet Union will spare no efforts for the successful accomplishment of this great task.

WARNING ON INFLATION DANGER

E. W. CAMPBELL

(Report to the Central Committee Meeting, 14th September, 1947.)

IN the crisis of 1929, the currency crisis did not break out until the economic crisis as a whole was fairly well advanced. The currency crisis in the 1929-33 period arose out of the crisis of overproduction and was mainly caused by the demand for money as a means of payment, both within the countries and between different countries on the world market.

In the boom period preceding the outbreak of the crisis, credit had been used extensively to facilitate the exchange of commodities on both the home and foreign markets. While the demand for commodities continued and while goods continued to circulate, credit could and did expand. This expansion of credit is a two-sided process, but most of the capitalist economists, and particularly those on whom the Labor Party seems to rely, see only one side of the process. They believe that credit expansion creates expanding production and expanding markets. There is some truth in this. Credit expansion does facilitate circulation of goods and in that sense brings about an expansion of markets and consequently production.

But those economists whose doctrines are accepted by the Labor Party as gospel fail to see that expanding markets and production are in themselves the pre-requisite for credit expansion. In other words, production is primary, money and credit is secondary.

In the 1929 crisis when production finally outpaced consumption and prices began to fall, the whole credit structure ultimately collapsed. When

bills fell due money had to be found as a means of payment of obligations incurred when credit was free and easy. It had to be real money and not ideal money, not credit money. Goods in stock had to be sacrificed at any price to get hold of real money to meet obligations and the currency crisis of 1929 reacted on the economic crisis as a whole, tending to make it more severe and protracted. Ultimately the currency crisis was solved in the anarchic manner characteristic of the way in which all capitalism's problems are "solved", by a wave of bankruptcies. These bankruptcies cancelled out, or helped to cancel out, the mountain of accumulated debt, just as the physical destruction of commodities helped to cancel out the mountain of goods choking the channels of world trade.

Today the currency crisis is developing at the beginning of the crisis rather than at a stage when the crisis is already fairly well advanced. The currency crisis is taking the form of a world dollar shortage. The present currency crisis is caused not so much by the demand for money as a means of payment, but more by the demand for money as a means of purchase.

Most countries today want to buy goods from the United States of America but have no dollars and little gold with which to buy. They cannot get dollars because the American production machine is so colossal that there are very few goods America needs to purchase abroad.

This dollar crisis also arises from the fundamental contradictions of capitalism. America's gigantic production machine can more than meet the requirements of the home market and still leave a tremendous surplus of commodities for export. Other countries need these goods but lack the means of purchase. Thus, much earlier than in 1929, a currency crisis is developing which threatens to react on the crisis in general with very disastrous effects which will undoubtedly be very severely felt in Australia.

One aftermath of the 1929 crisis was that Australia went off the gold standard. The convertibility of Australian paper money and the legal obligation on the Commonwealth Bank to keep a gold reserve of 25% of the paper money were abolished and no longer exist. The reserve of the bank today, the backing of the Australian note issue today, is kept almost entirely in sterling and not in gold. This was all right and functioned smoothly while sterling was still a world currency, still freely convertible into other currencies including dollars, but sterling is no longer a world currency today, it has dropped to the position of being a bloc currency, a currency in which only the Dominions and other countries closely associated in trade with Britain deal. It looks as though sterling will soon fall into complete disfavor.

If sterling does eventually become valueless Australia will be severely hit, because, as I mentioned, the note reserve today is kept almost entirely in sterling and not gold.

There already exists a serious potential threat of inflation in Australia. This threat does not arise from the meagre wage gains won by the workers in struggle, as alleged by some Labor leaders, but from an entirely different source.

The Australian note issue today is somewhere between £202 and £204 million, of which about £19 million is in the hands of the banks and £183 to £185 million in the hands of the public. Before the war the note issue in Australia was about £33 million, which seems to indicate very clearly that inflation already exists in this country.

The factors which determine the amount of currency required to circulate the goods available are well known.

The required amount of money is determined first by the volume of goods — the volume of commodities to be circulated; secondly by the total prices of all of these goods, and thirdly by the speed at which they circulate.

An increase in the volume of goods available and in the total price, would tend to create the need for more money to circulate these goods. However, if the greater quantity of goods circulated more rapidly, this would have a counteracting effect and would minimise the amount of extra money needed.

There has been an increase in production and prices since 1939.

The national income in 1945-46 was up 55 per cent. on the pre-war level. The note issue, however, has increased almost six times. There has been an increase in the volume of goods and prices, but there has also been an increase in the rate of circulation. So there is far more paper money in existence today than is required to circulate commodities already in existence and those coming into existence.

Many times more notes are in the hands of the public than are required to circulate the commodities, clearly indicating the existence of inflation.

There is one factor which is preventing the full effects of this inflation being felt and that is that all the notes in existence are not really in circulation. A big proportion of these notes are hoarded in the hands of profiteers and black marketeers.

This money does not enter into legitimate circulation of commodities. It is being used to finance black market motor deals, real estate deals and so on.

It is quite clear that the dollar shortage and the measures proposed by the Government to drastically reduce imports not only from dollar countries but from Britain, will result in further shortages of a whole range of commodities like cars, films, tobacco, petrol, etc., giving a new lease of life to the black market in Australia. There will be a drastic curtailment of imports from Britain arising from the British Government's choice to send more British goods to dollar countries and less to sterling countries like Australia.

The black market note hoard is not yet entering the market for ordinary consumer goods in a big way (although part of it is being used to divert goods from the legitimate market to the black market). It is held out from the legitimate market by controls like the Treasury control of new capital investment, real estate deals, rationing and so on.

If sterling does collapse (so far Britain has been able to stave off bankruptcy because the British Government is not a private concern) there will not be any backing for the Australian note issue. Inflation will break out in full force and the whole system of controls will soon be destroyed.

If this does happen the savings of the workers and the middle class will be wiped out overnight Australia will experience conditions similar to Germany after the first world war.

I suggest that the Party should demand the recall and cancellation of the present note issue and the re-issuing of new notes. This, more than anything else, will deal a very severe blow to the black marketeers.

Britain's dollar crisis has a bearing on the Australian Government's bank nationalisation programme.

The Australian banking system today is only two-thirds Australian, one-third is British controlled. The same applies to the shareholders. Of 70,000 shareholders in nine private banks, 25,000 do not reside in Australia — a little more than one-third of the total. The same applies to share capital. More than one-third is held outside Australia and one-third of the shareholders of so-called Australian banks do not reside in Australia. The Australian banking system is a long way from being a purely Australian banking system.

We find that 34 directors of seven banks live outside Australia, as against about 24 who reside in Australia.

So here you can see that the nationalisation of banking among other things will convert the banking system into a completely and thoroughly Australian system.

I do not suggest that this enters into the calculations of the Labor Party. When we say that their objective is to strengthen Australian capitalism we by no means maintain that they are fully conscious of their role. We mean that objectively this is their role and we see that they are fulfilling their role of strengthening Australian capitalism by nationalising the banks.

During the war it is well known that the British capitalists had to dispose of assets to American capitalists, and in the developing crisis it may well be that Britain may have to carry this process still further. It is not improbable that banking capital now in the hands of British capitalists may pass into United States hands.

Therefore, I consider we should bring out more sharply the point that nationalisation of banks would completely free the Australian banking system of all foreign influence and make it a thoroughly Australian system. We must come forward as the champions of the Australian people by stressing this.

DEMOCRACY OF A NEW TYPE

PROFESSOR EUGENE VARGA, Moscow

ONE of the most important political results of the Second World War is the emergence of democratic states of a new type: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and, also, Albania. We understand by a "democracy of a new type" a state of affairs in a country where feudal remnants — large-scale landownership — have been eliminated, where the system of private ownership of the means of production still exists but large enterprises in the spheres of industry, transport and credit are in state hands, while the State itself and its apparatus of coercion serve not the interests of a monopolistic bourgeoisie but the interests of the working people in town and countryside.

The social structure of these States differs from all those hitherto known to us; it is something totally new in the history of mankind. It is neither a bourgeois dictatorship nor a proletarian dictatorship. The old State apparatus has not been smashed, as in the Soviet Union, but reorganised by means of a continuous inclusion in it of the supporters of the new regime. They are not capitalist States in the ordinary sense of the word. Neither, however, are they Socialist states. The basis for their transition to Socialism is given by the nationalisation of the most important means of production and by the essential character of the State. They may, with the maintenance of the present State apparatus, gradually pass over to Socialism, developing to an ever-increasing extent the socialist sector which already exists side by side with the simple commodity sector (peasant and artisan) and the capitalist sector, which has lost its dominant position.

The general historical prerequisite, applying in all cases, for the emergence of these states of democracy of a new type is the general crisis of capitalism, which has very considerably intensified in consequence of the Second World War.

The historical conditions specific to these countries are:—

1. The discrediting of the ruling classes and their political parties in the eyes of the broad masses of the people, as a result of their policy of collaboration with Hitler fascism before and during the war, which led to the occupation of these countries by German troops and the fierce suppression and impoverishment of the working masses.

2. The leading role of the Communist parties in the resistance movement, as a result of which unity of the working class was achieved and a people's front formed for struggle against fascism, large-scale landownership and big capital — the economic basis of fascism.

3. The moral, diplomatic and economic support which these countries find in the Soviet Union. Without this support the states of democracy of a new type would be hard put to it to withstand the attacks of reaction, both external and internal. Very edifying in this respect is the fate of Greece.

The following features are characteristic of the economy of the states of a democracy of a new type:

Private ownership of the means of production continues to exist; the peasant is the owner of his land, the artisan of his workshop, the trader of his shop, the small capitalist of his factory. Big enterprises, however, in mining, industry, transport and banking are nationalised and are under state management. There still exists the appropriation of surplus value, but it is restricted to a relatively narrow sphere* — not only because there is considerably less privately-owned capital but also because the trade unions and the State successfully protect the workers against the capitalists.

We would like, here, to stress the decisive significance of the special character of the State for the development of the economies of these countries. Where the State is controlled by monopoly capital and serves its interests it can own a very considerable part of the means of production without in the slightest degree altering the character of the social system. In Hitler Germany the railways, Imperial Bank, Discount Bank, Prussian State Bank, large industrial enterprises (e.g. Hermann Goering-Werke), power stations, agricultural and forest areas, etc., were the property of the Reich, individual lands or municipalities. The existence of such considerable public property, however, did not at all alter the fact that the economy of Hitler Germany remained a monopolistic economy and the social order a bourgeois one. The change in the character of the State — its transformation from a weapon of domination in the hands of the propertied classes into the state of the working people — this is what determines the real significance of the transfer of a decisive part of the means of production into the hands of the State in the countries of a democracy of a new type.

The change in the character of the State explains also why the influence of nationalisation of the distribution of the national revenue is totally different in the democratic States of a new type from that in the bourgeois-democratic countries such as Great Britain.

* The bourgeoisie nevertheless, which still almost entirely dominates in the sphere of trade, receives large profits, thanks to the sale of the commodities of the socialised enterprises; withal it frequently enjoys the support of former officials who have remained in the State apparatus.

Nationalisation in the new democratic States signifies a special sort of economic revolution. The property of traitors to the country, of fascist capitalists, was confiscated without compensation. Other big capitalists received compensation, but their income after compensation was only a small part of the surplus value which they previously appropriated.*

The contradictions between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation have sharpened to such a degree as the result of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism that in the post-war period the wave of nationalisation has embraced almost all countries with fully-developed capitalist relations, with the exception of the U.S.A. Nationalisation in these countries is an attempt to solve the contradictions between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation within the framework of the bourgeois social system. It is precisely this which explains the introduction of nationalisation with full compensation for the capitalists. Thus in Britain, for example, the share-holders of electricity companies were given compensation to the amount of £450,000,000 sterling. This sum was calculated on the basis of the Stock Exchange value of the shares before nationalisation. Similarly, compensation amounting to £1,035,000,000 was fixed for owners of transport enterprises due to be nationalised. This means that the share-holders were not harmed. The distribution of the national income remains almost unchanged.†

These various methods of carrying out nationalisation show the difference between a bourgeois democracy and a democracy of the new type.

The economic importance of the nationalisation of big industrial enterprises naturally differs very greatly in various countries of democracy of a new type. In countries where agriculture predominates and where industrial development is inconsiderable — Bulgaria and Yugoslavia — its importance is relatively less. In Poland, which has a big coal mining and heavy industry, the importance of nationalisation is far greater, the more so as it extends also to industrial enterprises of medium size. In Czechoslovakia, which is much more highly developed industrially, and where industry was expanded by the Germans during the war, nationalisation plays the greatest role, despite the fact that in this country it embraces a smaller number of medium enterprises than in Poland. While industry in Yugoslavia and pre-war Poland was almost completely destroyed during the war, the industry of Czechoslovakia suffered extremely little from military operations. The fact that in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia it was not necessary to nationalise so many individual plants does not detract from the importance of this measure for the future economic development of these countries, which are being transformed from agrarian appendages of Germany, as they were before the war, into independent agrarian-industrial countries.

* Difficulties arose in connection with the fact that British and American capitalists were partners in numerous enterprises taken over by the State. Many capitalists, who have fled abroad, are rapidly becoming American citizens and demanding, with the full support of the authorities of their new "motherland," full compensation or the return of their enterprises.

† Nevertheless, bourgeois nationalisation also signifies progress in the direction of the new type of democracy.

The second important feature of the economies of the countries of democracy of a new type is the complete and final elimination of large-scale landlordism, of this feudal survival inside the capitalist system of economy. The social and political power of the big landowners, dating back a thousand years, has been destroyed. The big landed properties were confiscated by the State and distributed among peasants having little land and landless agricultural laborers. The number of peasant households (i.e. private owners of land) increased very considerably in these countries.

The division of the lands among many hundreds of thousands of peasants who had little or no land has converted the overwhelming majority of these peasants into loyal supporters of the new regime. The mistake made by the Hungarian Communists in 1919, when they wanted to leap over an essential historical stage of converting the confiscated large landed properties into state farms, instead of dividing them up among the peasants and so satisfying the land hunger, has nowhere been repeated.

The cultivation of land by the peasants using their own resources and giving them the opportunity of selling their produce on the market (in some countries only after fulfilling tax payments and deliveries to the State) make possible the preservation or re-emergence of commodity capitalist relations in the economy of the country. As Lenin pointed out "small-scale production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale."

Thus, the social order in the States of democracy of a new type is not a socialist order, but a peculiar, new, transitional form. The contradiction between the productive forces and relations of production becomes mitigated in proportion as the relative weight of the socialist sector increases.

The nationalisation of the land of big landowners and its distribution among the peasants had a different significance in different countries. In peasant countries like Bulgaria and old Serbia there existed no large-scale land ownership in the proper sense of the word. Only a relatively small amount of land could be distributed among the peasants there. In other parts of Yugoslavia, previously belonging to Hungary, e.g. in Croatia and the Banat, considerably more land could be distributed. In Czechoslovakia an agrarian reform was carried out already after the first World War; here the estates, first and foremost of expelled Germans, were distributed among the peasants.

In Poland the agrarian reform is of decisive importance for the political development of the country. Here the position of the peasantry was at its worst. "Polonia infernum rusticorum" — "Poland is the peasant's hell" — was said of it already some hundreds of years ago. Here landownership of the feudal type was retained in its entirety, both on the territory of pre-war Poland and in the Western districts which were previously under German domination. The elimination of landlordism opens up a new era in the economic and political life of Poland.

It is quite clear that the class of big landowners by no means intends to accept these changes peacefully but is resisting the new regime in every way. Nationalisation of the land does not mean that the big landowners immediately lose their political influence. True, some of them fled abroad, but many remained inside the country. A considerable part of their property was in the form of valuables, works of art, furniture, houses, which remained in their hands. In many cases the former big landowners, e.g. in Poland, succeeded in penetrating into the State apparatus, above all into the agricultural administration, and in sabotaging the carrying out of the agrarian reform. More important still is the fact that there remained in the country a stratum of people enjoying some influence, whose existence wholly or partially depended on the big landowners. Among these are the rural clergy, notaries, judges and teachers, who regularly received money, food, firewood, etc., from the landowners; various estate employees, agronomists and other persons who were in the service of the landlord; State officials, judges, officers, who obtained their posts through the influence of the landlord; deputies elected by the population at his behest. In short, the elimination of the economic basis of the power of the agrarians does not signify simultaneous destruction of their political influence inside the country.

The same can be said of the big bourgeoisie. Although their enterprises were nationalised, in the majority of cases considerable personal property still remained in their hands. A large part of the former managers, leading engineers and other persons in the service of this bourgeoisie remained in the nationalised enterprises.

To this day, persons sponsored by the big bourgeoisie are to be found in the State apparatus and the various economic organisations — Chambers of Commerce and so forth — which continue to exist. The representatives of the big bourgeoisie have close contacts with the middle bourgeoisie, whose enterprises have not been expropriated. Since the nationalisation of their enterprises they have not yet completely lost their influence.

Here, too, the general rule that changes in the economic basis do not immediately evoke corresponding changes in politics continues to operate. Deprived of their economic power, the landlords together with the expropriated and unexpropriated

capitalists and their adherents, fight with every means at their disposal against the new democratic regime, organise oppositional political parties and through priests, teachers and notaries already debauched by them, conduct agitation among the new peasants (who often lack the necessary means of production) for giving back land to the landlords. They frighten the peasants by telling them they will be hanged in the event of the old system being restored, because they "stole" the land. They organise plots against the government, arm bandits, etc. They seek and find active support in reactionary circles abroad.

The big bourgeoisie, still to a degree playing a dominant part in home and foreign trade,* struggles against the new regime in the economic sphere as well, attempting to plunder the State and discredit the social system. With the help of accomplices bribed by them in the State enterprises and the State apparatus, they often obtain commodities at less than cost price, hide them, send them to foreign countries or sell them inside the country exclusively in exchange for gold or foreign currency. The representatives of the big bourgeoisie try to cause inflation or increase the existing inflation, thereby to provoke dissatisfaction among the working people and turn them against the new regime.

In a word, it is by no means a peaceful idyll that reigns in the countries of new democracy but, on the contrary, a sharp, extremely fierce class struggle that is in progress, just as in the old capitalist countries.

As regards the class struggle, however, there exists a difference in principle between the State of democracy of a new type and the old bourgeois countries. In the old bourgeois countries the State is a weapon of domination in the hands of the propertied classes. The entire State apparatus — officials, judges, police, and, as a last resort, the standing army — **is on the side of the propertied** classes.†

The opposite is to be seen in the countries of new democracy. Here the State protects the interests of the working people against those who live by appropriating surplus value.‡ When conflicts arise the armed forces of the State are to be found, not on the side of the capitalists, but on the side of the workers. It is wholly inconceivable that the armies of these States should be used against the working people. State officials and judges serve the interests of the working people.

*The co-operative bodies are still not sufficiently strong to squeeze out private capital in the circulation of commodities, and in many cases they are tied still to the capitalists.

†This does not, of course, prevent the organs of the bourgeois State in certain cases settling wage disputes between capitalists and workers in favor of the latter. This, however, never happens should it threaten the foundations of the bourgeois social system—private ownership of the means of production. The passage of social legislation—the shorter working day, health insurance, unemployment benefits—can be explained by the well-understood interests of the bourgeoisie.

This distinction vividly demonstrates the fact that power is in the hands of the people — the new character of the States in the countries indicated. The State influences the economic life of the country far more and in a different direction than in the old bourgeois countries, though there too the economic functions of the State have greatly extended as compared with the pre-war period. In the countries of democracy of a new type, however, the trend of economic policy is different in principle. In the capitalist countries the economic policy of the State serves the interests of monopoly capital in particular.

In the States of democracy of a new type economic policy is directed to strengthening and developing the socialised sector of economy, accelerating economic development, improving the position of the working people, establishing a fair distribution of income in accordance with services rendered to society. To raise the standard of life of the whole people requires an increased output of production. The economic policy, therefore, aims at the utmost development of the productive forces and the elimination of restrictions on their development caused under capitalism by the scramble for profits.

To realise these aims, the States of democracy of a new type seek to influence the development of economy in a planned way. Economic plans calculated over several years have been drawn up.

It is obvious that there can be no planned economy, as understood in the U.S.S.R., in these countries. It is impossible owing to the presence of private ownership of the means of production.

Genuine planned economy is possible only under Socialism, when all the means of production are nationalised.

However, nationalisation of the decisive enterprises in mining, industry, transport and credit gives the States of new democracy far greater possibility, than in the case of the States of monopoly capital, to influence by means of planning the economic activity of individual small private producers, the more so because the planned influence of the State is in the interests of the overwhelming majority of these small private producers, primarily the peasantry, and is not against their interest. Undoubtedly, this influence will increase as the countries of new democracy become more industrialised. All these facts show that the planned influence of the State on the economy of the countries of new democracy is sufficiently effective not only to be an obstacle to their reconversion into capitalist social systems of the old type, but also to encourage the development of these countries in the direction of Socialism. Not only does the general line of historical development push them along this road, but also concrete practical needs.

Thus, for example, many former agricultural workers have been given land but do not possess the means of production, tractive power and implements, with which to cultivate it. The means

of production of the big estates — tractors, steam-ploughs, etc. — distributed among the peasants are unsuitable for cultivating small peasant plots. The new rural proprietors, lacking the means of production, are threatened by the danger of becoming economically dependent on the prosperous peasants who, for money, or part of the harvest or labor, will cultivate their lands.

The practical needs of the peasants who possess land but not the means of production, urge them, therefore, towards joint cultivation of the land, in order to make use of the existing means of production which can only be used to advantage on a big farm. Various forms of artels have arisen. In a number of artels the peasants jointly plough and cultivate the land. After this the boundaries of the individual plots are re-established and each peasant gathers the harvest on his own field.

In Bulgaria, where old traditions of cultivating land on a co-operative basis exist, co-operatives joint cultivation of the land have been formed on a voluntary basis. All the land of the members of the co-operative (which often includes all the peasants of a village) is cultivated jointly and the harvesting is also done jointly. But the harvest is distributed not according to the purely Socialist principle of the number of days worked: besides the number of days worked, account is also taken of the size of the land which the peasant put at the disposal of the co-operative and also the amount of the means of production put in. Hence, this is a compromise between the Socialist principle and one based on private ownership of the means of production. It is a solution of the problem which corresponds to the transitional character of the social system.

By giving support to this new type of agriculture co-operative in the form of credits, tractors and seed, etc., the Government encourages its development and extension and influences the development of economy in a progressive direction.

(To be continued)

YOUTH AND THE COMING CRISIS

"YOUTH ACTIVIST"

THE report on the coming economic crisis by Cde. Dixon to the last C.C. Plenum and the subsequent discussion and decisions are of vital importance to the labor movement in the task of winning the youth.

Under the present-day mode of capitalist production, young workers are playing an increasingly important role. With the development of large-scale industry and its accompanying improvements in production technique, machinery tends more and more to replace the skilled tradesman. This means a greater and greater demand for process workers and for the replacement of the "dear" labor of adults by the "cheaper" labor of youth. Whilst it is true that the present "boom" hides this to a large degree, the tragic slogan of "too old at 21" will, unless the crisis can be successfully combatted, shortly be as prevalent (at least) as in the years 1929 to 1933.

In view of the nearness of the crisis (already being evidenced in America) and the indications of its being more prolonged and much deeper than previously, it would be well to examine some experiences and effects of the last crisis on the youth.

Figures obtained from Commonwealth Year Books of 1929 to 1934, although incomplete, indicate a big drop in the employment of youth as soon as they attain the age when they are no longer considered a paying proposition, i.e., when they cease to be a cheap means of exploitation — the age at which they are sacked depending on the different industries and on the level of wages for such industries. The number of young people affected by the "cuts in economy" and the effect on them cannot be measured in mere figures. From the point of view of developing Australia as a nation alone, the effects are tremendous. Many thousands of young people wishing to get married could not do so. Many thousands who did were faced with the prospect of starting life in bag humpies and "love on the dole," faced with the prospect of bringing children into a world which could not adequately feed and clothe them because there was "too much" food and clothing. The stories of the frustration of living in a society which could not "afford" to employ them and the degenerating effect of pool rooms and street corner gangs needs no repetition.

The youth of today have not yet experienced an economic crisis. They find it difficult to conceive of unemployment and the sack at 18 or 19. The effects of capitalist education, of "office boy to managing director" and "equal opportunity for all" ideas, still have a great deal of influence. Nevertheless, the objective reality of working for a boss for low wages and under mostly rotten conditions, does go a long way to overcoming this influence and strips them of many of their illusions. This process will be more than accentuated in the crisis about to break.

As from next year, industry will also be faced with the problem of finding jobs for more young people than before, because of the influx of greater numbers of youth who were born in those years from 1933 onwards, when the worst of the crisis had passed, and the population again began to increase. This influx will, in all probability, coincide with the developing crisis, and even more acute problems of finding employment for them will arise.

Besides these effects of mass unemployment among the youth, there is yet another aspect to be considered.

At the historic Seventh Congress of the Communist International (1935) Kuusinen, in his youth report, made the following points:

". . . . During the last few years the condition of the youth has changed. We refer not only to protracted and chronic unemployment. LACK OF OCCUPATION has already become a mass phenomenon among the youth.

". . . . Formerly a certain — even if slight — number of the working class youth had the opportunity of rising out of their class to something 'higher,' to the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, or to the petty bourgeois intelligentsia; in exceptional cases a young worker could become a doctor, architect or teacher. These exceptional cases were sufficient to foster reformist illusions among the greater part of the working class youth.

"Today, on the contrary, entire sections of the working class youth are becoming DECLASSED, that is to say, they no longer have the opportunity of rising into the class of their fathers; they have no chance at all of finding work, or of learning a trade. These young people are sinking to the level of the LUMPEN PROLETARIAT, are falling a prey to hunger, poverty, crime, prostitution, etc."

How well may these words apply again, in the very near future, in this country.

Communists are often accused of desiring the introduction of a society which will "break up the family." There can be no more glaring indictment of capitalism (and the hypocrisy of its defenders) than the fact that during the last depression large numbers of young Australian women were forced to prostitution in order to exist, or that, because of the iniquitous means test, which prevented more than one member of the family being employed, young people were forced to leave home and seek jobs in the country. And yet when the Communist Party lays the blame for these things on the society which breeds hunger, poverty, crime and prostitution, and when Communists claim that a Socialist society will rid the world of such degradation, we are accused of wishing to "break up the family."

Especially in view of what took place in Germany, it would be well for us to again heed Kuusinen's words on the DECLASSING of the youth. It was precisely this declassed section of the population which formed the core of the bestial Hitlerite S.S. Guards and Stormtroopers. It was these youth who, educated by capitalism and filled with bourgeois ideology, gained no experience in working class struggle, had never come in contact with the trade unions or other organisations of the labor movement, and who were taught to believe that their enemy was not the capitalist class but the labor movement, with results that the whole world knows only too well.

The coming crisis will create similar problems for the working class movement.

Kuusinen added:

"Fascism has been commissioned by the bourgeoisie to infect the neglected youth with its demagogy, and especially with chauvinism. In fact, this situation creates objective conditions for fascism to carry on its noxious work among the youth. But Communism also has far greater opportunities for work among the youth than formerly. The only question is whether we are capable of utilising these opportunities."

This is still the question facing us today. We MUST utilise these opportunities.

What are our tasks?

Part of the statement of the C.C. Plenum demands the raising of living standards by increasing wages and preventing of further price increases.

With relation to youth — "a radical alteration in the method of computing wages of young workers to allow substantial wage increases is needed."

What does this mean?

The wages of apprenticed youth, for example, are computed as a percentage of the needs basic wage plus a small part of the war and constant loadings. So that despite the fact that the apprentice is (supposedly under present methods of training and tech. college curriculum) learning to become skilled, the margin for skill paid to the adult tradesman is not passed on to the youth — not even the whole of the loadings! So that up to the age of 21 (in most cases) the apprentices are supposed to live on a PART of the NEEDS BASIC WAGE. Similar conditions (with only minor differences) apply to the computing of wage rates of male and female unskilled junior workers. The unapprenticed youth does not receive any margin for skill until such time as the adult wage is paid (again in most cases about 21). Despite these facts the production of young workers at 18 or 19 is equal to that of adults.

The demand of the trade unions, the Communist Party and labor youth organisations is that there must be a radical alteration to this method of computing wages. In the case of apprentices to be paid a percentage of the **tradesman's rate**, and for unapprenticed youth a percentage of the **adult rate**, and for payment of full wages at 18 or 19, or before, if adult work is being done.

Another question which could well demand much more of our attention is the extension of the school leaving age to 16 — thereby relieving, to some extent, the labor pool, as well as ensuring better education and an extension of child endowment.

The present offensive being conducted by the capitalist press and by some sections of the right wing for an extension of the system of incentive payments, and the corresponding opposition from the labor movement, is in many ways bound up with youth problems. Those industries which already have incentive payment such as textiles, clothing, food preserving, electrical trades, etc., employ large numbers of young people, and the resulting effect of bonus and piecework, etc., can be seen in their lack of unity and poor union organisation. Much greater attention by the progressive forces to these young people will go a long way toward strengthening the trade union movement and will win these youth to a progressive policy.

The recent period has seen some improvements in attention to youth problems by the labor movement. Some good results have been obtained (such as recent metal trades increases), but all too often has this been the result of work done by the youth themselves, which, whilst a good development, still indicates that insufficient attention is being paid to the youth by the trade unions and progressive forces generally. The trade unions in particular must pay considerably more attention to winning wage increases for young workers.

Recent organisational developments among the youth should also demand our attention and should be studied by all Communists in order to assist such movements to grow and extend their influence among the masses of working class youth.

The winning of the above demands not only concerns the youth themselves from the point of view of raising living standards, so as to be better able to combat the crisis, but also vitally concerns adult workers. As was the case before, the tendency will be to replace the adult worker with the younger and consequently "cheaper" labor of the youth. The raising of the level of youth wages will help mitigate this to a large degree.

The problems of the youth are part of the general problems facing the labor movement. In the struggle to combat the coming economic crisis, youth will play an important role. They, too, must be mobilised to struggle against the aims of monopoly capital to force the workers to carry the burden of the crisis and they will be mobilised if we take up their problems, swing them to us and away from reaction.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR SCOTLAND

W. LAUCHLAN

(From the "Communist Review," London.)

A CLASSIC Marxist definition of a Nation is given by Stalin in **Marxism and the National Question.** "A nation," he says, "is an historically-evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up in a community of culture."

It is clear from the above definition that Scotland is a nation. It is an historically-evolved, stable community. From the sixth century onwards there has always been a Scottish people, and from the end of the tenth century the territory of Scotland has been practically the same as today.

The Scottish people have a common language and common economic life. In Scotland the social and economic developments differ from those of England. Scotland remained practically untouched by Roman influences; and its Celtic customs, though influenced by Irish, remained free from Mediterranean influences. The beginning of the eleventh century marks the emergence of Scotland as a nation by the amalgamation of territories, regions and principalities into a single whole.

Until James VI of Scotland became James I of England in 1603, Scotland was a completely independent nation. Scotland had developed her own constitutional system of Parliament, of King, Barons and Burghers, and legal jurisprudence. For over five centuries in bitter warfare against a more powerful opponent she held her own and won independence and liberty at Bannockburn in 1314. The "drift south" began when James VI went to London in 1603, and continued with the Treaty of Union in 1707.

The majority of the Scottish people were opposed to the Treaty of Union. The Convention of Royal Burghs voted against it, and popular demonstrations of opposition took place in the principal towns and cities. While the Treaty set out that in all time coming there would be neither Scotland nor England but Great Britain, it could not break down the historical past of nearly a thousand years' struggle between the two nations. The drift south continued, and, despite the growth of entanglements, the two countries remained apart.

As capitalism developed into imperialism, the decline of British industry as a whole was especially marked in Scotland, where, owing to the predominance of heavy industry, all the features and aspects of decline were accentuated. The struggle between the dominating English monopoly capitalism and the Scottish people sharpened. The growth of the demand for Scottish control of Scottish affairs resulted in 1885 in the passing of the Bill providing for a Secretary of State and a separate Scottish Department and a day in Parliament to discuss Scottish estimates. The Scottish national question again became an integral part of Scottish politics.

Previous to the First World War the Labor Party in Scotland, the I.L.P. and the Scottish Trades Union Congress passed periodical resolutions, and a Nationalist movement, of varying proportions, always existed. But it is in the period of post-war decline of monopoly capitalism that the Nationalist movement grows more and more as the national problem remains unsolved.

In 1914 a Convention representing M.P's., town councils, county councils, parish councils, education authorities, some trade unions and the Scottish Home Rule Association, the Scottish National Movement, and other national bodies met in Glasgow and set up a committee to draft a Bill. After two years the Convention met again and endorsed the terms of a Bill which was brought before the House in the spring of 1927. It was talked out in its second reading. This was the ninth occasion in eight years on which the question came before the House—the twenty-first since 1889.

Today there is widespread and growing interest in the affairs of Scotland. It is most sharply expressed around the issues of Scotland's economic and social future, its pressing problems of housing and health — so much worse than England's— anxiety about the future of the heavy industries, the demand for new, light, alternative industries, the plans and demands of the various local authorities.

Because of these, Scotland's national question arises afresh. The total inadequacy of existing Government machinery to deal with the huge and pressing problems becomes more apparent. The very act of the British Parliament in giving a Scottish Secretary, Scottish Office and Administrative Department is in itself an admission that Scotland requires separate treatment.

Scotland's problems cannot be dealt with fundamentally without a Scottish Planning Commission and a Scottish Government. The resolution adopted by the Scottish District Congress of the Communist Party in September, 1943, stated clearly :

"We require not only a National Planning Committee for Scotland to plan our post-war reconstruction, but complete self-government for Scotland. We demand the establishment of a Parliament for Scotland on the basis of equal and democratic election by the electors in the burgh and rural areas, which would have the administration of all Scottish affairs and deal with Scottish aspects of social and industrial legislation."

Whilst taking our stand on this basic position we believe that the movement for self-government can be rallied and consolidated if it sees before it not only the objective of a Scottish Parliament, but certain immediate, clear and practical steps that could set the country firmly and speedily on the road to complete self-government.

Four such proposals are being worked out by the Communist Party in Scotland at the present time. They were explained for the first time at the Scottish Assembly held in Glasgow on March 22 of this year to advance the cause of self-government, and created a very deep and favorable impression. It is our belief that Scotland's ability to deal with her problems could be increased by :

(1) The creation of an Under-Secretary of State for Industry and a Scottish Department for Industry which would take over all functions of the Board of Trade in Scotland; be fully responsible for the development, location, and control of Scotland's industry; prepare an annual finance, raw materials (production and consumption) and output budget; encourage Scotland's trade. It would be independent of the Board of Trade, but would work in close liaison with it.

(2) An Under-Secretary for Labor and a Scottish Labor Department which would take over all existing functions of the Ministry of Labor in Scotland; be responsible for the control, training and allocation of Scottish labor, and administer National Service arrangements on behalf of the Ministry of Labor.

(3) A Scottish "Cabinet" to be created, responsible for Scottish administration, and consisting of the Secretary of State, the two new Under-Secretaries, the two existing Under-Secretaries who are responsible for housing, agriculture and fisheries, and the Scottish representatives of the Ministry of Supply; fuel and power; transport; admiralty, etc.

(4) The Physical Planning Committee should be transformed into a Scottish National Planning Commission responsible for developing a long-term as well as short-term plans for Scotland, co-ordinating all existing regional plans, making its proposals to the Scottish "Cabinet" for endorsement. Besides representatives from the Scottish and British Government Departments, the Planning Commission should include representatives of the employers, trade unions, major local authorities, North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board and the like.

At the same time as we put forward these interim measures for legislative and administrative devolution, we recognise the need for attention and speedy action to deal with Scotland's economic problems if a repetition of pre-war conditions is to be avoided.

The changeover in Scottish industry following the conclusion of the war witnessed a decline in the numbers employed in the basic industries, and an increase in the number employed in the consumption-goods industries. The aircraft industry virtually disappeared from Scotland, and today we have almost 90,000 registered unemployed in the country.

This colossal waste of manpower and exceedingly rich resources is due to negligence of the past and its continuance into the present stage. In face of the acute economic difficulties confronting Britain today the demand, proper and urgent, is being made for an overall economic plan. No British plan can secure full utilisation of Scotland's exceedingly rich resources unless there is a national plan for Scotland which takes full account of its special problems. Big and quick decisions are needed, but there is as yet no sign of a Scottish national plan. Rapid action is necessary if crisis is to be avoided.

It is imperative that industry be directed to Scotland. Speedy development of the nationalised coal resources is essential. Scottish steel capacity must be expanded, and a long-term programme announced for shipbuilding and engineering. We need to get a planned increase in the number of trading estates and new factories to employ at least 150,000 people by the end of next year at the latest. For balanced industrial development rapid decisions are needed on the Forth Road Bridge, Mid-Scotland Ship Canal, the Clyde Estuary Report, and the main road and rail developments.

Speedy expansion of our building forces is vital to build the half-million new houses, the health centres, the schools, roads and industrial projects clamouring for attention.

To operate successfully and carry through such a programme, to ensure that Scotland will not become a distressed area once again, we need the right to run our own affairs.

THE OBSCURITY OF PICASSO'S ART

LEN FOX

JOHN OLDHAM in his article on Picasso in the September **Communist Review** makes some excellent points; in particular he stresses correctly the fact that painting need not be representational or photographic — and that therefore we should not criticise a Picasso painting because it does not look like a photograph.

In fairness, however, to Derek Kartun, whose criticism of Picasso is attacked by Oldham, it must be pointed out that Oldham has completely ignored the main point made by Kartun—that Picasso's later work is obscure, that it is not understood by ordinary people, does not (with a few exceptions) inspire them in their forward march, and that Picasso is "out of touch with any considerable body of the people to an extent quite unprecedented in the history of great artists and their public."

Kartun's criticism is a friendly, constructive one—the exact opposite of the type of criticism of modern art which is given in such books as Sir Lionel Lindsay's **Addled Art.** For this latter type of criticism, of course, progressives will have no time.

It is true that Kartun referred to "forty years of barren experimentation with form in which the most talented (modern) artists have indulged in their despair with the world in which they found themselves," and that this phrase is open to criticism—depending largely on the exact meaning we give it.

By taking it out of its context, Oldham gives the impression that Kartun was criticising Picasso **because Picasso had been experimenting in form,** that Kartun is completely against modern art. But anyone who reads Kartun's criticism in the **Tribune** of August 6, 1946, will see that this is not so. Kartun is not attacking modern artists because they experiment, but because **many of them have let a gap grow between themselves and ordinary people.**

The phrase of Kartun's about "barren experimentation" implies, if taken in its context, that the cubist, surrealist and other experiments of the last forty years have not given birth to a popular art movement because modern artists like Picasso have been out of touch with ordinary people.

Their experimentation has largely been a negative one based on despair with the old world. Kartun wants to see, I suggest, a constructive experimentation based on belief in the new world that is being born.

John Oldham tries to cover the gap between Picasso's art and the ordinary people by writing that "Picasso all his life has had a great love of humanity." But the fact is that for most of his life this "great love of humanity" did not show itself in Picasso's paintings. When he was a struggling artist, in his early "blue period," he painted pictures of outcasts like "The Old Jew" and "Absinthe-Drinker." But then followed a long period when Picasso become absorbed in experimentation with form— not for the sake of finding a way to express his "great love of humanity," but for the sake of form.

(Apart from some early paintings of picturesque circus folk. I cannot recall seeing one Picasso painting of an ordinary working man or woman.)

The Spanish War had a deep effect of Picasso and brought him back closer to the ordinary people. The Second World War had a similar effect on him. He joined the Communist Party.

Are not Communists like Kartun justified in asking that Picasso, who has passed through so many phases **out of touch with ordinary people,** should now strive to achieve a new phase **in which he will regain his early contact with the people?**

In effect, John Oldham says no. For his article implies that Communists aren't allowed to ask for intelligibility, that Kartun is wrong in writing:—

"Picasso's painting gives little or no direct inspiration to this forward march (of the common people). . . The tremendous force that Picasso could be for the working class movement of today is, as yet at any rate, potential and not real. . . . There is barely a line of his work which comments with joy or hope on the future. . . It cannot be said that the painting of Picasso is singing the glories of the new France that is being born in the same unmistakable voice as that of Aragon in his poems of the Resistance . . .

"The sense of being in tune with society, of expressing the great earth-shaking movements of men, of representing the vigor of the nation against what is decaying and dying—this sense which lies at the bottom of the flowering of Renaissance Italy and 19th Century France is almost totally absent."

Surely, if Communist critics do not say this (in a friendly way, of course, avoiding any suggestion of dictating), they are neglecting their duty to the artist. Oldham admits that "Picasso has spent the whole of his creative life in an environment of decaying capitalism." No artist, not even Picasso, can help being harmfully influenced by such an environment. The critic should help the artist to rise above his environment.

One question in conclusion. When John Oldham, in his article, quoted without comment an opinion that Picasso is "above classification" and is "the spirit and moving force of our epoch," did he imply that he agrees with this opinion? I hope not, for surely Picasso is not a god, but a man. Surely, for all his greatness, he is not above criticism.

THE THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

MAO TSE-TUNG is one of Asia's most notable leaders and thinkers. He is Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and for nearly twenty years has lived blockaded, shut off from the world by the battle fronts of foreign and civil wars. From this seeming isolation, the thought of Mao Tse-tung shapes the Chinese Revolution and is expressed in regional governments representing 140 million people in North China and Manchuria.

From his distant Yenan cave, Mao Tse-tung even became a world figure. His thesis on "Protracted war" predicted the course of the Chinese people's resistance to Japan so accurately that it became an accepted formula in other lands among military experts who never knew whence it came. His theories on "new democracy" have probably affected new government forms in post-war Europe. His analysis of the path to national independence, people s democracy, and people's livelihood charts a way, not only for the Chinese people, but for the billion folk that live in the colonial countries of South-East Asia.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung, despite its wide influence, has never been clearly and fully summarised abroad. It has reached the outside world spasmodically, with long intermissions, due to the blockade of war. In America, people still raise the childish antithesis: "Are the Chinese Communists followers of Moscow, or are they what the West calls 'democrats'?" The answer is that they are neither, though to some extent they are a little of both. They are Chinese trying to solve the bitter problems of China, using their own ideas and also any valid ideas they find in the West. Specifically, they use the method of social analysis known as Marxism. Because they are Chinese, applying their thought to Chinese problems, their policies and even their concepts of Marxism have increasingly diverged from the European pattern. Their thought is not dependent, but creative. Its creative quality comes, first of all, from Mao Tse-tung.

The Chinese Communist Party, like other Communist Parties, regards itself as the advance group of the "proletariat." In China, it considers itself the spokesman and leader for other classes as well, notably the peasants, the petty bourgeois, and the middle class of the cities and towns.

China's revolution is a peasant revolution. Its basic characteristic is that the peasants (not the workers) form the principal mass that resists the oppression of foreign capital and of the left-over medieval elements in the Chinese countryside. In the past, Marxist analysis has not been applied to guide such a revolution. Peasant revolts in past history lacked discipline and cohesion—and failed. Mao Tse-tung develops the theoretical basis of a peasant revolution. As one example, he says that "democracy" must be a "peasants' democracy," with voting forms adapted to the vast numbers of illiterate peasants, who vote by dropping a bean in a candidate's bowl. He overcomes the traditional weakness of peasant revolutions by the cohesion, discipline, and devotion of highly- developed organisation.

The "united front" between classes is a point over which Communist Parties in all lands have struggled. "You must unite with them on certain points and struggle against them on others," explained Liu Hsiao-chi, whom the Chinese Communists consider their second greatest Marxist thinker, and to whom I went for an estimate of Mao's thought. "Our mistake in 1927 was that we only united with the bourgeoisie, but did not struggle against it; so that the bourgeoisie gained its aims and rejected ours. In the years immediately following, we made the opposite mistake; we only struggled against the bourgeoisie, but found no way to unite even with the small town merchants. To know when and on what points to unite and when and on what points to struggle needs careful and constant analysis. We united with Chinese capitalists against the Japanese invasion, against foreign imperialism and feudalism. We have, in other words, a policy of uniting with the capitalists and struggling against them at the same time."

The Communist military strategy, which enabled them to start with an army of 3,000 men, and attain, after twenty years of fighting, an army of 1,500,000 men, all the time drawing military supplies and even manpower from the enemy, is also based on Mao Tse-tung's analysis.

The "labor exchange brigade," which increased the productivity of farming in the Communist areas during the hardest years of the anti-Japanese war, was another invention by Mao, based upon a study of the forms of peasant labor—including a type of mutual help that went back more than a thousand years, known as the "squads of the Tang Dynasty Generals." Usually there are two ways to improve the productivity of primitive peasant farming: the capitalist way of Europe and America, or the collective farming of the U.S.S.R. The Chinese Communists cannot use either now. Their labor exchange brigade employs co-operative methods of farm production on a foundation of individual ownership.

The supply system that enabled the Yenan Border Region to survive both a Japanese war and a Kuomintang blockade, and that made it possible for the many anti-Japanese bases scattered behind the Japanese lines in North China to live and grow into the mighty "Liberated Areas," was worked out through Mao Tse-tung's analysis of conditions in the rural areas. It is a system by which the personnel of army and government is not paid in money, but draws part of its food from taxation and part from joint productive work. "By this method," said Liu, "we can support an army and government staff of two or three million without too seriously burdening the people's livelihood. With this system we have been able to carry on war for twenty years and carry it on till final victory."

The Communists expect Chiang Kai-shek to go bankrupt from war inflation, and to face revolts from his over-burdened peasants. They are confident that this will not happen with them.

Mao Tse-tung's book on **Protracted War** (July, 1938) was his first work that influenced thinking outside the Communist ranks. It was military and political analysis of high quality, the most important book of its kind to appear in China during the war. The ideas later became current among Chinese and American military experts. The book was studied by the Japanese high command in China. "We know from captured documents," Liu Hsiao-chi told me, "that the Japanese, after reading it, considered Mao Tse-tung the greatest Far Eastern strategist."

At the time the book was written, most people in China despaired of final victory. A few people talked of swift victory, to be won by a desperate gamble, a tremendous counter-offensive, which, if it failed, would mean complete defeat for China. Chiang's view was obscure. At times he talked of a quick counter-offensive, at other times he clearly awaited the entrance of America, Britain, and U.S.S.R. into the war. Mao Tse-tung proclaimed that the Chinese people, if sufficiently united, could drive out the invader. The war, he said would be in three stages: (1) Japanese penetration, during which the regular Chinese armies would retreat, but guerilla warfare would be carried on in the Japanese rear; (2) a long stage of "stalemate," whose length and severity would depend on the extent of unity among the Chinese forces, but in which Chinese resistance would eventually wear down the Japanese; (3) a victorious counter-offensive. The book charted so accurately the path that the war actually followed that today it reads less like prediction than history.

The New Stage, published in October, 1938, continued the analysis of the **Protracted War,** with special reference to the beginning of the "stalemate stage." Its primary purpose was to make detailed proposals to the Kuomintang for co-operation against the Japanese. Three forms of co-operation were suggested: that the Communists might join the Kuomintang; that, if this was not allowed, there might be joint committees; failing this, there might be frequent conferences on emergencies. The proposals came to nothing, for the Kuomintang was growing increasingly reactionary, passing regulations against all non-Kuomintang parties and people's organisations.

Pessimism grew in China in 1939. Since the Kuomintang, now centred in Chungking, did almost nothing against the Japanese, the Japanese left Chiang alone in the interior, and concentrated on mopping up North China and the coastal areas. The Kuomintang grew more oppressive; elements in the Kuomintang collaborated with the enemy. Was China then a lost nation?

In such a situation, Mao Tse-tung wrote his **New Democracy** in 1940. It was a clarion call. China, he said, was not lost. There were great reserves of strength in the Chinese people. Even if the Kuomintang turned reactionary, even if it turned traitor, the Chinese people would win victory, both in their war of resistance and in their revolution. The book then analysed the road to victory, the methods by which victory might be hastened: it set forth the form of government that could best lead the people to victory and to prosperity after the war. Not the Kuomintang dictatorship not a Socialist government by the Communists, not the old forms of democracy from the developed capitalist lands, but a "New Democracy," a coalition government of all revolutionary classes.

The **New Democracy** bases itself on an anlaysis of the character of the Chinese Revolution, and its place in the present stage of the "world revolution," which has, in the U.S.S.R., reached the Socialist stage. China has not the conditions for Socialism: its revolution is the democratic revolution, which in European countries in the past was led by the bourgeoisie in their struggle to establish capitalism. The democratic revolution must also establish capitalism in China, but, because the world is in a new stage, and because China is a semi-colonial country, and because of the existence of an energetic Communist Party, this capitalism will not be the old form of capitalism, under the rule of the bourgeoisie, but "new capitalism," controlled in the interests of the vast majority of the people. The democracy also will not be of the old type, in which the capitalists are in control—nor will it be a workers' dictatorship establishing Socialism, as in the U.S.S.R. It will be a "New Democracy," jointly administered by "all revolutionary classes"—workers, peasantry, petty-bourgeois, and even such capitalists as oppose feudalism and foreign imperialism.

New Democracy marked a turning-point in China's revolutionary thinking and influenced the revolutionary thought of the world. For the Chinese Communists, it became the basis for all future policies, from 1940 till now. On it was based the form of government in the Liberated Areas, including the famous "three-three" system by which the Communists, even in areas that they might easily dominate, confine themselves to one third of the government positions. After five years of testing, the thesis of **New Democracy** was expanded in Mao's report to the Seventh Party Congress in April, 1945, in the work, **On Coalition Government,** which may be regarded as a sequal to **New Democracy** applied to a later period.

By this time Mao Tse-tung felt able to state with confidence: "In the entire period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in a period of several dozens of years, our general programme of new democracy will remain unchanged." The Chinese form of Marxism was established; it had its theoretical base, its practical experience, its programme for the years to come.

New Democracy was also published in Moscow, both in Russian and in English. The Soviet reviewers recognised it as a new "Marxist classic," applicable not only to China, but to similar semi-feudal, semi-colonial lands. It seems highly likely that the theories of Mao Tse-tung's **New Democracy** influenced the forms of government that have arisen in parts of post-war Europe.

In the five years that followed the writing of **New Democracy,** great changes took place in the world. The war widened to involve the Soviet Union and then the United States. The entrance of America into the war with Japan did not lighten the difficulties of the Chinese Communists. It did not compel Japan to move any troops out of North China. Chiang Kai-shek meantime got American weapons, and became more aggressive toward the Chinese Communists. The years 1941-42, after America entered the war, were for the Communists their most difficult period, in which the Yenan Border Region itself was attacked from the north by the Japanese and from the south by Chiang Kai-shek.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung, during this period, turned towards many inventions. Under his leadership the Communists of China learned to "disperse even more completely," and so to penetrate into the enemy's securest regions. They devised a very wide organisation of the peasant militia, unpaid, fighting with very primitive weapons, but co-operating with the regular armies of the Communists towards effective victory. The "production movement" arose, to make the army and government as self-sustaining as possible. "Labor exchange brigades" were promoted to increase the output of the farms.

Two books by Mao Tse-tung appeared during this period: **Problems of Economy and Finance,** which outlined the policies that enabled the Yenan Border Region to survive both the blockade and the war; and a book usually called **Remaking of Ideology** but which might better be called: **Rectification of the Three Styles,** which deals with methods of study, methods of party work and methods of literature. This was part of a campaign within the party to get away from the dogmatic, pedantic, narrow approach, and to base policies and methods on concrete knowledge.

One or two quotations from the latter book indicate what Mao was driving at and give a flavor of his style:

"Marxism-Leninism has neither good looks nor magic; it is only very useful. There seem to be a lot of people that think it is a sort of charmed medicine with which one can easily cure any disease. Those that take it as dogma are that kind of people. We ought to tell them that their dogmas are more useless than cow-dung. For dung can be used as fertiliser, while dogmas cannot. Comrades, you will know that my purpose in talking like this is to give the dogmatists a great shock and awaken them . . .

"What then is the condition of those students that graduate from schools that are completely severed from practical activities in society? Such a one is considered a man of knowledge. But first of all, he does not know how to till the soil; secondly, he does not know how to work in a factory; thirdly, he does not know how to fight in battle; fourthly, he has no knowledge of office work. . . . All he has is knowledge from books. Can such a person be considered an all-round intellectual? I think not. He can at most be considered a semi-intellectual. . . .

"Books have no legs; they can be opened and shut at will. To read books is the easiest job in the world. It is much easier than cooking a meal or slaughtering a pig, for when you want to catch hold of the pig, he will run, when you slaughter him, he will squeal, while the book on the table can neither run nor squeal, but lets you handle it as you like. . . . What an easy job! So I wish those that have only book knowledge and no practical experience would understand their own shortcomings and be more humble. . .

"On the other hand, if comrades who have done practical work misuse their experience, this is also harmful. Their rich experience is very valuable but should they rest content with it, it is quite dangerous. They should understand that their knowledge belongs to the perceptive sphere, and that they lack rational or generalised knowledge. . . . Their knowledge has no theoretical foundation and is therefore incomplete. . . .

"Thus we see that there are two kinds of incomplete knowledge. It is only by the blending of the two that compartively complete knowledge can be created."

In the same essay, Mao Tse-tung has this to say on criticism:

"We must bear in mind two principles: 'to make an example of the past so that we shall be more careful in the future'; and 'to cure the disease and save the patient.' We must expose all errors committed in the past, analysing and criticising scientifically and showing no favors to friends, so that each one will be more careful in the future and so do his work better . . . but the exposal and criticism is done as a doctor treats his patients, with the purpose of curing the disease and not of killing the patient. . . . To attempt to cure him at one stroke or by beating him all over is no way to solve the problem."

This bit from **On Coalition Government** is recommended to all organisations:

"A room should be constantly dusted or it will be covered with dust. Our face should be regularly washed or it will be dirty. This is also true of the ideology of our comrades and the work of the party, which should also be constantly cleaned. 'A running stream does not smell and a door-hinge will not be moth-eaten' means that germs and worms are dispersed by continuous movement."

These examples show the clear, pungent style, close to the Chinese peasant, in which the thought of Mao Tse-tung finds expression.

After reading what I have so far written, Lu Ting-yi, Chief of the Information Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, summed up for me Mao Tse-tung's thought on the Chinese Revolution under four heads:

1. China is at present a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Her bourgeois-democratic revolution began after the First World War, when the Socialist Soviet Union already existed and the Chinese proletariat was already politically awake. This conditions the present stage of the Chinese Revolution, as an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, led by the proletariat with the peasantry as the main force and with participation of other broad social strata.

The revolution establishes a "new democracy," and not the old forms of democracy nor yet Socialism. Therefore one should have no illusions about quick transition to Socialism, but should wholeheartedly promote the democratic revolution. Without the leadership of the working class, the peasants' struggles must fail, but there is no fear of such a struggle developing beyond the power of the workers. While the peasants form the "main revolutionary masses" there are also very broad social strata—the petty bourgeois, the liberal bourgeoisie, forward-looking landlords and other patriotic people—who demand democracy and who are especially willing to struggle against imperialism. There must be a correct approach to all of these.

Since China is a vast country, semi-colonial, semi-feudal, under domination by several powerful, rival imperialist countries and by native feudal forces as well, it follows that her economic and political development is marked by disunity and unevenness. This makes the development of China's democratic revolution very uneven, and its nation-wide victory requires a protracted and tortuous struggle. However, bases of armed revolution may first be established and maintained in vast regions where the enemy's rule is comparatively weak. Such a base can be established in a secluded section even during periods of revolutionary ebb. With this as a starting point, the nation-wide triumph of the democratic revolution can come about through a tortuous process of struggle.

2. Military struggle constitutes the main form of the political struggle. Its two basic problems are: army-building and strategy and tactics.

The army must be a people's army of a new type, fundamentally different from armies of warlords, fighting for the people's interests in all its aspects. It never fights for the personal interest of a warlord or a petty clique. It has the triple task of combat, mass work, and production. Its relation to the people is expressed by the phrase "support the government and love the people." Within the army there must be a democratic life, good relations between officers and men, and a voluntary yet authoritative discipline. It must have a correct policy to disintegrate enemy forces and win over war prisoners.

Strategy and tactics must admit the enemy's superiority in strength, the enemy being large and we being small. It is under such conditions that ways to defeat the enemy must be sought. Hence the enemy's defects and our own strong points must be thoroughly exploited, and there must be full reliance on the power of the masses of the people for our success, survival, and growth. When our armed forces are small, and the enemy's superiority is unequivocal, we must use guerilla warfare. When regular forces have been established, there must be simultaneously the organisation of regional and local forces. Armed struggles should go hand in hand with non-military struggles. In military operations we are for quick, decisive battles and against protracted battles, but the war as a whole is a protracted one. In battles we oppose "beating the many with the few"; we are for "beating the few with the many."

3. "From the people and to the people" is the all-inclusive political directive. To guarantee this there must be close organisational ties between the Party and the non-party people and intimate connections within the Party between leadership and rank and file.

The Party must carry on an ideological struggle against erroneous tendencies. Mean while, a system of strict democratic centralism must be maintained. Special attention must be given with due regard to the vast extent of the Chinese Revolution in space, in time, and in variety of social strata—to defining and securing correct relations between old and new members, local people and outsiders, military and civilians, one area and other, one department and other. By such principles the Chinese Communist Party of two million members, isolated from each other by long periods of war, has been able to achieve unprecedented solidarity, both

within the Party and between the Party and the broad masses of the people.

4. Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism is the method of thinking used. None of Mao Tse-tung's policies are either copied from a book or based on piecemeal experience. Mao's method of thinking opposes both dogmatism and empiricism. He emphatically advocates the study of theory, but also holds "there is no right to speak without fact-finding." His policies are based on analysis of both the domestic and the international situation, and of the experiences of the Chinese Revolution, especially those of the Great Revolution of 1925-27, as interpreted by dialectical materialism.

Since the Second World War ended, Mao Tse-tung has been developing his thesis on the post-war relations in the world. These views have not yet appeared in book form, but have been expressed in several interviews—two were given to me last August—and in an official statement on the "Post-War International Situation" put out by the Communist Party's chief of information, Lu Ting-yi, on New Year's Day, 1947.

Mao Tse-tung takes issue with the widely current idea that antagonism between Soviet Union and an Anglo-American bloc is leading to war. "This idea is only a smoke-screen which American reactionaries blow up to hide the more immediate antagonisms," he said to me last summer. "These are between the American imperialists and the rest of the capitalist world." He analysed these conflicts in some detail and said: "Very soon the British people will begin to ask themselves: 'Who is it that oppresses us? Is it the U.S.S.R. or is it the United States?'" In the months since then, the thought of important groups in Britain has moved steadily in the direction Mao foresaw.

The official analysis of the international situation, issued by the Chinese Communist Party on New Year's Day, 1947, sees a world-wide struggle developing between the forces of "anti-democracy," and the growing "world democratic might." The victory in the anti-fascist war has stimulated the growth of the people's democratic forces everywhere, but they are now being attacked on a world scale by the anti-democratic forces, whose "central fortress" is the imperialism of the United States. In the other capitalist and colonial countries, the reactionaries "turn traitor," and sell out the interests of their respective peoples to American imperialism, becoming "running-dogs of American imperialism." Chiang Kai-shek is given as an example.

"The American reactionaries have a heavy burden," said Mao to me with a smile last autumn. "They must sustain the reactionaries of the whole world. And if they cannot sustain them, the house will fall down. It is a house with one pillar. There are many patients with one doctor. And the disease of these patients is incurable. Even penicillin will do nothing for them."

All over the world, therefore, the democratic forces, in resisting the reactionaries of their respective nations, find themselves also in conflict with American imperialism. A united front against American imperialists begins to form on a world scale. It consists of the democratic people of America, the people of other capitalist countries, and the people of colonial lands. It includes all social classes, "workers, farmers and patriotic elements, and advocates of peace among the bourgeoisie." Its growth is seen in the new democratic regimes in Eastern Europe; in the leftward advance of Great Britain and France; in the leftward trends among peoples in Germany, Italy, Japan; in the growth of wide people's struggles in colonial and semi-colonial countries with China at the head; in the development of democratic forces in Latin America; in American strike movements and the "Wallace incident." These are the world's immediate struggles, rather than any conflict between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. U.S.S.R. is a "main pillar" of the "world democratic might," but is not a direct participant in these immediate struggles.

This new line-up is seen as a "new page in world history," which will last from the end of the Second World War "down to the day when stable and lasting peace of the world is ensured." For the reactionary forces are "outwardly strong, but hollow inside"—"paper tigers," as Mao said to me last summer. The struggle will be long and tortuous, but the victory of the world democratic might is sure.

With such a world view in mind one should read Mao Tse-tung's New Year's greeting, issued over the Yenan radio on January 1, 1947, at a time when the Yenan Border Region was invaded, when Chiang Kai-shek occupied more than 100 Communist cities and 179,000 square miles of their territory, when the world outside China worried over a possible Third World War.

"In 1946 throughout the post-war world, side of light waged victorious struggle against the side of darkness. And in post-war China also the side of light waged victorious struggle. . . . In the post-war world and in China, a very great people's movement developed for peace and democratic liberties. . . . These movements must of necessity move towards victory. There is no power than can bring them to a halt.

"In the year 1947 the world-wide front of the people of all countries, including China—the front against the aggressor policy of America—will develop rapidly. The movement of the Chinese people for democratic liberties will obtain even more important victories than those of 1946. This will cause conditions in China to undergo a change beneficial to the restoration of peace and the independence of the nation. . . .

"At present the Kuomintang authorities have not shown any slightest intention towards peace. . . . But in the not distant future the light of liberty will surely illumine the vast reaches of our ancestral homeland . . . within the next few years an independent, peaceful, democratic new China will surely establish a firm foundation."

To many people these words will sound incredibly optimistic. But file them away. Mao Tse-tung's predictions have been right so far.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BURMA

JULY 30, 1947.

NEW FEATURES IN THE SITUATION

TWO momentous events have taken place in our national life within the last ten days.

1. The assassination of Bogyoke Aung San and his ministerial colleagues.

2. Declaration on the Nu-Attlee agreement of the formation of a Provisional National Government in place of the former Governor's Executive Council.

The British imperialists were compelled to agree to these concessions, because there was no other alternative for them. At the same time, they wanted to nullify them. So the assassination of the national leadership and imperialism's attempt at a rightist coup d'etat was its last desperate step.

But this has **changed** the **entire** political situation in our country and hence a **new orientation** has to be given to our policy of final seizure of power.

Why the new situation?

1. (a) The last desperate attack on the national movement by British imperialism has begun with the assassination of Bogyoke.

(b) Today the people no longer feel the same confidence in the AFPFL leadership and also in the Government as they felt when Aung San was at the head of affairs.

Hence the people want Communist-AFPFL unity **at any cost** to save the national movement, and also to lead them forward towards the final goal. Their concrete suggestion for unity is that "Communist Party and AFPFL must modify their respective demands and unite." The people also urges upon the Communists to get into the Government and make the ministry stable.

2. By the Nu-Attlee agreement, formal but serious concessions to the national demands have been wrung from British Imperialism.

On the one hand, this has brought about a **new situation,** in which if we play a positive and correct role we can lead the people into a **national war** supported by the entire nation against the British imperialists. "This kind of war for the fatherland has been taking place in many colonies and semi-colonial countries, i.e., Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, India, Iran, Greece, etc. . . **(Political Affairs,** March, 1947.)

On the other hand, if we do not change our tactical line and continue in the old sectarian way (i.e., because of our negative attitude on the government), there is every danger that not only will our Party be completely smashed, but our entire national movement will be shattered, making it possible for the imperialists to rule our country **indirectly** for ever.

Hence, under the new conditions, it becomes imperative for the Communist Party of Burma to immediately **change its tactical line.**

BRITISH IMPERIALIST AIMS TOWARDS OUR NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Today, British imperialism has been compelled to leave off direct rule and resort to indirect rule, by making formal but important concessions to our national demands, and at the same time it is trying to sabotage them from within, in order to continue it rule.

At the same time, we must frankly admit that we had previously minimised the value of the concessions that have been gained by the national movement. If that had not been so, we could have utilised these concessions in certain respects and to a certain extent for the development of our common national movement.

If we divide the period from September to July into three phases and study the British imperialist game with regard to our national movement and also the concessions that have been wrung by the nationalist movement from the unwilling hands of the British imperialists in each phase, we shall clearly see why this final change has to be made.

FIRST PHASE.

The September uprising was the climax of a spontaneous workers, employees, police and peasants' struggle. This upheaval immediately made the imperialists decide to retreat, before the movement could assume the character of a national war against British imperialism. Hence, the imperialists started to negotiate with the national leaders in order to retard the national revolt. Since the movement could not lead to a final clash with imperialist rule, thanks to the compromising role at that time played by the national bourgeois leadership, and because imperialism had begun to negotiate with the national leaders right from the beginning, the concessions gained by the national movement were very little.

(a) AFPFL leadership had to share power with the toadies in the Executive Council on a 50-50 basis.

(b) Promise of more power for the Executive Council was given by Rance, once the leaders entered the Executive Council.

In effect, the powers gained by the national movement in the Executive Council were no greater than those of the Paw Tun Government. At the same time, since the popular leaders were in the Executive Council, the character of the Executive Council had definitely changed from that of the previous one.

But it must be recognised that this upsurge compelled imperialism to forsake its previous method of direct, open, repressive rule over us. It made imperialism assume a popular mask, in order to carry on the assault against the national movement. This was because the gathering momentum of the national revolt would challenge the very existence of imperialism if it continued its open and direct rule.

From September onwards, the imperialists resorted to every kind of repressive measure to check the national revolt. The national leaders also, through compromises and disruptive moves, tried to checkmate the people's movements.

But because the basic contradictions between imperialism and the people remained as serious as before and because the national leaders had not won any serious concessions from the imperialists, the people began to march forward with a firmer tread. The upsurge continued, with increasing strength.

The reflection of the people's upsurge was manifested in Bogyoke's public statements, etc. He categorically declared that his government would resign if a promise of independence within one year was not given by the British. He threatened the British government with armed revolt. In the armed forces and in rural areas, serious preparations for armed actions were made by PVOs and Socialists.

In January, the upsurge assumed a higher form of struggle than even in September, i.e., armed struggles of PVOs and Socialists, etc. Against the background of the armed struggle, a general strike of industrial and other workers broke out in many places and particularly at Rangoon.

SECOND PHASE

Imperialism, faced with a more serious national upsurge than in September, was now prepared to concede more to the national demand. The national bourgeois leadership also, true to their tradition, became prepared for a compromise instead of leading the upsurge to final assault.

The Aung San-Attlee agreement made the following concessions:—

(a) Elections for the Constituent Assembly as envisaged in the White Paper plan were given up. Direct elections to the Constituent Assembly on a basis of adult suffrage was conceded.

(b) The Governor's Executive Council was composed of AFPFL members only.

(c) Financial autonomy was given to the Executive Council.

(d) No interference by the Governor in the day to day activities of the Executive Council, i.e., promise to function as a "Dominion Government by convention."

After the agreement, the PVOs were allowed to be armed, a concession which had till then been resisted by the imperialists.

Hence, this was the period from which began the **last stage of direct rule** by imperialism. While making these concessions, imperialism tried to nullify them by other means.

Taking advantage of the national division, imperialism secured more powers from the popular executive council for the bureaucracy. As the mass struggles led by the Communist Party developed more and more, the frightened right wing leadership also began to rely more and more on the bureaucracy. Unprecedented repressive laws were passed, which armed the bureaucracy to terrorise the workers' and peasants' movements everywhere. The British military rained bullets from their machine guns, etc., on our unarmed peasantry under the diabolical plan called the "Operation Flush" in this period.

By means of slave conditions associated with the British loan, imperialism succeeded in maintaining its stranglehold on our national economy.

By encouraging reactionaries among the minorities, British imperialism tried to foster separatist movements in many places. In this way they wanted to further disrupt the national movement.

But in spite of the designs and intrigues of the imperialists, they failed to suppress the national upsurge, which, in fact, began to gather greater momentum day by day. The AFPFL election campaign roused our freedom-loving people. But in particular our campaign for national unity for the final struggle prepared a larger section of our people than before for uncompromising struggle against imperialism. When the people in general began to get disillusioned with the national leaders, they began more and more to turn towards struggle.

The entire working class and the middle-class employees, including police, teachers, etc., were on the verge of general strike. The ABTUC had fixed August 15 as the date to start the general strike, in spite of the Aung San government's disruptive role. Country-wide peasant actions, previously unheard-of, were about to begin. The ABTUC session at Kyaukse had informally fixed August 15 as the day from when an all-Burma campaign against Dominion Status was to begin. A large section of the army was on the point of revolt. A big section of the navy was about to start a mutiny.

Thus, the country was preparing for a much bigger upheaval than in September, 1946, or January, 1947.

The reflection of this uncompromising upsurge was manifested in the sayings and doings of the national leaders themselves:—

(a) The Constituent Assembly in unequivocal terms demanded complete independence outside the British Empire.

(b) Bogyoke began more and more to say that he "would lead the country to struggle if independence was not granted by January, 1948."

(c) For the first time since September, Bogyoke categorically stated in public meetings, as well as in the Constituent Assembly, that "Nobody had the power to go against the decisions of the January, 1946, AFPFL Congress resolutions."

In his last speech on July 13, he once again reiterated what has been said above.

(d) After the elections, the national leadership had to lessen their anti-Communist crusade, and before his assassination Bogyoke showed definite indications for unity with the Communists.

All these facts gave more courage to the masses of our people and they longed for immediate struggle against imperialism.

THIRD PHASE—PLOT TO STAGE RIGHTIST COUP

Faced with this unprecedented strength of the national liberation movement on the one hand and its own crisis at home on the other, imperialism negotiated with the goodwill mission led by Thakin Nu and reached an agreement.

British imperialism had its own internal troubles. After the second world war it had come out much weaker politically and economically than before. By the terms of loan agreements, America, its imperialist rival, was swallowing up all its imperialist bases. The growing British labor movement also no longer supported the imperialist policy of keeping the colonies in slavery. Among the New Democracies in Europe, imperialism could find no support for its subjugation of the colonies.

Hence, British imperialism, still wanting to retain its Empire, has to resort to desperate means. They can no longer rule the colonies in any of the old ways. It is for this reason that, with the Nu-Attlee agreement, the period of **indirect rule** of imperialism in our country has begun. This indirect rule they intend to carry on by making serious concessions to the national demands on the one hand, and on the other they want to sabotage it from within through the bureaucracy, military chiefs, vested interests, British monopoly concerns and by means of treaties, etc.

The gains are the following:—

(a) Admission by imperialism of the sovereign status of the Constituent Assembly despite its limitations.

(b) Positive promise for transfer of power by a certain date, i.e., towards the end of 1947.

(c) Formation of a formal Provisional National Government by the AFPFL, functioning as a cabinet and by convention, no longer responsible to the Governor, but only to the working committee of the AFPFL. The Governor is to function as a constitutional head by convention. The status of the Councillors was raised to ministers, with the Prime Minister as the head.

On the other hand, although the Constituent Assembly had declared that Burma will not remain within the British Empire, the Nu-Attlee agreement still says that "Should the **final decision** of the Constituent Assembly be that Burma is to become an independent State outside the British Commonwealth . . . ." This shows that imperialism will desperately try in the interim period to create such conditions as will compel Burma to remain within the Empire.

The cold-blooded murder of the entire national leadership is a direct and desperate attack of the imperialists on the national movement for the fulfilment of that very design. By means of this coup d'etat they intended to put the reactionary Saw-Sein-Maw gang, which would obey their dictation like slaves, into power. In this way, they could check Burma from leaving the Empire. The Fascist coup d'etat was definitely engineered by the Tory section of the Imperialists, most probably with the silent consent of the Labor imperialists. It was executed by the Saw-Sein-Maw gang in conjunction with the British military chiefs and bureaucrats in Burma, the British monopolists in Burma and a section of the Burmese bureaucracy (e.g., Tun Hla Aung, etc.).

At the same time, just before the assassination, the growing demand of "AFPFL-CP unity" by the national movement, which was forcing the AFPFL leaders to unite with the Communists, had to be stopped. This is because national unity today would mean liquidation of imperialist rule. Hence imperialism on the one hand attempted the Rightist coup d'etat and, on the other, tried to put the blame for this on the Communists so that the national movement could be still more disrupted without any hope of unity in the near future. This is evidenced by the fact that immediately after the assassination of the leaders, imperialist News Agencies spread the news abroad that the murder was committed by Left Parties in order to stage a coup d'etat. Later, UPA reports from London openly stated that it was the Communists who were responsible for the assassination. It is authentically learnt that the British military chiefs of the Burma Army deliberately spread the lie in the ranks that the assassination was done by the Communists.

Although the prompt initiative of the proletarian party has checked the immediate designs of the imperialists, thereby saving the country from disaster, there is yet every danger that this attack on the national movement will be repeated over and over again in the interim period, through Saw-Sein-Maw rebellion, political assassinations and various kinds of political and military intrigues. It is quite possible

that under the pretext that the ministry is unstable, imperialism may later on force the AFPFL leaders into these traps. The PVOs may be disarmed under the pretext of civil war in the country. The present composition and character of the Burma Army may be changed by pressure from the British military missions, etc., which will be sent to Burma soon.

Then again, it can be seen that the reason why formal Dominion power was not given to the Nu Government in the interim period was for the same purpose as is shown above.

Imperialism wanted to have a direct say in all important matters concerning the military forces and the economy of our country in the interim period. So it was that, by convention, the Nu Government was to function as a provisional government. The very fact that Attlee categorically stated that maintenance of law and order was a British concern and had asked for military aid from India to quell the rebellion in Burma, immediately after the assassination, shows the correctness of our contention.

But later, under pressure from Thakin Nu, due to our intervention, Attlee changed his tone and said, in the House of Commons debate, that British forces were to stay in Burma for three reasons:—

(1) External defence;
(2) To safeguard British possessions and their economic interests;
(3) To help the Burma government when needed.

By this, Attlee, afraid of the national mood today, had to openly admit the real power which the Nu Government had won, although it was only by convention. This also proves our other contention that with the background of the people's mighty upsurge that exists today, the national movement can get real concessions from the imperialists, if we play a positive role.

The reason why Thakin Nu also had refrained from pressing for formal Dominion powers for the Executive Council was because the people did not want to hear even the term "Dominion," not to speak of accepting a Dominion form of government for the Executive Council. So, when he got an assurance from the British that the provisional government would function without the Governor using his veto powers by convention, in good faith, he was satisfied.

In the interim period, the British imperialists will also try to further disrupt our national movement indirectly through reactionary Sawbwas demanding separate states, like Karenni chiefs, etc.

Communal riots between Karens and Burmans and other minorities will be fostered. By inciting communal roits, imperialism will try to check the national war against itself.

The British have to resort to direct means in all these respects, because they have no such fifth column as Burmese big business, through whom pressure could be brought upon the popular ministry, as is the case in India. By means of direct provocation and disruption of the national movement, the British imperialists want to create a situation in Burma, through the help of the bureaucracy, military chiefs and toady vested interests, by which slave conditions can be imposed in the Anglo-Burmese treaty, when the transfer of power is finally made. In this way, imperialism will try to keep Burma indirectly enslaved and make the Burmese independence which will be won only formal forever, as in Egypt, Iran, Iraq, etc.

With the above ends in view, the bureaucracy, vested interests and other agents and allies of imperialism are desperately trying today at all costs to stop AFPFL-CP unity, which alone can save Burma from the above dangers.

Hence, it becomes the immediate task of the proletarian party to fight with all its might to save the national movement, ruthlessly isolate the imperialist agents and their allies from the people, smash the British imperialist designs once and for all, and carry Burma forward to complete freedom from imperialist slavery.

SCIENTISTS UNDER HITLER—AND SINCE

A.C.P. SCIENCE COMMITTEE.

IN the two years following the end of the war, accounts of what actually happened to scientists both in Germany itself and in the various occupied countries have been published. These accounts come from various scientists from allied countries and from addresses given at international congresses held since the war ended. Only too often, the information is gained from the numerous obituary notices, in scientific journals, of courageous scientists murdered by the Nazis.

Nazi treatment of scientists differed from country to country. For instance, at a meeting in London in 1946 of anthropologists from various countries, the Belgian delegate reported that there were practically no cases of collaboration among anthropologists in his country and that Belgian universities, museums, learned societies and scientific publications successfully resisted German influence. They were able to carry on throughout the occupation, although on a reduced scale. On the other hand the report of the Czech delegate was necessarily very brief because in his country, since there was no subservience to the Germans, all organised research work and all publication of scientific work stopped.

The story of what happened to scientists and indeed all intellectuals in Czechoslovakia, pieced together from various sources, is shocking. In Bohemia and Moravia all universities and colleges, seven in all, were closed down. Fifty-four members of the staffs of these institutions, most of them scientists,

were executed or died from persecution. At least one was beaten to death. What were their crimes? Florian, distinguished embryologist, was found guilty of trying to alleviate the distress of the families of persecuted colleagues at the Masaryk University, Brno, which was singled out for specially brutal treatment, partly, no doubt, because the distinguished name Masaryk was such anathema to the diseased Nazi mind. Florian was tortured and finally shot in 1942 along with 76 others. Dolejsek, one of the outstanding men of science in Czechoslovakia, was professor of experimental physics at the Caroline University, Prague. Expelled from his position with the closing of the Czech universities by the Germans, he led the work of building a secret wireless station. This and other work in which he participated substantially contributed to Allied victory. He was eventually captured and died in 1945 in Terezin concentration camp after much suffering. Jiri Baum, well-known entomologist from the National Museum, Prague, who toured Australia by caravan in 1935 studying our spiders, returned from Africa to his native country in 1939 to work in the underground movement. He died in a concentration camp at the age of forty-four.

In contrast it comes as rather a surprise to read that in Holland during the occupation, research into glacial geology progressed and that also geophysical and geological research on behalf of the Netherlands Associated Collieries kept some forty young geologists in employment. It is stated that the Germans tried to transport these geologists to Germany but that the group managed to remain intact. One can only comment that the Germans can't have tried very hard. Examples of individual Dutch scientists having refused to collaborate are not lacking; some of them, like Belinfante, paid for it with their lives. Yet it appears that organised resistance on the part of scientists was not so great in the Low Countries as in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland. Libraries, museums and all learned institutions, in addition to universities, in these countries and also of course in the occupied parts of the U.S.S.R. were closed, in many cases being wantonly destroyed, and all scientific work completely ceased.

The recital of individual cases of torture and execution of scientists would be too long. Vles, French professor of zoology at Strasbourg, refused to hide when he knew the Gestapo was on his trail, for fear of possible reprisals against colleagues. He was one of 1000 prisoners on a crowded train who never reached Dachau alive. Reiss, pupil and colleague of Vles, was killed helping to evacuate wounded Maquis. A particularly brutal case was that of Mme Helene Metzger-Bruhl, a noted student of the history and philosophy of science. Treasurer of an international organisation, the Academic Internationale d'histoire des Sciences, she had successfully initiated a move in 1934 to boycott attendance at a congress in Germany after the Nazi dismissal of Jewish members of the German section of the Academy. For this she was hunted down by the Germans after the fall of France and sent to the extermination camp at Auschwitz.

Nor did all German scientists capitulate. Dr. Walther Arndt, eminent invertebrate zoologist at the German Zoological Museum, Berlin, was condemned to death and beheaded in June 1944 for so-called "defeatism." Retraction of his anti-Nazi and anti-war statements, which he steadfastly refused to do in face of death, would have saved him. It is painful to read that he was arrested as a direct result of a denunciation by one, Stichel, a colleague of Arndt at the Museum.

With the end of the war, scientists, especially in the new democracies of Eastern Europe, looked forward to a period of fruitful reconstruction and today in such countries as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland their hopes are being realised. In Greece just before the British armed intervention on behalf of Greek Fascism in November, 1944, Professor G. Georgalas of Athens wrote of how the study of the mineral resources of Greece had been neglected during his country's troubled history over the last century, but that with the defeat of the Nazis in his country he looked forward to a period of peaceful reconstruction and scientific development. Today the history of the treatment of the Greek people by native Fascists maintained in power by the British and Americans over the last 2½ years makes shameful reading, and Georgalas and thirteen other Greek professors have been dismissed from their posts, their only "crime" being that they took part in the resistance movement during the German occupation. A similar situation exists in Portugal, the "crime" in this case being that the scientists and other intellectuals inyolved took part in a popular democratic movement against the brutal Salazar dictatorship. In the Argentine, Hussay, world-famous endocrinologist has been dismissed from his post, and now America, "home of the free," has gaoled intellectuals merely because they belonged to an anti-Fascist organisation.

Scientists in the democratic countries cannot afford to regard these happenings in a spirit of gentle resignation, or with the feeling that at all costs scientists must keep out of politics and, after all, Greece is a long way from here. The fact that Fascist persecution is still carried on today in many countries demands eternal vigilance in our own countries and righteous indignation on behalf of the victims. One can only respect the memories of all those brave colleagues brutally tortured and done to death during the war by the Nazi criminals. Let the words quoted by the writer of Mme Bruhl's obituary, "Perhaps ye who sentence me are more fearful than I," serve as the epitaph of all. These most recent victims are still alive. They can and must be assisted in every way by progressive scientists in the democratic countries. Protests should be sent to our own Government and to the Governments of the countries concerned. If these do

not avail, in view of the present grave shortage of scientific manpower, and since German scientists of doubtful political alignment, even if not actually Nazis, are being brought to work in Australia by the Commonwealth Government, surely it is not too much to ask that the same privileges be extended to such men as Georgalas, for instance, who in addition to being a brilliant geologist was also a staunch and active anti-Nazi in his own country during its occupation by the Nazis.



BOOK REVIEW



SLAVE SOCIETY IN IMPERIAL ROME
(K. Kautsky)
J. W.

THERE are a great many reasons put forward for the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Sooner or later in the course of his argument every political or religious crank will appeal to the history of Rome for support in his contention that godliness, or love of pleasure, or usury, or some other particular curse, was the cause of Rome's downfall. I have not the slightest doubt that we shall shortly be told that Rome collapsed because the Emperors nationalised the banks.

Most of the explanations have some grain of truth in them. But they only touch the surface and mistake the effect for the cause.

There is no simple answer to the question, "Why did Rome collapse?" In order to understand why, it is necessary to make a scientific study of the mode of production of Roman society, of the class struggles which resulted, and of the effect which these struggles had on the forces of production and the way of life.

Such a study is presented in Kautsky's **Slave Society in Imperial Rome.**

This is not just another superficial explanation of the fall of Rome. It is a careful, scientific examination of the development of Roman society, based on an understanding of the fundamental principles of social development first enunciated by Marx and Engels.

"The history of all hitherto existing society," wrote Marx and Engels in the **Communist Manifesto,** "is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman—in a word, oppressor and oppressed—stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight — a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

Kautsky very clearly and accurately analyses the development of the class struggles in Rome and shows how these led to "the common ruin of the contending classes."

The growth of new ideas, the luxury of the rich, the influence of usury, and most other 'factors' which are variously put forward as being of decisive influence, are examined and shown to be part of an interconnected whole — the peculiar products of the particular organisation of society.

"Those who would understand the opinions which are characteristic of a particular epoch and which distinguish them from other epochs," writes Kautsky, "must first of all study the needs and problems peculiar to the period. These are at bottom the outgrowth of the particular mode of production in the period, of the manner in which the society of the time maintained its life."

The predominant form of production in Roman society was agriculture, and an agriculture organised under a system of slavery. Great estates, owned by wealthy landholders, were worked by numerous slaves. As the rich became richer, free peasants were pushed from the land and free artisans lost their independence. Great numbers trooped to the city of Rome, to become the 'spivs' of their day, the 'lumpenproletariat,' who were bribed with 'bread and circuses' to support the moves of aspirants for political power.

Meanwhile the landowners devoted less and less time to the management of their estates and to constructive government, and more and more time to luxurious enjoyment.

"Boundless wealth was being accumulated in Rome for the sole purpose of serving personal gratification: pleasure-seeking wealthy wastrels staggered from banquet to banquet, scattering with lavish hands the abundance which it was impossible for them to consume all for themselves."

Production from the land inevitably declined. Such a mode of production could not develop the productive forces. With cheap slave labor there was no incentive for improved means of production to be introduced. Moreover, the slaves had no interest in their work and could be trusted only with the simplest and most robust tools.

"Unintelligent, sulky, malicious, eager for an occasion to injure the hated tormentor, whenever the opportunity served, the slave labor of the latifundium produced far less than the peasant farm. Pliny, in the First Century of our era, already pointed out how fruitful the fields of Italy had been when the farmer had not yet scorned to till them himself, but how intractable Mother Earth had become when fettered and branded slaves were permitted to maltreat her."

Wealth continued to pour into Rome as tribute and spoil from conquered countries. With the decline of production the economy of the Empire became more and more dependent on war. But the ability to wage war also declined. With the disappearance of the independent peasant cultivator the earlier irresistable Roman armies of free citizens were being replaced by unreliable mercenary armies.

And so the uninterrupted fight between freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, ended in the disintegration of Roman society and the common ruin of the contending classes.

A comparison between decaying Roman society and modern capitalist society naturally comes to mind. There are many aspects which seem very similar. But Kautsky shows that these similarities are only superficial, that the basic modes of production of the two societies are vastly different and that consequently the development of each society takes a different form. In particular, there was in Rome no inherently revolutionary class capable of overthrowing the oppressing class and of constituting society.

But while we cannot look for parallels between Roman society and our own, for history 'repeating itself,' nevertheless a study of the history of those times does increase our knowledge of the broad social laws of development. This is the value of such books. I am not aware of any other easily available book which gives such a complete, yet concise, analysis of this particular historical period. In addition, it is written in a most clear and absorbing style.

In a brief preface L. Harry Gould quotes Lenin, who wrote: "We know from many of Kautsky's works that he could be a Marxist historian, and that these works of his will remain the permanent treasure of the proletariat in spite of his subsequent renegacy."

"One such treasure is presented in the pages which follow," comments Gould.

Slave Society in Imperial Rome is taken from Kautsky's complete work, **Foundations of Christianity: a Study of Christian Origins,** which is a Marxist analysis of the beginnings of Christianity.

The part now printed, after discussing the political and economic structure and trends of Roman society, shows how Christianity was peculiarly fitted to become the dominant religion of such society at a certain period of its decay. As opposed to idealistic philosophy, which holds that ideas change society, Marxism holds that society moulds ideas. Hence Kautsky shows how Christianity, far from being a new and inspired doctrine which brought light into the world, actually, for the most part, absorbed and reflected ideas which were current and which arose as the result of the disintegration of ancient society.

Current Book Distributors is to be congratulated on its enterprise in publishing this extract from such an important classic. It is indeed a treasure.



Questions & Answers

conducted by L. H. GOULD

Please explain the terms Socialism, Socialisation. What is the connection between Socialisation and Nationalisation?—J. T. McCarthy.

Socialism is the first phase of Communist society; it is the social order which, through revolutionary action by the working class (the proletariat) and its allies, replaces capitalism. In Socialism the state power is in the hands of the workers. Further, Socialist society is a "classless society"— classless in the sense that there are no exploiting and exploited classes. These are the basic political features of Socialism. The main economic feature of Socialism is the ownership of the means of production by the workers. Production is social, or socialised (just as it is, as we shall see, in capitalism); appropriation of the products of this social labor is also social — in contradistinction to capitalism, where appropriation is private, i.e., by private individuals, the capitalists.

Socialisation is the process of development of social, or socialised, production, the degree of organisation of social labor which first appeared in history in the Middle Ages side by side with the individual labor of the small producers in town and countryside. This small, scattered, individual production was replaced in the end by modern capitalism. From the 15th century onwards the small producers are dispossessed (expropriated) of their means of production, such as the spinning wheel, handloom and blacksmith's hammer. The producers are transformed into wage-laborers, and assembled by the capitalists in great factories. Labor thus ceases to be individual; it becomes social, socialised. The now socialised means of production "are only workable by a collectivity of men" (Engels).

But now note. Earlier, the means of production were owned by the small producers. The handloom, blacksmith's hammer, etc., were "small, dwarfish, circumscribed," but they belonged to the producer

himself. And he himself owned (appropriated) the product of his labor. But under capitalism, when the puny means of production along with their owners become transformed into "actual socialised means of production and socialised producers" (Engels), both the means of production and the commodities produced by this socialised labor are appropriated privately, i.e., by the capitalists. Engels then discusses the contradiction: "socialised production with capitalistic appropriation."

Terms such as "social labor," "socialised production," "socialisation of production," etc., occur not infrequently in basic Marxist writings which deal with the origin and development of capitalism. Thus Lenin, in his **Imperialism,** after discussing the swindles and manipulations of the monopolists, says: "At the basis of these swindles lies socialised production; but the immense progress of humanity, which achieved this socialisation, entirely goes to benefit the speculators."

It is clear, therefore, that socialisation is not the same as Socialism. It becomes Socialism only when the historical process of socialisation is completed, namely, when the means of production and the products of social labor are owned by society as a whole . . . "the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialised production, into socialised property" (Marx). In Chapter 32 of **Capital,** Socialism is explained as the "further socialisation of labor and further transformation of the land and the other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production."

The distinction between socialisation and Socialism may be formulated as follows:—

Socialisation: Usually refers only to the degree of organisation of social labor in capitalism. If so, it means socialised production with private appropriation.

Socialism: Socialised production with socialised appropriation, or, complete socialisation.

What is nationalisation?

Nationalisation is state capitalism, or state monopoly capitalism. It means the control of an industry or industries by the government on behalf of the capitalist class. Nationalisation arises when "the means of production have actually outgrown management by share companies, and therefore their transfer to the State has become inevitable from an economic standpoint." (Engels.) Capitalist relations remain; wage-labor is exploited as before.

But nationalisation represents a further stage in the organisation of capitalist economy. Hence, in answer to the particular question set above, nationalisation expresses a higher degree of socialisation of labor, of socialisation of production. (Note: The main political issues around nationalisation of the private banks are treated fully elsewhere. Here we need only observe that sometimes the capitalists themselves favor nationalisation — when government intervention in industry guarantees the investments and dividends of the capitalists, e.g., only a tiny fraction of the shareholders of the Bank of England opposed nationalisation; similarly, the bondholders of the N.S.W. Government railways have nothing to complain about. But frequently the further advance of the Labor Movement requires nationalisation of industries, e.g., Lenin's demand prior to the October Revolution; similar demands advocated, and adopted, in a number of countries following the defeat of the Axis powers; and the current A.C.P. policy of nationalisation of the banks and the key industries.)

But two special points must now be made in regard to nationalisation:—

1. The rate of increase of socialisation of labor in history corresponds generally to the rate of development of capitalism from its free competitive stage, through the concentration and centralisation of capital to the emergence of the great monopolies, the domination of the financial oligarchs—in short, imperialism. This is the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism, and means for the toilers extreme exploitation, the resort of the capitalists to greater violence and reaction, to fascism, and the outbreak and recurrence of devastating wars. The Socialist revolution becomes a "practical necessity" (Stalin).

2. The capitalist mode of production creates, in the form of the monopolist trusts and the banks, and in such state enterprises as the post office, the material prerequisites for the advance to Socialism.

Marx said of the banking system that it "presents indeed the form of common bookkeeping and distribution of means of production on a social scale, but only the form." And Lenin: "The imperialist war is the eve of the Socialist revolution. And this is so not only because the war with its horrors is generating a proletarian uprising — no uprising will create Socialism if it has not ripened economically — but because state monopoly capitalism is the fullest material preparation for Socialism, is its threshold, is that rung on the historic ladder between which rung and the one called Socialism there are no intermediate rungs."

Further from Lenin: "Capitalism in its imperialist stage arrives at the threshold of the most complete socialisation of production. In spite of themselves, the capitalists are dragged as it were into a new social order, a transitional social order from complete free competition to complete socialisation" (i.e., to Socialism).

A few words about the Socialist objective of the ALP, as contained in the formula, "Socialisation of production, distribution and exchange." This formula means Socialism, even though clumsily expressed. And the meaning is not affected by the unscrupulous demagogy of right-wing ALP leaders, and the confusion created among ALP workers by misuse of the terms socialisation and nationalisation. Note this point in L. Sharkey's letter to the **Sydney Morning Herald** (4/10/47): "Mr. Lang was urging what he called 'socialisation of credit,' by means of bank nationalisation, which he implied was a sovereign remedy against depression and a certain guarantee of prosperity for all. My pamphlet explained that what Mr. Lang and the Labor Party leaders had in mind was not 'socialisation' in the sense of Socialism, but nationalisation, and their claims were exaggerated to a degree that misled the people."

To summarise. Socialisation of labor, of production, begins with the beginnings of capitalism in the Middle Ages. It achieves a very high degree of development in the imperialist stage of capitalism, which is emphasised all the more under nationalisation (state monopoly capitalism). The very highest historical expression of socialisation occurs after the Socialist revolution, when the last forms of private ownership are abolished.

(References: Engels, **Anti-Duhring,** Section 3, Chapter 2; Lenin, **The Threatening Catastrophe;** Sharkey and Campbell, **Government Enterprise,** pp. 71-80.)

SEARCHING FOR THE BLUE STARS

Professor J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

TWO American astronomers, Humason and Zwicky, of Mount Wilson Observatory, in California, have recently reported a hunt for faint blue stars in two areas of the heavens. One was in the neighbourhood of the Hyades in the constellation of the Bull, where stars are very thick. The other was in the constellation Coma Berenices, as far away as possible from the Milky Way.

They photographed the same area of sky, first through a yellow glass and then through a violet one, and picked out the 48 stars, which appeared much brighter through the violet than through the red screen. All these stars were very faint indeed. Even the brightest was 20 times too far away to be visible with the naked eye.

Readers may well ask what can be the point of such a search and, even if it has more point than looking for the bluest postage stamp, what possible practical value it can have.

The answer is quite simple. The bluer a star, the hotter it is as a general rule.

The reason is straightforward. As one heats a black object up it begins to produce invisible infra-red rays which can be felt as heat. Then it becomes red-hot, and later white hot. Still hotter things give blue light. Thus an arc lamp is much hotter than a filament lamp, and much bluer.

Of course, many modern lamps, for example neon, mercury and sodium lights, shine because the atoms in them are electrically excited, not because they are hot, and their colour obeys quite different rules.

But since blue light consists of more rapid oscillations than red, it is quite natural that a hot body, whose atoms are moving quickly, should give bluer light than a moderately hot one. So what Humason and Zwicky were really doing was looking for the hottest bodies in two regions of the universe.

This is a reasonable thing to do, because matter under extreme conditions develops new properties (the change of quantity into quality). For example, some very cold metals become superconductors with practically no resistance at all, so that an electric current induced in a lead ring in a bath of liquid helium will go on circulating for hours on end.

The spectra of these stars were photographed, which made a calculation of their temperatures possible according to a principle first laid down by the Indian astronomer Saha, and worked out in more detail by Milne and Fowler in England.

In a number of cases their so-called proper motions—that is to say, the rate at which their directions in space alter—were already known. This made it possible to pick out those which were near to the sun; near, that is to say, in an astronomical sense. For a near object does not have to be moving very fast to alter its apparent position noticeably in ten years or so. So most stars which change their position quickly are fairly near to us.

In fact, most of the blue stars in the Hyades shared the motion of Aldebaran and the other bright stars of this cluster. So they must be very much dimmer.

It turns out that they belong to the group of stars called white dwarfs, which are extraordinarily dense. The matter in them is so closely packed that a cubic inch of it would weigh a ton. It is, of course, held together by its own gravitation, which is so enormous that even light has a good deal of work to do in getting out of such stars, and gets redder in the process, though not enough so to stop the stars being bluish-white.

Although no such star is bright enough to be seen without a telescope, they are so common near the earth that it is quite possible that there are more of them than of all the other stars put together.

Searches in regions like the Hyades, where there are a lot of stars, will help to decide whether this is so. If so, they probably represent a late stage of the evolution of stars, and perhaps our sun will finally contract into one.

The search for blue stars near the pole of the Milky Way gave quite a different result. A few are dwarfs, but most are very bright and large stars at an enormous distance.

In the direction of the Milky Way, there is so much dust between the stars that one can usually only photograph stars, however bright, a few thousand light years away.

At right angles to the Milky Way one can see out into space beyond it. And some of these large blue stars may be a good way out in the almost empty space between our galaxy and its neighbours which we see as spiral nebulae. So when more is discovered about them they may help us to fix the scale of the universe more closely, as well as telling us more about very hot matter. When I say very hot, I do not mean as hot as the matter in the first millionth of a second of an atom-bomb explosion, or the matter of an exploding star, but the hottest matter which is on permanent display.

I don't know what will come out of such studies, or whether anything will. I know that the study of matter in the sun told us of the existence of one new kind of matter, namely, the gas helium, and taught us much about the behaviour of the commoner kinds.

In particular, in the sun and other stars we study matter in a much simpler state than is common on earth; that is to say, as gas consisting of single atoms, many of which have lost one or more electrons. Their study has been of immense help in laying the foundations of chemistry.

Whether knowledge obtained in this way will be used for good or evil does not depend on the astronomers. Unfortunately so, because they are very internationally minded, much more so than chemists, for example.

Star mapping, and particularly eclipse observation, are international matters, planned for many years ahead by the workers concerned, and workers in other jobs might well learn a lesson from the International Astronomical Union.

In fact when miners, transport workers, or, above all, agricultural workers, have as good, international tie-ups as astronomers, our planet will be a much happier place.

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ORGAN OF THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Editor . . . . L. L. Sharkey

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 695 GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY, AND SHOULD BE IN BY THE FIRST OF THE MONTH.

STEM THE ADVANCE OF REACTION

R. DIXON

THE present session of Federal Parliament had barely commenced before the Opposition parties, aided and abetted by some Labor Party members, began a typically slanderous attack on the Communist Party, demanding the suppression of the Party or a Commission of Inquiry into its activities and connections.

They had in view much more than attacking the Communist Party. They wanted an inquiry to smear the trades union movement and Labor Party, as well as the Communist Party, and to attack the very basis of Australian democracy.

These people (Menzies, Fadden, Harrison, Abbott and others) who chant endlessly the absurd charge that the Communists get their orders from Moscow, avidly take their cue from the sayings and doings of the American monopolists who are now busily engaged in trying to smash the American labor movement and strangle democracy.

When the Liberals demanded a Commission of Inquiry into Communist activities they wanted something like the Committee of Un-American Activities. This Committee is an open forum for every limelighter, slanderer and reactionary in the United States to attack Communists, the labor movement and American democracy. Apart from its attacks on the labor movement this Committee is out to bring the liberal-democratic tradition of the Roosevelt regime into disrepute and to indict all those American liberals associated with the New Deal. In other words, the Un-American Activities Committee is waging a campaign of hate against everything progressive, democratic and decent in American life, and this is the kind of commission of inquiry the Liberal and Country Parties wanted the Government to establish here in Australia.

Throughout the capitalist world today a most determined attack is being made by reaction on democracy under the pretence of combating Communism. At the head of this offensive stand the powerful American monopolies. On the one hand the men who control the American trusts and monopolies are striving to crush the U.S. labor movement and to establish their undisputed dictatorship over the American people. On the other hand they aim to enslave the world, beginning with the capitalist world and ending, they hope, with Soviet Russia. Vyshinsky has drawn attention to the fact that the American Imperialists, in addition to spreading propaganda for war, are making the necessary military preparations for waging war to enslave the world.

Thus the American monopolists have world war and Fascism on their agenda. The approaching economic crisis, which threatens to engulf American capitalism, first of all, increases their aggressiveness.

American policy is a potential threat to Australian security and independence. The Morgans, Rockefellers, Duponts and Mellons, those sinister men who dominate the banking and industrial monopolies of America, aim to bring Australia under Yankee control. They are striving to sweep away Empire preference, to undermine Australia's trade with Britain and other countries, and to make us dependent on Dollar Imperialism. This is why the policy of Dr. Evatt, which will bring Australia into a state of vassalage to America, if persisted in, must be fought by the labor movement. More than this, Dr. Evatt's policy, his consistent support of Dollar Imperialism in U.N.O. and of American foreign policy in general, serves to cover up and confuse the Australian people as to the real aims of the American monopolists and, therefore, disorganises the struggle for peace and democracy.

The European Communist Information Bureau, in dealing with the role of the right-wing labor leaders, points out that they "strive to conceal the predatory nature of imperialist policy beneath a mask of democracy and socialist phrases, whereas they are in fact only the loyal auxiliaries of the Imperialists in causing disintegration of the ranks and poisoning the mind of the working class."

The foreign policy of the Labor Government adds grist to the mill of the Liberal and Country Parties. These Parties have abandoned all pretence of defending Australia's independence from the American threat. They not only support the American war plans, but they join in the general offensive of the American monopolies against the democratic rights of the people and, first and foremost, in the attacks upon the labor movement.

The vicious attack upon the Communist Party and the demand for a Commission of Inquiry by the Liberal and Country Parties is closely connected with the speeding up of the war plans of Imperialism, the growth of Fascist trends in the capitalist countries, and fear of the approaching economic crisis and its consequences.

The Labor Government, it is true, rejected the demands for a public inquiry into the Communist Party, but they made no effort to expose the motives or the role of the Australian reaction. On the contrary, the reasons given by the Government for rejecting the Inquiry were: that such an Inquiry would not reveal anything more about the Communists than the Commonwealth Investigation Branch already knew, and might result in the closing of sources of information.

That reply shows how completely the Labor Government capitulated to the Opposition in its attack directed not only at the Communist Party, but at the labor movement as a whole. It was not prepared to defend the working class or to

se the anti-democratic aims of the Opposition. her, the Government candidly admitted that nised spying on the labor movement was going vith full Labor Government sanction under the tion of Dr. Evatt's Department.

When we remember that spying and provocation st the labor movement, including the Labor y, had been practised by the ruling classes ever the first working class organisations were olished in this country, and that labor organisa- have always abhorred and condemned such ures, the admission of the Government is all more alarming.

The danger to democracy and to Australia's pendence and integrity comes from the enemies he working class, from the men of the trusts monopolies. These are the people whose ious activities need to be investigated and pated. The working class movement, and in cular the Communist Party, are the most stent and determined defenders of democracy Australia's independence.

What other effect can the Labor Government's de to the Opposition's demand for an Inquiry the Communist Party and its admission of nised spying on the labor movement have than use resentment, confusion and division in the of the working class?

n other words, the Labor Government's stand ens the labor movement and strengthens in way the hand of reaction, of the men of trusts. It weakens the struggle to maintain ocratic freedom and peace.

is not only on these issues that we see this rable failure of the Labor Party leaders to back against the reaction. Nationalisation of ing is another example. From the very ent Mr. Chifley made his brief announcement he Government's intention to nationalise the ng banks, the Labor Party stepped aside and he field of propaganda and agitation to the ers, press and Opposition Parties.

When the Bank Nationalisation Bill came e Parliament the Labor Party, it is true, d its case, which was a very effective one. ide of Parliament, however, the Labor Party ed to campaign. The N.S.W. Labor Party utive blandly decided to hold no further ings on nationalisation of the banks, and in Victorian elections the Labor contestants tried gnore the issue.

Outside of Parliament important events are g place. The opponents of bank national- on, financed to the limit by the banks and big opolists, not only have succeeded in creating usion and doubt about nationalisation of the s, they are threatening violence and calling the establishment of organisations similar to the Fascist New Guard in order to fight the labor movement. In other words, the bankers and their stooges are whipping up the hostility of sections of the people against the working class and are gathering together reactionary forces to attack the labor movement, the Constitution and the rights of the Australian people.

The Labor Party is fully aware of these developments but refuse to do anything to counter them. It is backing down at the very moment when it is essential to fight.

This attitude can only bring disaster for the labor movement. Australia is in danger of sliding to the Right because the Labor Party is not prepared to campaign against, and rally its supporters to fight against, the Liberal and Country Parties and the monopolists they speak for and represent.

The policy of the Labor Party, if persisted in not only whittles away the electoral support of t Labor Party, it has grave dangers for the tra union movement. If the forces of the Right continue to grow in strength, the working class will suffer serious reverses, setbacks that it will take years to overcome. These are the issues the working class must face.

The swing to the Right must be checked if Australia is to continue along the path of democratic and progressive development.

The role of the working class is of supreme importance in this situation because it is the chief source of Australian democratic strength. Around a programme for the defence of Australian independence, democratic rights and further progress, the working class must strive to rally all democratic and patriotic forces of the people.

The labor movement must be fully conscious of the fact that the chief weakness of the working class today is the constant retreat of the Labor Party leaders and reformist officials before attack of reaction. By this action they sha the division in the labor movement, and confuse disrupt and weaken the forces of the working class.

We must expect the attacks of the reaction on the labor movement to increase. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that not only the Communist Party fights back, but the trade unions and Labor Party as well. The members of these organisations, the rank and file of the reformist trade unions and the Labor Party, must insist upon this.

This is the way to overcome the divisions in the labor movement, and to create working class unity. This is the way to stem the advance of the Right, to defeat the reaction. This is the way to ensure that the democratic and patriotic forces in our country, with the working class movement as the core, retains the initiative and leadership in the future development of Australia.

THIRTY YEARS OF THE U.S.S.R.— SOCIALISM TRIUMPHANT

J. D. BLAKE

GREAT indeed have been the changes wrought in the lives of the Soviet people in the thirty years since the October Socialist Revolution in 1917. But this number of years gives a wrong impression of the time the Soviet people have been able to devote to the construction of Socialism.

During the first three years after 1917, the young Soviet Republic had to fight for its existence against armed intervention. The armed forces of England, America, France, Germany, Japan, Poland, Finland and other countries invaded the territory of the Soviet Union, adding to the devastation already caused by the first World War.

The period from the end of the civil war until 1927 was occupied in restoring the economic life of the country to its pre-war levels. From 1928 to 1941 was the actual period of socialist construction. After that came the second World War, lasting until 1945, and which again laid waste an area of Soviet territory larger than Victoria and New South Wales together; an area economically as important to the Soviet Union as those two States are to Australia.

From 1945 up to the present time, the Soviet people have been compelled to devote their great energies to again restoring the economic life of their country to its pre-war levels.

The fact which this brief history demonstrates is that in the thirty years' existence of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet people have actually been free to develop an expanding socialist economy and socialist society for less than half of that time.

Yet, by the end of 1937, Soviet industry was producing an output which was 428 per cent of 1929 level. In other words, Soviet industrial production increased by more than four times over a period of eight years.

Nowadays, those record rates of development are being outstripped, as the growth of the Soviet State budget demonstrates. In 1940, the Soviet budget was 180,000 million rubles; in 1947, the budget reached the enormous level of 333,000 million rubles.

A fact of momentous importance about Soviet development is that after passing a certain stage, the rate of improvement in the living standards and the general well-being of the Soviet people begins to leap ahead at unprecedented speed.

That nodal point was reached just before the second World War, but the full fruition was stopped by the war. The Soviet people have again reached this point of development in 1947, and a few more years of peaceful development will reveal rates of growth astounding to the world.

The peaceful direction of Soviet policy is shown by this year's expenditure on health, which is 59 per cent higher than in 1940; while higher education is receiving seventeen and a half thousand million rubles more than in 1940. In secondary schools and universities, there are now 100,000 more students than before the war.

All the wild charges about "Soviet expansion" and "Soviet aggression" are completely exposed by the State budget figures. While, in 1940, 32 per cent of the budget went to military expenditure, this item is down to 17 per cent this year, and would be still lower but for the threatening policy of American imperialism. Estimated on the basis of the official exchange rate, the Soviet arms budget for 1946-47 is half the amount being spent on arms by the United States of America.

The U.S.S.R. does not need war and does not want war. To demonstrate the superiority of Socialism over capitalism, the U.S.S.R. needs peace above all else; that is the significance of Comrade Stalin's numerous statements on relations between the U.S.S.R. and capitalist countries in which he emphasises the possibility of peaceful competition between the two social systems.

With another decade of peace, the socialist achievements of the Soviet people would demonstrate beyond all doubt the superiority of socialist society for all the world to see.

In the capitalist countries, the reactionaries hysterically change the tune of their anti-Soviet propaganda from day to day. One day, they declare that a few years of capitalism, doctored by Marshall plans and Truman doctrines, will prove capitalism a better way of life than socialism, and that even the Soviet people will be won over to such a viewpoint. Next day, having no faith in their own nonsensical ravings, they scream for war against the U.S.S.R.—for atom bombs to be dropped on the Soviet people before it is too late—before they become too strong. On the following day, again the reactionaries play their tune of Soviet weakness to prove that a war against Russia would be a very easy proposition.

The campaign of hatred and abuse of the U.S.S.R., now at such fever heat in the capitalist newspapers, is not new. We can recall the wild stories about the "nationalisation of women," the "failure of the first five year plan," the supposedly "rotten Soviet system due to collapse at any moment," and the "ramshackle Red Army, which was to be shattered in six weeks by Hitler's Nazi army."

A hardy propaganda stand-by of the anti-Soviet elements is the repeated declaration that criticism is not permitted in the U.S.S.R.; but in the autumn of 1946, there developed in the U.S.S.R. a widespread campaign of criticism of bad work

and incompetence on the part of a number of executive workers in industry and agriculture.

The capitalist press gleefully shouted that this revealed the failure of the new five year plan, and that Soviet foreign policy was designed to cover up internal difficulties. The collective farms were said to be in a state of chaos and revolt.

The present year has already supplied the true answer. The industrial plan was fulfilled 103 per cent in the first nine months of the year. The collective farms brought in a harvest 58 per cent greater than last year in spite of great difficulties resulting from war devastation.

There is not a government in the capitalist world which permits such free criticism of the weaknesses and defects in the State, party and economic apparatus as is the case in the Soviet Union. The fact is that this self-criticism is one of the most important weapons contributing to rapid socialist advance.

The reactionaries have no faith in their own stories about Soviet weakness. It is the growing might and power of the U.S.S.R. which sends them into such orgies of hysterical fury.

The champions of "private enterprise" and so-called individual liberty dread most of all the prospect that working people in their own country will really grasp the fact that on a vast territory of the earth ordinary working folk are demonstrating the splendours of achievement possible when monopoly bankers, exploiters and leeches of all kinds are thrown off their backs.

The shouts of the capitalists and their lackeys about freedom cannot hide the contrast between capitalist countries and the U.S.S.R.. The cry "Freedom to own property" cannot conceal the fact that in Australia this freedom belongs to a wealthy clique which owns the wealth of the country. This freedom does not belong to working people —nor does it belong to farmers, whose lands are mortgaged to the banks.

Socialist industry and banks are the property of the Soviet people; the land is the collective farm property of the Soviet peasants.

The cry "Freedom of the press" cannot hide the fact that publication of daily papers like the Sydney **Telegraph** or the Melbourne **Herald** can only be undertaken in Australia by millionaire monopolies, while in the Soviet Union the press is published by the organisations of the people.

Freedom in capitalist countries means freedom for monopolies and trusts to exploit the people. The Soviet concept of freedom is based on the principle of freedom from exploitation; freedom from all forms of religious and racial oppression. It is the freedom of all useful people to join their forces and abilities in mutual collaboration to overcome the forces of nature for the betterment of mankind.

The freedom of the individual person is found in the freeing of society from the tyranny of class exploitation and oppression. The betterment of the individual person flows from the betterment of society as a whole. True personal freedom and the blossoming of individual personality can be secured in no other way.

Socialism rouses the latent forces of the people and sets free their genuine creativeness. In a socialist society, it is ability and talent, not wealth or influence, which are the qualties upon which young people can rise to the highest peaks of human endeavour.

. . . .

It has become commonplace for the capitalist press to use the term "totalitarian" when speaking of the U.S.S.R. The difference between the U.S.S.R. and capitalist countries is supposed to be that the former is totalitarian, while the latter are democratic.

What does totalitarian mean? The meaning of this term is quite well known; it means the concentration of all the power in the State (and freedom within the State) in the hands of a finance capitalist oligarchy. It means the glorification of the State as a separate, permanent and mystical entity standing above the people, who, in turn, are made into slaves.

This was quite well described by the late unlamented Mussolini when he said: "Everything is in the State, and nothing human or spiritual exists or has any work outside the State."

In other words, totalitarianism is the very essence of fascism, and fascism is the product of monopoly capitalism. That is why fascist tendencies are so manifest today in the United States of America, the home of the most powerful capitalist monopolies in the world.

The entire development of the U.S.S.R. is in the opposite direction—putting an end to totalitarianism. The first essential feature of the Soviet State is that it came into existence after depriving the financial oligarchy of power, and the vesting of all power in the hands of the people who used this power to complete the elimination of the finance capitalist oligarchy, and for ending the exploitation of man by man.

The historical growth of the Soviet State has been a chronicle of expanding democracy in which ever increasing millions of people participate. This political growth coincides with the building of a classless socialist society and was codified in the new Stalin constitution of 1936.

The building of a classless society and the widening democracy of the Soviet State laid the foundations for the withering away of the State as such. The Soviet Union provides a classic demonstration of the validity of the Marxist teachings on the State. The Marxists know that the State had a beginning and will have an end; moreover, the Marxists lead society to the stage where the State, as such, can die away.

The Soviet Marxists, headed by Comrade Stalin, are brilliantly developing and implementing this profoundly democratic teaching, and are bringing into the field of reality the words of Frederick Engels about: "humanity's leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom."

Thus it can be seen that the Soviet Union, far from being totalitarian, far from glorifying the State, teaches all mankind by its example how to use the State to overcome fascist totalitarianism, and to prepare the way for the dying out of the State itself.

The great socialist victories of the Soviet people were possible because they were led by such a great party as the Soviet Communist Party. This party is a true party of the masses, based on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, the Soviet people have overcome internal and external enemies in their struggle to build a socialist society. Under the brilliant leadership of this great party, they are now advancing to the transition to full Communism and the realisation of the Communist aim — "From each according to his ability — to each according to his needs."

Looking back on the history of the U.S.S.R., it may seem to many that at each of the great turning points in Soviet development, it was quite easy and simple to make correct decisions; but at the time these great decisions were made by the Party under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the correct decision was not so easy to see as it is now in retrospect.

Experience has demonstrated that the decision to launch the first five year plan to industrialise the country was of decisive importance for the whole development and the very existence of the U.S.S.R. But at the time the decision was taken on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, there were many like Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kamenev who declared it to be madness and ruthlessly fought against it.

The same thing applies to the historic Party decision on the development of collective farming in agriculture, and the elimination of the Kulak class. If that decision had not been carried out, what a sorry position would have arisen when Hitler's hordes advanced into Soviet territory. Yet that decision also was adopted and carried out in the teeth of fierce opposition from hostile enemy elements and classes.

This leadership called for a party with a mastery of the advanced theory of the working class movement — the theory of Marxism-Leninism. It called for a revolutionary party, free from all opportunism and unswerving in its struggle against compromisers, waverers and capitulators.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Stalin, is precisely such a party of a new type; a party which daily strengthens the firm connections which bind it to the masses of the people; a party whose main line of policy is not merely the policy of party members, but the policy adopted and carried out by the whole people.

A year ago, after the enormous loss of life among Communist Party members in the second World War, the Soviet Communist Party had six million members, and two-thirds of its members were under the age of thirty-five years.

Every member of the Soviet Communist Party is an active leader of the people — there are no mere holders of a party card in the Bolshevik party.

The official organ of the Party, **Pravda**, is the greatest organising force in the world today. When a decision of the Central Committee, a speech of Stalin or other Soviet leaders, appears in Pravda, the Communists in the remotest corners of the vast Soviet territory will be found sedulously studying the paper as soon as it appears, and immediately deciding how to put the decisions into effect.

Editorials of **Pravda** on the spring sowing or the harvest, on a particular industry or factory — are carefully studied and discussed immediately by the party members directly concerned, and steps are taken without delay to correct defects revealed in their work.

All this is possible because of the close ties between leadership, party and masses, and because a thorough knowledge of Communist theory and policy is the hallmark of a member of the Soviet Communist Party.

Led by such a Party, the Soviet people have won world-shaking victories in the past thirty years. Led by such a Party, the Soviet people in the next few years will reach such pinnacles of economic, social and cultural development as will transform the outlook of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

A new economic crisis is now besetting the capitalist world. At the time of the last economic crisis in the early thirties, the contrast between the U.S.S.R. and capitalist lands stood out clear and sharp for all to see, but at that time the Soviet Union was only beginning Socialist construction from a very low level.

Today, at the beginning of a new capitalist economic crisis, the Soviet Union is already a powerful, highly industrialised socialist State, with a rate of development in human achievement which will give unprecedented impetus to the Socialist advance of the masses of mankind now laboring under the increasing decay and chaos of capitalism.

THE MEANING OF DR. EVATT'S POLICY

L. L. SHARKEY

THE Labor Party Governments of Britain, Australia and New Zealand still maintain their alliance, in the sphere of foreign affairs, with the American Big Business Government.

During the recent Federal Parliamentary debate on foreign policy, Prime Minister Chifley adopted the contradictory position of rebuking Menzies, Fadden and Co. for their warmongering, but then said that Vyshinsky's attack on the equally vicious and far more dangerous, because so much more powerful, Yankee warmongers, was "hard to swallow." In effect, Mr. Chifley believes that Menzies and Co. held beliefs inimical to peaceful co-operation among the nations, but will not see that there are powerful warmongers in Britain and the United States: Churchill and the gentry indicted by Vyshinsky.

Certainly, the English-speaking peoples desire no new wars, but that is not true of many of the powerful monopolists and imperialist politicians. It is not the "duty" of the labor movement to "defend" warmongers because they are British, as McNeil did at U.N.O. in the case of Churchill, spicing his "defence" with some nasty anti-Soviet slanders, but to expose and fight warmongers wherever they are to be found. Our duty, in particular, is to fight "our own," warmongers.

The Australian Labor Government's policy is "close co-operation" with America, allegedly to make Australia secure from aggression. It is apparently of no concern to the Labor Government who rules in America, whether it is a fascist, Tory, or Liberal Government of the Roosevelt type, nor of any consequence what kind of policy that Government pursues. To the Labor leaders, it seems America is powerful enough to "protect" Australia and that is all they ask.

That is the line persistently pursued since the end of the war. It is a fundamentally false policy, and one fraught with the gravest dangers for the Australian people.

The American Government is a government of Big Business, of the representatives of the most colossal monopolies and trusts on record. It serves entirely the interests of U.S. Big Business. It oppresses the American people. The Taft-Hartley anti-Trade Union legislation is described as "the Slave Bill" by the American trade union movement. More striking still, the leaders of the two American trade union Federations, Presidents Murray and Green, who are as far from being Communists as Mr. Chifley himself, have described the Taft-Hartley Bill in an official joint statement as a "long step towards fascism."

Millions of American civil servants are being Third Degree'd as to their politics by Edgar Hoover's strong-arm F.B.I. men. What is the difference between this and the infamous laws against "dangerous thoughts" imposed on the Japanese by their fascist and warmongering rulers?

Henry Wallace, to the applause of millions of Britons and Americans, brands the Truman policy, backed by the big capitalists, as a warmongering policy. Vyshinsky is by no means alone when he points to warmongers and fascists in the U.S.A., he has the complete support of all the democratic forces of America, from the Rooseveltian Liberals to the trade unions, the growing American Labor Party, and the Communists.

The demagogy of Dr. Evatt at U.N.O. cannot conceal the fact that the foreign policy of the Australian Labor Government is completely out of step with the views of the American democrats of all schools of thought; that it gives aid and comfort to their worst enemy, which shackles them with the "Slave Bill" and robs them of their last dollar through uncontrolled high prices, profiteering and blackmarketing.

The American progressives, Vyshinsky and the democrats of all lands are right in their estimate of U.S. policy and Evatt is wrong in his defence of the American imperialists; the policy which Mr. Chifley uneasily defended in the Federal Parliamentary debate. Not only is it wrong, but it is an insult and a blow to the American democrats, who are fighting strenuously the war and fascist policies of American reaction, the American Menzies, Faddens and Churchills.

The American people, at last, are proceeding to build a Third Party in order to wage the struggle against their oppressor, Big Business and its Government.

The "co-operation" between the A.L.P. leaders and the American monopolists, warmongers, labor-haters, fascists and would-be world rulers, is defended by Chifley and Evatt on the ground that it is "necessary" for Australia's "defence." This raises the question: Defence against whom? Does Dr. Evatt or the Prime Minister tell us who is preparing to invade Australia? Is it India, Indonesia, China? Or France or Italy? Everyone knows it is absurd to talk about invasion from any of these countries in any discernible future. Germany and Japan are occupied by Allied armies. Who then? The "expansionism" of the Soviet Union, the reactionaries will shout in chorus.

The notion of a Soviet invasion of Australia, or America, or Britain, is a fantastic invention of warmongering propaganda. It is physically impossible, even if the Soviet Union were a warmongering, imperialist State, puffed up with dreams, like the Wall Street tycoons, of world domination instead of being a Socialist, peace-loving State. It is the imperialist warmongers of the United States who dream of war, talk war and prepare war.

If such a war did come, it would not take the form of a Soviet aggression, nor an invasion of the English-speaking countries. Quite the contrary. The Americans are obviously preparing for an attack on the frontiers of the Soviet Union. That is why they are preparing military bases across the world, thousands of miles from the shores of the United States.

Such a war would be fought in Europe and Asia, not in the Americas and Australia, or even in Britain. It is the Americans who are building military railways in Turkey, running right up to the Soviet frontier, not the Soviets who are building bases in Mexico; it is the U.S.A. that is building war bases in the Middle East to attack the Baku oilfields, not the Soviets building war bases in Canada to attack the U.S.A. and so on.

It is the imperialists, not the Soviets, who are preparing for an aggressive, unjust war. Joseph Stalin recently pointed out that the monopolies had found war a "profitable business" for them. The American bosses about doubled their capital and are still making super-profits as a result of the war. Peace threatens this exploiters' paradise. A terrible depression casts its shadow over the U.S.A. and other capitalist countries. So war seems more profitable to them than peace and "depression"—and mass revolt against the ensuing poverty.

War is inherent in monopoly capital, which is not to say that war is inevitable. The warmongers can be straitjacketed by the struggle of the masses.

It is clear, then, that the "co-operation" of the Labor Government with America is not concerned simply with Australian defence, but will inevitably lead to the transformation of Australia into a satellite, after the fashion of Hungary, Bulgaria, Finland, etc., in Hitler's war, in the offensive of the American trusts against the Soviet Union and the people's movements the world over.

The role of Dr. Evatt is shown up very clearly in connection with the struggle around the veto. Demagogically posing as the super-defender of "democratic majority decisions" and the "rights of smaller powers," Evatt has consistently assailed the veto power.

The "Big Three" agreed to the veto because the principle of unanimity of the decisive powers is vital; moreover, in any action against a possible aggressor the major states would have to shoulder the main burden, therefore, protection of their interests was considered necessary.

The "Big Three," further, is composed of two imperialist and one Socialist country, which, while it does not preclude co-operation for peace and international trade, nevertheless complicates matters, as they naturally approach problems from different, i.e., socialist and capitalist, standpoints.

These are the circumstances in which the veto, or principle of unanimity, was born.

At the end of the war, on the basis of the discovery of the atom bomb, the American and British imperialists went over to the "get tough with Russia" policy, to "atom bomb blackmail."

Anglo-American imperialism set out to dominate the world, with the more powerful American imperialism in the leading role.

A swarm of small capitalist states and some larger ones (France, China, Italy) hope to live on American dollars and to buttress their reactionary ruling-classes against the popular movement with American imperialist power. Therefore, they are subservient to the will of the Wall Street paymasters, and have lost, or are losing, the power to take an independent political line. Some of them, like Argentina and Greece, are fascist.

Dr. Evatt's "democratic majority" is composed, then, of delegations dependent on Wall street. In reality, therefore, Evatt's "democratic majority" is the instrument of dollar imperialism.

Democracy is freely translated to mean the "rule of the people." What has this "majority" of satellites in U.N.O. to do with the "will of the people?" The answer is, nothing.

The Wall Street trusts are out to capture the market and financially control the economy of the other capitalist states. The American imperialists want to achieve Hitler's aim, i.e., world domination.

The less powerful capitalist states thus lose their independence.

The Wall Street trusts found war a most profitable business for them, unlike the peoples of Europe, who wander hungry amid the ruins of their cities, factories and farms.

The Wall Street monopolists and those of London cherish a bitter class hatred for the Soviet Union and the popular governments and movements of Europe. Hence, they bang the war-drums and drive towards a Third World War as their unstable, monopoly-capitalist economy totters on the brink of a new crisis.

The Soviet delegation has used the veto to prevent Wall Street imperialism having its way in the Balkans, Spain, in the Middle East, and to block its encroachment on the independence of small countries and its plan to turn Europe into an American backyard.

The Soviet use of the veto at U.N.O., therefore, served the interests of the democratic and peace-loving peoples everywhere, whereas Evatt's demogogic anti-veto campaign is of the greatest service to the war-making and world domination plans of Churchill and the men of Wall Street.

The "crisis" in U.N.O. today is caused by the ruthless efforts of the Yankee imperialists to reduce U.N.O. to the status of the unlamented League of Nations, which degenerated into the servile instrument of the policy of one or two powerful countries, that is, to make U.N.O. the tool of the Yankee pretenders to world "leadership."

Evatt's struggle "against the veto" is in reality a struggle to ensure the dominance of American foreign policy—the policy of the super-millionaires—over U.N.O. and the world.

That is why Moscow radio said Evatt was not "pro-British or even pro-Australian, but pro-American" and the "errand boy of the dollar."

Evatt's "foreign policy" of subservience to American imperialism over the veto issue has nothing in common with the democratic tradition of the Australian labor movement, but is its antithesis.

Evatt's campaign on the veto, if successful, would destroy U.N.O., as neither the Soviet Union nor any other really democratic country is prepared to accept American overlordship.

So, as an effective organisation for peaceful co-operation among the Nations, U.N.O. would cease to exist and instead would become the plaything of Churchill and Wall Street. The world would thus be brought that much closer to war.

Such is the real content of Evatt's anti-veto demagogy which, in their own interest, the Australian people should repudiate because, in the last analysis, Evatt's attack on the veto would, if successful, remove a powerful obstacle from the warmongers' path.

The obscene fascist dictatorship of Franco still rules Spain with the firing squad and the gallows.

When the Soviet and Polish delegates about a year ago raised the question of Franco before U.N.O. and demanded serious action to remove this legacy of Hitlerism, Evatt played his usual sidetracking role, claiming that U.N.O. action would "strengthen" Franco, an obvious falsity, and proposing a "fact-finding" committee to find out, it would seem, if Franco is "really" a fascist!

Evatt, together with the Yankee imperialists, carried out this farce, which has prevented real aid being extended to the Spanish people.

The Evatt-imperialist line on Spain has resulted in Franco being left undisturbed to slaughter the cream of the Spanish nation while the New York and London monopolies pour in capital to plunder the unfortunate Spanish masses kept on a starvation wage by the Franco dictatorship. And in the most recent U.N.O. debate on Spain, Evatt was in the minority, opposing a motion aiming at action against the Franco dictatorship!!!

Evatt bears a heavy responsibility for the betrayal of the Spanish people by the Yankee-controlled U.N.O. majority who prefer Franco's dictatorship to a democratic regime in Spain.

The result of Evatt's activity around Spain is a real test of his sincerity—a practical test—and the result has proved that Evatt and his Wall Street patrons endeavor to sidetrack "interference" by U.N.O. with the loathsome Spanish fascist regime.

In every issue where Evatt has pulled faces and made loud demagogic noises in opposition to real demands for U.N.O. action, the result has been the same—a setback for the democratic, peace-loving forces, and a victory for Churchill, Wall Street, and international reaction.

Evatt has consistently backed intervention in Greece, where the democratic forces and heroic fighters against the Nazi and Italian invaders are being executed by scores, while other thousands are sent to island concentration camps by the savage Royalist-fascist dictatorship.

When, at the recent U.N.O. session, the crude American attempt to "declare" Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria "guilty" of aiding the guerillas proved too much for other delegations, and an amendment was moved deleting the "guilty" clause, Evatt, influenced also perhaps because the Yugoslavs have wounded his vanity by criticising him (and he is really a type whose politics can depend very often on his emotional reactions, which handicaps him for the post he holds) stood out, alone almost, for the continuation of this provocation, which could easily have led to a war in the Balkans, and which was aiming at giving the American imperialists an opportunity to intervene against the people's governments.

In "reply" to Vyshinsky's demand for the removal of foreign troops from Greece, Evatt defended intervention against the Greek people and told the world that Soviet troops were occupying Yugoslavia.

There have been no Soviet troops in Yugoslavia since the Nazis were driven out. No doubt there are still some Soviet troops guarding communications through Poland to the Soviet occupation forces in Germany, but they are not carrying on a reactionary war against the people and democracy as is the case in Greece. Soviet troops in Europe are there with the consent of the Allies, just as are the British and U.S. troops. And Evatt was one of a small minority at U.N.O. who wanted to turn over South-west Africa to South Africa, whose race phobia and ill-treatment of Negroes and Indians is notorious!

Evatt was almost frantic in his efforts to defend his patrons again Vyshinsky's charge of warmongering. Evatt's "amendment," in the name of Australia, to Vyshinsky's motion to outlaw war propaganda was an insult to the name of Australia. In effect, Evatt claimed "free speech" and "democratic rights" for warmongers!

What a prostitution of the glorious concept of freedom of speech and democracy! Free speech for the Hitlers so that the crematoriums can be stoked again and the rivers run red with blood from the battlefields.

Evatt talked about press campaigns against the warmongers, knowing full well that most of the American press is already in the hands of the propagandists of an anti-Soviet war, who censor peace arguments from its columns. Evatt wants to suppress, not the warmongers, but those who expose the warmongers. Evatt said that the Soviet press and radio campaign "against America" is a cause for war! It is well-known that the Hearst and the rest of the Yankee press daily pollute the atmosphere with streams of the foulest lies about the Soviet Union, but Evatt could not be expected to regard that as a "cause of war."

A country that regards press criticism as a cause for war must be on the verge of insanity, and Evatt thus unwittingly exposed his friends.

He endeavored to protect Byrnes against Vyshinsky's description of his book as "warmongering." The depths to which Dr. Evatt has fallen can be judged by comparing the London Times review of Byrnes' book, which described it as **"a recipe for war."**

To indicate fully the role of Evatt, the "great Liberal-Labor democrat" from democratic Australia, as a chief apologist for the U.S. imperialists and a "democratic screen" for war-preparation, let me quote at length the exposure of Evatt's "defence of the free Press" made by Vyshinsky at U.N.O., more particularly as it disposes of the lies told about the Soviet Press and the humbug that the press of Hearst and Beaverbrook, Murdoch and Fairfax is a "free press."

Vyshinsky will have the support of every Australian worker who knows only too well the vicious character of "our" millionaires' press. Vyshinsky said:

"Dr. Evatt protested against censorship, but the entire Australian press is strictly censored by the monopolists. There is no Government censorship in Australia, which means no censorship under public control; but there exists a very rigorous private censorship extending to everything printed in the newspapers, from articles down to the smallest notes and advertisements. It deals with the least significant questions, as well as with subjects of first-rate state significance.

". . . In his statement made here, Dr. Evatt accused the Soviet press of failure to report the friendly acts of other countries in regard to the U.S.S.R., and he did so very emphatically and making use of unfair expressions. What is the meaning of this accusation advanced by Dr. Evatt here, especially in connection with the subject we are now discussing—measures against instigators of war and against propaganda of a new war?

"This accusation means neither more nor less than that the Soviet press—and since according to Evatt's conception the Soviet press is controlled by the Soviet Government—that the Soviet Government deceives its own people by refraining from reporting to our Soviet people friendly acts coming from various states. If this is true, it is a grave crime.

"What did Dr. Evatt cite as an example? In support of his contention he cited the fact that not a single Soviet newspaper published Gromyko's statement made in the Security Council on February 26, 1947, concerning the decisive part which the armed forces of the U.S.A. played in the victory over Japan, and concerning the fact that the United States sustained greater losses in the war with Japan than any other country. Did not Dr. Evatt plainly say that this statement was not reported to the Soviet people?

"But here I will pass to the Chairman this copy of the newspaper **Pravda** of February 27, 1947. This is the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I shall pass this copy of **Pravda** to the Chairman and request him to certify that on page 6 there is a despatch entitled "In the Security Council," which reproduces exactly, word for word, what Dr. Evatt quoted here yesterday, accusing us of concealing this statement from the Soviet people.

"Thus, Dr. Evatt, it is one of two things: either you were misled by your dishonest or ignorant advisers, who palm off on you all kinds of cribs, the products of their ignorance and illiteracy, for the sole purpose of heating up your temper, hot as it is; or else you did it deliberately and in this case dishonestly.

"In the light of facts of this kind I shall ask you whether the assertion that the Soviet Government and the Soviet press concealed friendly acts of other states is not the very same malicious slander which is covered by the second paragraph of the resolution moved by Dr. Evatt? The great Russian writer Gogol describes the widow of a corporal who flogged herself. I believe that in this instance Dr. Evatt also flogged himself, but I expect him to offer an explanation on this point.

"While dealing with this question, I should like to note in passing one interesting feature: on February 27, when the U.S.A. moved in the Security Council the establishment of trusteeship over Japan's former mandated islands, the Australian representative Mr. Hasluck requested that the discussion be adjourned. It was then that Mr. Gromyko came out to say that the question was perfectly clear and that there was no reason for adjourning it. Thus the Australians wanted to secure an adjournment and perhaps even frustrate a decision altogether. The Soviet Union came out against this, and now this is being presented here in a distorted way in an effort to push through an inconsistent and false contention.

"This is how matters stand with regard to the basic contention that the press is free in some countries, such as, for instance, Australia, and that in other countries, such as, for instance, the Soviet Union, a Government-controlled press deceives its people.

"Dr. Evatt waxed indignant in connection with a cartoon of Eisenhower published in the Literaturnaya Gazeta. Yet, were Dr. Evatt to turn his attention to what is going on, let us say, in New York as regards cartoons of the leaders of the Soviet Government, he could paste all these walls with such cartoons instead of wall paper. Not only the New York **American Journal** or the New York **World Telegram,** but even the **New York Times** and the **Baltimore Sun, Times, Herald** and a number of other newspapers permit themselves insolent attacks on the leaders of the Soviet Government and Soviet people. I see them every day and examine with utter abhorrence these cartoons presented by the American press. I have a great many of them, and some time we shall issue an album in order to convict false witnesses.

"Dr. Evatt forgets one important circumstance, namely, that the Soviet press began attacking the

press of other countries only in reply to attacks on leaders of the Soviet State which had been launched continuously long before the Soviet press proceeded to attack. It has become an everyday occurrence, especially in America, to picture Russia as a kind of horrible polar bear mauling the rest of the world, and to act with the insolence of hooligans in misrepresenting our leaders. This has become so common that it seems to cause no surprise to anyone here.

"Our people, however, are highly indignant and we shall reply to such cartoons by our own cartoons, by a dozen cartoons to one, by a hundred to a dozen, by twice as much rudeness to rudeness, without considering rank and distinction without considering past services, as it should be in a true democracy. We shall call war instigators, such as Churchill, by their real name of war instigators, and not only call them so but prove it, even though they may have rendered great services in the past struggle against our common enemy.

"Dr. Evatt should understand this and not feel offended when the Soviet press pays back in kind. He should not feel offended by cartoons. In this connection, I should like to cite a Russian proverb: 'No use complaining about the mirror when your face is crooked.' A cartoon, like a mirror, shows what actually exists."

I have seen no adequate reply by Evatt, for the very good reason that there is no convincing reply, nor so far as I know, has he expressed any repentance for his falsities regarding the Soviet press.

Evatt's well-known change of front in regard to policy on Japan indicates his growing subservience to American imperialism. There is no need for me to emphasise the danger to Australia implied in a revival of Japanese imperialism. Earlier, the Federal Government seemed to be alive to this potential menace, and Evatt appeared to be opposing the policy of MacArthur.

MacArthur's policy is to maintain the Japanese Emperor, the feudal aristocracy and the big monopoly concerns, the heart and mainspring of Japanese fascism and aggression. MacArthur, in line with imperialist policy in Western Germany, wants to restore the enemy to strength in order that he might be used for a new world war as an American ally and to use his industry as a source of profit for Wall Street. No genuine type of democracy is to be permitted in Japan and the Trade Unions, and the Communists are to be rigorously excluded from any voice in Japan's future.

It is well known that this self-same policy in regard to Germany after the First World War led to disaster—to the rise of fascism and the outbreak of the Second World War. An imperialist, fascist Frankenstein was created in Germany, as part of an anti-Soviet policy, which could not be controlled.

Australia's national interest demands that this "mistake" be not repeated in regard to Japanese imperialism, as our nation may not be fortunate enough to escape destruction in a second conflict with the Japanese warlords.

Evatt suddenly changed his policy and accepted the reconstruction of a reactionary Japan and all that this means. Without a doubt, this acceptance of the MacArthur dictatorship in regard to Japan's future is much more of a peril to Australia's safety than that of the Soviet Union, which is altogether too powerful for Japan to tackle. The war proved that point.

That Evatt is apeing, or taking orders from, the American reactionary government is indicated by certain activities here in Australia.

Evatt boasts of his "co-ordination" of the "Intelligence Services" (in other lands, these are known as "espionage") and the greatly increased budget for these "services." As far as can be gathered the main function of this "Service" is espionage on Australian citizens, militant workers and intellectuals suspected of "dangerous thoughts," a lack of belief in the "morals" of the capitalist system.

Evatt seized the opportunity, when a few trade unionists mistakenly talked of a boycott of the rocket range, to improve on the infamous Crimes Act of the Bruce Government, by a piece of repressive legislation that is a menace to Australian liberty.

While we Communists do not oppose Australia experimenting with the latest military technique, there can be no doubt that the rocket range, in present international conditions, is part of the preparation for an imperialist, anti-Soviet war. The Australian people must realise that it is part and parcel of a reactionary world policy and not necessarily for Australia's protection against aggression.

Such are some of the attacks on Australian democracy sponsored by Attorney-General Evatt. In a new inner crisis develops in the Federal Labor Party over policy, most political students feel that Evatt is the likely one to follow in the footsteps of Hughes and Lyons, who split the Labor Government and installed reaction back in office. This suspicion and latent distrust is widespread in labor movement.

The path along which Evatt has been directing Australian foreign policy is brought into sharp relief by Molotov's announcement of Soviet possession of the atom bomb secret.

Evatt strongly defended the American "monopoly" of the atom bomb and stoutly resisted the Soviet proposal that atomic weapons be outlawed, in the fond belief that Soviet science would not master the technique of the atom bomb for 10 or 15 years. In the meantime, Evatt and his patrons would play the game of atom bomb diplomacy, i.e., threatening to shower atom bombs on the Soviet people, just as the Yanks unnecessarily dropped them on Japanese cities at a time when the outcome of the Pacific war had already been decided.

It is along this path to war that Evatt's subservience to American atom bomb diplomacy is attempting to lead Australia.

That such a war is against the interests of the labor movement and the Australian nation needs no demonstration.

It is because the Communist Party leads the struggle for peace and opposes war with the Soviet Union and the new European democracies that we are slandered by the warmongers as "Fifth Columnists."

Soviet possession of the atom bomb destroys the illusion of the imperialists that they were in a position to inflict a quick defeat on the Soviet Union with a shower of atom bombs while escaping retaliation themselves.

Molotov's announcement should cause them to revise their policies, give up their crazy plans for world domination and co-operate with the Soviet Union along the lines agreed to at the Potsdam Conference of the Big Three and embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

The Australian labor movement must reject the policy pursued by Evatt as dangerous to peace and placing Australia in the position of a U.S. satellite imperilling its power to make its own independent decisions.

The labor movement, rejecting Evatt's foreign policy, should demand :

Rejection of the idea that U.S. imperialism is Australia's only protection.
The outlawing of atomic weapons.
Universal disarmament.
Banning of war-inciting statements.
Liquidation of the fascist groups.
Carrying out the U.N.O. programme of international co-operation for peace.

Such a programme alone guarantees Australia's peace and independence.

DEMOCRACY OF A NEW TYPE

PROFESSOR EUGENE VARGA, Moscow

(Continued from last issue)

ALTHOUGH the same social order exists in all the countries of democracy of a new type, there are differences of no little importance, conditioned historically in both economy and policy . . .

This applies particularly to the national policy of the States under review. It might seem that in this sphere a sharp contradiction exists between the policy of Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and that of Czechoslovakia and Poland on the other (Bulgaria is almost united as regards its national composition). Czechoslovakia and Poland expelled to Germany almost all the Germans who previously lived on the present territory of their countries. In Yugoslavia all nations have equal rights and it is a federation of various nationalities. This contradiction, however, is only a seeming contradiction. In Yugoslavia it was a question of nations which (torn from their common Slav nationality) were oppressed by the Germans and fought against the invaders. During the war they belonged to one camp.

At the same time the Germans in the Sudeten region and Poland were a tool of Hitler fascism even before the war. They openly betrayed the country of which they were citizens. During the world war they fought on the side of Hitler against their motherland. It is comprehensible that, with this experience in mind, the Czechoslovak and Polish peoples have no desire to expose themselves to a possible danger by keeping these treacherous elements in their countries. The complete equality of rights of Slovaks and Czechs in Czechoslovakia clearly demonstrates the nature of its national policy, based on historical experience.

On the completion of the expulsion of Germans and the voluntary migration of Ukrainians from Poland to the Soviet Union (and Poles from the Soviet Union to Poland) the national composition of the States of the new democracy will be as follows: Bulgaria and Poland will be almost completely homogenous as regards national composition, Czechoslovakia will consist of two nations with equal rights (probably with a Hungarian minority, which the population unwillingly accepts). Yugoslavia, on the other hand, is a federation of equal nations. This national policy of the new Yugoslavia is particularly important for the prosperity of the country and friendship among the peoples living on its territory, because its pre-war regime left behind an extremely unfavourable heritage in this respect. Although the country was called Yugoslavia, i.e., the land of southern Slavs, it was the Serbian bourgeoisie which exercised actual domination and oppressed the other peoples. Precisely for this reason everything which in the slightest degree could be interpreted to mean a continuation of the pre-war Serbian policy of oppression was deleted from the Constitution and practice of the new Yugoslavia.

There remains in Yugoslavia a small German (and Magyar) minority. Since Yugoslavia, however, has no common frontier with Germany, and its regime is politically extremely stable, it can, unlike Czechoslovakia and Poland, safely leave this minority in its country.

. . . . .

All the states of democracy of a new type are People's Republics: the working people determine the policy of the government. The form which the political rule of the workers takes is not, however, the same in each case. Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria are parliamentary republics with universal, equal and secret electoral rights. The

governments in these countries are made up of coalition parties forming a majority and are responsible to parliament. Their electoral rights differ from the suffrage in the old bourgeois democracies, in that fascist parties are not allowed to operate and fascist traitors have no electoral rights. At the same time Yugoslavia is a federative republic, its Constitution being similar in many ways to that of the Soviet Union.

In this connection an important theoretical question arises: the idea was widely held in the Communist parties that the political domination of the working people, as is the case in the Soviet Union, could only be realised in the form of Soviet power. This is not correct, nor is it an expression of Lenin's opinion.

In my book on the Hungarian Soviet Republic, **Economic-political Problems of Proletarian Dictatorship,** published in 1920, I wrote the following phrase:

> "The hostility of the prosperous peasants and all strata of the ruling classes toward the proletarian state does not depend on the form the latter takes: whether this system is Soviet, a government of trade unions or a parliament with a Labor majority—this is all the same to the ruling classes. They will offer equally strong resistance to whatever form is assumed, once serious steps are taken to build up socialist economy."

This phrase which allows of the possibility of other forms of political rule by the working people was regarded by a number of comrades as incorrect. Lenin, however, who made sharp notes of criticism in the margins of some pages of my book, made no remarks at all concerning the phrase quoted above, but merely underlined part of it (see **Lenin Symposium,** Vol. 7, p. 371, Russ. Ed.).

The rise of states of new democracy shows clearly that it is possible to have political rule by the working people even while the outward forms of parliamentary democracy are still maintained.

* * * * *

The foreign policy of the States of new democracy is determined by the transitional character of their social order. It is owing to their social order that the captalist States, primarily the United States of America and Britain, do everything in their power not only to hinder the progressive social development of these countries but to throw them back and once more convert them into ordinary capitalist States. This effort becomes all the stronger on account of the fact that the present State system of these countries excludes the possibility of their once more becoming economically dependent countries as they were before the war in relation to Germany. It is this which explains facts in the daily press which are all too well-known to the reader: the repeated attempts at interference in the internal affairs of these countries, the hullabaloo about the absence of democracy because reactionary plotting is severely dealt with, attempts to discredit the elections, support of every display of opposition, i.e., of all reactionary (in the present historical situation) and objectively counter-revolutionary parties and politicians, etc. The intensity of these attempts at interference differs in relation to the different countries. It is relatively weak in relation to Czechoslovakia, because the bourgeoisie there are so discredited by their collaboration with the German fascists that they cannot, at least for the present, act openly as a political force and foreign reaction is deprived, therefore, of internal support. The democratic character of Czechoslovakia, therefore, cannot be disputed. In Poland, where Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party serves as the chief legal centre of reactionary forces inside the country and a bulwark for foreign reaction, attempts at interference assume the most intense character. One of the chief tasks of the foreign policy of these countries, therefore, is to protect their political conquests at home and their new social system from all these attacks.

It can be understood from these circumstances why the States mentioned maintain the closest friendly relations among themselves and render each other economic and political aid. Of the States mentioned, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, on the one hand, and Czechoslovakia and Poland on the other, have common frontiers which facilitate their economic ties. (There are two countries—Hungary and Rumania—between these two groups of states, which, although at the present time not belonging to the countries of democracy of a new type, are clearly developing in this direction.)

It is equally understandable that these countries maintain close, friendly relations with the Soviet Union. This is so not only because it was precisely the victorious troops of the Soviet Union that liberated their countries (Yugoslavia being, in part, an exception) from German occupation, and not only because they are all Slav states, but primarily because the present social order brings them close to the Soviet Union, because of all the great powers the Soviet Union alone is interested in the maintenance and further progressive development of the social order and political regime existing in these countries and can afford them diplomatic support against the reactionary offensive from outside.

The Soviet Union is at the same time interested in the maintenance by these countries of the existing regime and their further development in a progressive direction. The present regime in these countries provides the guarantee that they will not, in the future, again voluntarily serve as a place d'armes for any power which tries to attack the Soviet Union. For this reason the Soviet Union is interested in these States being as strong as possible in the economic, political and military sense, in order that they may defend themselves against foreign attack at least until such time as the Soviet armies can come to their aid and so avert their forcible conversian into a military place d'armes against the Soviet Union, as happened during the Second World War.

This situation signifies that the States of democracy of the new type are the junction of the post-war struggle of two systems. It was not for nothing that during the war Churchill frequently called for the opening of a Second Front in the Balkans instead of a genuine Second Front in the West, in order that, by the end of the war, British armed forces would be on the spot to safeguard the old order. But these proposals were rejected by Roosevelt and Stalin as being incorrect from the military viewpoint.

All this points to the extremely close interweaving of home and foreign policy at the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

WOMEN DON'T WANT PREFERENCE

"TRADE UNIONIST"

PREFERENCE in employment when accorded to women means but one thing—the nation is facing a crisis. Preference in employment is accorded women not by legislation, as in the case of returned soldiers, but by the economics of capitalism. This preference reaches a peak in times of depression, or in times of acute manpower shortage due to war.

Today capitalism throughout the world faces an impending economic crisis. In planning our activities in this period we must give attention to consolidating wartime gains in wages and to further lifting the Australian standard of living.

In this situation specific consideration must be given to the question of women wage earners, not because they are women but because they are an important part of our nation. Capitalism views womanpower as its "one in the bag" to be produced as and when required. Gone are the pious cries of "breaking up the family," "losing femininity" and so on—cheap labor is needed. Women constitute a huge reservoir of cheap labor and particularly in times of depression provide the means of carrying on what little production may be required at the lowest possible cost.

So preference to women during economic crises means "out with the menfolk, in with our cheap labor." Figures culled from the reports of the Commonwealth Government Statistician and the Bureau of Census and Economics bring these facts forcibly to notice. Tracing the history of the last depression we find—

- In 1927 of the total number of factory employees 25.5% were females; in 1932 it had risen to 29.2%.
- In 1927 unemployment was 7.0%; in 1932 29%.
- In 1927 masculinity (the number of males employed per 100 females) was 294; in 1932 it had dropped to 241.

Whilst unemployment soared the number of males employed to females decreased considerably. Even at the height of the war, 1944, with thousands of men in the Armed Forces, with unemployment at its lowest ebb, with higher rates for women offering more inducement to enter industry the figures barely surpass the depression years—women in factory employment constituted 29.6% of total factory employees; masculinity was 237.

This is what preference in employment meant during the depression. Preference to work at a cheaper rate in an endeavour to provide for the family, whilst the male wage earner was idle. Preference to rear your family on 54% of the male rate!

In addition to clearly illustrating how this cheap labor reservoir is used, the figures also show quite plainly that women in industry are a numerically large part of our society—they comprise approximately one-third of the total labor force of the Commonwealth. There are people who would ignore this fact and still follow the concepts of the late unlamented Adolf Hitler, who said ". . . man's world is the State, his struggle . . . woman's world is a smaller one—her world is her husband, her family, her children and her home. The woman of the future shall be at home in her kingdom and will not torment herself with fruitless worry about equality."

The military defeat of fascism brings with it also the need to eradicate traces of its ideology. The fight for equality of status for women will assist in this struggle. The United States Manpower Commission, during the war, stated: "No society can boast of democratic ideals if it utilises its woman power in a crisis and neglects it in peace." The United Nations Charter includes "equal rights for men and women and no discrimination on account of sex."

No doubt the A.C.T.U. Congress had this in mind when discussing the question of women in industry. The resolutions of Congress give a basis around which campaigns can be waged for equality in industry.

Included in the A.C.T.U. decisions are—

1. Removal from State Arbitration Acts of clauses prescribing first a "minimum male living wage" and a percentage of that rate to women, ranging from 54% to 60%.

This is an important decision. State awards are based firstly on this percentage calculated "female basic wage" with margins for skill, etc., added to it.

No female basic wage exists in the Commonwealth sphere—the Court assesses the female rate

but follows the practice of according a lower rate than the male rate. Congress affirmed the 1945 decision on the basic wage, calling for a complete investigation into the basis of assessment of the wage. The position of women must not be lost sight of in any such enquiry—the rate set must be a "minimum adult living wage" irrespective of sex.

2. That all Unions in seeking awards apply for the rate for the job, such rate to apply to male and female alike.

As the decisions of Congress are now binding in all affiliated Unions it will need vigilance to see that this policy is carried out.

3. Decision to seek amendment of the new Commonwealth Arbitration Act is linked with other matters dealt with by Congress calling for the complete abolition of the Wage Pegging Regulations.

Deletion is sought of the existing prohibition whereby Conciliation Commissioners cannot set the minimum rate of remuneration for adult females, which is reserved for the Court to decide, and repeal of Wage Pegging Regulations which provide the Court may award only up to 75% of the minimum male rate for females.

Amendment to the Wage Pegging Regulations this year created this 75% maximum and later the regulations were amended to provide that the judge could award rates if he found it desirable in the "national interest." To date no union has tested whether the "national interest" is sufficiently elastic to overcome the existing 75% restriction.

4. Pending the complete abolition of Wage Pegging Regulations the Government to continue the rates set by the Women's Employment Board and the Female (Minimum Rates) Regulations.

At the same time Congress requested that the 75% be not related to the **minimum** male rate but 75% of the **corresponding** male rate, or 75% of the minimum adult male rate plus full male margins, whichever is most suited to the industry.

5. As a means of lifting the general wage rates for women, Unions operating under the Female (Minimum Rates) Regulations to seek immediately to have those rates incorporated in their awards.

This in order that when the Regulations expire there will not be a return to the old 54% with meagre margins.

6. State and Commonwealth Governments are to be approached to introduce equal pay for their own employees. Equal pay is the policy of the Labor Party, the Liberal Party, the Communist Party and the Trade Union Movement and there is no reason why the various Governments cannot introduce it at least for their own employees.

7. Elimination of policy and legislation which has a discriminatory affect on women's employment, more particularly in the public service. Here attention was directed to obsolete restrictive provisions; Government policy which debars women from sitting for examinations to qualify for higher paid positions, and policy which, despite any educational or practical qualifications held by women, debars them from certain positions.

8. Executive and State Labor Councils are to arrange deputations to the various Governments to place the views of the Trade Union Movement before them.

Thus the A.C.T.U. Congress decisions represent a comprehensive policy for the trade union struggle for equality for women.

This is not sufficient.

The mere carrying of good resolutions and placing such views before parliamentarians never won victory in any campaign. What is needed is action in the unions and on the job.

Here the task comes back to the Party.

It is not strange to note that the Unions which have made the greatest gains for the women folk are, in the main, Unions in which our Party exercises some considerable influence. But much more remains to be done.

Too many of our Party members are prone to leave the question of women's wages over, to regard this question as something we will give attention to later, or something which is the responsibility of women. In the recent successful disputes in the metal industries insufficient attention was paid to bringing women into active participation in these struggles—not only the industrial woman but the housewife. Reasons may be found for this omission but it is not good enough.

In all our campaigns for increased wages we must give attention to the woman in industry, and this assumes even greater importance in view of the recent C.C. Plenum decision to give attention to the lighter industries which cover large numbers of women and youth.

To give greater emphasis to the struggle for women's equality it is necessary to repeat that women in industry comprise approximately one-third of Australia's wage earners! One-third of the working population whose labor power in industry has been valued at varying amounts from 54% of the male basic wage; 75%—Female Minimum Rates; 90% to 100%—Women's Employment Board—and for what?

Statistics published in the Quarterly Bulletin of the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics tell the story. In September, 1946, the average weekly hours of work and rates of pay for all workers throughout Australia were:—

	Hours.	Wages.
MALE	43.67	£6 1 7
FEMALE	44.03	3 12 11

60% of the male rate for 1% longer hours.

Our tasks for the coming period are many and all important.

Experience during and since the war has proved women will fight for better conditions, will take their stand, along with their menfolk, in the severest of struggles. As Communists we must win the women in the industries to the struggle for improved living standards. Attention must be paid to the conditions under which women are employed, lighting, hygiene facilities and amenities. More attention must be paid to the wage rates and prices. They must be organised around that which they know, their own particular problems. If we are able to give guidance on these matters, to lead the women around their specific problems, then we will win them to our side and in the decisive struggles they will be our comrades.

We must strengthen and improve our organisation, particularly in the unions, to ward off the coming onslaught by capitalism upon our wages and conditions, and to do this we need to mobilise the workers for further offensive struggles for higher wages, price pegging, improved living standards and we must pay more attention to the women than in the past. They are part of the trade union movement, part of the Australian working class.

Women do not want preference of the type handed out by capitalism, preference in employment whilst our menfolk are killed on the battlefield; preference in employment whilst our menfolk are idle and we earn starvation wages. No, women reject that kind of preference—they want equality.

Whilst realising full equality can only be achieved with the advent of Socialism, nevertheless much can now be done. In the struggle for equal pay, in winning women to the campaign for equal opportunity and remuneration in industry, in bringing women into active participation in these campaigns we are taking them a step further along the path to equality, the path to Socialism.

LENIN ON BANK NATIONALISATION

E. W. CAMPBELL

OPPONENTS of the Chifley Government's bank nationalisation legislation have seen fit to draw the dead Lenin into the controversy. Lenin's name, which is normally banned from the columns of the monopolist press, has been featured in bold type in the big bankers' advertisements. Lenin's portrait, seldom displayed except in crude caricature by the ruling class, has brightened up the hoardings.

The purport of the bankers' propaganda is that Lenin is the real author of Mr. Chifley's bank nationalisation proposals, which they picture to be the first step towards a socialist regime in this country.

If the bankers are gambling on Lenin's name causing a panic-stricken revulsion of feeling against nationalisation they are backing a loser. They overestimate the efficacy of the sadly overworked red bogey. The colossal achievements of the Socialist Soviet Union in peace and war during the past 30 years have added a lustre to Lenin's name which all the red-baiting of the imperialists and their stooges cannot tarnish. Only big bankers, capitalists and philistines tremble with fear at the mention of Lenin's name. To the common people of the world this name has become synonomous with freedom and a new way of life.

While the big bankers' inference that Lenin is the originator of Mr. Chifley's bank nationalisation plans pays a great, though unconscious, tribute to Lenin's genius and far-reaching influence, Lenin, if still alive, would be the first to disclaim this honor.

Bank nationalisation figured in the Labor Party's programme long before Lenin's ideas were widely known in Australia. It stemmed not so much from Socialist theory as it did from the strivings of small capitalists to halt the advance of monopoly and from the spontaneous opposition of workers to the increased downward pressure on wages and conditions that accompanied the growth of monopoly capitalism.

Nationalisation of the banks is intended by its Labor Party sponsors to achieve a conservative and not a revolutionary object. The aim is not to weaken but to strengthen capitalism by centralising control over the financial institutions. The Labor Party hopes to be able to use the credit resources thus obtained to "cushion" the effects of the coming depression and prevent a swing to the Left and a mass upheaval which could sweep capitalism into oblivion.

The big bankers have other ideas. They are far from convinced that the Labor Party's policy is the best one for preserving the capitalist system from socialism. They know that once their eggs are scrambled they cannot be unscrambled, and that notwithstanding all the Labor Party's efforts there might nevertheless be a swing to the Left in the future and a change in the class composition of the government. They, therefore, prefer to hang on to the status quo and rely on the time-honored methods of brutal suppression to weather the coming storm.

The non-socialist, bourgeois-liberal character of the Labor Party is revealed in its reliance solely on parliamentary action to carry through its bank nationalisation proposals and its reluctance to mobilise the people for mass activity outside parliament in support of its legislation.

The big bankers and their spokesmen have no such compunction about resorting to extra-parliamentary action to defeat the Labor Government's measure. Not only are they spending hundreds of thousands of pounds on press and radio publicity and preparing to challenge the legislation in the conservative courts, they are also organising embryonic fascist bands to carry on the struggle if legal means fail.

The organised labor movement must meet this challenge by taking up the same weapons of mass publicity and organisation as those employed by the bankers. Rank and file Labor Party members should insist that their leaders throw their full weight into the campaign outside as well as inside parliament.

Nationalisation of the banks is not in itself a socialist measure, but it can become a step towards socialism if the majority of the people are brought into a conscious, united and active campaign to overcome the big bankers' resistance to its realisation.

The bankers' propaganda advertisements featuring Lenin's name run true to form by falsifying Lenin's views. One such advertisement purported to quote a speech by Lenin to the "Bolshevik Congress in April, 1917" (in the Victorian election the press advertisements attributed it to Stalin. Actually the author of it is W. C. Wentworth), in which he is alleged to have said that the role of the "small men can be made small to vanishing point and through the nationalisation of the banks they can be tied hand and foot." The big bankers' propaganda described this as the "prescribed technique of implementing Communism."

In the first place Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were not in power in Russia in April, 1917, and were not in a position to "implement Communism" by the "prescribed technique" or by any other.

In the second place Lenin proposed nationalising the banks not to tie the small man hand and foot, but among other things to free the small man from the grip of monopoly.

Lenin arrived in Petrograd from abroad on April 3, 1917. The Tsarist Government had not long been deposed and the State administration was being carried on by a Provisional Government composed of the representatives of the capitalist class of Russia. Alongside the Provisional Government there existed the Soviets of Workers and Peasants' Deputies. The Bolshevik Party was in a minority in the Soviets, and the majority consisted of people who had a political outlook similar to that of the leaders of the Australian Labor Party.

Lenin produced a ten-point plan for the further development of the struggle, which he read to a meeting of Bolsheviks on April 4. In this plan, which came to be known as the April Thesis, Lenin proposed that the Bolsheviks should give no support to the Provisional Government, which was a capitalist government quite incapable of solving Russia's problems, but that they should patiently explain to the people the shortcomings of this Government and carry on agitation for the transfer of power to the Soviets in which the Bolsheviks should seek to win majority support.

Point 7 in Lenin's April Thesis called for "the immediate amalgamation of all banks in the country into a single national bank, control over which shall be exercised by the Soviets of Workers' Deputies."

Point 8 proclaimed, "our **immediate** task is not to 'introduce' socialism, but only to bring social production and distribution of products at once under the control of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies."

So much for the "prescribed technique of implementing Communism."

On April 10, 1917, Lenin produced a new draft programme for the Bolshevik Party in which he further elaborated his views on nationalisation of banking. In it he stated, "the party of the working class cannot set itself the aim of 'introducing' socialism in a country of small peasants as long as the overwhelming majority of the population has not come to realise the need for a socialist revolution.

"But only bourgeois sophists, hiding behind 'near-Marxist' catchwords, can derive from this truth a justification of the policy of postponing immediate revolutionary measures, the time for which is fully ripe, which have been frequently resorted to during the war by a number of bourgeois states, and which are absolutely essential in order to combat impending total economic disorganisation and famine.

"Such measures as the nationalisation of the land, of all the banks and capitalist trusts, or, at least, the immediate establishment of the control of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies over them — measures which do not in any way imply the 'introduction' of socialism — must be absolutely insisted on, and, wherever possible, effected by revolutionary action.

"Without such measures, which are only steps towards socialism, and which are entirely feasible economically, it will be impossible to heal the wounds caused by the war and to avert the impending collapse; and the party of the revolutionary proletariat will never hesitate to lay hands on the fabulous profits of the capitalists and the bankers, who are scandalously enriching themselves on the war."

Here there is no mention of tieing the small man hand and foot or reducing his role to the vanishing point. But there is stress on the need to lay hands on the fabulous profits of the big capitalists and bankers, not to immediately implement socialism but to avert pending economic collapse.

Five months later, in September 1917, the economic collapse, which Lenin had foreseen, had become an immediate prospect and Lenin again raised as a matter of extreme urgency the need to nationalise the banks and big capitalist monopolies.

In a pamphlet entitled **The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It,** written between September 10 and 14, 1917, Lenin wrote, "Russia is facing inevitable catastrophe. The railways are incredibly disorganised and the disorganisation is progressing. The railways will come to a standstill. The transport of raw materials and coal to the factories will cease. So will the transport of grain. The capitalists are deliberately sabotaging production, hoping that a terrible catastrophe will spell the collapse of the republic and democracy, of the Soviets and the proletarian and peasants' unions generally, thus facilitating the return to a monarchy and the restoration of the full power of the bourgeoisie and landlords."

The measures for combating the approaching catastrophe and famine were quite clear, simple and well known, Lenin wrote. The principal measures — control, supervision and accountancy — were recognised in all democratic newspapers. And yet nothing was done. Nothing was done because the Provisional Government feared to lay hands on the fabulous profits of the big bankers and monopolists.

Lenin wrote that "if our government really wanted to introduce control in a businesslike and earnest fashion, if its institutions had not condemned themselves by their servility to the capitalists to 'complete inactivity,' all the government would have to do would be to draw largely on the rich store of measures of control which are already known and already being put into effect. The only obstacle to this was, and still is, that control would bring to light the fabulous profits of the capitalists and would cut the ground from under those profits."

Lenin set out five principal measures, the first of which was, "amalgamation of all the banks into a single bank and state control over its operations, or the nationalisation of the banks."

"The banks," Lenin wrote, "are the ganglions of modern economic life, the principal nerve centres of the whole capitalist economic system. To talk about 'regulating economic life' and at the same time to evade the question of the nationalisation of the banks is either to betray the most profound ignorance or to deceive the 'common people' by florid words and grandiloquent promises with the deliberate intention of not fulfilling those promises."

The big bankers try to fool people with the idea that it would be a very difficult and complex operation for the State to take over the banks. "But as a matter of fact," Lenin wrote, "the nationalisation of the banks, which would not deprive a single 'owner' of a single farthing, presents absolutely no technical or cultural difficulties whatsoever. . . . If the nationalisation of the banks is so often confused with the confiscation of private property, it is the bourgeois press, whose interest it is to deceive the public, that is responsible for the dissemination of this confusion of ideas."

The monopolist press in Australia today does not differ much from the bourgeois press in Russia to which Lenin referred. It deliberately confuses bank nationalisation with all sorts of side issues to keep the truth from the people and prevent them from supporting a measure that is in their own real interests.

Explaining why bank nationalisation should not be confused with confiscation of private property, Lenin wrote, "the ownership of the capital wielded by and concentrated in the banks is certified by printed and written certificates called shares, bonds, bills, receipts, etc. Not a single one of these certificates would disappear or be altered if the banks were nationalised. Whoever owned fifteen rubles in a savings bank account would still be the owner of fifteen rubles after the nationalisation of the banks; and whoever had fifteen million rubles would continue after the nationalisation of the banks to have fifteen million rubles in the form of shares, bonds, bills, commercial certificates and the like.

"What, then, is the significance of nationalisation of the Banks?" Lenin asked. "It is that no real control of any kind over the individual banks and their operations is possible (even if commercial secrecy were abolished) because it is impossible to keep an eye on the extremely complex, involved and intricate tricks that are resorted to in drawing up balance sheets, forming fictitious enterprises and branches, in resorting to the services of agents and so forth.

Only the amalgamation of all the banks into one, which in itself would imply no change whatever in respect to ownership, and which, we repeat, would not deprive a single owner of a single farthing, would make it possible to exercise real control. . ."

"Only by the nationalisation of the banks can a state of affairs be brought about in which the government would be in a position to know where and how, whence and when millions and billions of rubles flow. And only control over the banks, over the centre, over the core and chief mechanism of capitalist exchange would make it possible to introduce real and not fictitious control over the whole economic life of the country and the production and distribution of the more important goods. . ."

"The advantages from the nationalisation of the banks to the whole people, and especially—not to the workers (for the workers have little to do with banks) but—to the mass of peasants and small industrialists, would be enormous. The saving in labor would be gigantic, and, assuming that the State would retain the same number of bank employees, nationalisation would signify a highly important step towards making the use of the banks universal, towards increasing the number of branches, the accessibility of their operations, etc. The accessibility and the easy terms of credit, precisely for the small owners, for the peasantry, would increase immensely. For the first time the state would be in a position first to survey all the chief monetary operations, which would be unconcealed, then to control them, then to regulate economic life, and finally to obtain millions and millions for large scale public works without paying the capitalist gentlemen sky-high 'commissions' for their 'services.' That is the reason—and the only reason—why all the capitalists and those who serve them foam at the mouth and fight nationalisation of the banks."

Big Business and its party, the Liberal Party, fight bank nationalisation in Australia for the same

selfish reasons. They are not interested in the people's democratic rights but only in their own right to go on making fabulous profits at the people's expense. The clamor for a costly referendum is not to give the people a chance to express their views but to give the monopolists a further opportunity to delude the people.

Menzies never had a mandate to send pig iron to Japan, nor did he conduct a referendum on this vital issue. He never had a mandate nor did he consult the Australian people by referendum when he followed Chamberlain by declaring Australia at war in September 1939. He never had a mandate to suppress the Communist Party and censor trade union newspapers. All of these anti-democratic actions were taken in face of widespread public opposition.

The Liberal Party, which has consistently shown its utter contempt for public opinion in the past, now finds it convenient to fall back on the demand that the people be consulted about the bank nationalisation plan.

At the same time the entire propaganda resources of the monopolists have been mobilised to give people a distorted picture of the legislation.

There should be no yielding by the Labor Party to the pressure of the monopolists. All the resources of the labor movement should be mobilised to tear the mask from the Liberals, expose the selfish aims of the big bankers, and clarify the significance of nationalisation for the people.

THE HOUSING SHORTAGE

J. O.

"THE so-called housing shortage, which plays such a great role in the press nowadays, does not consist in the fact that the working class generally lives in bad, overcrowded and unhealthy dwellings. This shortage is not something peculiar to the present; it is not even one of the sufferings peculiar to the modern proletariat in contradistinction to all earlier oppressed classes. On the contrary, all oppressed classes in all periods suffered more or less uniformly from it. In order to make an end of this housing shortage there is only one means: to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class. What is meant today by housing shortage is the peculiar intensification of the bad housing conditions of the workers as a result of the sudden rush of population to the big towns; a colossal increase in rents, a still further aggravation of over-crowding in the indivdual houses, and for some, the impossibility of finding a place to live in at all. And this housing shortage gets talked of so much only because it does not limit itself to the working class but has affected the petty bourgeoisie also." (**The Housing Question,** Frederick Engels.)

Include a phrase about the effect of the war on the housing shortage and this could have been written today. Yet it was written by Frederick Engels in 1872.

There has always been a shortage of good healthy dwellings for workers under capitalism, but at times, due to special conditions, the housing shortage becomes so acute that it affects the middle class and also even some of the big executives of the capitalist class. It is then that we hear about it from the press. Especially when a situation exists as it does today, where the capitalist can use the housing shortage to attack labor governments.

What makes the capitalist press particularly vicious on housing today is the fact that the majority of the homes being built are being built through government agencies, which interferes to some extent with private enterprise; and that a proportion of these houses is being allocated to the working class. The basis of their attack is an attempt to discredit Government housing and to turn back the clock to the "good old days" of unrestricted private enterprise.

In their attacks the capitalist press implies that the whole of the housing shortage was caused by the war. This is not so. Private enterprise has never supplied enough decent homes for workers.

In 19[illegible] at least 100,000 homes were needed in the Commonwealth to eliminate overcrowding. And in addition to this, there were thousands of slum dwellings which should have been demolished. According to Mr. Walter Bunning, Chairman of the Town and Country Planning Committee, "237,000 dwellings, or one in every eight in Australia, were sub-standard in 1943." The vast majority of these would have been sub-standard in 1939. As a clear symptom of the desperate shortage in N.S.W. in 1939, there were Housing Committees in Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong agitating for homes for the workers.

The whole of the legacy of shortage, slums and over-crowding that existed in 1939 is due, not to a special emergency such as the war, but on to the general system of production for profit.

It is true that during the war, when all the country's resources were mobilised for defence, home building ceased and the situation became more and more acute, affecting the middle class seriously for the first time for many years, and also even causing the big capitalists occasional inconvenience, especially when there was talk of taking over large empty mansions.

But despite an incessant press campaign for the raising of restrictions on private building, the capitalists in their own exclusive journals are frank. They admit their failure. In the U.S. monthly **Fortune,** Aug. 1947, was an article entitled "The Industry Capitalism Forgot," which stated in part:

"To anyone unfamiliar with the housing industry, the incredible news of 1947 is that home construction is in the doldrums. In the first five months of the year, in spite of the worst housing shortage since the James River landing, the industry showed no appreciable gain over 1946 except in the price of its product, which advanced enormously. In 1946 every conceivable shortage and, by testimony of builders, every obstacle that a sinfully evil bureaucracy could design stood between the homeseeker and a house. Now materials are comparatively plentiful, government regulations are only a vestige — and the industry is perilously close to falling on its face.

"A student of the housing industry would not be surprised. The industry has been behaving like this for the last thirty years. When it was returned to private management after World War I, with the inspiring task of providing "Homes for Heroes," it met the challenge by inflating the cost of an ordinary five-room house 40 per cent. in less than twelve months. Thereupon the volume of new construction fell off by two-thirds. . . ."

But why is it that capitalism fails to provide adequate housing for the workers? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to go back to the early period of industrial development. There was a time when "housing" for the workers was a very profitable business. In the early days of industrial England any sort of shelter was considered good enough for the common people. Conveniences such as water supply and elementary sanitation were only for the rich, and the building industry had a wonderful time covering every square foot of available space in the industrial towns with jerry built shacks which were let to the dispossessed peasants flocking into the industrial cities, at exorbitant rents. But soon "cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, smallpox and other ravaging diseases spread their germs in the pestilential air and the poisoned water of these working class quarters . . . the germs hardly ever died out completely, and as soon as circumstances permit it they develop into epidemics and then spread beyond their breeding places also into the more airy and healthy parts of the town inhabited by the capitalists. Capitalist rule cannot allow itself the pleasure of creating epidemic diseases among the working class with impunity; the consequences fall back on it and the angel of Death rages in its ranks as ruthlessly as in the ranks of the workers." (**The Housing Question,** Frederick Engels.)

As soon as they knew that bad housing conditions caused epidemics which affected them personally, the capitalists fell over themselves to remedy the worst of the evils. Health laws and regulations were passed and policed, making minimum standards of sanitation and hygiene compulsory.

But health regulations and minimum standards of sanitation made building for the workers more expensive; the worker could not afford to pay sufficient additional rent to make workers' homes a profitable real estate investment — and this position has persisted up to the present time. To take an example from Australia today:—If 1/6th of the income were allowed for rent (the maximum figure recommended by the Commonwealth Housing Commission) the provision in the basic wage for rent would be 18/6. A sound house and land costs at least £1,200, probably more. At 18/6, the total rent for the year would be £48/2/-. When rates and taxes and maintenance are paid and an allowance is made for capital repayment, there is absolutely nothing left as profit for the capitalist. It doesn't pay private enterprise to build homes for workers, so they just don't build them.

The workers in the main have had to accept the cast-off, worn-out homes discarded by the middle class — or pay much more than they can afford in rent, which means going short on food and clothing.

That is why slums, overcrowding and a shortage of housing has always been the lot of the worker under capitalism. That is why in almost all capitalist countries, workers' housing is becoming accepted more and more as a function of the government.

From our point of view this is a step in the right direction because it brings the building of houses for the people under more democratic control.

There are a number of advantages to the people in Government housing in Australia, especially as it is linked with a system of price and materials control. The black market in materials is partly avoided. Large-scale purchasing and building is made possible, which should lead to considerable economy. Banking profits are curtailed to the prevailing interest rates on State loan money. Some control is exercised over production and quality of materials. Houses are distributed on a far more equitable basis than in a free market where all commodities go to those best able to pay. A limited system of rental rebates operates in favour of those with a large number of dependents and on low incomes.

But our Government Housing under existing conditions has some grave defects. These arise from the fact that the housing authorities are organs of a capitalist state apparatus operating in a system of capitalism. While they reduce one source of profit in the realm of the banking capitalist by reducing the interest rate at which the money is made available, the whole of the building operation is still carried out under normal capitalist conditions. Prices of materials and profits are still paid as for any other commodities and a rent is charged based on the cost of the house. The consequence is that

the rents are in many cases far too high (even though they are considerably lower than those charged in the open capitalist market).

Though State Housing methods are an improvement on those of unrestricted private enterprise, production results are still far from satisfactory. There are a number of ways in which home production could be immediately accelerated. One of these is by the more extensive use of prefabrication. There are systems of prefabrication available which have been approved by the Commonwealth Building Research Station — systems that have been worked out deliberately to avoid materials in short supply; yet the Housing authorities are hesitant to use these new methods fully because they depart somewhat from conventional housing practice, and they fear press criticism. This situation has been aggravated by the backwardness of local Councils (in which private real estate interests are prominent), many of which have refused to permit prefabricated homes in their districts.

Many of the design and construction methods used by the government departments are obsolete and inefficient and due for considerable overhaul. In one construction section, things were so bad that recently a group of carpenters went on strike against inefficient methods of work.

If these obstacles were overcome, they would help to increase the speed at which homes are produced, but they could not solve the contradiction that **the basic wage worker does not receive sufficient wages to pay an economic rent.**

No partial reforms will overcome the fact that all our housing is being built under capitalist conditions and that the whole approach to the question by labor governments is still one of patching up a doomed social order. Bad housing is only one of many intolerable conditions which the working class suffers under capitalism. The housing problem can only be finally solved after the replacement of the capitalist system by a socialist one.

DENNIS CHALLENGES "UN-AMERICAN" COMMITTEE

(The following statement was made by Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, immediately before Judge David Pine sentenced him to one year in prison and $1,000 fine.)

"Your Honor, before the court passes sentence I would like to make a very brief statement.

"As an American and as a Communist, I cherish and will always defend the democratic institutions of our country and the genuine interests of our people.

"I desire to make clear why I believe that my failure to respond to the subpoena unlawfully issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities is wholly consistent with my respect for and devotion to the instruments and traditions of American democracy.

"Those who conceived this nation in liberty could not forsee that a vast empire of monopoly capital would one day come along. Nor could they foretell that the economic royalists would attempt to enslave America's working men and women with a Taft-Hartley Law and other repressive measures.

"But the Founding Fathers wisely sought to provide all future generations of freedom-loving Americans with the means to defend themselves against whatever new forms of tyranny the uncharted future might hold.

"Those who dedicated this nation to the proposition that all men are created equal could not envision the race hatred and terror rule of fascism, be it of foreign or domestic origin.

"Those who brought forth a new nation on this continent could not conceive of a Truman-G.O.P. doctrine proclaiming America the enemy of the newer democracies and the ally of decaying monarch and fascist quislings.

"But the Founding Fathers did foresee that their posterity would have need to struggle against new enemies and new instruments of oppression. Those who endowed our people with the spirit that cherished liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere — also sought to arm us against whatever threats to liberty the future might bring.

"For these wise purposes, those who shaped our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution proclaimed certain rights to be inalienable. They reserved to the people, and for all time, the right to exercise their sovereign power and domestic will and to pursue happiness and progress. Moreover, they erected an enduring barrier of law embodied in the Bill of Rights, designed to prevent the rule of desperate men.

"It is true that there are today men who hold these principles and democratic institutions in contempt, and seek to undermine and destroy them. It is not true that I am guilty of that criminal intent.

"I deeply regret that the real issues in this case were not joined in the course of the trial.

"Through my counsel, witnesses and documents, I sought to submit evidence establishing it as a matter of fact that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is in contempt of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, that it is trying to establish a system of totalitarian thought control, police inquisition and the hated gestapo card-indexes and political blacklists. That, in short, it is an instrument of those who seek to impose a form of fascism on our America.

"But, unfortunately, the jury was not permitted to hear this evidence.

"I also sought to establish, as a matter of law, that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is not a proper legislative committee, is without constitutional authority, and acts in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

"But the evidence amply supporting this contention was also excluded.

"My liberty as an individual is, of course, dear to me. But more precious is the liberty of the whole American people.

"The time has come when not I alone, but millions of Americans — through due process of law by mobilising broad public opinion and action — can preserve our freedom only by effectively challenging the usurpation of power by the pro-fascists and their House Committee on Un-American Activities — which has become a gnawing cancer in the body politic.

"I repeat, this committee has abrogated to itself inquisitorial and repressive powers specifically forbidden it by the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

"I submit, your honor, that Chairman Thomas' standards are those of Standard Oil of New Jersey — which has been found guilty of war and peace-time cartel practices more advantageous to our Nazi enemies than to the United States.

"I submit that the standards of Representative Mundt, a member of this committee, are those of the self-styled America First Committee — an anti-Roosevelt and pro-Axis group — condemned and repudiated by all true patriots.

"I submit that the standards of John Rankin, whose presence on this committee violates the 14th Amendment and the American conscience, are the standards of the convicted Columbians and of the lynch mob.

"It is not to be wondered at that this committee, whose standards of Americanism are alien to democracy and run directly counter to the standards held by the majority of Americans, recently spent no more than 10 minutes on its ballyhooed 'investigation' of fascist activities in the U.S., which daily become more menacing.

"Instead, it is only natural that such a committee, and its pro-fascist backers in the N.A.M. and U.S. Chamber of Commerce, should be whipping up anti-Communist hysteria, in an effort to abolish free trade unions, to lower the living standards of the common people, to drastically curtail the civil liberties of the Negro people, the Communists and all other progressives, and to disrupt American-Soviet friendship, and thus the unity of the United Nations and the cause of peace.

"In so doing this committee and its sponsors aim to drag our country down the German road to imperialist expansion, fascism, war and catastrophe.

"I am confident, your honor, that the lessons of this trial will not be lost on the American people.

"I recall that at the turn of the 19th century, Matthew Lyon and others temporarily lost their freedom when they challenged the infamous alien and sedition laws which were directed against the followers of Thomas Jefferson. Their devotion to democracy contributed to the recapture and preservation of the freedom of the American people. The people removed the cancr and the alien and sedition law from the body politic.

"I recall that Henry David Thoreau and others also temporarily lost their freedom for challenging the Fugitive Slave Act. Subsequently the cancer of chattel slavery and all its legal instruments were also cut from the body politic.

"Today the American people understand how truly Thoreau spoke when he said: 'They are the lovers of law and order who uphold the law when the government breaks it.'

"I plead guilty, your honor, of upholding the Constitution and the democratic traditions and basic laws of our land at a time when they are being violated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and its reactionary sponsors.

"If need be, I shall appeal my case to the Supreme Court. At the same time I and my party will carry the real issues in this case to the court of public opinion for the supreme judgment of the people themselves.

"Although it was not given an opportunity to hear important evidence, the jury that found me guilty of contempt arrived at its decision only after long deliberation and with great difficulty. I do not entertain the slightest doubt that legions of my fellow Americans share my determination to protect and extend our form of democracy and, at all costs, to prevent fascism from coming to power in America.

"I have every confidence that these millions will come to understand that the pro-fascist House Committee on Un-American Activities must be curbed and eventually abolished if democracy is to endure in our land.

"I have firm faith that the American people will not only win my freedom and full exoneration — but that they will also put the necessary limitations on the activities of the evil forces of aggressive monopoly reaction which the House Committee now shields and in whose interests it acts.

"In this connection I am confident that in the fateful elections of 1948, the American people will draw the necessary conclusions concerning the administration of the G.O.P.-dominated 80th Congress, which gave the House Committee on Un-American Activities its new coercive and iniquitous status.

"Through unity of action, the people will rebuff the un-American men of the trusts. They will find the ways and means to register the popular will for democracy, jobs and peace.

"Your honor, I am ready to hear the sentence of this court."

ON GRADUAL TRANSITION FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM

A. P. LYAPIN

(A lecture delivered under the auspices of the All-Union Lecture Bureau, Ministry of Highest Education, U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1946.)

AFTER the victorious ending of the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet Union entered into a new era of its historical development, the era of peaceful economic and cultural development and construction.

The new Five-Year Plan Law, adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., deals with the reconstruction and development of the people's economy of the U.S.S.R., and opens before our land new perspectives for the greatest rise of productive forces, of the material and cultural standards of the people, of the economic and military might of the Soviet State.

The fulfilment of the new Five-Year Plan will constitute an important step forward in completing the building of Socialist society and in the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

The full establishment of Communism in our country is the aim of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people. While this aim has not yet been achieved, it can and must be achieved in the future. Comrade Stalin established the possibility of building Communism in our country even under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, and pointed out concrete ways of gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. Comrade Stalin's theory on the possibility of establishing Communism in the U.S.S.R. is an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist social science.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that the question of the victory of Socialism and Communism in our country has two distinct sides, one dealing with internal, the other with external, relations.

From the point of view of internal relations, the Soviet Union has every condition and opportunity for the establishment of full Communist society. During the past Stalin Five-Year Plans, the Soviet Union established an advanced large machine industry, the material base of Socialism. The collectivisation of agriculture was completed, the exploiting classes were liquidated, and the Socialist society's foundations were established. The victory of Socialism thus opened to our country the path to the highest phase of Communism.

But besides internal relations, the question of the victory of Communism has another side, that of external, international relations. The U.S.S.R., building Communism under conditions of capitalist encirclement, is not guaranteed against the danger of military attacks from outside and against attempts to restore capitalism. Proof of this is the war of 1941-45, which the German-fascist invaders forced upon us.

This war ended in complete defeat of Hitler-Germany and imperialist Japan, the two countries closest to our boundaries and the strongest imperialist robbers. During this war, the international prestige of the U.S.S.R. grew stronger, and its international connections became broader than ever before. All these factors create new and favorable conditions for peaceful Socialist construction in our country after the war. At the same time it should be remembered that as long as the capitalist world exists, the possibility of new wars and robber attacks upon the U.S.S.R. is not eliminated.

While continuing to develop peaceful Socialist construction, we must maintain maximum vigilance, not for a moment forgetting the intrigues of international reaction hatching plans for a new war. Hence, even during the process of further Socialist construction and the gradual transition to Communism, we must in every way strengthen our Socialist state, raise the military-economic might of our land, and constantly strengthen the armed forces of the U.S.S.R.

The question of establishing Communism in our country has a world-wide, historic significance. For ages, the best representatives of mankind dreamed of the future Communist society. Marx and Engels founded the scientific theory of Communism. Lenin and Stalin, living in a new set of historic conditions, in a struggle for building Socialism in our country, developed this theory and put it into practice.

For the first time in history the U.S.S.R. has already fundamentally realised the first phase of Communism, and the gradual transition to the second, or highest phase, is now a matter of practical task. The successes already achieved in the building of Communist society furnish spiritual armament for the Soviet people, move them forward, strengthen their belief in their own forces, and mobilise them for new Communist victories and achievements.

The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin furnish a scientific characterisation of Communist society. Marxism-Leninism teaches that, in the process of its development, Communist society goes through two basic phases. The first is Socialism, the second and highest is Communism. These are not two different social-economic formations, but only two stages of development of one and the same Communist society.

The principles common to both Socialism and Communism are that, in both, the means of production are no longer in the hands of private owners, but are social, common property; the country's national economy is conducted according to a single plan; exploitation of man by man is done away with; and competition, anarchy of production, crises and unemployment, are absent.

These principles, common to both Socialism and Communism, make it impossible to draw any distinction between them except as different stages or phases of the development of Communist society. In characterising Socialism as the first phase of Communism, Lenin wrote:

> "In so far as the means of production become common property, the word 'Communism' is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that it is not complete Communism." (**Selected Works**, Vol. 7, p. 90.)

Socialism and Communism, as two phases of Communist society, differ from each other in certain characteristics and peculiarities.

Under Socialism the productive forces have not as yet reached a stage of development which would ensure an abundance of all articles of consumption. Labor has not yet become man's most important life necessity; society still has to exercise the most stringent control over labor, over the production and consumption of commodities. The distribution of articles of consumption is regulated by the principle: "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his labor."

Social, or common property, still exists in two forms — state and collective-farm co-operative, which finds its practical expression in class differences between workers and peasants, hangovers of capitalism still exist in the economy and consciousness of the people. The contradiction and differences between town and country, between mental and physical labor, are not yet fully liquidated; there still remain remnants of the old social division of labor.

Under the highest phase of Communism, the productive forces reach such a high stage of development that they bring a full abundance of all products and articles of consumption. Labor becomes man's prime life necessity. Distribution of articles of consumption takes place according to the principle: "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs." There is only one form of common or social property, Communist ownership of all means of production. There is a complete liquidation of all remnants of class distinction and hangovers of capitalism in the consciousness of the people. There is a complete elimination of any contradictions between town and country and between mental and physical labor, a liquidation of any remnants of the old social division of labor, etc.

The transition from the first phase of Communism to its highest phase assumes the character of gradual transition, and thus represents an entire historic phase of development. We know, of course, that the change from Capitalism to Socialism constitutes the change from one system of production to another, a radically different system. Hence, this transition cannot be realised in any other way than through revolution.

But the process of transition from Socialism to Communism is entirely different. The change from Socialism to Communism is not a change from one social-economic formation based on individual ownership, to another one based upon common ownership of means of production. Under Socialism, the exploitation of man by man and the exploiting classes are liquidated.

Under present conditions in the U.S.S.R., where Socialist society is fundamentally already established, where the Socialist system rules fully over the whole national economy, the further development of Socialism, as well as the transition to Communism, proceed on their own basis. The second, highest phase of Communist society will naturally grow up and develop out of Socialism, its first phase. Hence, the transition from Socialism to Communism will be characterised by rapid development of the productive forces, rapid growth of national wealth, and an unheard-of advance of the level of the material and cultural living standards of the people.

The gradual transition from Socialism to Communism does not exclude the possibility of irregular, zig-zag stages in the process of development of Socialist society. For example, the transition to Communist principles of distribution cannot take place simultaneously with all articles of consumption. Of necessity, such a change must be gradual, in accord with the growth of the productive forces and the achievement of an abundance of commodities. But the very transition from a Socialist principle of distribution, according to labor, to a Communist principle, according to needs, constitutes a leap into a new set of conditions.

The same rule is applicable to technological progress as well. During the transition from Socialism to Communism, technological development will demonstrate itself in great technical changes in the different branches of national economy. The use of the most important scientific and technical discoveries will denote a new stage in the development of man's productive forces, man's conquest of nature.

Of course, it would be erroneous to assume that social development during the period of gradual transition to Communism would proceed without struggle, simply and smoothly, of its own accord. In his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin ridiculed those who thought that now "we can lay down our arms and retire — to sleep and to wait for the advent of classless society."

Transition to Communism means the enormous unheard-of development of the productive forces. This alone demands the raising of the level of activity of the Soviet people, the concentration of their efforts in the building of the new form of

society. At the same time the building of Communism presupposes strenuous struggle against routine and prejudice, against any and all hangovers of capitalist society. Comrade Stalin pointed out that classless society cannot come of its own accord, that it must be conquered and built up by the efforts of all toilers in the struggle against the enemies of Socialism.

It would also be wrong to visualise the social developments of this period as a picture, where the building of Socialist society would first be completed, and only then would begin the transition to Communism. These two are a single process, and not two consecutive processes. The process of gradual transition to Communism will come together with the further development and strengthening of the Socialist system of production, together with the completion of the upbuilding of Socialist society.

In order to achieve the transition to Communism, it is imperative to strengthen and develop in every way all the foundations, all the principles, of Socialism, of Socialist productive relations. The transition to Communist distribution, "according to need," will be achieved through the strengthening and development of Socialist distribution, "according to labor," through the strengthening of the monetary system, the all-round development of Soviet trade, etc.

The transition from the first phase of Communism to its second, highest phase, calls for ceaseless growth and development of the productive forces, the production of an abundance of articles of consumption.

The advantages of the Socialist system of economy furnished the possibility of transforming the U.S.S.R. within the briefest historic period from a backward country into an advanced industrial and collective-farm State. But during this first stage of Communism the development of the productive forces do not as yet reach the level necessary to guarantee an abundance of consumers' goods. Therefore, articles for consumption are distributed not according to the needs of members of society, but in proportion to the quantity and quality of the work they perform for this society.

In the process of further development, as a result of the gigantic growth of the productive forces, it will be possible to guarantee an abundance of consumers' goods; and society will find it possible to pass gradually from the Socialist principle of distribution, "according to labor," to the Communist principle, "according to needs." The road lies through a ceaseless upward advance in all branches of our national economy, through the growth of our industries, agriculture, and transport.

One of the most important requisites for the transition from the first phase of Communism to the second lies in the realisation of the main economic task of the U.S.S.R. — to catch up with and surpass the major capitalist countries in an economic sense, i.e., in the volume of industrial production per capita of the population. The Soviet Union has already surpassed all capitalist countries in tempo of development of economy and technique of production. The U.S.S.R. has already surpassed all capitalist countries of Europe in the total volume of industrial production. The U.S.S.R. is still behind England and the U.S.A. in the per capita volume of industrial production.

The per capita volume of industrial production constitutes the basic criterion of a country's economic might. Therefore, the task of achieving such a level of production as to enable the country to surpass the per capita norms of consumption existing in major capitalist countries becomes the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R., the decisive condition for the transition from Socialism to Communism.

Comrade Stalin posed this problem before the Eighteenth Congress of the Party:

> "Only if we outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically can we reckon upon our country becoming fully saturated with consumers' goods, on having an abundance of products, and on being able to make the transition from the first phase of Communism to its second phase."

The war against Hitler-Germany interrupted the realisation of this basic economic task of the U.S.S.R. and inflicted enormous damage on our national economy. The new Five-Year Plan calls for full reconstruction of the damaged areas, reconstruction of the pre-war level in industry and agriculture, as well as a considerable raising of these levels. The new Five-Year Plan calls for a considerable step forward in the solution of the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R.

In his historic election campaign speech to the voters of the Stalin election district in Moscow, on February 9, 1946, Comrade Stalin outlined a programme for a new and mighty upsurge of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. which would enable our country to raise its industrial level about 300 per cent. over that of 1940. Comrade Stalin set the following tasks: To raise the annual production of cast iron up to 50 million tons; steel, up to 60 million tons; coal, to 500 million tons. "Only under such conditions," said he, "can we consider that our homeland will be guaranteed against all possible accidents. That will probably require three more Five-Year Plans, I should think, if not more. But it can be done, and we must do it."

The new Five-Year Plan for the reconstruction and development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. is a part of the great programme for the economic and cultural upsurge of our land. The new Five-Year Plan foresees further growth of all branches of our national economy; special attention is also given to technical progress and the raising of the material and cultural level of the life of the toilers. In 1950 our industrial production will be nearly 150 per cent. that of 1940. Toward the end of the five-year period, production of heavy metals will be 35 per cent., coal 51 per cent., electric power 70 per cent., machine construction 200 per cent., and agricultural production 27 per cent. greater than in 1940. On the basis of the ceaseless growth of labor productivity, our national earnings and consuming power will be considerably higher.

In order to fulfil the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R., special attention will be paid to future growth of our industry, further development of construction of new enterprises, and further technological progress in all branches of our national economy. The new Five-Year Plan calls for enormous capital construction. Within these five years, about 5,000 reconstructed and newly built enterprises will be brought into operation; 157.5 billion roubles have been appropriated for capital construction during these five years. Thus, capital construction becomes a most important condition for rapid growth of industrial production.

Toward the end of the new Five-Year Plan, the per capita industrial production of the U.S.S.R. will surpass France's pre-war level, and will come closer to that of England. But it will take a longer period to catch up with and surpass the industrial per capita production of the U.S.A.

In order to solve our basic economic task, it will be necessary to raise still higher our labor productivity, improve the organisation of labor, and raise the skill and qualifications of our working and engineering cadres. "The higher our productivity of labor, the more our technique of production becomes perfected, the more rapidly can we accomplish this cardinal economic task," said Comrade Stalin at the Eighteenth Congress of the Party.

Labor productivity rose 2½ times during the first and second Stalin Five-Year Plans as a result of the technological reconstruction of our national economy, the growth of power equipment and mechanisation of labor, the development of Socialist competition and the Stakhanovite movement.

The Soviet Union has made tremendous gains, not only in the tempo of growth, but also in the level of labor productivity in industry, as well as in other branches of our national economy. This growth of labor productivity in industry, while increasing the output of existing enterprises, also serves as a source for accumulation of Socialist wealth, for the construction of new plants, and industrial undertakings.

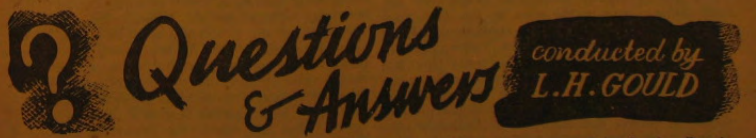
Socialist competition and its newest form, the Stakhanovite movement, play an enormous role in the struggle for higher labor productivity. The Stakhanovite movement, Comrade Stalin points out, "opens to us the path by which alone can be achieved those high indices of productivity of labor which are essential for the transition from Socialism to Communism."

The Five-Year Plan provides for a 36 per cent. growth of industrial productivity in 1950, as compared with the pre-war level. During the new Five-Year Plan, 70 per cent. of the new total growth of industrial production is to be provided by advance of labor productivity. This struggle to raise the productivity of labor, this development of Socialist emulation, constitutes a struggle for a new upsurge of productive forces.

This new and higher level of labor productivity presupposes a new and higher level of development of productive forces in means of production, as well as in human force, the basic productive force.

The transition from Socialism to Communism calls for the establishment of new and higher technique. It is well known that in so far as technique of production, the full equipment of new technological means for industrial production, is concerned, the U.S.S.R. holds the first place in the world. The Soviet land, taking advantage of the world's latest technological achievements, introduces them widely into all branches of its national economy. Contrary to the capitalist countries, where technological development is in contradiction with the social-political system, in the U.S.S.R. the advantages of a planned Socialist economy enable new technological means to develop unimpeded at a greatly accelerated tempo.

(To be concluded)



What was meant by the statement in Kardelj's article that "Socialist achievements have already become the substance of the entire genuinely democratic development in the world"?—B. F. Stone.

The statement reads:—"The construction of Socialism is no longer an isolated phenomenon confined to the U.S.S.R. It is no longer something which still has to prove its value in practice. The great Socialist achievements of the October Revolution have not only stood the test of history, but have already become the substance of the entire genuinely democratic development in the world. There are no longer many governments today which venture openly to defend the capitalist system. On the contrary, capitalist reaction is resorting to all kinds of pseudo-Socialist forms and phrases, in

order to delude the masses. Even the fascists liked to hide, and are hiding again today, behind Socialist signboards and phrases. This means that it is becoming increasingly difficult for imperialist reaction to wage an open struggle against Socialism. This means, further, that the ideal of Socialism, first realised in the Soviet Union, has stood the test of history and emerged triumphant." (Communist Review, July-August, 1947.)

The point made by Kardelj emphasises the Marxist conception of one of the fundamental features of democracy, namely, that the main content of democracy, its spirit, must always be the aims and aspirations, and the actual political movement, of the most progressive social force in the given historical period.

Society has been evolving since the Middle Ages from feudalism to capitalism (capitalist democracy), and from capitalism to Socialism (Socialist or proletarian democracy). What were the particular problems confronting society in the different periods, and which class was capable of providing the answer? What are the democratic tasks now in comparison, let us say, with 50 or 100 years ago? What is the "substance of the entire genuinely democratic development" in the world today — is it the establishment of parliamentary democracy, or defence of existing democratic liberties against reaction, or prevention of imperialist wars? And, most important, which class today is alone capable of defending and advancing democracy?

Democracy, if it is genuine and not make-believe, refers to the actual conditions of the class struggle at each period in history, and to the demands of the advanced class. (It should be noted that we are dealing here particularly with the democracy arising from the bourgeois-democratic revolution, with the democracy associated with the epoch of the capitalist mode of production, and not with the higher form of democracy, the proletarian democracy that exists as yet only in the Soviet Union.)

The history of democracy is divided into two main periods:—

1. The bourgeois-democratic revolutions in their classic forms in the west in the 17th and 18th centuries. The bourgeois revolution in England (Civil War, 1642-49) and in France (Revolution of 1789) are classic in the sense that the bourgeoisie was the only class capable at that time of successfully carrying through the revolution against feudalism (the proletarians, in the persons of the Levellers, the followers of Baboeuf, etc., were still far from organisation as a class). The main democratic tasks were the overthrow of the feudal monarchy and nobility, establishment of parliamentary democracy, the further and rapid development of industry and of the home and world markets. Historically, the bourgeoisie "has played a most revolutionary part" in providing mankind with the material prerequisites for the advance to Socialism, in calling into existence the proletarians, the "gravediggers" of capitalism, and in supplying the proletarians through democracy "with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie" (quotations from Manifesto of the Communist Party).

2. By the middle of the 19th century the proletariat replaced the bourgeoisie as the "champion of democracy." The capitalists by then had abandoned the principles of their own democratic revolution, and linked themselves with the feudal reaction (revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe) out of fear of the working class. The proletariat had become the leader of the struggle for democracy. What were the basic democratic tasks facing society a century ago? What was then the "substance of the entire genuinely democratic development"? Answer: To establish the capitalist democratic republic (or, simply, capitalist democracy) where feudalism was still partly or entirely in power, as in Prussia, Russia, Spain, Austria, Italy, etc.; and to extend democracy where the bourgeois-democratic revolution had already been achieved, e.g., in England, around the struggle for increased franchise, the shorter working day, trade union rights, etc. (Note again that these are demands within capitalist democracy; there is no need to struggle for trade union rights in a Socialist society!)

The workers are the champions of democracy within capitalism because the fullest development of democratic liberty provides "the most suitable battle-ground wherein the final battles of the class struggle can be fought out. . . It gives the workers the opportunity of free speech and propaganda and agitation. It presents the opportunity more easily to build vast mass organisations, such as trade unions, to conduct strikes and other actions of the workers against the capitalists" (L. Sharkey).

These actions represent the development, within the framework of capitalist democracy, of a much higher form of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy. But the co-existence of these two forms does not mean their eventual fusion. The new form replaces the old, through the revolutionary action of the proletariat and its allies. Capitalist democracy stands for capitalism, for the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation; it is democracy for the rich. Proletarian democracy, manifested in the trade unions, working class political parties, etc., is the new social power that will end the rule of capital. But the supremely important feature of the struggle for Socialism is precisely the defence and extension of democratic liberties within capitalism (e.g., to end the gerrymandering in Victorian State electorates, to end the undemocratic franchise in local councils everywhere, etc.).

The enemies of democracy, to cloak their oppression and warmongering, pretend that the Communists are seeking to "destroy democracy and the democratic way of life." Everything in Communist theory and practice refutes this slander. Thus Lenin: "Just as Socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

And Engels: "They cry despairingly with Odilon Barrot: 'La legalite nous tue (legality is the death of us)'; whereas we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like eternal life. And if we are not so crazy as to let ourselves be driven into street fighting in order to please them, then nothing else is left for them but for themselves to break through this legality so fatal to them."

The role of the proletariat as the champion of democracy was most clearly expressed early this century in Russia, where the central democratic task was the replacement of Tsarist autocracy by a democratic republic. Which class was capable of acting as leader (hegemon) in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in feudal-autocratic Russia? In the 1905 Revolution the Mensheviks, characteristically timid, doctrinaire and capitulatory, argued that the workers could not, they ought not to, assume the responsibility that "belonged properly" to the liberal bourgeoisie. The Menshevik programme called for the workers to aid the bourgeoisie to establish capitalist democracy; then the workers were to receive from the bourgeoisie in power a kind of "political education" similar to the experience of the workers in the west from their bourgeoisie; and then, later (10, 50, 100 years), the workers could go on to Socialism.

This spurious programme was trenchantly answered by Lenin, who found the "substance of the entire genuinely democratic movement" in Tsarist Russia in the working class: "The outcome of the revolution depends on whether the working class will play the part of a subsidiary to the bourgeoisie or whether it will play the part of leader to the people's revolution." "The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie." "At the head of the people, and particularly of the peasantry — for complete freedom, for a consistent democratic revolution, for a republic! At the head of all the toilers and exploited — for Socialism!"

Thus, for Lenin, the substance of the genuinely democratic movement in early-20th century Russia was the struggle for the Socialist Revolution. This was to be achieved in two stages, first the struggle for the democratic republic, second, the Socialist revolution itself, and without "a Chinese Wall separating one from the other by a period of time more or less protracted, in the course of which the bourgeoisie, having come to power, develops capitalism, while the proletariat accumulates forces and prepares for the 'decisive struggle' against capitalism" (Stalin).

It is of interest to recall that the handing over of the land to the Russian peasants, which is one of the essential tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, was not done following the coming to power of the bourgeoisie in the February, 1917, Revolution. This task, and others (i.e., bourgeois-democratic tasks) were completed only after the October Revolution.

To come now to the quotation from Kardelj. What are the basic democratic tasks facing mankind today? These are the fight to prevent World War Three, to curb the monopolists by economic planning on a national scale and through ever-increasing popular control (nationalisation of banks and key industries), defence of national independence, freedom of colonial peoples. It would be criminal folly to expect the bourgeoisie to agree even in small measure to such steps, because they threaten the very basis of capitalism. The essential character of the rule of the bourgeoisie, i.e., the domination of the monopoly-capitalists or imperialists, is their "striving towards violence and reaction" (Lenin). Peace, democracy and improvements in the economic conditions of the masses are fatal for the imperialists; hence their policy of destroying the genuine democratic and patriotic movements of the people everywhere. The democratic cause today necessarily includes defence of the traditional gains of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past — historic gains which the imperialists of USA, Britain and Australia are as determined to smash as were Hitler and Mussolini.

And what is "curbing the monopolists" and "popular control of the national economy" but the acceptance of the principles and lessons of the October Revolution? Sometimes the monopolists and their right-wing lackeys announce "plans" for industry and reconstruction — a "three-year food plan" or a "five-year homebuilding plan." These are the pseudo-Socialist forms and phrases mentioned by Kardelj. But it is also an involuntary tribute to the power of the example set by Socialist planning and construction in the Soviet Union which, to repeat, have become the substance of the entire genuinely democratic movement in the world.

Finally, democracy refers to all social and cultural matters of significance to mankind, as well as to the direct political and economic issues. Democracy, if it is to possess a genuine content, must stand for great art, for the advancement of science, for the full free development of the human personality. Capitalist rule is negative, destructive and full of deadly menace. Kardelj makes a convincing point in regard to the all-important question of atomic energy:—

"The parasitical character of imperialism, the fact that imperialism is decaying capitalism, has never yet appeared in such a drastic form. Let us only recall current discussions on the use of atomic energy. The release of atomic energy is undoubtedly the outstanding contemporary discovery achieved by the human mind, and is bound to have extremely far-reaching consequences for the entire development of human society. This discovery should give an entirely new trend to the whole technique of production. The application of atomic energy in the technical field could bring about a tremendous advance in the welfare of the working people. It is, at the same time, a discovery which, by its very nature, points to the inevitability of Socialism, whose full application necessarily requires the existence of Socialism."

(References: Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy;" Varga, "Democracy of a New Type," Nov.-Dec. Communist Review.)



BOOK REVIEW



MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM (V. I. LENIN)

J. P. CALLAGHAN, M.Sc.

IT is gratifying that Lenin's great exposition of Marxist philosophy is again available, and at a price well within the reach of most people. In the past, altogether too few Communists have been familiar with **Materialism and Empirio - Criticism,** a fact towards which the scarcity of the book and its comparatively high cost have been contributing factors.

This work of Lenin was written in 1905, during the period of reaction following the defeat of the Russian revolution of 1905. The Czarist nobility and landed aristocracy, together with the Russian bourgeoisie, were using the most vicious measures of repression against workers and peasants and their organisations. Under these conditions, attacks on the basic theory of Marxism were to be expected, as well as on its political practices. Thus there appeared numerous books openly attacking Marxism; but more serious than these were a number of works by people who called themselves Marxists, attempting to "revise" Marxism or to "bring it up to date."

No thorough-going Marxist, from the time of Marx and Engels themselves, has believed that Marxist theory is something complete, final, unalterable. On the contrary, its very vitality lies in the applicability of its basic principles to an endless variety of changing situations and conditions, and its ability to predict the direction of movement of previously unencountered systems, a process which itself enriches Marxism and extends its scope and power.

The revisionists, however, sought not to apply Marxism to new conditions — to extend the work of Marx and Engels — but to alter the basic principles of Marxism, to undermine the theoretical foundations of the revolutionary movement and to render them innocuous as a weapon against the Russian ruling class.

In the field of philosophy this trend was evidenced in criticism ostensibly of the materialist conceptions of Marx and Engels, and "revision" of materialism "in the light of modern science." The result, however, was the rejection of materialism itself, and the advocacy of a reactionary philosophy.

In exposing these dangerous developments in philosophy, Lenin shows that they are not new, differing not at all in essence from the many previous attacks on materialism. He shows, further, that far from requiring any drastic change in the fundamental theory of dialectical materialism as expounded by Marx and Engels, the revolutionary developments in science of the first decade of the twentieth century served to provide new proofs of its validity. As Engels wrote: "Nature is the test of dialectics, and it must be said of modern natural science that it provides rich and ever increasing materials for the test."

It should be noted, however, that as scientific research develops, and new knowledge is added to our store, progressive changes are necessary in scientific theories. Consequently, so far as detail is concerned, some of the writings on scientific matters by Engels eighty years ago, and by Lenin forty years ago, require restatement today to adapt them to our modern scientific views. To the Marxist, however, it is not surprising that, limited as they were by the science of the time, the fundamental conclusions reached then require no change. Further, due to their greater theoretical clarity, both Engels and Lenin were able to reach conclusions far in advance of their contemporaries, conclusions which later scientific work has proved correct.

Materialism and Empirio - Criticism will not be found easy reading. It requires careful study, in conjunction with the earlier philosophical writings of Marx and Engels, but the labor involved will be amply repaid.

LANGUAGE OF BEES

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

EIGHT years ago I gave an account in the Daily Worker of the early work of von Frisch and others on the language of bees.

This July, I was at the London Zoo with Professor Hadorn, of Zurich. We watched bees coming in to the glass-fronted hive laden with pollen of different colors in the bags on their legs. He was able, by watching them, to tell me from what direction they had come, and roughly from what distance. So will you be, after reading this article.

The facts previously known were these. When a bee has found a rich source of pollen or honey she comes back to the hive, and before handing it over to the other workers whose job it is to put it in the comb, she does a peculiar "dance."

During the dance other bees touch her with their antennae, so that they know what smell is associated with the kind of food in question. Then they fly off to visit flowers of the same kind, or dishes of sugar water impregnated with the same smell, for example, of peppermint.

When the flower or the sugar water is placed within fifty yards of the hive, bees fly out in all directions to visit flowers or dishes with the same smell. But when they are placed at distances over about a hundred yards, they not merely fly out in the right direction, but for the right distance. As some of them arrive before the original finder has unloaded her honey, or pollen, it is clear that she must have told them in which direction to go, and how far.

Von Frisch has discovered how the information is conveyed.

If the food is within fifty yards, the finder bee dances round and round. If it is more than a hundred, the dance is quite different. She goes forward in a certain direction for an inch or two, waggling her abdomen, then runs back without any "dancing," and repeats the dance again and again.

The more she has found, and the sweeter the sugar water, the longer the dance lasts, and therefore the more other bees are able to learn what smell is associated with food, and the more go to look for it.

If the finder dances the round dance they go out in all directions, but not for further than a hundred yards. The other kind of dance gives them the direction.

The dances are generally carried out on the comb, but sometimes on the landing-stage in front of a hive. If it is horizontal, the dancer moves in the direction of the food, and the other bees fly out in the direction of her dance.

If, however, the surface of the comb is vertical, something much odder happens. As the day goes on, the dancer moves in different directions after coming from the same place. Supposing the food is southwest from the hive, then at 9 a.m. the dancer moves horizontally to the left, at noon she moves at 45 degrees upward, at 3 p.m. vertically upward, and so on.

It is most remarkable that bees know the direction of the sun, even in cloudy weather. Perhaps they can feel the heat rays coming through the clouds.

The distance is given by the rhythm of the dance. Food only 150 yards away elicits a dance with 40 tail-wags a minute. This number sinks to 20 when the food is half a mile away, and to only eight at a distance of two miles.

Von Frisch believes that the same language is used by scouts which go out from a swarm of bees and come back to tell it where they have found a place suitable for a new hive. But this is uncertain, for swarming is rare, whereas hundreds of observations can be made every summer day in an ordinary hive.

Besides the dances, the bees have at least one other "word," namely a sweet smell which they make when they have found rich food, and which attracts other bees to the place.

These observations seem to have a great philosophical importance. It is often said that animals' "language" is a mere expression of the emotions, and cannot convey statements of fact. But it is clear that the bees can tell each other not merely that they have found food, but where they have found it.

It is true that the bees' language seems to be inborn, and not learned like ours. It is like that of the young lady in Shaw's "Back to Methuselah," who emerges from an egg talking perfect Shavian English.

However, some birds have to learn a good deal of their language.

It is also clear that bees have an amazing sense of direction. If a hive is turned round, the dancer moves over the comb in a curved path as if she had a compass needle in the head. Perhaps she has some kind of magnetic sense which we lack.

Their perception of rhythm must also be superior to our own.

A reader may well ask whether it is not possible that von Frisch is pulling our legs, or at least letting his imagination run away with him, and has invented the amazing story.

The answer is that, although he made some mistakes in his interpretations of dancing, most of his earlier work has not only been confirmed, but applied in practice by Gubin Komarov and others in the Soviet Union, as well as by von Frisch himself in Germany and Austria.

Red clover is normally fertilised by bumble bees, and does not set seed without fertilisation.

Bumble bees are not common enough to fertilise an area of an acre or more of red clover. And ordinary bees prefer other flowers, as their probosces are not long enough to get all the nectar of a red clover flower.

The following method is, therefore, used. Beehives are brought near to the clover fields. Glasses containing sugar water and red clover blossom are placed among the clover.

Bees soon find them and come back to dance. Their comrades fall for the propaganda and search for flowers with the correct smell. A few of them find the sugar water. The majority search the clover flowers. They do not find much nectar there, but in their searches they carry pollen from one flower to another. Enough of them find sugar water to keep up the stream of propaganda in the hive.

The system rather reminds me of the football pools, where a few people win large prizes, but the vast majority merely enrich the organisers of the pools and keep the postal workers busy.

Economically it pays the seedsmen. For an expenditure of about 12 pounds of sugar per acre over five weeks, von Frisch got an increased yield of 36 pounds of clover seed per acre. As a pound of clover seed cost as much as 16 pounds of sugar, this was a good bargain, except perhaps for the bees.

Possibly an even bigger return could be got by inducing bees to visit orchards.

It is important that the bees visiting prepared sugar water should, if possible, perch on [illegible] it blossom and also suck up juice into which blo[illegible] has been crushed to give it the right scent.

I do not know whether we shall be able to learn the language of ants, and get them to clean our kitchen floors instead of raiding our sugar.

But I am quite sure that research on these subjects will tell us things which we need to know, not only about animals, but about human societies.

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