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COMMUNIST ★ REVIEW ★

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WAR MARCHES ON

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SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

By Carroll Clark



APRIL

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COMMUNIST REVIEW

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THE NEWS REVIEWED

• CHAMBERLAIN OVER SPAIN

THE first great plot against Spanish democracy was hatched in Berlin and Rome. It reached maturity when Franco and the fascist generals mutinied against the legally elected government in July, 1936.

The second great plot against Spanish democracy was hatched in London and Paris. It reached maturity when Colonel Casado led the coup d'etat which displaced the Negrin government in March, 1939.

The organisers of the fascist uprising in 1936 expected an easy victory, a speedy triumph for their reactionary cause. These expectations were quickly shattered. The initial revolt was soon crushed in the most important centres. Then, as Italian and German arms began to pour into Franco's camp, it became apparent that the conspiracy was more far-reaching than at first thought. The Spanish government sought to counterbalance this disadvantage by purchasing arms abroad. This move was frustrated by the Chamberlain government which initiated the policy of non-intervention.

Despite this handicap the Spanish government was able to keep the fascist rebels in check and would no doubt have succeeded in defeating them ultimately had it not been for the increased intervention of Italy and Germany.

The participation of Italian and German forces in Spain soon reached

a scale which made it apparent that the real aim of the fascist Powers was to establish joint domination over the country. The dictators planned to conquer Spain and convert it into a military, naval and air base of considerable strategical value in the war which they have embarked upon to re-divide the world.

This war in the final analysis is being waged against the imperialist interests of Great Britain and France. It therefore seemed paradoxical that these two Powers should stand aside and under the flag of non-intervention appear to grant Hitler and Mussolini a free hand in Spain.

But in reality no such paradox existed. This much has been made clear by the latest developments in Madrid.

Neither Britain nor France have any intentions of voluntarily relinquishing their interests in Spain to the fascist Powers.

Anthony Eden, in an article in the "Sydney Morning Herald" on March 2, pointed out how Britain has been concerned for the past two hundred years for the political independence and territorial integrity of Spain.

It was not likely then that she would stand idle now and permit the fruits of such prolonged labor to be snatched by the fascist countries.

What appeared on the surface to

be a suicidal contradiction in British policy is now shown up as a cunning piece of diplomacy.

British imperialism followed the path of non-intervention up to the point where the backbone of Republican Spain had been broken under the terrible blows of the fascist Powers.

But before these Powers could consummate their victory the British imperialists themselves intervened in Spain and organised the coup which was to open the gates of Madrid to Franco.

Press cables from international news agencies divulge that London and Paris were fully informed of Colonel Casado's pending seizure of power a week before the Negrin government fell.

JAPAN IN TROUBLE

MOUNTING difficulties beset the path of Japanese imperialism in China. Trouble is being encountered on the foreign and home fronts alike.

In the war zone the Japanese army is not very much closer to accomplishing its main purpose than it was two years ago.

The Japanese objective is to come to grips with and crush the main Chinese army. But so far all their efforts towards this end have been unavailing. Several times the Japanese forces have been able to engage the Chinese army in combat. On almost every occasion they proclaimed its pending encirclement and

The French Communist daily, "Humanite," states quite definitely that the plot to displace Negrin and conclude an armistice with Franco was initiated in London and Paris.

If the plot succeeds British and French imperialism will profit in a twofold manner. First, from the destruction of Spanish democracy; second, from the weakening of their rivals Germany and Italy who have spent considerable forces in bringing this about.

At the time of writing the issue is still in doubt. Under Communist leadership the workers of Madrid are fighting the capitulators. If they succeed the cause of Spanish democracy may yet prevail. If not another dark chapter will be added to the book of black crimes for which Chamberlain & Co. are responsible.

But just as regularly as the Japanese predicted a smashing defeat for the Chinese so were they shown up as false prophets.

The elusive Chinese army has so far managed with great success to avoid its promised fate and is now ensconced in the mountains undergoing a process of re-equipment and reorganisation that will later tell its own tale.

The unexpectedly protracted nature of the campaign is having its effect on the Japanese Army. The widespread discontent which has long existed among the Japanese soldiers is today more and more openly being expressed in mutinies.

These revolts against authority are not confined to small groups. Towards the end of January no less than 3000 Japanese soldiers mutinied at the port of Ta-Koo. Other revolts on an equally large scale are known to have taken place.

The Japanese are not meeting with much success either in their attempts to set up puppet regimes consisting of renegade Chinese generals in the coastal regions. The plan to establish Wu Pei-Fu as the figure-head of a government at Peking had to be dropped when Wu placed a too high price upon his services.

The long drawn out character of the war has also put a tremendous strain upon the Japanese financial and economic structure.

Up to the end of 1938 the war expenditure was estimated at 7,390,000,000 yen (over 430 millions sterling). Most of this has been met by loans. The national debt of Japan has increased by approximately £330,000,000 since 1936.

The country must be nearing the point beyond which it is not possible to continue in this direction.

The National Mobilisation law which was passed last year has encumbered the Japanese people with an intolerable burden but it does not appear to have materially improved the balance of trade. There was a falling off in Japanese exports in 1938 to the extent of £28,000,000.

These growing external and internal difficulties, however, far from causing Japan to draw back from China have had the effect of spurring her on to renewed efforts.

The occupation of Hainan Island, the blockading of the foreign concessions at Tientsin and the introduction of new currency exchange regulations in North China bring Japan into sharper conflict with Britain, France and America.

These three happenings have a connection. The currency regulations if they become effective will exclude other Powers from trade in North China and result in the setting up of a Japanese economic dictatorship.

However, the Customs offices at Tientsin are situated in the French concession and this represents an obstacle for Japan.

The measures taken to surround and isolate the foreign concession at Tientsin are therefore linked with the currency measures. Similarly the occupation of Hainan is a preparatory step taken by Japan in case her North China activities result in drastic retaliatory measures being resorted to by the Powers concerned.

America, as pointed out in a previous issue, had taken certain steps to safeguard her interests by guaranteeing credits to the Chinese government. Now Great Britain has been forced to take similar action and has undertaken to support the £10,000,000 stabilisation fund being raised by China.

It would be a mistake to interpret this as a sign that Chamberlain and Co. are at last forsaking the path of "appeasement" and going over to a policy of collective resistance to aggression.

Chamberlain consistently defends British imperialist interests, and the British imperialists are no more keen on a victory of the Chinese people than they were on a triumph for democracy in Spain.

The same deep policy is being followed in China as in Spain.

Let the Japanese hangmen strangle China, let them exhaust themselves in the process, then Britain will step in and attempt to grab the plums.

It becomes more and more clear that this is the end towards which

the gigantic Empire armaments plan is being directed.

If the spearhead of aggression can be turned against the Soviet Union then so much the better; nothing would suit British imperialism more.

If we would avoid this prospect then there is only one course possible, we must devote all our energies towards bringing about the early downfall of the Chamberlain government and its Commonwealth counterpart the government of Lyons.

A NEW CRISIS

CURRENT economic trends in Australia bear all the signs pointing to the early outbreak of a new crisis.

The following information is contained in the February Statistical Bulletin of the Commonwealth Bank.

Imports for the first seven months of 1938-39 were £A8.4 million below the figure for the corresponding months of the previous year. If the present rate of flow continues unaltered imports will be down £A12.6 million by the end of the financial year.

The export price index (1927-100) which stood at 75.4 in February 1938 has dropped to 65.7 in February 1939.

There has been a decline in the volume as well as in the value of wool and wheat production.

The estimated wheat production for 1938-39 is 145 million bushels

compared with 188 million bushels the previous year. The estimated wool clip is 938 million lbs. compared with 1,010 million lbs. in 1937-38

If the whole of the abnormal carry-overs of wool and wheat are sold in the current season and present prices are maintained the value of Australia's exports will be £A20 million less than last year.

These figures are ominous. It will be remembered that somewhat similar developments preceded the outbreak of crisis in 1929.

It is true that in many respects the position today is not comparable with 1929. Australia is now dependent on a large annual inflow of overseas capital, and there is a greater number of manufacturing industries producing for the home market. But the fact remains that the decline in income from exports must lead to repercussion in other fields of economic activity.

There are already signs of a falling off in production in certain branches of secondary industry.

To once again quote from the Commonwealth Bank Bulletin:—

"In November the value of manufacturing production in New South Wales practically regained last year's levels. Preliminary figures for December suggest that the improvement was not maintained."

"... The decline in December was widely distributed. Output in the 'Motor Bodies' group declined heavily..."

"... The recent high level of activity in the 'Building' and 'Heavy Metal and Engineering' groups has not been maintained and now both are operating below last year's levels..."

"Employment in the 'Building' groups declined considerably in December."

"... Unemployment in N.S.W. in December remained considerably higher than in December 1937."

All of these factors point to the one conclusion that Australia is headed for a new economic crisis.

It is impossible to say at this stage what effect the armaments expenditure will have in temporarily offsetting these tendencies. It is certain that the spending of £50 to £60 million on the establishment of an aircraft production industry will to some extent counteract the

slowing down in production of manufactures.

But can we derive any consolation from this? If it means anything at all it means out of the frying pan of economic crisis into the fire of war.

Those who think that the development of war industries can permanently arrest the outbreak of crisis should seriously consider the recent words of Stalin.

"What does it mean," he asks, "to switch the economy of a country over to a basis of war economy?"

"It means giving industry a one-sided war trend, in every way to increase the output of goods necessary for war, goods which are not for the consumption of the people, and in every way to restrict production—especially articles of popular consumption—for the market, and consequently reduce the consumption of the people and confront the country with economic crisis."

The experience of the last crisis taught us how the rich seek to ease their own position at the expense of the poor. Undoubtedly they will try to repeat this performance again. It is up to us to see that they do not succeed. We must close our ranks and prepare not only to hold what we have in the way of working conditions, wages and civil liberties, but to extend our gains on all fronts.

Lack of space compels withholding "A Welshian Odyssey" (II.), by G. Baracchi, till next issue.

THE SPIRIT OF PROGRESS

THE results of the Hurstville (N.S.W.) by-election and the Western Australian general election show that the spirit of progress is reviving in Australia.

For seven years past New South Wales has been governed by the reactionary United Australia Party.

During this time the people have been plundered and robbed by a few wealthy monopolists.

Food and rent racketeers have been allowed to exploit the community without restriction.

The people have long been dissatisfied with the rule of the U.A.P. but the Labor Party has not yet been able to turn this to account in defeating the government.

One of the chief contributing factors to Labor's successive election defeats has been the misleadership of J. T. Lang.

Hurstville confirms the fact that the people are equally discontented with Stevens and distrustful of Lang.

The indications at the time of writing are that Clive Evatt, the candidate of the new Australian Labor Party, will be returned with a majority of 3000 votes.

In the elections of March, 1938, the U.A.P. candidate polled 11,493 votes and had a majority of 2510. In this by-election the combined Labor vote increased to 12,438 and the U.A.P. vote dropped to 7,552. A similar swing to Labor in a general

election would be more than sufficient to ensure a sweeping victory.

The result is all the more striking in view of the fact that Hurstville is not what might be termed an industrial electorate. The constituency includes a fair proportion of middle-class voters who must have supported Evatt at the poll.

This is a highly significant indication of the favorable conditions which exist for the building of a People's Front movement in N.S.W.

Providing the Labor Party can rid itself of the Lang incubus and providing it can unite all its forces around the progressive policy put forward in this by-election, there is no reason why the Stevens government should remain much longer in power.

Like its big brother in the Federal House, the U.A.P. government of N.S.W. suffers from internal troubles. It has been able in the past to overcome its inner difficulties and to carry on chiefly because the Opposition, led by Lang, proved incapable of rallying the people to a campaign which could have led to the government defeat.

Hurstville should be a last warning to those Labor parliamentarians who still stick to Lang that they are trusting themselves to a doomed vessel. That small body of U.A.P. politicians who at times have raised their voice in protest against the leadership and official policy of their

Party should also seriously consider the by-election results.

One other thing which Hurstville revealed was that the "Red bogey" has lost any terror which it might have had for electors in the past.

Evatt was freely labelled by the opposition as a Communist, an agent of Moscow, etc., and it stands to the eternal discredit of the Lang inner-group that their efforts out-rivalled those of the U.A.P. propaganda machine in this direction.

However, the slander campaign failed in its object of discrediting the candidate of the new A.L.P.

Australian workers, especially trade unionists, know from practical experience how well the Communists fight in their interests. Other sections of the community are coming to the same realisation.

The Communist Party to an ever increasing extent is gaining recognition as a vital force in Australian politics, a force making for unity, peace, freedom and progress.

To be dubbed a Communist no longer carries with it any stigma in the eyes of the electors; rather does it enhance the prestige of a candidate.

The Western Australian election result is no less pleasing than that of Hurstville.

The Labor government has been returned with its majority in the House increased from two to four.

The record of the W.A. Labor government which has been in power for six years, contrasts with that of the anti-Labor government of N.S.W.

Under Labor in W.A. a generous programme of public works has been carried out, public servants have had their salary cuts restored, relief payments have been liberalised, and the highest basic wage in the Commonwealth has been maintained.

Coming so soon after Wakefield (S.A.) where the Lyons government received its first great setback in recent times, the Hurstville and W.A. elections are happy omens which point to the early deliverance of Australia from U.A.P. bondage.

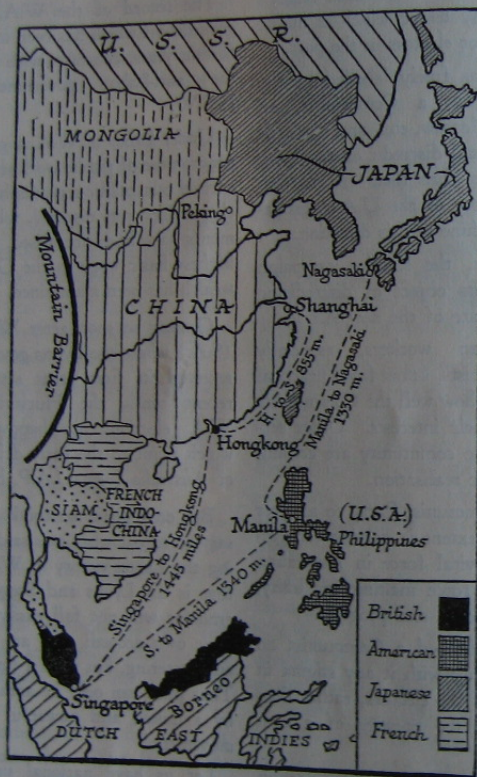
But once again we think it necessary to repeat what was said following the Labor victory in Wakefield, that is the Lyons and Stevens government will not fall easily and of their own accord; they are insecure and tottering, but need a final push. That push can only be administered by a united and powerful people's movement.

Let us have national unity but without Lyons, without Stevens, and without the U.A.P.

—E. W. CAMPBELL.

JAPAN SEIZES HAINAN

J. B. Miles



Map by Horrabin. Un-named island S.W. of Hongkong is Hainan.

THE seizure, a few weeks ago, of Hainan Island by Japan caused much concern in London, Paris and Holland, also in French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies.

Hainan Island is Chinese territory

and lies south of China and off the coast of Indo-China.

The concern of Britain is explained by the following quotation from a Tokio newspaper, "The seizure of Hainan has deprived Hong Kong of

its strategic value to the British and has dealt a violent blow to England's military base at Singapore."

Hainan lies between Hong Kong and Singapore and its occupation by one of the aggressor axis powers is a threat to British trade routes to the East. Already Hong Kong had been isolated from the Chinese mainland and weakened by the Japanese seizure of Canton.

French alarm is due to the threat to Indo-China which, except South China, is the territory nearest to Hainan. The militarists of Japan can readily find the same excuse to penetrate Indo-China as was used to explain the seizure of Hainan—to strengthen the blockade of South China.

Japan can turn Hainan into a military, naval and air base, not only for the war against China and in preparation for an attack on French Indo-China and to weaken the position of Britain in that area, but also as a threat to the possessions of Holland—Sumatra, Borneo, Java and New Guinea.

While the traitors to democracy and national independence profess to accept the Japanese assurance that they have no territorial aims, no intention to annex Hainan, only simpletons will believe the fascists. The ghastly slaughter in China, the bombing of open towns, the murder of women and children is being carried out for no territorial gains. Only to smash independent China and turn that country into a Japanese colony administered by a puppet government of traitors to China.

Japan now controls the coast of China and Hainan which is further south than the mainland. Japan has been moving ruthlessly and relentlessly southward and that means nearer to Australia as well as weakening the British strategic bases between Australia and Japan.

The correspondent of the London "Times" wrote: "It is safe to suppose that the Japanese admiralty has plans for the possible use of Hainan as a base for a southern advance." The London "Daily Telegraph" said, "The occupation of Hainan is a fresh blow to the treaty rights of the Western Powers . . . There are two great Dominions (Australia and New Zealand—J.B.M.) and many dependencies to whom the safeguarding of Pacific communications is no less vital than the maintenance of shipping in British waters."

General Chiang Kai-shek said, "The occupation of Hainan Island threatens communications between Singapore and Australia, and the security of the Philippine Islands (U.S.A.) and Indo-China. It is designed to frustrate concerted Anglo-American naval action in the Pacific."

In connection with the reference to the Philippines it is to be noted that these U.S.A. possessions lie between Hainan and the secretly fortified Japanese mandate, the Caroline Islands, which lie between U.S.A. and the Philippines. It should also be noted that the Carolines are not far north of New Guinea.

While General Chiang is confid-

ent that the seizure of Hainan will not affect the outcome of the war in China he added, "but it will have international significance."

The attack on Canton and the isolation of Hong Kong coincided with the September crisis in Europe. While Hitler, aided by Chamberlain and Daladier, struck at Czechoslovakia, Japan took the opportunity to strike a new blow at China and to further weaken British power and prestige in the East.

The occupation of Hainan was timed to coincide with the Italian pressure on France in the Mediterranean. Both fascist Italy and Japanese military fascism take full advantage of the "peace" saved at Munich by Herr Chamberlain.

From Munich, from Chamberlain's "appeasement" to increased Italian aid for Franco, to the Italian demands on France, to louder Nazi demands for colonies, to the Japanese threat to French Indo-China and British trade routes to the East from Singapore. "The occupation of Hainan," said a "Times" leading article, "is a defiant gesture and the result of Italian and German pressure, made with a view of embarrassing the western democracies by a potential threat against their colonies."

One of these colonies is New Guinea, the western half of which is held by the Dutch and the other by Australia.

Australian security is menaced by the situation in the Mediterranean which more and more becomes an Italian lake. The threat to France

from the control of her Spanish border by Mussolini, Hitler and Franco, and the Italian demands on France in North Africa, the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Aden, add to the menace. The development of the Italian pressure on France will be an invitation to Japan to proceed further, possibly to create an incident in Indo-China. Germany will seize the opportunity to add to the pressure in one direction or another against the small nations (Holland and the Dutch East Indies and New Guinea) and against the appeasers, many of whom think that the Nazis should be given control of the former German colonies.

Some of the fruits of Munich have been gathered, others are ripening and will be gathered by the aggressors if the policy of the so-called democracies is not changed from retreat and appeasement to aid for the victims and action to strangle the aggressors.

The whole policy, every action which threatens Australian peace and security is approved by the Federal government. Mr. Lyons grovels before Hitler when the latter is aptly characterised by Mr. Wells. He continues his policy of friendship with Franco (to provide wheat credits would be a breach of non-intervention) and for the Japanese military fascists. The Broken Hill Proprietary must get its profits and the Japs must get pig iron to hold Hainan and continue the march southward so that later the Japs., with Australian iron, will help the

B.H.P. to crush Australian democracy.

Seizing on the situation created by Munich, the Federal government spends more on arms. It provides more profits for the B.H.P. and other armament concerns and prepares for a reactionary war. A government which conspires with the fascist aggressors cannot be trusted with arms.

The menace of fascism is now emphasised by some government spokesmen, the press and in appeals to join the militia. They sometimes directly refer to Hitler, Mussolini and Japanese militarism. Some of them are no doubt honest but confused, caught up by the hypocritical propaganda of those responsible for the encouragement of fascism and failure to act in the interests of peace, democracy and national security.

Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini are all good friends. Mr. Lyons approves of Chamberlain's policy and his every act of betrayal. All fear the collapse of fascism, they fear the labor movement, they fear democracy, they fear the unity of labor and the People's Front, they fear the Soviet Union and Communism. They have suppressed democracy in Germany, Italy and Japan, they conspire to crush democracy in Czechoslovakia and Spain, they are undermining democracy in the remaining capitalist democracies, including Australia.

Australia needs arms and trained men for defence, but the defence of Australia cannot be entrusted to a government of national betrayal, the

ally of Chamberlain and Japanese militarism.

The defence of Australia demands a government controlled by the democratic people. A control in which the labor movement will play a decisive part.

Such a united, democratic people's movement and its government would organise a democratic army and make the rich pay for it. A People's Front and a government controlled from day to day by the people would defend the rights and liberties of the people and their organisations against the enemy at home. The foreign fascist agents would be sent out of the country and the pro-fascists driven from the army and civil service.

Such a government would give work and trade union wages to all, control the food profiteers and the greedy landlords. It would bring relief to the toiling farmers and extend the Australian market for their products.

A truly democratic Australian government would use its influence to change British policy and would use its independent status to collaborate for peace with other peaceful Powers.

To make sure that Lyons will not be defeated merely by an electoral swing and that the new government will be controlled by Australian democracy, the Labor Party must be united. The trade unions and Labor Party members must take up the daily tasks in a militant spirit and draw their members of Parliament and candidates into the actions.

The working class must learn to defend the interests of the farmers and our middle classes against the exploiters.

Communists must participate more actively in the struggles, strengthen the Party, and encourage and lead united actions.

Democratic Australia can be defended but not with Lyons in control.

MILESTONES IN HISTORY

The Bloody History Of Ireland

OUR children are still taught at school that the British Empire is founded on liberty and justice. Where there has been any suggestion of "pressure" on backward peoples it has been, of course, for their own good. In the case of English speaking peoples, the "whites," it has been a matter of voluntary co-operation . . .

The bloody history of Ireland tells a different story. Throughout its whole history, Ireland has been used merely as a basis for the enrichment of the ruling class of England—no different, fundamentally, to the position of India. Irish industrial development was deliberately held back and its whole economy regulated according to the interests of the wealthy few in the "home" country who were levying tribute from its lands.

The result, Irish nationalism, a demand for independence. As the movement grew by leaps and bounds in the pre-war period, the Ulster bourgeoisie, tools of British capitalism, organised opposition to the "conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament," and the Irish volunteers set themselves the objective, "to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland."

By the middle of 1914 the Irish Volunteers numbered 150,000 and were in-

creasing at the rate of 15,000 a week, but the Right Wing accepted the passage of the Home Rule Act as the virtual end of the Irish struggle. Others, however, together with the Sinn Fein and the Socialist Party, organised to secure real justice for Ireland.

The Socialist group, led by James Connolly, raised as its slogan resistance to the policy of "compelling the Irish to fight the battles of the tottering British Empire." The Irish bourgeoisie countered with industrial conscription.

Plans were made for an uprising against British rule, to take place at Easter, 1916. At the last minute, however, the officials of the Irish Volunteers called off the revolt, but in Dublin the revolutionary section of the Volunteers carried on according to plan.

Most of the strategic points of the city were occupied on April 23, and the establishment of an Irish Republic proclaimed. Military reinforcements arrived, however, and the town was mercilessly bombarded.

On Saturday, April 29, the leaders of the uprising agreed to an unconditional surrender.

Followed a period of savagery worthy of France in Spain. Scores of civilians who had played no part in the revolt were shot by British soldiers. Prisoners were executed without trial. Of the prisoners who were tried by court-martial fifteen (Connolly among them) were shot, including all the seven who had signed the declaration of the Irish Republic.

The official casualty list of the revolt stated that there were 300 killed and about 1,000 wounded, but it was admitted that the figures were incomplete.

Leaders of the official labour movement in England and Ireland virtually acquiesced in the savage suppression, but the revolutionaries realised its deep significance. Lenin did not hesitate to estimate the revolt as a most important development in Irish history. This was proved by subsequent events. The revolt was the signal for an even stronger, clearer demand for a Republican Ireland.

SAM AARONS ON SPAIN

I.

THE fall of Barcelona and the capture of the whole of Catalonia is a major blow at the independence and freedom of the Spanish people, a blow which can well prove decisive and result in the complete destruction, for the time being, of Spanish democracy.

It is too well known to need repetition here that the military might of Italy and Germany, aided by the diplomatic machinations of the Chamberlain government and the a weak-kneed and supine Daladier, have been responsible for this defeat. It is safe to say that this defeat will lead to a catastrophe if the present alignment of forces continues, if the policies of all the democracies do not change.

At the time of writing, the war still goes on. And while the armed struggle continues, it cannot be too late for sufficient aid to be rendered to the Spanish people to win the war.

Increased financial assistance will help, but the main requirement is such tremendous pressure from the peoples of the democratic countries that the right of the Spanish people to purchase arms must be restored to them. The recognition of Franco will have to be withdrawn.

These are tremendous tasks which, however, must be faced. They are so huge that possibly they can only be accomplished by People's Front governments, or People's Front move-

ments powerful enough to force a Chamberlain, a Daladier, a Lyons to do the will of the people.

There are opponents and doubters of the People's Front who point out that the People's Front government of Spain has met with heavy defeat, that the People's Front of France has not aided them sufficiently to win victory. These individuals are the descendants of those "Socialists" of 1905 who, in speaking of the defeat of the heroic Russian workers, said: "They should not have resorted to arms."

To eulogise the bravery of the Spanish people and to praise their wonderful efforts in the face of overwhelming forces is to "paint the lily and gild refined gold." But bravery is no defence against aviation, nor will it alone disable tanks. Neither will it destroy heavy artillery. The Spanish people had another weapon against their enemies, a weapon which has enabled them to oppose for nearly three long, bitter years an overwhelmingly superior force. That weapon is anti-fascist UNITY, a People's Front movement welded for the main part in the furnace of struggle.

The war is not yet over, but whatever the result, Spain is a gem waiting to the people of the world. If this waiting is not heeded in time, before it is too late, world peace and democracy will surely suffer blows compared to which Spain will

be as nothing. And there is not much time.

No, the People's Front in Spain has a glorious record which can be held up as an example to the world. The tragedy of Spain has been that the necessary unity in action was not completely evolved.

The reasons for this are not hard to find. Considering the pre-war Spain, the wonder is that it could come into existence at all, it is indeed a tribute to the political awareness of the Spaniards.

Due to various factors that need not be gone into here, pre-war Spain was still a semi-feudal country. Governed autocratically and badly from Madrid, there were strong movements for autonomy in the various regions, to whom the central government was anathema. There are at least four different peoples in Spain—the Castilians, the Catalans, the Basques and the Galicians, speaking different languages and dialects, with different traditions and different outlooks. Railways, few; roads, except for a few main highways, bad and tortuous; industry and agriculture primitive; poverty deep and widespread. The villages in the main self-supporting.

The inevitable result of these conditions was that, except for the well-to-do minority, people were born, labored and died in the one village, totally cut off from the outside world, unable to read or write. Their interests were in their own villages, their own people, their own conditions.

In addition, there was in 1936 a multiplicity of democratic, anti-fascist parties, each of which had its adherents. Their policies ranged from that of the Republicans "... not a Republic directed by class or economic motives, but a regime of democratic liberty — inspired by reasons of public interest and social progress," to the extreme anarchists.

All these factors were inevitable obstacles to unity, but so great was the hatred of the people towards clerical and fascist reaction, then assuming the offensive, that on the initiative of the Communist Party a Popular Front election pact was signed to contest the 1936 elections. The pact was signed by representatives of the Left Republican Party, the Republican Union, the Socialist Party and its trade union organisation the U.G.T., the National Federation of Socialist Youth, the C.P., the Syndicalist Party, and the P.O.U.M. This pact was a purely republican document, which provided:—

1. Amnesty for political prisoners.
2. Reorganisation of justice and policing to prevent the continuance of violence and corruption.
3. A large programme of public works (to absorb the unemployed).
4. The power of the Bank of Spain was to be curtailed.
5. State control of and increase in education.
6. The autonomous regions were to have the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution.

7. Assistance to the peasantry.

8. Constitutional reform.

The results of this historic election are, of course, well known—the Right parties, 144 seats; the Centre, 64; the Left, 265 seats. Then came the military rebellion.

The Popular Front Pact was an election pact, but the fascists had plunged Spain into what was to become a veritable blood-bath. The pressing task then became to advance this pact into an organic fighting unity between every individual member of the different political parties and unions, those peasants who were not organised and the non-party people, a task of considerable difficulty and one that was not quickly carried out.

Antagonistic ideologies, party differences, economic interests, all tended to cause splits and schisms. And here the sinister hand of the Trotskyist P.O.U.M. could be detected, fanning the flames of discord, whispering here, disorganising there. Later the very logic of their "line" caused these people to enter into direct relations with Franco; by May, 1937, they had so played upon the anti-Communist and anti-Madrid (Central government) tendencies of the Catalan Anarchists that they incited them to armed conflict with the People's government in May, 1937.

An outstanding feature of the plans for the uprising was that Franco expected to achieve the "coup d'etat" in a few days, and that the people expected to suppress the uprising just as quickly. Actually, the

revolt was crushed in a few days in all except a small number of centres; had the necessary unity of action and direction prevailed then such as was forged later, the traitors would have been annihilated.

But Franco's backers were given time to come to his aid. Then commenced the intervention that quickly changed the whole nature of the war. The successful defence of Madrid in November, 1936, indicated to the fascist Powers that Franco's attempt was a failure. War on Spain became an urgent necessity if the people were not to be victorious.

It must be stated that even then there were grave divisions between sections of the workers; between the petty bourgeoisie and the workers; between the Catalans and the Central government (then operating from Valencia). Notwithstanding (or maybe because of) the greatly increased support the Communist Party had won from all sections of the anti-fascist people the then Premier (a Socialist—Caballero) waged a bitter campaign against them, a campaign that resulted, some time later, in his resignation. Of course, Caballero, a man who at the start of the rebellion had tremendous prestige and a great following, also had other grave weaknesses, one of which was his overweening personal conceit and ambition. But what can one say of this leader who, looking askance on the International Brigade as a Communist Army, in a period of grave danger and shortage, deliberately made the Carabineros,

as a special and favored force, into his "own" army.

Yet this actually happened. Better fed, better clothed, better equipped and better paid than the rest of the army; moved from place to place in their own special closed-in conveyances (the other troops froze to death or sweltered, according to the season, in open trucks), these troops were specially favored. And no Internationals were accepted into the Carabineros!

For much too long the party and trade union militias existed as separate fighting units. These were under the control of the different parties, and while they of course fulfilled their function as quickly organised defence units, they obviously could not be effective against the expert centralised and mechanised armies that the invaders set up. Just one aspect—with such militias it was absolutely impossible to view and plan the war as a whole. There was no central authority to do this.

Yet the slogan of "A unified command" did not find immediate acceptance. It was not till the Communists voluntarily gave up to the government their force, the famous Fifth Regiment—later to become the equally famous 5th Army Corps—that a real move was made to convert the slogan into actuality. And even long after the unified command existed on paper, it met with opposition.

Another feature of Spanish life—one which can easily be exaggerated,

of course—that has had a considerable bearing on the course of events has been a typically lackadaisical attitude to pressing needs of the war. Due doubtless to the backward and semi-feudal conditions, where tomorrow was as good as if not better than today, almost unbelievable happenings can be recorded. Just one instance will suffice to typify many. Barcelona for 10 months before its fall was not more than 60 to 70 miles from the front lines. Yet not the slightest effort was made to fortify the city. Three strong defensive lines were constructed behind the Ebro and Segre Rivers, which held up the fascist advance for at least two weeks, but when these were passed nothing stood between the enemy and the French border. The cables at the time reported how the women were joining the men in digging earthen trenches outside the city as Franco's forces swept from north and west right to the suburbs of Barcelona. Spectacular, of course, but useless against tanks, heavy artillery and aerial bombardment.

The foregoing should make it plain that the special conditions operating in Spain prior to and following the outbreak of the rebellion made the building of the People's Front, as a really effective instrument, a very difficult task. The wonder is, not that the People's Front has not yet achieved victory, but that in the circumstances it has been such a mighty instrument of resistance to fascist aggression.

(Concluded Next Issue.)

Advance Of Imperialist War

L. Sharkey



Speech to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (18/2/'39).

IN order to understand the position that the world is faced with at the present time and find our way through the barrage of lies and misrepresentation, the distorting and the hiding up and concealing from the masses of the real and true position of events today, I would draw attention to a couple of fundamental statements.

The first one is one of Lenin's written after the conclusion of the last imperialist war, in which he said:

"Unless socialism is victorious, the peace between the capitalist States will mean nothing more than a truce and an intermission for the preparation for a new massacre of the people."

The peace at the conclusion of the last war, the peace which was signed at Versailles, Lenin pointed out, would only be an intermission for a period whilst the imperialists prepared themselves for the continuation of the imperialist struggle to re-divide the world.

Since that period war, in actual fact, has never ceased. In one part of the globe or another, war has continued and there has been a whole series of wars that lead up to the present period.

Let us try to find out where we are at the present time. I draw to your attention and emphasise these paragraphs from the "New History of the C.P.S.U.":

"All these facts show that the second imperialist world war has already actually begun. It began stealthily, without any actual declaration of war. States and nations have, almost imperceptibly, as it were, slipped into the orbit of a second imperialist 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. It is being waged over a huge expanse of territory, stretching from Gibraltar to Shanghai. It has already drawn over five hundred million people into its orbit. In the final analysis, it is being waged against the capitalist interests of Great Britain, France and the U.S.A., since its object is a repartition of the world and the spheres of influence in favor of the aggressor countries and at the expense of these so-called democratic States.

"A distinguishing feature of the second imperialist war is that, so far, it is being waged and extended by the aggressor Powers, while the other Powers, the 'democratic' Powers, against whom in fact the war is directed, pretend that it does not concern them, wash their hands of it, draw back, boast of their love of peace, condemn the fascist aggressors . . . and gradually surrender position after position to the aggressors, at the same time asserting that they are preparing to resist."

This book has been supervised by Comrade Stalin and many of the chapters and pages written by him.

The world war is progressing, begun by Germany, Italy and Japan. They are conducting this world war actually at the moment against the weaker nations, Abyssinia, Spain, China. But in fact the struggle in these countries is not the ultimate aim of the fascist Powers. The ultimate aim is the struggle to re-divide the world and such a struggle can only be conducted against those imperialist Powers that today possess three-quarters of the world, that is Britain, France and U.S.A., so that the aims of the fascist powers, in the end, are obviously directed against these Powers.

Why is it that these Powers retreat and capitulate and why do they wash their hands of the whole position?

First of all there is no unity between these so-called democratic Powers. More important still, is the fact that the ruling cliques in Britain and in France and also Wall Street in the U.S.A., the Republican Party and various other organisations of the big bourgeoisie of America—all of these do not want to see the fascists defeated at the present time. They see a more important enemy, a class enemy, in the first place, the labor movement and with it, the whole of the democratic and progressive movements of the world. It is because these people, together with Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and the Japanese militarists, equally hate the Soviet Union and the People's Front movement in France and Spain—because they fear these movements would tend to spread all over Europe

and all over the world and bring about the downfall of reaction and fascism—because of this, they will not preserve peace by uniting with the Soviet Union, with Spain and with China, with the People's Front in France, with the democratic movement in all countries.

Chamberlain desires to maintain Hitler and Mussolini in power to take the place of Russian Tsarism which was the policeman of reaction in the last century in Europe and in the world. Today they desire that Hitler should play this self-same role. Consequently they try by every means to avoid any defeat, or endangering of fascist dictatorship. They do everything possible in order to bolster up the position of Hitler.

I would draw attention to the article of Comrade Dimitrov written for the 21st anniversary in which he points to the existence of a copy of a German plan of operations which showed that Germany is going to destroy, between now and 1941, most of the smaller States of Europe and bring them under the rule of German fascism. Finally, they are going to deal with France and then when they achieve all of this, they are going to attack the Soviet Union.

We have the analysis by Lenin, of Stalin, of Dimitrov. If we keep this clear in our minds, we won't be deceived or misled by the claim that Chamberlain has brought about the salvation of peace.

Let us see how the fascists are actually working at the present

moment and in the last couple of months, in order to bring about the subjection of the peoples of Europe, and the struggle for military and naval positions that would enable them to conduct a new imperialist war. Only a week ago came the subjection of Hungary. Hungary fell without a blow. Only for the fact that the Soviet Union emphasized that Hungary had relinquished its independence and the Soviet withdrew their ambassador, the world would not have known that Hungary followed Czechoslovakia and Austria and is now under the domination of German imperialism. Following immediately upon this, the Prime Minister of Hungary has resigned, because he was attacked by the fascists. He had committed the fearful crime of having Jewish blood.

The German fascists, at the moment, are engaged also upon the final subjection of Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain and Daladier gave a guarantee that they would defend the new frontiers of the Czech Republic. What is the situation? A little while ago, the Czechs were compelled, because they knew they would get no assistance from Paris or London, to agree to new demands, to agree to German motor roads across their territory and provision that the German army can march at any time or to any place in Czech territory without asking the permission of the Czechoslovakian government. Those terms were agreed to. Now the German fascists demand that part of the Czech national treasury be

handed over to Germany, also that the anti-Semitic laws of the Nuremberg conference of the Nazi Party be put into full operation in Czechoslovakia. There are eight other demands, which amount to Czechoslovakia forfeiting every last vestige of independence and also becoming a colony of the German fascists.

Despite the boasting of peace and "no more territorial demands" by Germany that followed Munich, German fascism acted, and is acting along the lines that were pointed out by Dimitrov and is now demanding the formation of a Ukrainian State. In order to build this Ukrainian State, German fascism resisted the demand of Poland and Hungary that they have a common frontier and it was generally stated by the diplomats that Mussolini was behind the idea of giving part of Czechoslovakia to Poland and Hungary and to bring these countries together to form a barrier to the advance of Hitler. It must be remembered that inside the fascist axis there is still antagonism and conflict of interests. The German fascists refused to allow this territory (Ruthenia) to be taken over by Hungary and Poland. They have given it a new name—Carpathian Russia. The Nazis are working in this province, which is inhabited by people of Ukrainian origin, in order to make it a nucleus for the Ukrainian State which they talk about. This Ukrainian State would mean the dismemberment of Poland. There are five to six million Ukrainians in Poland. The Ukrainian people are living in Pol-

and alongside of a large population of Poles and other nationalities. The territories in Poland where the Ukrainians claim to have a majority make about half of the area of Poland. If Germany succeeds, then Poland has gone the way of Czechoslovakia. It would also mean that part of Roumania would be included in this new Ukrainian State of Hitler's.

Lastly, but not least important, the plans of the Nazis mean to include the Soviet Ukraine in this new so-called Ukrainian State. The Ukrainian nationalists, who are also fascists, claim that the Ukrainian people living in the Soviet Union should be included in this State, which would be under German domination. The Soviet Ukraine is a vast territory, reaching through the Crimea to the Black Sea, with iron ore and coal, rich goldfields, etc. Hitler is using the Ukrainian nationalists and sending them into Poland to stir up the feelings of the Ukrainian people who are not well-treated by the Polish fascists. Hitler is trying to turn the just indignation against the Polish State into a weapon to secure his aims.

In the small countries of Europe there are all kinds of disruptive Nazi organisations, e.g., Denmark, Holland, Switzerland and other democratic countries.

So we see the main lines of development.

When Hitler's drive reaches the Soviet borders, his real troubles will begin. I remind you of the declara-

tion of Comrade Voroshilov when he said at the recent anniversary of the formation of the Red Army, that the Red Army is not going to hesitate, or halt on Soviet frontiers, but they are going to march through and defeat the enemy in the country from whence they came.

In the document of Comrade Dimitrov, already referred to, he pointed out that Hitler was going to be very generous towards Mussolini and that large slices of France, together with Spain and some French colonies and British territory in the Near East would be handed over to Mussolini. Within a very short time, not officially, but unofficially, by means of demonstrations, etc., Italy has brought forward demands on France which cover the territories referred to by Comrade Dimitrov in his article. These demands include provinces of France itself—Nice, Savoy, as well as islands in the Mediterranean and portion of the French colony of Tunisia.

If Mussolini was successful in getting control of Corsica and part of Southern France which fringes on the Mediterranean, well then, the Mediterranean would be an Italian lake. The French naval base of Toulon, and other bases, would be out-flanked by Mussolini if he gained these demands.

In reference to a "Mediterranean Munich." This means that the Cliveden set in Britain is preparing to hand over French territories to fascist Italy.

I would remind you of the statement of Comrade Molotov when he condemned Munich. He said that amongst the victories that had been won at Munich, one of them was a victory of the German and British governments over the French government. This time, if there is a "Mediterranean Munich," it will be a victory of the British and Italian governments over the French government. It seems that the Cliveden Set and Chamberlain, in trying to prop up capitalism, are prepared to sacrifice France. A "Mediterranean Munich" means a further weakening of the power of France and its destruction.

On the Italian side of the fascist axis, they are going straight ahead with their plans to gain the capture of the necessary strategical positions, so as to be able to conduct a war against Britain, France and the U.S.A. Those plans may seem fantastic but they are actual and real and have a very deep purpose, that is, to destroy the French power in the Mediterranean.

Japan is seizing Hainan, an island off the coast of Southern China.

What is the position of Hainan? It is right across the British communications in that part of the world. It is in between Hong Kong and Singapore and it cuts through the British trade routes. Japan states that they have only taken the island in order to prevent arms and munitions being smuggled into China. The Japanese also have possession of Canton and can cut off

British communications with China if they desire.

The Japanese military fascists are renewing their aggressive tone towards the Soviet Union. They even talk in their "parliament" about occupying certain Soviet territory and taking over the fishing grounds on the Island of Sakhalin and other territory.

It ill becomes the Japanese to talk violence to the Soviet Union. They have their hands rather full at the present time in China, but they are anxious, that is the fascist axis is anxious, to advance to a world war and the attack of the Japanese on the Soviet Union is connected up with this greater aim of the fascists, of a general world war.

The seizure of the island of Hainan brings into the fore once again the seriousness of the danger to Australia. It shows that the Japanese are seizing all the strategic positions such as Hainan, that would be of use to them as a basis for the future invasion of this country. It shows again how correct the Party was when it was the first to bring out the danger of Japanese imperialism attacking the democratic institutions and independence of this country.

When Chamberlain and Co. thought that the Spanish Republic would be unable to continue the struggle any longer, they fell over themselves to recognise Franco and drew up a whole plan in regard to the recognition of Franco. They have some idea of restoring the

Spanish monarchy and putting a boy who was "trained in England" and is therefore very favorable to Britain on the throne. They intend to bring pressure on the financial position of Franco to force him to expel Italians and Germans out of Spain.

Does anyone think that Mussolini with a poverty-stricken country, after spending huge sums of money, losing many soldiers and much equipment, will get out of Spain? Does Chamberlain think that Hitler, who has the iron ore mines and many other valuable assets in Spain, will get out and hand over to British imperialism? Could anyone believe that in their advance towards war with France, the fascists are going to get away from the Pyrenees' frontier? Nobody would believe all that.

The plans of Chamberlain and Co. bear out the passage from the history of the C.P.S.U. that actually, however much they need to help Mussolini and Hitler as the bulwarks of reaction in Europe and the world, at the same time, they do feel the drive of the fascist aggressors, and they are now beginning to realise that Hitler and Mussolini, whom they wanted to soothe on to the Soviet Union, have perhaps decided that British and French imperialism would make a more juicy and more vulnerable victim of their drive. I draw attention to what Hitler said to Lord Londonderry, one of the British reactionary group, when they were dealing with the Soviet Union. Hitler said, there you have the strongest army, the strongest air

force, the strongest artillery in the world, and we must take that into consideration.

So, whilst by no means minimising the danger of an attack on the Soviet Union, e.g., the preparations for the formation of a Ukrainian State, at the same time the German fascists are definitely heading for a war against the so-called democratic States.

There are the recent pronouncements of the president of the U.S.A. President Roosevelt, who has come out as strongly as the opposition within the United States will allow him to do. Inside the U.S.A. there is also the Cliveden Set. It has gone so far as to threaten to assassinate President Roosevelt.

They are for what they call "isolation." In other words, a free hand for the fascists, for the same reasons as Chamberlain is for this policy, because they belong to the ruling class and are monopoly capitalists. There cannot, however, be any doubt that the United States at the present time is preparing for an eventual war with Japan. It has been said that the U.S.A. approached the Chamberlain government, proposing that 15 American battleships and 6 British battleships should go to Shanghai and destroy the Japanese navy. Chamberlain did not agree with this.

In China, we are seeing the second stage of the war as prophesied by Mao Tse Tung, when the Chinese would give up retreating and advance to the offensive against the weakened forces of Japan. The de-

feat of Japan will be a heavy blow to the axis.

The arms race has been enormously intensified. Chamberlain came back to Britain after Munich proclaiming "peace" and the next day they raised the armaments bill by tens of millions of pounds.

I have shown what the fascists are doing. It seems that they are enormously strong; by Hitler conquering Hungary, Austria and Czechoslovakia, he has already re-established the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, centralised under the rule of Berlin. In the last war that cost the lives of 10,000,000 men, the main strength came from Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. To all intents the Czechs and Hungarians are now back in that Empire. Hitler, in addition, has allies that he did not have in the last war, Japan and Italy. Consequently on a surface view of the matter, one would come to the conclusion that Germany is far stronger than was the case in 1914. We know that during the last war, Germany was within an ace of winning.

Is this really the case? We read of a gigantic go-slow strike in Germany. The workers have reduced output by 30 per cent. There are many strikes and upheavals. During the pogrom against the Jews, the people sympathised with the Jews and tried to assist them against the storm troops. There is growing opposition against Hitler. What of Mussolini's plight? There was a

report the other day that he had reduced the age for old age pensions and given a whole number of concessions to the working class. Fascist dictatorships do not give concessions to the working class, except when the position is actually desperate. If this report is true, it only gives an estimate of how desperate the situation of Mussolini and his fascist dictatorship actually is.

According to reports in our international press at the time of Munich, Mussolini's mobilisation was actually paralysed. When he called up conscripts, they refused to come. Mussolini did not pledge himself to fight alongside Hitler because he could not get people to fight. In Germany when the workers and peasants were called into the German army, there was mutiny. That is something actually unprecedented, a mutiny in peace time.

From that angle the strength of Germany, Italy and Japan is a very poor strength indeed. Military

critics point out that the armies are badly trained, weak in essentials, everything is done in a hurry and the German army even broke down when invading Austria, etc. Actually, they are not strong. The aggressors can be defeated. They can be defeated by a peace bloc that could make itself felt, that really was a peace bloc and led by the Soviet Union, Britain, France and the United States of America.

We know that in order to guarantee such a peace bloc, the governments which support fascism, which are the allies and accomplices of fascism, of Chamberlain in Britain and Daladier in France and the Lyons government in Australia, must go. Consequently, the whole tactics of the Party in the struggle against war are directed by every means to trying to defeat the Lyons government here.

We are uniting the masses and carrying on the struggle for a bloc for peace that can prevent war.



THE BLACKLEG

By "Gordon"

JANUARY, 1926. Opening weeks of a New Year; closing weeks of the great British seamen's strike. The s.s. "Sophocles," inward bound from Australia, slipping easily up the English Channel with a full passenger list and a "volunteer" crew. Dover lights on the port bow. Two firemen of the eight to twelve watch leaning on the bulwark of the forward well deck while awaiting their turn to go below. One young, the other old.

"Well, 'ow's yer conscience now, Pop?" asked the young one sardonically.

"Rotten!"

"You're a bloody old fool."

"Maybe. You're a young one, an' that's worse."

The young fireman chuckled softly. "We're 'ere, anyway. What's the use of moanin' about it now?"

"You ain't seen nothin' yet, son. Wait till we tie up. Watch 'ow the lumpers 'll look at yer."

"Lookin' won't 'urt me. An' they can't say nothin'. Somebody else woulda worked the boats 'ome."

"Blacklegs, boy. Y' can't get away from it."

"Then what the hell did yer pull it on for?"

The older man shrugged his shoulders and spat into the darkness. "I told yer. I wanted ter see that fool son o' mine. Now I feel I'd like ter cut me damn throat. I bin

a good Labor man all me life, an' I gotta go an' do a thing like this at my age. It didn't seem so bad till now somehow."

"You're windy! Y'think they'll be waitin' for us."

"Who? The wimmin an' kids? 'Cos the men ain't even 'ere. That's the worst part of it. This ain't no ordinary strike. We're bringin' their boats 'ome an' leavin' 'em stranded all over the blasted earth—battlin' fer conditions!"

"Tripe, pop! You're old an' soft. We gotta look out fer ourselves in this world."

"That's just the point. You don't —"

"Well—I don't what?"

"Oh, nothin'."

There was a short silence. It was the young fireman who spoke next. His tone suggested that his conscience was at work in spite of himself.

"I ain't ashamed of myself, any 'ow."

"You will be some day. What'll yer old man say?"

"Nothin'. Punch me nose, most likely! 'E's always bin a great union man."

"Is 'e a seaman?"

"'E was years ago. 'E's a stoker in a gasworks now."

"Got any brothers?"

"Two. One's on the dole; other's still at school. I got a coupla sis-

ters, too. They'll all be glad ter see me roll in with a few bob. They was 'ard up when I left."

"Expectin' yer?"

"No. I only wrote 'ome once. That was two years ago."

"They'll get a bit of a shock when yer walk in. Didn't yer write from Southampton?"

"What's the use? I'd 'ave bin there nearly as soon as the letter."

The young man straightened himself and heaved a sigh of anticipation. "Aye, there'll be a Barney all right when they know 'ow I come back, but they'll get over it. It'll be worth it. I got a box o' good Teneriffe cigars fer the old man, an' a bit o' silk for the old woman. I'm not stoppin', anyway. I'll 'ave a good time fer a few weeks an' then sign on fer Australia again. An' do a jump when I git there. Maybe I'll git me brother ter go with me."

His companion looked at him sharply, opened his mouth to say something, but thought better of it.

"What, pop?"

Half a dozen other men wandered slowly past and into the lighted alleyway.

"Nothin.' Come on. It's nearly time, an' it'll be warmer on the fiddly."

"The last watch, eh?"

Late in the morning of the following day the young fireman pushed open the door of a miserable home in Silvertown. A gaunt woman, on her knees beside a bucket in the far corner, turned her head, pushing back her hair with a soapy hand.

"Hullo, ma!"

"My God! If it ain't Joe!"

She began to rise, holding on to a corner of the rickety table. He reached her just as she gained her feet.

"Glad ter see me, eh?"

She did not speak. Her face was buried in his neck. Her arms were locked round his waist, tightly, as if she feared that the apparition might vanish as mysteriously as it had appeared.

"Glad ter see me, ain't yer?" He kissed the crown of her head. "Ain't yer goin' ter look at me, ma?"

She raised her face. It was wet, but radiant. Still a little incredulous. She pushed him off to arms length, her eyes devouring him from head to feet.

"Don't worry! I'm all 'ere. Joe 'isself, as large as life. I just got back. I couldn't let yer know."

"Oh, Joe!"

Another rapturous embrace.

"Where's the kids, ma?"

"But, Joe, 'ow did yer do it? 'Ow did yer get back? We thought—"

"Arf a mo! I tell yer I just got in. I come straight from the blinkin' boat—"

"The boat?"

"Yes—"

"From Australia?"

"Well, where d'yer think. I worked me way."

"You—but there's a strike on!" Her expression was changing.

"Well, ain't I tellin' yer. I worked a passage."

"But, Joe—" Her arms had fallen away from him. She retreated a pace. "You didn't scab?"

"Now, wait a bit—"

"Joe, you did! You scabbed!"

Not anger; just horror.

"Ma, listen—" He moved towards her, but stopped as she again retreated.

"My God, Joe! And your father—"

"What about 'im?"

"'E's out there!" she shrieked. "In Australia! On strike!"

"That be damned!"

"'E is. 'E is! 'E got paid off at the gasworks. 'E 'ad ter do some-thin'. 'E went back ter the boats. An' that ain't all. Young Bob's in it, too. 'E was goin' out ter you. Goin' ter jump the ship an stop

there. 'E's stuck out in Capetown. They've put 'im inna sort of concentration camp along with the others. They got a gang of black-legs there ter take the boat on to Australia. Oh, Joe, Joe, Joe, what've yer gone an' done?"

She had found a chair and dropped into it. He remained a yard or so away from her. They stared at each other helplessly. Mother and son. Reunited. But between them had suddenly yawned an abyss wider than twelve thousand miles.

"What boat did yer come back on?" she whispered.

"The Sophocles."

"That was Bob's boat."

THE END

PEOPLE'S FRONT

*When a fat gentleman is up against the wall
He fumbles with his watch-chain and gets flurried
Does ridiculous things (like tearing wings off flies)
And beats the little boys within his reach with (staff of dignity) his little
cane.*

*It is then we do not drive home
(A beast at bay, against the wall, and fat gentlemen are such, is dangerous
still)
But wait our time holding him there.*

*Less cunning ones want to dash themselves against his horns
Forgetting that the pack (watch-chain impressive mounted on belly) is
fearful,
Good hounds keep the pack together, leave no loophole of escape, bide our
time,
Keeping our eyes all ways, yet not looking left or right
This is, no retreat,
Good horse sense.*

—Gerald Peel.

PAGES FROM THE PAST

A series of documents illustrating Australia's Social and Economic History, with special reference to the working-class movement and the struggle for democracy.

Edited with introductions by J. N. Rawling.

Period II.— Free Colony and Self-Government, 1823–1856 (Continued)

3—POLITICAL FERMENT (Continued)

UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNIONS IN TASMANIA IN 1834

The following extracts from the *Hobart Town Courier* give an index of the unemployment as far back as 1834 and also an indication that the organisation of unions was beginning then.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT RE THE UNEMPLOYED

Petitions, we learn, have within these last few days been laid before the Lieutenant-Governor from various classes of the unemployed tradesmen in town, praying that His Excellency would take their case into consideration, and be pleased to withhold for a time the general assigning of convict mechanics to master tradesmen. The petitioners are a portion of those deluded and disappointed people who have been induced by deceptive representations at home to emigrate to this colony, and who, instead of meeting with immediate employment at the extravagant prices posted about the walls of Liverpool and London to

catch their eye find no employment at all. No less than 32 tailors, free men of this description, are now walking about the streets in want of work, and several other callings are little better. The assigned prisoners, who can be obtained at a cheap rate, come of course in collision with them in the field of labour.

The case is one of great difficulty, and unhappily confirms in too strong and incontrovertible terms the arguments we have so often advanced on the painful subject of forced emigration.

—“*Hobart Town Courier*,”
7/3/1834.

AN EMPLOYER'S ACCOUNT

To the Editor of the “*Courier*,”—
Sir,—I observe with considerable surprise an article in your paper

stating that there are now 32 free tailors walking about the streets of Hobart Town in a state of destitu-

tion arising from the want of work; the source from whence you derived your information I know not, but I am sorry to see a leading article of the “*Courier*” made the vehicle of a partial statement when a single enquiry would have informed you of the facts. In the first place there are not 32 free journeymen tailors in the colony. You, sir, must be fully aware that the larger portion of these self-called tailors and mechanics are men who know but little, and in some instances that have come within my own knowledge, nothing at all of the trade they pretended to be expert in. The number of good general workmen tailors in the town, freemen and emancipists together, is ten, nine of whom I offered in October and November last, constant work for 12 months, at piece wages which would have enabled them to earn 36/- per week; four of them accepted the offer, three of whom are now working for me. The fourth I was obliged to discontinue from repeated drunkenness and inattention; the rest insisted on a much higher rate and upon my refusal to give it they left my service; that these men are now out of work I am fully aware, but are they not themselves to blame? Why, I ask you, should they demand a rate of wages so much higher than other trades, whilst their casualties and expenses are so much less? One shilling will buy a journeyman tailor a chest of tools, the carpenter requires £50, who is moreover subjected to many losses and accidents both by

“flood and field,” whilst the journeyman tailor sits comfortable to his work amidst all weathers. These men know well that if the government listened to their representations their paucity of numbers would enable them to exact a rate of wages that in six tenths (evidently misprint for months.—J.N.R.) would be as great an evil to themselves as the public.

The trade in this colony was formerly carried on in such a careless slovenly manner that many men when they arrived here, finding that the journeymen tailors led a more lazy and drunken life than any other description of workmen, and recollecting that in their younger life they had been errand boys at tailors' shops where they had picked up a distant idea of the trade, called themselves journeymen and readily got employment. These men are now useless in the trade, whilst their lately engendered habits of laziness and dissipation render their return to labour a matter of considerable difficulty. In behalf of these men you bring forward your otherwise incontrovertible doctrine, that in many instances pauper emigration has been a bane to us. Doubt the present number of journeymen could get employment if they would reduce their wages to say 30/- so as to meet the present state of trade in the colony. I speak from a thorough knowledge of many instances in this town, and from my having had both the inclination and opportunity of making myself acquainted with the best system on which a mechanical trade might be

carried on that free workmen would be preferred if their rate of wages could be kept in accordance with a master's profits, whilst as a proof of the total annihilation of many trades that would follow such a system as the cessation of assignments I will adduce the following.

When the journeymen tailors in the month of November struck for higher wages, a letter from their secretary, meeting at Mr. Priest's house in Elizabeth Street, was sent and addressed to "tailors in Mr.

Lightfoot's employ"; it was handed about amongst the men in my shop and called on them "to stick up for your rights, privileges, and higher wages, and no longer to allow masters to make a property out of the sweat of their brow." How, I ask you, could I have then carried on my business, had it not been for the assistance immediately afforded me by the Board of Assignment?

—T. LIGHTFOOT.

—"Hobart Town Courier,"
14/3/1834.

THE EDITOR'S COMMENT

A leading article in the same issue replied to Lightfoot. It cited the fact that 32 men did sign the Petition to the Lieut.-Governor as tailors. "On further inquiry," said the "Courier," "we find that not only 32 but between 50 and 60 may be enumerated in the same situation." The "Courier" went on:

Many of them may not be expert tradesmen, but what does this show but that these unfortunate deluded men are still more deserving of public compassion and the benevolent interference of the government, and confirms in a distressingly strong light the truth of all we have formerly advanced regarding the impolicy and, in truth, injustice of the system of enforced emigration.

In the class of tailors, in particular, it was reasonable to suppose that much distress would prevail. Independent of the extra number of workmen which recent arrivals of free emigrants have supplied, together with the assigned prisoners, the vast quantities of ready-made clothes that have been exported* during the last two years, invoiced at so low a rate as to enable them to be sold at a far less price than they

could be made in the colony, the late rise in daily provisions and the general expenses of living in Hobart Town (certainly double the average of those in England) must in all fairness be allowed to press very heavy on persons who are but partially employed, and who when employed receive but a low depreciated rate of wages, though it may be the utmost that the master tradesmen under the circumstances can afford.

In treating this painful subject, we would be distinctly understood to disapprove in every shape of what is commonly called a combination among trades to cease from work in order to distress their employers and compel them to proffer a higher and ruinous rate of wages, as on the other we are opposed to everything that bears the complexion of monopoly. But happily neither the one

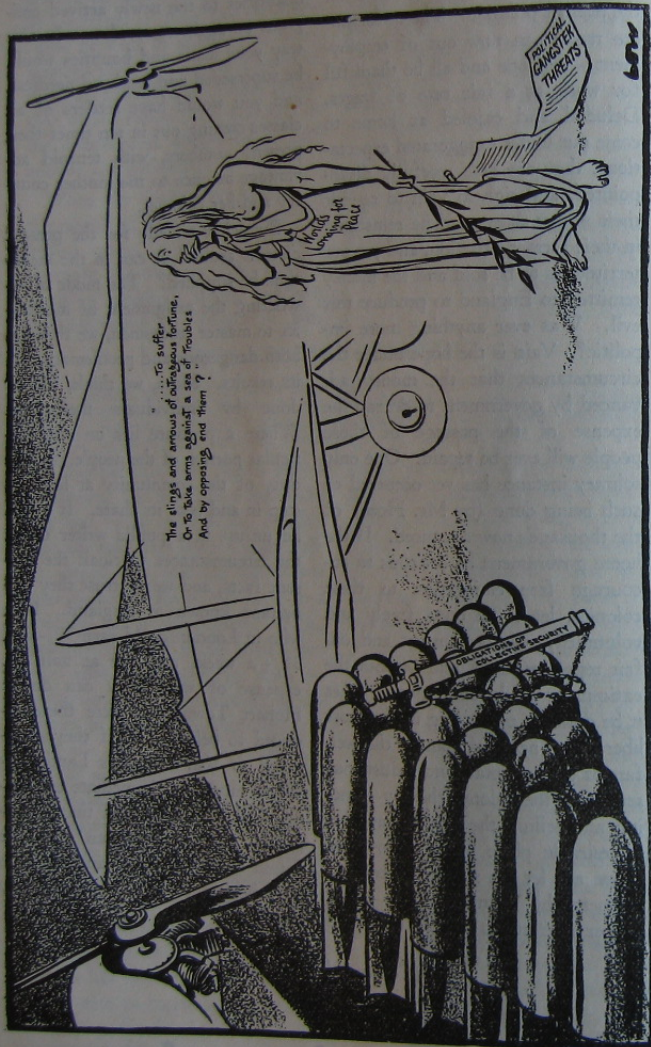
nor the other has shown itself on the present occasion. The unfortunate tradesmen now out of employment would one and all be thankful for work at a fair rate of wages. Deluded and cajoled at home to come out under exaggerated expectations, they are here woefully disappointed, and sigh in vain to re-visit their native shore, and be reinstated in their former situation, and yet our territory is to be sold and the money remitted to England to produce this evil. Was ever anything more impolitic? Vain is the hope under the circumstances that the money advanced by government to defray the expense of the passage of those people will ever be repaid. One only solitary instance has yet occurred of such being done (by Mr. Hoze) of the thousands now advanced. If the home government be desirous to encourage free emigration to these colonies, let it be done freely and voluntarily, without unjust and unfair representations, and without the enticement of lending money. Let it be done by promoting in the most liberal and national manner the welfare of the legitimate and industrious settler in the colony, thereby evincing and telling the world that it is a desirable place to come to—and above all, let the system of encouragement by granting land under proper restrictions and in moderate

quantities to the newly arrived emigrant be again resorted to. In this way your loans and bounties would be superseded and rendered needless, and you would have settlers of all classes coming out in ten times their present numbers, with tenfold advantage at once to the mother country and her colonies.

But what remedy for the present distress around us can in the mean time be supplied? The mode of restricting the assignment of mechanics to master tradesmen, we think, is both dangerous and problematical in its results. More, we think, will be done by individuals themselves. Where a pressure lies on any particular portion of the people, it is the duty of the community at large to step in and bear its share. It would be unjust in a public writer under the circumstances to cloak the present facts, and we do trust they will become known in England. Men who in London could earn 30/- and 35/- a week, and live at half the expense of what they can do in Hobart Town, and were there induced to believe that if they emigrated to Van Diemen's Land they would meet with immediate employment at 60/-, here find that a precarious employment can only be found at 25/- or 30/-, and that too by laboring 12 or 13 hours every day.

(Continued Next Issue)

* FROM EMU.—J.N.R.



From "Low's Political Parade," Cresset Press, London, 1936.

Communist Defence Policy

R. Dixon

The following article is based upon a report given by R. Dixon to the Central Committee of the Communist Party at the end of February. In view of the great importance of the defence question we invite readers to express their opinions on the policy of the Communist Party.

—Editorial Board, "Communist Review," 193 Hay St., Sydney.

THERE is great controversy around the question of defence. The powerful campaign waged by the capitalist class to swing the people behind the reactionary policy of the Lyons government is causing not a little confusion. There are those in the ranks of the working class who want to swing in behind the Lyons government campaign, others who adopt a purely negative attitude. It becomes necessary, therefore, not only to re-state our position on this all-important question but to set it out in greater detail.

Foreign policy and arms policy, which is usually called "defence" by our capitalist masters, are related questions. It can be said that the capitalist classes have built up armaments for the purpose of using force to try and give effect to the foreign policy they have been pursuing when other means have failed. The terrible menace of powerfully armed countries pursuing a reactionary and aggressive foreign policy is demonstrated most clearly in the case of fascist Germany, Italy and Japan which threaten the inde-

pendence of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. Precisely because of this threat countries, peacefully inclined, must resort to the building of powerful military forces. Soviet Russia, which pursues a non-aggressive, peaceful and progressive foreign policy, is forced to embark upon a huge armaments programme for the defence of its borders against fascist aggression. In this case armaments are a necessary evil.

NON-CO-OPERATION

Now let us take Australia. The Federal government of this country has announced a £63,000,000 armaments programme extending over three years. Its foreign policy, however, is weak, capitulatory and pro-fascist. It persists in rendering aid to the Japanese marauders in China, despite the fact that a Japanese victory will virtually seal the fate of Australia. It supports Franco, Mussolini and Hitler in Spain, even though a fascist victory there will, in the event of European war, make the position of Britain in the Medi-

terranean absolutely untenable and sever the route to Australia via Suez.

The foreign policy of the Lyons government, besides being pro-fascist increases the danger of fascist aggression and makes the defence of the country more difficult.

We resolutely oppose this government and its foreign policy.

Because of the menace of fascist aggression, however, we readily support all real measures, taken in conformity with the democratic traditions of the people, for the defence of Australia.

This means that we are not necessarily opposed to armaments.

We refuse, however, to co-operate with the Lyons government in its armaments programme and reactionary policy. So long as the Lyons government is in office there is no guarantee that the military forces will not be used for reactionary purposes. Australian troops and arms could be sent to India to help suppress the struggles of the Indian people for independence from the shackles of British Imperialism; they could be used against the people of New Guinea, or in a war of the imperialists against Soviet Russia; they could be used to suppress strikes and struggles within Australia and to fasten fascist dictatorship on the country.

Those dangers are more than a distant possibility, they are immediate and real.

But what do we mean by non-cooperation with the Lyons government? We certainly do not mean,

as some of our enemies suggest, and some of our friends seem to believe, that the labor movement is out to deny Australia the means of defence. Quite the contrary. The trade union movement has refused to co-operate with the government or endorse its armaments plan, but at the same time, trade unionists in numerous factories and workshops are producing war materials and not a few workers have joined the militia. The answer to this is simple; it is not the armaments we are opposed to, or the voluntary militia, but the reactionary Lyons government. We want the downfall of this government and the placing of Australian foreign policy and defence under the control of an anti-fascist, progressive Labor government backed by a united and more strongly organised labor movement, the farmers and middle classes.

WHAT CO-OPERATION MEANS

To co-operate with this government would be a betrayal of working-class interests; it would strengthen the government and delay its downfall.

The right wing of the labor movement want to have done with the policy of non-co-operation. In Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania, the Labor Party is actively associating itself with the recruiting drive and is represented on the recruiting committees established by the Lyons government. Some trade union officials want to co-operate in the industrial side of the armaments plan.

We are being subjected to a very powerful barrage of propaganda and agitation to influence the people and swing them behind the Lyons "defence" scheme. The recruiting campaign, which made little progress in the initial stages, is now meeting with success. It will be followed with the campaign for the national register of manpower.

As the campaign of the capitalist class gains in strength, the vacillation amongst the reformists will increase. Already some leftwing supporters are seeking to water down the defence policy of the trade unions.

At the same time, the pressure on the Communist Party will increase. Even within our own ranks we are finding those who question the correctness of the present policy we are pursuing. Many of our friends say: "We agree with your opposition to the Lyons government foreign policy; like you we want to get rid of Lyons and will work with you to do this; but as Australia is menaced by fascist aggression should not the working class co-operate with the government and do all possible to help prepare against aggression?"

The answer to this is: That the working class are not preventing preparations being made for Australian defence, but are assisting. It is true these would be hastened and made easier if the working class were to fully co-operate with the government. But what would be the cost to the labor movement?

Let us briefly consider this question.

The Federal government has set going a far-reaching attack that is undermining the living standard of the workers, in the form of taxes of various kinds (flour tax; sales tax, which was recently increased; and increases in excise and customs duty, etc.). Not a small part of this is being used for the arms plan and what is more the government is talking of further taxation and lower living standards, in order to carry through its so-called "defence" policy. Then again, arising from its foreign policy and what it considers the needs of defence, the government has bitterly attacked the trade unions. We need only mention the use of the Transport Workers' Act against the Port Kembla wharf laborers and the closing down of Station 2KY.

These things cannot be separated from the government's so-called defence policy. Should the workers co-operate in them, or in the many other pro-fascist activities of this government?

It is well to remember that these things are happening in peace time. Assume war breaks out. Will the government then cease its attacks on democracy and living standards? No! The attacks will increase a thousandfold.

Last September, during the European crisis, the Lyons government had, all prepared, a war precautions act to immediately put into operation in the event of war, the terms of which were far more drastic than the war precautions act of the last war. We would have been sub-

jected to what was virtually a military dictatorship. Working-class organisations that failed to bow to militaristic policy would have been destroyed.

To co-operate with the Lyons government in its armaments policy would pave the way for the complete subordination of the labor movement to the policy of the capitalist dictators and lead to its destruction.

TO DEFEAT REACTION

By refusing to co-operate, and by fighting every inch of the way the reactionary policy of the Lyons government, the working class not only retains its independence; above all it builds up that spirit of struggle and gathers together the forces necessary to defeat the government and the reaction it represents.

In the event of war the working class should stand more firmly than ever against the capitalist class.

During the last war when Kautsky wrote that "a government is never so strong, nor the parties so feeble as at the beginning of a war" Lenin, polemicising against him, said "that a government only appears to be all-powerful at the outbreak of war."

"Actually," wrote Lenin, "a government is never so much in need of agreement amongst the parties of the ruling class and never so much in need of the submission of the oppressed classes as during the period of war."

Attacked from without, the ruling classes cannot afford the luxury of division within. They want unity within at any cost and seek to achieve

it by suppressing all opposition. On the outbreak of war the capitalist slave-drivers will demand the complete submission of the working class and all sections of the people to their policy and rule. But why should the workers capitulate to their brutal exploiters? If there must be unity why should it be on the programme of the financial and industrial magnates who constitute less than 10 per cent. of the people? Why not on the programme of the labor movement, farmers and middle class.

If war comes and the fascists threaten to attack Australia the working class, instead of capitulating, should seize upon the difficulties of the ruling classes to force from them the maximum of concessions and see that Australia is defended in such a way as will mean the preservation of democracy and the living standards of the people.

Even though the enemy is thundering at our gates the working class must declare for unity, not on the slave programme of the capitalists, but on the democratic programme of the labor movement and must use all its power to enforce this policy.

We must demand, amongst other things:

(a) Instead of the government's war precautions act the fullest democracy for the working-class movement and all loyalist people and maximum measures against the fascists and their supporters within the country.

(b) The conscription of wealth and industry in the interests of the country's defence, severe penalties

against profiteering and definite limits of profit-making in general.

(c) The application of democracy to the armed forces, insofar as discipline it not disrupted; political rights for soldiers and the cleansing of the officer clique of pro-fascist elements.

(d) The establishment of a people's government for national defence, giving full representation to working class, farming and middle class interests, and with a programme acceptable to the labor movement.

There is a further question which must be considered here and that is the danger of the capitalist class betraying the people to a fascist aggressor. Take the example of Czechoslovakia. The Czech ruling class had led the people to believe that they would defend the country's independence at any cost. Under pressure from the unspeakable Chamberlain and Daladier, and confronted with fighting to preserve the country's independence, or of selling out so that they might preserve their own narrow, selfish capitalist interests, the Czech ruling class, behind the backs of the people, chose to sell out. They put their class interests before their country; were prepared to become the cheap flunkies of German fascism, to suppress working-class organisations and destroy Czechoslovakian democracy, so long as they could remain capitalist exploiters.

Do not let us imagine that the Australian ruling class could muster up more courage and firmness than

the Czech exploiters. On their showing in relation to the Japanese invasion of China they are more cowardly.

There are two distinct policies on the question of defence: working-class policy and capitalist policy. Australia will be defended successfully only in the working-class way; that is, by rallying the people, uniting them around a democratic defence programme and by placing the whole of the resources of the country, irrespective of the interests involved, at the disposal of the people.

We must not hesitate to seize upon the difficulties of capitalism to force the maximum concessions in the interests of a genuine people's defence.

From this brief analysis, it will be seen that the policy of co-operation with Lyons, as wanted by the right wing of the labor movement, will run the working class into the ditch of destruction. If war should come and the pressure of the capitalists increases, as it will, there will be many, even from the Left, who will desert to the side of reaction. Hence, we must do more, much more, to explain our policy, to develop the spirit of non-co-operation in the working class, to build up the opposition to the Lyons government among all sections of the people. We must explain where the two policies lead and proceed to consolidate the workers and steel them around the policy of non-co-operation.

It is with these considerations in mind that we approach all questions relating to defence.

RECRUITING DRIVE

Take the recruiting campaign. We are opposed to conscription and compulsory training. We are also opposed to the standing army proposed by Lieutenant-General Squires—one of the British military hard-heads. A standing army is a standing danger to the people, for it can always be used in industrial disputes or other struggles.

As provision for training is unfortunately necessary, we consider the voluntary militia best in the present circumstances. Because it is voluntary, it is more democratic; the military clique has less power.

We are not opposed to the voluntary militia but we are opposed to the ex-fascist police chief of Victoria, Blamey, and W. M. Hughes, the arch-conscriptionist being placed in charge of the campaign for recruits; we are opposed to the recent regulations governing the military and naval forces issued by the Lyons government forbidding members of the forces from associating with, or engaging in political activities.

We support the demands raised by the A.C.T.U. Congress for the militia for:

- (1) Employers to be restrained from coercing employees into joining the armed forces.
- (2) Time spent in training to be paid at a rate equivalent to the full living wage.
- (3) The establishment of camps on such a basis and so equipped as to ensure minimum discomfort to those engaged in the country's service.

- (4) Proper training to be given in the most modern methods of warfare.
- (5) Political and industrial freedom for volunteers, and the right to select representative welfare committees.
- (6) Sentences imposed by court martial to be subject to review by civil courts.
- (7) Defence forces not to be used in industrial disputes. This to be made clear in the oath of service.
- (8) That promotion for the filling of vacancies in the defence forces be of a non-class character.

The militia should be democratic in addition to being well-trained and disciplined. Militant workers ought to join up to keep alive the spirit of independence and democracy within the militia, to restrain the pro-fascist military clique, to organise the fight for the rights and the just demands of the trainees—for all these things are essential for the development of a broad anti-fascist people's defence of Australia.

MANPOWER REGISTER

The government is proposing to take a voluntary register of manpower. Now one of the first things necessary for defence is the complete registration of wealth and industry; the complete mobilisation of the financial and industrial resources of the country for the needs of defence. Immediately very strict limits should be placed on the profits Australia's wealthy "patriots" are making out of the country's need for defence. It

is futile for the government to suggest these things have been done—they have not. A look at the B.H.P. balance sheets, for instance, will show that profits are soaring higher and higher as the "defence" programme progresses; and no real effort has been made to register wealth and industry. Yet those are the first things, or should be.

So far as the register of manpower is concerned, it can have only one purpose—preparation for conscription. If the government is going to adhere to the voluntary system of training then a manpower register should be unnecessary. It can get all the information it wants from the volunteers. A manpower register, however, will facilitate plans of the militarists for the introduction of conscription in the event of war. The people of Australia will be drafted, like sheep, wherever the militarists want them.

AN ARMS PROGRAMME?

Some people want the Communist Party to frame an arms programme for purposes of Australian defence—they want us to advocate 600 to 1,000 aeroplanes, one or two capital ships and so on. Were we to do this we would place ourselves in the ridiculous position of the leader of the Labor Party, Mr. Curtin, who competes with Mr. Lyons in producing paper schemes for Australian defence. At first Mr. Curtin managed to keep one step ahead of the government. But gradually Lyons caught up. And as he did Mr. Curtin would promptly declare: "Mr. Lyons has taken over another

point in my defence programme." What will be left to Mr. Curtin if Mr. Lyons obliges by taking every point in his programme?

Obviously this whole approach is wrong. The time has not yet arrived when the Communist Party should develop such a thing as an armaments programme. The essential thing today is to remove the Lyons government and place the control of Australian defence in the hands of a government more responsive to the needs of the people and which will organise defence in accordance with the democratic traditions of the country.

We must not fail, however, to expose failures and mistakes of this government in the carrying through of its so-called defence programme. The Lyons government is not only the most reactionary but one of the most incompetent governments this country has experienced. We must attack its failings in defence, not as a ginger group, like the Liberals in England, but with the object of revealing its gross inefficiency, its incompetency, its muddling methods, and to impress upon the people the danger of allowing it to remain in office and in command of Australian defence preparations.

Here are some examples of the mess the government is making of things. It launched a great recruiting drive but made little or no preparation to absorb the recruits. The militia are short of uniforms, equipment and drill halls, and it will be many months before adequate provision can be made for these things.

Training is a farce without them. The aeroplanes obtained by the government for "defence" are years out of date, are dangerous to fly in and would be next to useless against modern Japanese, German, or Italian planes. Britain cannot meet Australian orders for planes because of her own requirements, and only now is the government considering producing planes in Australia on a really big scale.

Necessary military equipment ordered from Britain two years ago has not been supplied and nothing has been done about it.

Despite shortage of equipment, of guns and ammunition of all kinds, 75 per cent. of the Lithgow munitions plant is idle. More than 18 months ago the military authorities decided to equip the army with the Bren machine gun, and ordered the equipment from Britain. The equipment has arrived but no steps had been taken to construct buildings to house it, and it will probably be two years (1941) before the army will be supplied with the Bren gun.

These facts, which can be multiplied many times, should be used to show how the continuation of the Lyons government endangers the very preparations for defence.

CIVILIAN DEFENCE

There is one field, however, in which the Communist Party must have a programme and can be very constructive—the protection of the civil population against air raids and bombardment.

In this field the government has done very little and the finance it

has allocated for the defence of the civil population is insignificant. We have read much in the press recently about the vulnerability of important industries. Bunnerong power house, we learn, is situated too close to the coast and its chimneys are so high that they make an excellent target for an enemy battleship. The Port Kembla and Newcastle steelworks and Hawkesbury railway bridge are also within the danger line.

Factories and bridges have their importance, but so have people. If Bunnerong is in danger of bombardment, so is Sydney. After Canton, Nanking, Shanghai, Barcelona and Madrid, we are not foolish enough to believe that the fascists will be contented with blowing up a mere factory. Then why does the government not take real measures to protect the civil population?

It adopts a criminal attitude. The State governments have been advised by the Commonwealth government that it does not consider it necessary to make arrangements for general instruction to be given to the civil population on measures to counter gas attacks and aerial bombardment.

Such is the edict of the Federal bureaucracy.

It may be thought the State governments are tackling this question of civilian defence. They are fiddling with it. Women are being signed up and are being given lectures totally inadequate if not misleading. They receive information on how to treat victims of gas attack and how to make a house gas-proof, etc.

If we are going to be subject to gas attacks, and apparently the government and military authorities think this is very likely, then gas masks are absolutely necessary. Every European country, including England has made this provision to protect its people. Why not Australia? There are 7,000,000 people in this country and more than 3,000,000 of these live in crowded cities which will be the chief targets in the event of attacks on the Australian coast. Provision should be made and the organisation established to supply everyone of these people with gas masks immediately.

But gas is not the only danger. Experts have pointed out that the experiences in both Spain and China suggest that the high explosive bomb is even more favored by the fascist butchers. The only protection against these are deep bomb-proof shelters. To go into a house when high explosive bombs are being used is the worst possible thing, for all ordinary houses within striking distance collapse. It will be remembered that in Britain during the September crisis the people of London were advised to dig trenches and get into them rather than to try and seal their homes against the danger of gas.

All of us have need to re-study Haldane's book on Air Raid Precautions, for it provides the basis for our programme. Women, particularly, are interested in this question and hundreds are signing up for government instruction. Our women must be amongst them and take the

lead in campaigning for proper measures for the protection of the civil population.

Apart from gas masks and deep bomb proof shelters there are other measures we must press for, in order to protect the civil population. Coastal batteries must be established to guard all important coastal towns against naval bombardment. We cannot forget the terrible destruction of Almeria in Spain when the German warships callously bombarded it.

The coastal batteries must be equipped with artillery sufficiently powerful to keep at safe distance capital ships equipped with 16 inch naval guns.

Then anti-aircraft guns are vital. During the September crisis there were six anti-aircraft guns in Sydney when there should have been in the vicinity of 600. Since then the government has ordered the manufacture of anti-aircraft guns at Maribyrnong. The numbers being produced are insignificant and the type of gun is long out of date. There must be large supplies of modern anti-aircraft guns to guard the chief centres of population and industry.

These facts suggest a contemptuous attitude on the part of the Federal government to the vital question of civilian defence. The Communist Party must launch a great campaign on this issue, bringing forward the chief needs and demands for civilian defence and thereby set going a powerful counterblast to the pro-fascist defence campaign of the government.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

F.W. Paterson

Taking issue with the conclusion arrived at by Comrade Dixon in his recent article on the above theme, Comrade Paterson here develops a contrary case for "unification." We earnestly invite further contributions towards complete clarification of this important matter.

IN his article in the January "Communist Review" Comrade Dixon analyses Mr. Scullin's proposals for constitutional reform and expresses the view that, so long as the present political situation continues, they must be opposed by the Communist Party.

These proposals are briefly:—

- (1) That the present Commonwealth and State systems of government with their divided powers be abolished and replaced by one unified or centralised system with supreme and undivided power.
- (2) That local governing bodies be established to which the central parliament would delegate certain powers.

Comrade Dixon's main argument against unification may be summarised as follows:—

1. Division of power is a source of weakness and so the Australian ruling class have sought in the past and are seeking today to unify and strengthen their rule.

2. Consolidation of this rule means, in present day politics, to strengthen the tendency towards fascist methods of rule.

3. The Lyons government does not take the people fully into its con-

science. Parliament meets for a very short period each year and government by regulation, which is one of the chief features of fascism, is replacing parliament.

4. To grant increased power to the ruling class in these circumstances would only place them in a stronger position to flout parliament and the people.

If support of Mr. Scullin's proposals were necessarily to have the effect of consolidating the rule of the handful of rich men, who today constitute our ruling class, or of giving them increased power, then from a working-class point of view Comrade Dixon's conclusions would be unassailable.

I agree with him that "the issue is whether the changes should be in the direction of increasing the power of finance capital, or in the opposite direction, that of extending democracy and increasing the power of the people." But I disagree with him when he contends that the constitutional changes advocated by Scullin will be necessarily in the direction of increasing the power of finance capital and not in the opposite direction.

And it seems to me that before the Party commits itself to a policy of

opposition to Mr. Scullin's proposals we must be sure that unification will have the disastrous effects contemplated.

We must consider carefully whether and, if so, to what extent the existence of the two forms of government, Commonwealth and State, makes it more difficult to unify the forces of labor throughout Australia and therefore is a source of weakness to the whole Labor movement.

Surely our experience has shown us that unity of action throughout the Commonwealth is more difficult to obtain in a given industry or in a given trade union when the workers in some States are under State awards and the remainder under a Commonwealth award than it would be if they were all working under one and the same award.

Similarly we have seen how the division of Australia into several States each with its own government has made it easier for the ruling class to sabotage progressive legislation such as the 40-hour week. The Commonwealth government says the responsibility is on the States, the States retort the responsibility is on the Commonwealth.

Some State governments shirk their responsibility by claiming that they are willing to legislate for a 40-hour week but that owing to interstate competition it is economically impossible until all the States introduce similar legislation.

It is true that these tactics are just subterfuge, but it must be admitted that they do have an effect on a large

section of the workers and as a result tend to weaken the forces of Labor.

But, apart from this, we must consider whether unification must necessarily consolidate the rule of the rich. It is obvious that Mr. Lyons and Mr. Menzies think of unification in terms of a centralised government with increased bureaucratic powers and we can be certain that this is the type of unification for which the ruling class is striving.

But is this the only type? Is there not an alternative, namely, one which will combine the advantages of unification with the advantages of increased democracy? I believe that there is; and it seems to me that the Party should not simply oppose the Lyons conception of unification but should try to rally the whole Labor movement behind a reform of the Constitution along the lines of unification with an extension of democracy and an increase in the powers of the people.

By doing this we will be able to choose our own battle-ground and make the fullest use of two sentiments which are widespread among the people, the desire for unification and the hatred of fascism.

In other words we will outmanoeuvre the ruling class and their agents in the fight for constitutional reform.

Lyons and his gang are aware of the existence of the widespread feeling against the existence of so many governments in Australia and they are clever enough to try to harness this feeling for their own ends.

They know full well that they

cannot openly win the support of the people for fascist amendments to the Constitution. But it must be admitted that, if they can manoeuvre the Labor movement into the position where it comes out in opposition to unification, there will be thousands of democratic Australians who will support Lyons and Menzies because they alone are advocating unification.

If my suggestion is adopted it will be necessary for the Party to work out fully what constitutional amendments are necessary to provide democratic safeguards and to increase the power of the people.

They must include not only the well known guarantees of liberty such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom to organise into trade unions and the right of trial by jury, but also provisions guaranteeing the persons accused of offences those rights to a fair and proper trial which in recent years have been gradually taken away.

The need for the latter provisions is well exemplified by the averment clause of the Commonwealth Crimes Act whereby men and women can be convicted and subjected to the penalties of the Criminal Law and even organisations can be declared unlawful without a single witness going into the witness box to give evidence against them and having his evidence tested by cross-examination.

Guarantees such as these are not new in written constitutions; most of them exist already in the constitution of the United States; and it may not be amiss to note the fact

that though the latter forms the basis to a large extent of our Commonwealth Constitution the democratic safeguards were omitted.

But we must not rest content with securing such amendments as these. The political situation is such that we should go for a much wider extension of democracy by securing amendments which will prevent the growth of bureaucracy and give the people greater control over parliament and the government.

For this purpose I suggest that we should advocate such amendments as the following:—

1. That parliament must hold at least four sessions in every year.
2. That parliament must be summoned at the request of at least 50 per cent. of its members.
3. That every member of parliament must report to his electors at the end of every session.
4. That members be subject to recall.
5. That government by regulation be abolished.
6. That government officials be subject to the same laws as every other citizen.

Finally, I suggest that we should consider amendments to the constitution which will take away from the Governor-General any power to dissolve parliament contrary to the wishes of the majority of its members. In view of the dismissal of the Lang government by Governor Game when it had the support of an overwhelming majority in the House, an amendment of this nature is vitally necessary.

ANZAC DAY, 1939

J. N. Rawling



We are happy to present this fine article to our readers. Written specially for the present anniversary, there is none better fitted to contribute such an article than the author, himself both returned soldier and historian of Australia.

IT is twenty-four years since the flower of that generation of Australia's workers and farmers were cast as pawns upon the barren hills of the Dardanelles—a name of happy augury for the jingo song-writers, because it rhymed with shells! "Heroes of the Dardanelles, They faced the shot and shells." One thing the rhymster forgot, however, was that the shot and shells—many of them, had been made in English factories. But "factories" is a difficult word for which to find a rhyme—and anyhow, the rhyme and reason of the dark and devious ways of manufacturers of shot and shell are best left unsung, else we shall lack heroes to face the shot and shell when next they are needed.

Why were the workers' sons of Australia and New Zealand there on those far-away beaches on that first Anzac morning? To answer that question is to describe the whole development of European imperialism and of the antagonisms between the various Powers that led to the war. War between Britain and Germany must inevitably have sought for battle-fields in what Europe calls the Near East. It was there that British and German imperial interests found themselves most strongly opposed. The time had long since arrived when all of the unclaimed parts had been divided up between the imperialist Powers—the process of division having given rise to wars and rumors of wars. Now the process had begun

of seizing even independent and civilised States that did not have the forces to protect themselves. So Egypt had fallen into Britain's maw, as Morocco had fallen into that of France, and the first decade of the twentieth century had seen Turkey become the battle-ground for the economic war and the struggle for concessions between British and German finance-capitalists.

German iron and steel and German capital were finding scope for their expansion in the building of the Bagdad Railway, which, in turn, was to bring Near and Middle East trade overland to Berlin instead of through British Suez to London. As that railway approached the Persian Gulf, British imperialism was concerned to make the Near East safe for British imperialism and Turkey's southern dependencies were considered to be safer if in the keeping of Britain—past mistress in the art of keeping dependencies in safe keeping. So war must be prepared—and Turkey must be forced into that war against Britain, so that Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia should enjoy the blessings of British rule. And, when war broke out, the Turkish warship, building in England, and ready for delivery, was confiscated to ensure that Turkey would declare war.

But Turkey was destined to be the victim of other Powers, too. Imperialist Russia had for centuries been endeavoring to gain possession of the Straits—the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Again, it had been

Greek cotton and wheat merchants and Greek financiers (Zaharoff) who had formed an important connecting link between Russian Odessa, French Marseilles, and English Liverpool, and had helped to build the Triple Entente. These builders of the Entente—Basil Zaharoff (of oil, steel, of armaments, of cotton, of corn), Sir Ernest Cassel (of the National Bank of Egypt and friend of Edward VII), Baron d'Erlanger, the Bank of Paris, and so on—wanted the Turk cleared "bag and baggage" out of Europe, just as did, last century, W. E. Gladstone, whose father was a Liverpool cotton and grain merchant and associate of the cosmopolitan grain kings of the Mediterranean.

When the war had been going on for several months, Italy was also found to desire defeat of Turkey—for the very laudable reason that she was promised a slice of Turkish territory as her price—in part—for coming into the war. It was on April 25, 1915, that the Anzacs landed on the Peninsula. On the following day, April 26, there was signed in London a Treaty that remained secret until it was published by the Communist government of Russia after the revolution. By that Treaty, Italy was promised some Turkish territory. The Anzacs had landed the previous morning to make the keeping of that promise possible. At the beginning of March, 1915, France and Britain had promised Russia the Straits. So there was a plentiful supply of reasons why the Anzacs found themselves on the

Anzac beaches that grey dawn 24 years ago.

Lenin once asked Gorky: "Why should people, who are well fed, force hungry ones to fight against each other? Could you name a more revolting crime?" And one of the main-springs of his life-long fight against the imperialists was his deadly hatred of them for the misery, poverty, suffering, and death to which they condemned millions.

The French Communist paper, "L'Humanite," once said that the fact that Sasonov, one of the Russian architects of the Great War, died in bed instead of at the end of a rope was another proof of the non-existence of God.

But the basis for our hatred and indignation is two-fold. For besides sending millions to their deaths in the interests of profits, they used them as mere pawns in a game, where lives did not matter at all, gambling with those lives, placing blue-blooded imbeciles in charge of them, with power to use them as fuel to their vanity or as victims of their folly or pig-headed obstinacy. So it was a war of blunders and of crimes that were glossed over as blunders—a war in which the commander of the Canadian Army Corps could order an offensive on the morning of November 11, 1918, on which day, at 11 o'clock, the war was to end—condemning hundreds to death, needlessly, simply because he wanted his corps to be back, as 11 o'clock chimed, at Mons, from which the British Army had retreated in 1914!

Gallipoli was one of those "blunders." The Navy was sent there first to tell the Turks that an attack was impending. When on the Peninsula, the soldiers were neglected. Sufficient reinforcements were not sent. Observers on both sides have told us since that, with adequate forces, the Straits could easily have been taken. But neglect and criminal inefficiency brought failure, and with failure came more deaths and suffering than victory would have caused. Sir Ian Hamilton gives instances of criminal laziness on the part of Corps Commanders which cost many lives. Most of us are familiar with the charges that have been made by those who have written since the war. Then came the last futile offensives in August, 1915, and then—the visit of Lord Kitchener and, upon his advice, withdrawal, the whole operation being a waste of men's lives for nothing—nothing beyond the profits accruing to British armament shareholders for shot and shell fired at and fired by the Turks.

But it has always appeared to the present writer that there was something more behind the withdrawal than mere military reasons. It was admitted, as we all can see, that adequate reinforcements would have meant victory. Now the story that there were no reinforcements available won't hold water. Troops were hastening from Australia and, after the withdrawal, there were immediately built up five Australian divisions. In addition, big forces were being concentrated in Egypt to be

used in the following year against the Turks in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

The reasons for the withdrawal must be sought in the rivalries and antagonisms between the Entente Powers, which did not cease even when war was declared.

There can be no real unity between allied imperialist Powers. During the war France and Britain refused to send aid to Italy for fear that she would be victorious over Austria and then make a separate peace, just as, similarly, Germany did not send reinforcements to Austria because Austria might make a separate peace. And Britain did not use in France all the forces that were available—a large army was kept in England and another was mopping up Palestine and Mesopotamia.

An alliance of imperialist Powers may be compared to a working arrangement between Chicago gangsters, but, as there is some sort of honor among these latter, a better comparison would be to a pack of wolves: let one make a slip and the rest will devour it. So, for the British lion, the two birds—Palestine and Mesopotamia—which could easily be caught, were worth more than the Constantinople bird in the bush, especially as the latter, when caught, would have to be handed over to the Tsarist Russian bear.

This, it seems, we can rest assured upon, that the withdrawal from Anzac was made because Britain wanted to be holding the greater

part of Turkey when peace came, and that part of Turkey which she intended to keep.

Anzac Day commemorates one of the foulest crimes that has ever been committed against the working class of this country. And yet, so powerful are the agencies of capitalist propaganda that thousands still surround the day with dreams of glory and accolades of honor. But there is one atom of satisfaction and one ground for hope amid all the celebrations and the jingoes' rant. And that is that Anzac Day has so captured the imagination of the masses, the people of Australia so highly estimate the deeds done and the sacrifice made at Anzac, that this very day must be seized upon and covered with all the camouflage of noble sacrifice and worth-while suffering. Far more suffering and slaughter occurred at Ypres, but that can be forgotten—Anzac Day cannot. And, once the masses of Australia understand fully the horror of that crime at Anzac, the obscenity of the offering to God Capital, then their indignation will be so much the greater for all the bombast and talk of glory that surround its celebration.

Let us celebrate Anzac Day not only by pointing out the great betrayal but also by showing how actively preparations are going on for another mass betrayal in another Anzac crime, to prevent which we must mobilise such a mighty force of the workers and farmers as will sweep the imperialists and their war-makers into a long-deserved oblivion.

THE SOVIET PEOPLE

J. D. Blake

II.—SOCIALISM AND AGRICULTURE

FIVE years ago, sceptics and doubters could still impress people with their tales that the Soviet system could not really solve the difficult problem of agriculture in the U.S.S.R., and especially the gigantic task of changing the conditions of life, the educational and cultural standards of the great mass of Soviet peasantry.

Today the ground has been taken completely from under the feet of these doubters who were unable to see what great things the peasantry could do once their creative powers had been fully liberated by the establishment of socialism.

I have no hesitation whatever in saying that today there is no mass of farmers in any country enjoying anything approaching the real prosperity which the millions of Soviet collective farmers are now enjoying. The hard primitive life which has been the lot of Russian peasants for centuries has gone forever, and in place of this dark past the Soviet collective farmers are now, for the first time, enjoying a rich and well-to-do life brought to them by the establishment of socialism achieved by means of their alliance with the Soviet working class.

Soviet collective farmers are now reaping the richest harvest yields in the history of the country; they now

retain far greater quantities of grain and other agricultural produce for their own use than they could even think of a few years ago, while the good prices received for all marketed produce made possible by the State regulation of prices gives them larger supplies of cash than the mass of Australian farmers can dream of at the present time.

It is due to this condition of real prosperity that Soviet farmers are now buying great quantities of semi-luxury and luxury goods; in addition to being well fed they are now well and smartly clothed. Most important of all, they can pay cash for all these things they are buying because of an increasing money income which most Australian farmers have begun to think of as a thing of the past.

The basis of this prosperity is to be found in socialism and the collective or co-operative farming which it makes possible. The U.S.S.R. is the land of socialist agriculture; it is the country where agriculture is conducted on the largest scale in the world.

In the Soviet Union there are no less than a quarter of a million collective farms embracing about nineteen million homesteads; these collective farms have more than half a million tractors with nearly ten mil-

lion horsepower at their disposal, while more than a hundred and fifty thousand combines work on collective farm fields during harvest time.

This great mechanised power has revolutionised Soviet agriculture and is rapidly wiping out the terrible drudging slavery which was the lot of the peasants in former days. It was on this basis that the harvest for 1937 broke all known records; in that year the collective farmers of the U.S.S.R. took in a great harvest of more than one hundred and twelve million tons of grain.

The experience of last year's harvest in the U.S.S.R. is an interesting commentary on the superiority of Soviet methods of farming over the methods prevailing in capitalist countries, including Australia. Last year (1938) was a drought year in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus and other important agricultural regions in the Soviet Union.

Yet in spite of the severe drought the harvest was almost equal to that of the previous year, which was an all-time record. The prosperity of Soviet collective farmers continued at a high level despite the drought conditions.

Compare this with the situation of the mass of the farmers in the State of Victoria who have suffered two years of drought. As a result of these drought conditions, the Victorian grain yield has dropped to about one third of its normal level and thousands of farmers in the wheat growing district of Victoria are in a condition bordering on starvation.

This striking contrast between Soviet and Australian farmers in drought conditions reveals the great gulf between the prosperity which socialism brings to the farmer and the stark poverty which capitalism inflicts on the mass of the farming population.

Soviet collective farmers have no need to fear the effects of drought because socialist economy and technique has provided them with the means for combatting drought. For example, the great mechanical power placed at the disposal of the farmers by Soviet industry makes it possible to carry out the spring sowing over a vast area of about one thousand million acres in an exceptionally short space of time. The result is that full advantage is taken of the spring snow thaw and already while the soil is full of moisture the sowing is completed and the crop is well on its way while the initial spring moisture is still in the soil. Because of this even in a drought year grain yields can be maintained at fairly high levels.

In any case droughts do not have the same terrors for Soviet farmers as they do for Australian farmers because they know that even if there is a crop failure the State grain reserves will tide them over a hard year. They always have the Soviet State to support them in any difficulty, which cannot be said of any government in Australia.

But Soviet collective agriculture also creates the possibility for applying other methods to increase crop yields. In all spheres of Soviet agri-

culture there is developing a proper system of crop rotation under which grass is alternated with field crops, perennial grasses are grown as a stage in crop rotation which has the effect of restoring the structure of the soil and increasing fertility after this has been broken down by grain crops. By this means exhaustion of the soil is prevented and at the same time ample pasture and green fodder is provided for cattle.

In addition to this Soviet agricultural scientists have devoted a great deal of attention to the problem of using modern technique to prevent the breaking down of soil structure and fertility which takes place when the best modern machinery is not available. New methods of soil cultivation have been worked out as a result of these efforts.

Immediately the grain has been harvested the land is skim ploughed which prevents the evaporation of moisture and stimulates the growth of weeds; later ploughing to a depth of about ten or twelve inches after well rotted manure has been spread on the field is carried out; this deep ploughing preserves the soil structure and turns under the weeds which were set growing by the previous light ploughing.

In spring only light skim ploughing is carried out and mineral fertilisers are applied before sowing. These and other such methods are doing much to develop soil fertility and are the basis for the great increase in grain yields which has taken place during recent years in the Soviet Union.

It is for this reason that a number of collective farms in Central Russia harvested last year an average of 48 bushels to the acre, and in the far off Chuvash republic, peasants who in 1910, the best harvest year under Tsarism, harvested eight hundredweights of grain to the acre, organised now in collective farms, harvested an average of thirty hundredweights of grain to the acre in 1937 or nearly four times as much as under Tsarism.

Due to these methods of scientific agriculture Yakutia, the coldest place in the world, now grows crops of wheat, oats, tomatoes, cucumbers and even watermelons.

On the basis of experience in applying these scientific methods to agriculture a leading Soviet agricultural scientist confidently forecast last year that the time is not far away when the Soviet collective farms will produce an average of ten tons of grain to the hectare (a hectare is about two and a quarter acres).

The Soviet Union is the only country in the world where science is applied to agriculture on a mass scale; such a general application is not possible in Australia because of the destructive effect of the capitalist system on agricultural economy. Australian farmers also will find the road to real prosperity only in alliance with the Australian workers for the establishment of socialism with a workers' and farmers' government at the head of affairs.

The sharp contrast between capitalism and socialism in their effect

upon agriculture is also revealed by the different attitude towards the important problem of preventing soil erosion.

In the State of Victoria as well as in other parts of Australia, the ruthless denuding of forest areas coupled with unscientific agricultural methods arising from economic circumstances have made soil erosion a burning problem on which the future of Australian agriculture to a great extent depends. Thousands of acres of Mallee wheat lands are being transformed into a great desert by the wind erosion of the fertile top soil and in other regions wind and flood water erosion are destroying some of our best agricultural land.

In the Soviet Union this problem of soil erosion is tackled as a national question of first rate importance to the Soviet State. Forest lands, retaining moisture, are protected by law and trees are being planted on a large scale to form wind breaks on collective farm fields. On just how large a scale this work has been carried out can be realised from the fact that during the past three years trees to check soil erosion were planted over a total area of 880,000 acres of steppe land.

In the Soviet Union deserts are being reclaimed and transformed into fertile agricultural land, while here in Australia the destructive effects of capitalism and the neglect of soil conservation are transforming some of our best fertile land into useless desert.

From what I have already said it should not be difficult to understand

why the Soviet collective farmers are becoming more and more prosperous and well to do with the passing of each year. This radical change in the living standards of millions of peasants, the like of which has never been witnessed in all history, has brought with it great changes in the educational and cultural level of the Soviet farmers.

The illiterate peasant belongs now to Soviet history books; it is no longer merely a problem of attaining literacy; this problem has been completely solved. Now the Soviet farmers are going forward to the mastery of higher educational standards and they now have the time and the facilities to enjoy and to add to and enrich the great cultural heritage of the Soviet people.

All collective farms now have their own libraries, their own clubs, theatres and reading rooms; excellent radio receiving sets are becoming more and more common in Soviet villages while the network of higher educational institutions is being spread into the rural areas, thus adding to the possibilities for the Soviet farmers to receive higher education.

In one village in Central Russia which has less than four thousand inhabitants, there are no less than one hundred and twenty farmers who have received a university or higher technical education. This same village has twenty-six school teachers and twelve doctors. What Australian country town of similar size can boast such educational and medical personnel?

Every collective farm has its agro-

nomist or agricultural specialist and several trained engineers who guide the use of the machinery which the farm has at its disposal.

This vast spread of education and culture among Soviet collective farmers is fast eliminating the age-old differences between town and country. Soviet farmers are active builders of socialism and they are amongst the most ardent supporters of the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party; it could not be otherwise when they have seen from their own experience that the capable leadership of Stalin and the Bolshevik Party has created a new prosperous life for them which cannot be

equalled by any other farming community in the world.

The experience of the Soviet farmers proves beyond all doubt that the solution of the problems of the farmers can only be found in alliance with the workers in the struggle to establish socialism.

In Australia also the interests of these two great laboring classes lie in a common direction, and the sooner their forces are allied in the struggle for a Socialist Australia the better will the Australian farmers be able to catch up and surpass the prosperity now enjoyed by the Soviet collective farmers.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Gordon Grant

A GAIN a Left Book Club choice demands attention here. At this time when the hope of the world for peace and the defeat of fascism is in the minds of increasing numbers of the world population inside and outside of fascist countries, those of us who are still able to read freely, feel there is urgent need to spread the truth about the real position of the Soviet Union.

That the enemies of peace and progress realise this danger to their continued domination is shown by the new wave of lies and doubts being printed and spoken about the Soviet Union wherever possible.

Few books will be found more valuable to provide answers to at-

tacks on the Soviet Union than "Soviet Policy and Its Critics," by J. R. Campbell. Three main reasons, in my view, why we should read and study this book are:

(1) It exposes the greatest enemies of the working class in every country today—Trotsky and his followers, the leaders of counter-revolution, friends and abettors of fascism.

(2) It reveals concisely the truth of the political history of the revolution in the Soviet Union and the foundation and construction of the new society in that great land.

(3) It links these matters with current history and the struggle for peace and progress today.

Many of the questions surrounding the Moscow trials and the doubts that have been raised in the minds of people by the incorrect reporting of these proceedings in the world's press are cleared up and then the author pitilessly places Trotsky and the Trotskyists "in the box" for us and allows them to condemn themselves out of their own mouths.

All the arguments raised in defence of Trotsky by his supporters and by others, who were prepared to take Trotsky's word about himself, are reduced to shreds, and he emerges as a very shabby figure on the world stage when Campbell finishes with him.

Campbell ends by saying:

"... the working class is coming to realise the role of Trotskyism in the service of reaction and will not be deceived." He quotes Stalin:

"Our Party comrades did not notice that Trotskyism has ceased to be a political trend in the working class, that it has changed from the political trend in the working class it was seven or eight years ago into a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers, acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign States."

Ample evidence of this is brought by Campbell in the chapters dealing with the trials, and the terrible actions of the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union and later in Spain, where they assisted to stab in the back the valiant heroes there and aid the advance of Franco in the most cowardly manner possible at the most critical

moments.

"Trotsky against the Bolshevik Party" shows that he began his opposition to the Party and to Lenin in 1903! He appeared utterly incapable of understanding the role of the Party as the leadership of the working class and at the same time part of the working class.

Campbell points out how Trotsky who, today claiming to be Leninist, is out to liquidate Stalinism and to remove Stalin, was, at the period when the Bolshevik Party was being fashioned, out to liquidate Leninism... and to remove Lenin (though not at this stage by terrorist means).

In his Red Army days Trotsky became a martinet, but could not submit to discipline himself.

His supporters claim him as the rightful successor to Lenin whom Lenin would have chosen. Campbell quotes a few passages from Lenin which clearly reveal Lenin's estimate of his "friend."

"Trotsky and the Trotskyists and opportunists like him," said Lenin some time following the 1905 Revolution, "are more harmful than all the liquidators... Trotsky and those similar to him deceive the workers, conceal the evil and make it impossible to expose and remedy it."

Lenin in many quotations scathingly attacks Trotsky as an opportunist and vigorously exposed his empty phrases when he opposed the Bolshevik line of the revolution in 1917. Lenin is also quoted on the theory of the "permanent revolution," in the bitter controversy be-

tween Lenin and Trotsky on that subject.

Again, when Trotsky and his followers came over to the Bolshevik Party in 1917 he disagreed with Lenin in relation to the seizure of power.

Trotsky was in favor of putting off the insurrection until the second congress of Soviets. Lenin made a strong attack on that standpoint.

"For to miss such a moment and to 'wait' for the congress of Soviets would be utter idiocy and sheer treachery," Lenin declared (Selected Works, Vol. VI, p. 230).

Trotsky's success in delaying the signing of the peace terms in opposition to Lenin cost the new Soviet State much territory.

Trotskyists frequently depict their hero as being chief organiser in the Civil War when he was Commissar for War.

Stalin declared that the organising of the victories must be credited to no individual but to the great community of advanced workers of the country and to the Russian Communist Party.

He added: "You know that Kolchak and Denikin were regarded as the chief enemies of the Soviet Republic. You know that our country only breathed freely after the victory over these enemies. And history says that our troops defeated these two enemies, Kolchak as well as Denikin, in opposition to Trotsky's plans."

Stalin goes on to give the details and proof of the statement (Errors of Trotskyism, 1924, pp. 219-20).

In "My Life," Trotsky fully ad-

mitted the truth of the first charge and tried without success to wriggle out of the second, Campbell says.

The contradiction of Trotsky's attitude to the Party and its line of advance in Russia and his endless wriggings deepen from what appears as egoism and Buonapartism, a description which he is ready to apply to others, to lying and the "treachery" discerned by Lenin so many years earlier, as the book progresses towards the present day.

Perhaps the main message of the book is contained in the chapter on the Trotskyist attacks on the People's Front.

"The attempt to sabotage the advance of this alliance," says Campbell, "is to be made by the Trotskyists not under fascist slogans but under slogans bearing an extremely Left Socialist character.

"This method of sabotage from the Left can be of extreme aid to fascism, for unless it is exposed, thousands of misguided workers who hate fascism and war can, under the influence of Trotskyism, become the architects of their own enslavement."

Much valuable information on the new Constitution and the growth of socialism in the S.U. is contained in two of the nine chapters in the book, which is well-documented, sprinkled liberally with relevant quotations from Lenin, Trotsky and others, and is well-indexed on personalities mentioned.

"Soviet Policy and Its Critics," by J. R. Campbell (Victor Gollancz). Left Book Club 3/9. Australian price 12/9.

SCIENCE, SOCIETY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Carroll Clark

LAST month a congress of scientists, called under the auspices of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, was held at Canberra. At this meeting, which was attended by scientists from all parts of Australia and New Zealand, many interesting scientific papers were read, and many observations, of varying degrees of usefulness, were made by such celebrities as Mr. H. G. Wells. Even without Mr. Wells, however, this congress should deserve to be remembered as of outstanding significance in respect of something that is of particular importance to all of us: it marked, for Australia and New Zealand, the first patent signs of the breakdown of the traditional scientific attitude of isolation to social problems. In this era of social, political and economic crisis and bewilderment it is both natural and desirable that all sections of society should not be indifferent to what is taking place in the world today; but the changing attitude of science is of particular importance, since on the one hand it bears so much responsibility for the condition of the world today, and since on the other the application of its methods offer the best, in fact the only means of solving the problems that confront us.

Actually it is hardly correct to speak of the isolationist attitude of scientists as "traditional." To understand fully the position of science with regard to the rest of society today we must first briefly examine its historical background and development. This study reveals what one would expect, that science has always been influenced by, and an influence upon its social environment; and that it is only within the last eighty years or so that the significance of this has been overlooked.

The scientific method, which is applicable to problems of all kinds, may be described as the only device for discovering the truth that works satisfactorily in practice. There have been other devices—attempts to find the truth by divine revelation, or by philosophical argument based on metaphysics — but scientific method is the only one which has given real results. It is based on experiment and logic, and is briefly as follows. By observation and experiment we collect as many facts as possible about the phenomena we propose to study; we then attempt to form a generalisation, or hypothesis, which will link together this mass of facts; next we deduce conclusions from this hypothesis, and endeavor by further experiment and observation to determine if these are

correct; if they are, we conclude that the hypothesis is correct unless or until fresh evidence comes to light which will not fit it, in which case a new one has to be sought. It will be seen that such a method offers little scope for self-delusion or wishful thinking on the part of the investigator; for even if he were to deliberately falsify (or be unconsciously mistaken in) either his experimental results or his chain of reasoning from them, some other scientist, in repeating, as is often done, the same investigation, would be bound to notice it. It must be admitted that differences of opinion do, however, sometimes occur between scientific workers; where these are of a major nature, however, it is generally due to lack of sufficient experiment or the failure to realise that there are more factors operating in the process under consideration than had been supposed. Generally the method nevertheless gives useful and reliable results, which is more than any other can be said to have done.

It will naturally be seen that the application of the scientific method, if of sufficient degree, spells destruction to social regimes based on fallacy, misrepresentation, ambiguity or disorder; and it is not surprising to find that the historical development of science has been fraught with conflicts against reactionary social, political and economic systems. In the Middle Ages, before this method came into general use, attempts to discover truth were confined mostly to pure argument based on meta-

physics; hence it is not surprising that little truth emerged, few correct conclusions—indeed, few conclusions of any sort—were arrived at, and that reaction held almost undisputed sway. The scientific method progressed slowly and with many casualties, such men as Galileo and Buffon being silenced by censorship for their attempts to dispute the ideas of their time in regard to the importance of the world in the universe, and the importance of life in the world. It had its first big victory in the era of the French Revolution (to the making of which it may be said to have considerably contributed) when, concurrently with the overthrow of despotism and the attempt to devise a new political order, a shoal of new ideas, profoundly disturbing to the old regime, came to light. For example, Laplace, with his hypothesis of the origin of the earth and the solar system, and Lamarck, with his theory of the evolution of living organisms, caused doubts to arise in the minds of many of those who had previously not questioned the idea of the divine origin of the earth, and of life: and doubts about divinity naturally suggested doubts about the divine right of kings. With the Treaty of Vienna, however, came the reaction: back came the White Terror, the reactionary idealistic philosophies, and the censorship—and science stagnated, save for the efforts of those who, like Cuvier, were careful to confine their activities to a mere tabulation of facts, without speculating upon their significance.

The next great revolutionary movement came, as we know, in 1848; and this time, although the kings came back again, it was with at least the first habiliments of democracy and freedom. Some scientists, such as Vogt, actually took part in this revolution; some were politically conscious, such as Wallace and Spencer, who had been under the influence of the "Socialist" ideas of such men as Robert Owen; and many others took advantage of the new era of intellectual freedom to make known their conclusions. Among the foremost of these was Darwin, whose theory of evolution, more fully developed than that of Lamarck, delivered a crushing blow to the notion of the divine origin of man; and whose ideas, given wider application by Marx and Engels, further showed the fallacy of the idea of the permanence of human institutions. Since then, scientific research and the publication and popularising of its conclusions has continued more or less unchecked.

But this victory for science over the forces of reaction carried with it the germ of the process that was to so largely nullify its success against them. While science existed on sufferance, its progress was slow enough to enable most of its workers to absorb and appreciate its results as a whole; it was possible, in general, for one scientist to relate his own results to those of most of his fellows, and, further, to keep track of the impacts of science upon society. With no restrictions, the

realm of science grew enormously; gradually more and more investigators abandoned the attempt to keep in touch with results of work outside their own field; and finally, to-day science has arrived at a state of super-specialisation, in which the average scientist concentrates more or less entirely on a small section of inquiry, without time, opportunity or (in many cases) even inclination to concern himself with what is going on in other fields. Worse still, he becomes in most cases isolated from social, political and economic developments, having no apparent conception of what effect they have on him, or he on them. Generally he requires little of life, save the opportunity to proceed with his work—an economic depression means to him in many cases little more than a greater difficulty in getting financial grants, better laboratories, or new apparatus; a war overseas, little more perhaps than the death or disappearance of a co-worker there. As a result of this sort of attitude, science is, or was till very recently, no longer the headache to reaction that it used to be.

Within the last few years, however, a re-awakening, long overdue, has begun to take place. There are many reasons for this. Science is beginning to realise that a great section of the outside world no longer regards it as an unmixed blessing. An increasingly vocal section of humanity, not realising that the main causes of their discontent are due to the system under which they live, are seeking to make

a scapegoat of science. By the machines it has invented, they affirm, it has thrown millions out of work; it has mocked them by 'devising' methods to increase the production of things they cannot afford to consume; it threatens their lives with its creations of the airplane, bombs and poison gases; and it has taken from them even the hope of a better existence in another world. This attitude is obviously an unreasonable one, but it is understandable; and it cannot be denied that science has something to answer for in having provided the means of such vast superficial changes in our ways of living and thinking, without having considered what results these would have. Although fundamentally the misuse of these creations of science is the fault of the social and economic system, scientists should nevertheless have known better than to assume, as many of them apparently have, the existence of an ideal system: they should at least have made some effort to influence the form of that system sufficiently to allow their works to become a blessing, rather than a curse.

Another factor which is making for the re-awakening of scientists to rude realities is the discovery that the capitalist system now only requires results of a certain kind of them. Results of a kind designed to produce wealth, or the means of protecting wealth, i.e., armaments, are encouraged by private and state subsidies; little assistance is, however, forthcoming for purely cultural work. To the scientist, to

whom the difference is not important, the realisation of this attitude brings first bewilderment, then distrust, and finally—in some cases—understanding. He is further disturbed to hear of the persecution of his co-worker in fascist countries, and disgusted to notice the "race theories" and other scientific travesties that created "scientists" in those countries are being encouraged to manufacture.

Perhaps more fundamental still is the fact that the progress of scientific investigation has been so great that we are beginning to become aware of an overlapping between its various branches. Physics, by way of the study of the atom, has overlapped chemistry; and chemistry, by way of biochemistry, has overlapped biology: there is even much ground for suggesting that the difference between living and non-living matter can no longer be maintained. As a result of this it is once more becoming possible for individuals to grasp, if only vaguely, the significance of the whole picture; and, this much achieved, it becomes possible to relate the scientific synthesis to the affairs of the world.

And so once more we note the re-appearance of science as a force to be reckoned with in the attempt to produce an ordered and efficient social system. It cannot itself make social change—the community has to do that—but it can demonstrate the need for that change, and influence the form of it. Criticisms of the present system as a whole,

and of its various parts, are already in evidence in scientific circles; and alternate systems are being suggested, and in some cases fought for. As instances, one might mention such names as those of Sir John Boyd Orr, nutrition expert, who in recent years has made public the evidences of malnutrition in British cities; of Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, biologist and socialist, who came close to dying for his beliefs at the capture of Malaga; of Professors Prenant, Bernal and J. B. S. Haldane, Marxists; and of Dr. Juan Negrin, physiologist and socialist Premier of Spain. Not all of the remedies suggested for our social ills are the same, and many scientists propose none at all; but all thinking workers agree that, if such are necessary, their necessity and their nature can be and should be determined by the scientific method—and that freedom of thought and discussion, which are necessary for the conducting of such inquiries, must be maintained at all costs. Resolutions affirming these principles were carried in 1936 at the Blackpool meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in

1937 at the Indianapolis meeting of the American Association, and now in 1939 at the Canberra meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association. Moreover, in 1937, at the instance of the Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam, the International Council of Scientific Unions set up a Committee of Science and Social Relations (C.S.S.R.), "charged to survey the influence of science on the world picture, as well as on the material side of human life and society; . . . to review science and its applications as a whole, and to promote the study of their social influence" (*Nature*, April 23, 1938, page 723). Science is returning late into the field of social relations, and it is possible that social changes will not await its deliberations; but it is encouraging to realise that it is becoming aware that problems exist in that field, for neither before, during or after a possible social change can society expect to function in an orderly and efficient fashion without the application, whether by scientists proper or by others, of the one and only short cut to truth—the scientific method.



2000 YEAR OLD POISON

L. Harry Gould

(From the report, "Anti-Semitism and the Refugees," delivered at a recent Plenary Session of the N.S.W. State Committee.)

THE only reason for the continued existence of capitalism is the disunity among the peoples it oppresses. The toilers of the world outnumber the social parasites by at least twenty to one; their united strength would be more than enough to sweep the ruling classes out of power everywhere.

The exploiters understand this, and a cardinal principle of domination has been to foster and extend divisions among the masses. "Divide and Rule!" How well have slave-owners, feudal lords, and capitalists applied this principle down the ages! Craft divisions of workers, social castes, barriers between manual and mental workers, sex inequalities, national prejudices, incitement of race hatred, religious factionalism, chauvinistic propaganda—all these and many more have been useful weapons in the hands of the upper classes.

One such weapon, as odious to the enlightened section of humanity as it has been useful to the rulers, is race hate incitement against the Jews, or as it is called, anti-Semitism. Hitler made great use of this weapon to mislead and enslave the German people. But anti-Semitism did not begin with Hitler. The last tsar of Russia, "Nicholas the Bloody," or-

ganised campaigns of terror and murder (pogroms) against the Jews. For what purpose? To divert the mass discontent away from the intolerable burdens of the tsarist-capitalist regime. For certain reasons the Jews, unfortunately for themselves, have been for centuries the "ideal" scapegoats for the rapacious dominant classes. Hatred for the Jew, deliberately created by the exploiters, has been a tragically common current in the development of European society from the earliest period. The position of the Jews, indeed, is an index to the general level of social conditions and progress. In normal "good times," Jews have been accorded a certain measure of tolerably decent treatment; when nations were passing through difficult periods, the Jews suffered, that is, the rulers saw to it that their own sins of greed and arrogance were visited upon the Jews. *Anti-Semitism is so useful!*

Under fascism, persecution of Jews becomes a direct policy of government, and it is pursued with a brutality that horrifies every right-thinking person. Under fascism, incidentally, anti-Semitism is applied not only with the general object of canalising off the discontent of the people, but for the sake of sheer robbery.

Fascism is capitalism in extreme decline, and big capital, of which fascism is the agent, plunders its weaker members to preserve its own position. In Germany, the seizure of the wealth of the Jews seems to be pretty nearly completed. The Catholics are next on the list. It is definite, too, that the Junkers, the big landowners, will soon be served up to satisfy the insatiable appetites of the Krupps and Thyssens. Capitalism has become cannibalistic.

The historical mission of the working class—aided by its allies, the working farmers and the middle classes—is to end capitalist exploitation and power and build in its place the free classless Socialist order.

Capitalism cannot be ended, or even successfully resisted, unless the most resolute struggle is waged not only around economic demands, but against the capitalist ideology and technique of setting race against race, nation against nation.

Whoever separates to the least degree Protestant workers from Catholic workers, is helping the bosses.

To say that whites are superior to colored peoples is not merely unscientific and divorced from the facts of life. Such a statement brings grist to the mills of the imperialists who oppress both the white and colored workers.

To use such expressions as "chink," "dago," etc., is to help the warmongers, profiteers and all the social parasites

To accept without challenging, and worse still to pass on, the open or sly charges made against Jews, is to justify Hitler and his terrible crimes.

Unequal pay for men and women is not a "sex" question. *It is a question of the class struggle.*

The enslavement of India's millions by British and Australian capitalism is not an "Indian problem." *It is a problem of the struggle of the workers at home and in India for bread.*

Anti-Semitism is not a "Jewish problem," for it is a favorite weapon in the armoury of every exploiter. The Australian workers must not allow themselves to be tricked into the smallest iota of antagonism towards Jews. They must not dance to the tune with which Hitler piped the Germany democracy to destruction.

It cannot be denied that the task of combatting anti-Semitism is not an easy one. But then the struggle for freedom never was easy.

Yet the issues are clear, provided one approaches them from the standpoint of the class-struggle. If you are vigilant against alien class ideas, you won't make any serious mistakes. Indeed, you can quickly turn the charges and slanders against the real enemy. For instance:

"*Jews run sweatshops.*" There isn't a single capitalist workshop anywhere in the world that is not a sweatshop! What about the 73 miners killed in Australian pits last year? (It is worth noting how the yellow press attempt to associate the

word "sweatshop" with Jews; it shows how avidly the capitalists seize upon every opportunity to sow confusion and dissension among the workers.)

"*Jews pay less wages.*" If they do, then they are no better or worse than non-Jewish employers. And IF they do, then strike action or other measures will provide the remedy. But is it only Jews who underpay their workers? Name a factory where the workers are satisfied with their pay!

"*The refugees are taking away jobs.*" There are probably 200,000 unemployed in Australia, if not many more. A few thousand more can't make much difference. Lyons and his rich friends will chuckle at the easy way they are getting away with it! In the past, Australians have raised similar complaints about Chinese, Italians and Greeks. What was the result? Organisation was directed against those immigrants, instead of against the ones really responsible, the rich! Unemployment is not the fault of the newcomers, it is the fault of capitalism! The position will be improved, or worsened, according to the nature of the struggle waged by the toiling masses for improved living standards, the strengthening of trade unionism, and generally, the advance of Labor's cause.

"*Jews (or Italians, Greeks, Chinese, etc.) are this, that and the other, and they're doing so and so and such and such . . .*" The fascists have robbed, beaten, shot, tortured, murdered millions of people these past

few years. If we must talk about villainy, there it is! And the fascists are ready to attack Australia from without and within.

The Japanese militarists are planning to repeat here all the horrors they have perpetrated in China. Our own government helps those monsters with armaments! Even if what you say were true—and we emphatically deny it in the sense you mean, for you are only repeating what the yellow press is saying—all of it is only one-millionth the part of the crimes of the capitalists and fascists. We fight Jewish (or British, Australian, Italian, Chinese, etc) employers, not because they're Jewish (or Australian, Chinese, etc.) but because they are employers, because they exploit us. It is not a question of race or nationality; it is a class issue.

"There is no middle course," said Stalin. "Principles triumph, they do not become reconciled."

(1) What is to be done about anti-Semitism and the refugees? Our attitude towards the refugees is the test of our sincerity as democrats, as internationalists. So long as a single Jew or Spaniard or Chinese or anyone is oppressed anywhere in the world, Australian liberty is threatened. The fight for freedom at home demands of us a direct uncompromising policy of aid for the victims of fascism abroad.

The reactionaries in Australia are making the utmost use of the refugee problem to further their own evil aims. In this they are aided by certain Right Wing Labor leaders who, as usual, carry bourgeois ideology into the workers' ranks. A correct militant line will not only protect the refugees, but that very protection will place a weapon in the workers' hands in the struggle against the rich.

(2) We demand right of entry of refugees into Australia. The Lyons government proposals are designed to hin-

der this, except for certain selected ones. The proposal is for 15,000 to enter during the next three years. But those who have money, that is, who could fulfil all of the ordinary requirements of an immigrant, should not be considered refugees. By this term we mean particularly workers who have no cash usually, and any others—Social-democrats, Communists and other anti-fascists who are destitute, and all of whom must be really aided to come to this country.

(3) A vigorous educational campaign must be conducted throughout the labor movement. The origin, nature and forms of anti-Semitism must be thoroughly explained. So intensively and persistently has anti-Semitism been conducted—for centuries, be it remembered—that this capitalist poison has made its impress upon the mental life of even some sections of the workers.

(4) A determined fight must be waged against the yellow press and wherever else this abomination shows itself. (Stalin described anti-Semitism as a "survival of the man-hating ethic characteristic of the period of cannibalism.") Papers notorious for anti-Semitism are "Truth" and Lang's "Century." Articles, written undoubtedly by Nazis, have appeared in the former; to such an extent has Nazism already penetrated. Such articles do not constitute an attack upon Jews only; they are directed against the very heart of Australian democracy.

(5) Tell Australia about the Soviet Union! Study and broadcast the news about the Jewish Republic of Birobidjan, and how the Jews in the rest of the Soviet territories also enjoy the full blessings of the free, happy Socialist life. But emphasise that that freedom came about only on the basis of the emancipation of the entire population!

(6) Our Jewish comrades and friends—and all of us, too!—must work assiduously among the native-born and refugee

Jews and win them away from the reactionaries among the Jews for a policy of united struggle alongside the Australian people for democracy and peace. The Jewish capitalists are **EXACTLY** like the bourgeoisie of England, Ireland, Germany, France and America: reactionary, treacherous and cowardly, interested only in preserving their own narrow class interests. (Compare Rabbi Falk recently. He slandered the Communists, completely ignored all that the Soviet government and the Communists in every country have done to aid the Jewish people. He let the capitalist cat out of the bag, however, when he spoke of "Judaism sanctifying ownership"—what an insult to the memory of the hundreds of Jews who fought and died in the International Brigade! The principle of the "sanctity" of private property and the principle of fighting for liberty can never be reconciled, indeed!)

Let us close with Lenin's message:

"It is not the Jews who are the enemies of the toilers. The enemies of the toilers are the capitalists of all lands. Among the Jews, there are workers, toilers; they are in the majority. They are our brothers, comrades in the struggle for Socialism, because they are oppressed by capitalism. Among the Jews there are kulaks, exploiters, capitalists, just like among us all.

"The capitalists are tireless in their endeavors to stir up enmity between the workers of different faiths, different nations and different races. . . .

"Disgrace and infamy to the damnable Tsarism which tortured and persecuted the Jews! Disgrace and infamy to whoever sows enmity against the Jews and hatred against other nations! Long live brotherly faith and unity in the struggle of all nations for the overthrow of capitalism!"



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