

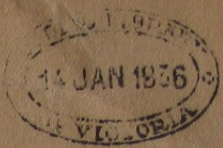
Special Lenin Issue

Volume 2

Vol 2
no. 1

Number 13

S335 4
C73 R



THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

ings
all
nist
oun-
nist
e
o

FROM THE CONTENTS

Lenin the Mountain Eagle

By J. Stalin

Lenin Receiving Visitors

By N. P. Gorbunov

The Death of Lenin

By V. Sorin

Trade Unions and War

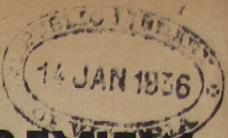
By J. N. Rawling

Fifteen Years of Communism

In Australia

By R. Dixon

JANUARY, 1936 :: SIXPENCE



THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism

Vol. 2, No. 13

SYDNEY, N.S.W.

January, 1936

Lenin

During the 11 years since the death of Lenin his teachings have become more widely known throughout Australia and all countries.

Firmly following his advice on all questions, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, has laid the firm foundations of Socialism. In China the Soviets follow the Leninist way to victory against imperialism.

To-day, the influence of the land of Socialism is felt more and more among the proletarians of all lands and among the colonial peoples struggling against imperialism.

The powerful influence of the U.S.S.R., the living monument to Leninism, is found among the toiling masses, among all who oppose imperialist war, upon all who are opposed to Fascism, and even in the councils of the imperialists.

Lenin founded and guided the Communist International, which, in the years since his death, has grown stronger under the leadership of the Leninist Executive Committee.

In Australia, the Party of Lenin has become an important political force; guided by Marxism-Leninism our Party is winning daily greater influence in the ranks of the toiling masses. No greater tribute can be paid to the memory of Lenin than to raise to higher levels the understanding of Leninism in the ranks of the Party, and to carry the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to the mass of the people. Leninism points the way to peace, bread, freedom and culture, by the organisation of the masses to struggle for their immediate needs, bringing to their consciousness that capitalism is the barrier to a full life for all, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, suppress the counter-revolution and organise Socialism.

The following extracts have been selected from various sources.

CONTENTS

	Page
LENIN	
INTRODUCTION	1
LENIN, THE MOUNTAIN EAGLE—J. Stalin	2
LENIN RECEIVING VISITORS—N. P. Gorbunov	5
HOW ILYICH TAUGHT US REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS— A. Kaktyn	9
SEVEN YEARS OF STRUGGLE From the Sixth to the Seventh Congress of the C.I.	15
FIFTEEN YEARS OF COMMUNISM IN AUSTRALIA—R. Dixon	26
THE TRADE UNIONS AND WAR—1914-1935 —S. N. Rawling	41
EXTRACTS FROM REPORT TO DISTRICT 1 CONFERENCE—S. Purdy	54

Lenin—the Mountain Eagle

By J. STALIN

I FIRST became acquainted with Lenin in 1903. This acquaintance, it is true, was not personal but developed by means of letters. But it left an indelible impression on me which has not left me during the whole period of my work in the Party. I was at that time an exile in Siberia. My acquaintance with Lenin's revolutionary activity from the end of the 'nineties and especially after 1901, after "Iskra" began to be issued, led me to the conviction that we had in his person an unusual man. In my eyes at that time he was not simply the leader of the Party; he was, in fact, its creator, because he alone understood the inner nature and the immediate needs of the Party. When I compared him with the other leaders of our Party, it always seemed to me that his co-workers—Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod, and others—stood lower than Lenin by a whole head, and that Lenin, in comparison with them, was not simply one of the leaders, but a leader of the highest type, the **mountain eagle**, knowing no fear in battle, and boldly leading the Party on along the untried path of the Russian revolutionary movement. This impression penetrated so deeply into my soul that I felt the necessity of writing about him to one of my close friends who was at that time living in emigration, requesting his opinion. Within a short time, being already in exile in Siberia—that was at the end of 1903—I received an enthusiastic reply from my friend, and a letter, simple but profound in content, from Lenin, whom my friend had evidently made acquainted with my letter. Lenin's note was comparatively short, but it gave a bold and fearless criticism of the activity of our Party and a remarkably clear and concise analysis of the whole plan of work of the Party for the next period. Only Lenin was able to write about such complicated things in such a simple and clear manner, so concise and so daring, when every phrase not merely speaks but shoots. This simple and bold note strengthened my conviction still more that we had in the person of Lenin the mountain eagle of our Party. I cannot forgive myself for having abandoned this letter of Lenin's, as well as many others, to the flames, according to the custom of the underground workers.

From that time began my acquaintance with Lenin.

Lenin's Simplicity

I met Lenin for the first time in December, 1905, at the conference of the Bolsheviks at Tammerfors (in Finland). I hoped to see the mountain eagle of our Party, that great man, great not only politically, but also, if you like, physically, for Lenin presented himself in my fancy in the form of a giant, stately and imposing. What then was my disappointment when I saw nothing but an ordinary man, smaller than the average in height, differing in no way, literally in no way, from ordinary mortals. . . .

It is taken for granted that a "great man" usually must come late at meetings in order that the members may await his arrival with palpitating hearts, and just before his appearance, warningly murmur: "Sh-h! . . . quiet . . . he is coming." What, then, was my disappointment when I discovered that Lenin had come at the meetings before the delegates, and, skulking somewhere in a corner, was carrying on a conversation, the most ordinary conversation with the most ordinary delegates to the conference! I cannot deny that this seemed to me somewhat of an infringement of necessary rules.

Only afterwards I understood that this simplicity and modesty of Lenin's, this striving to remain unnoticed or, at any rate, not to become conspicuous and not to emphasise his high position—that this is one of the strongest traits of Lenin, the new leader of the new masses, the simple and ordinary masses of the deepest depths of humanity.

No Whimpering!

The second time I met Lenin was in 1906 at the Stockholm Congress of our Party. Everyone knows that at this congress the Bolsheviks remained in the minority, suffered a defeat. That was the first time I saw Lenin in the role of the vanquished. Not by one iota did he resemble other leaders who whimper and become dejected after a defeat. On the contrary, this defeat transformed him into a condensed bit of energy, filling his supporters with inspiration for fresh struggles, for future victory. I speak of Lenin's defeat. But what was this defeat? We need only observe Lenin's opponents, the victors at the Stockholm Congress—Plekhanov, Axelrod, Martov, and others; they were little like actual victors, for Lenin, in his unsparing criticism of Menshevism, beat them to a pulp. I remember how we Bolshevik delegates, huddled together, looked toward Lenin, asking his advice. The talk of some of the delegates betrayed weariness and

dejection. I remember how Lenin, in answer to such talk, caustically said through his teeth: "Don't whimper, comrades; we are certain of winning, for we are right." Defestation of the whimpering intellectuals, faith in his own strength, faith in victory—that is what Lenin spoke about with us. We felt then that the defeat of the Bolsheviks was only temporary and that the Bolsheviks were bound to win in the near future.

"Don't whimper in case of defeat"—this is the characteristic in the activity of Lenin which helped him to rally round himself an army, devoted to the end, and confident in its strength.

No Haughtiness!

At the next congress, in 1907 in London, the Bolsheviks became the victors. That is the first time I saw Lenin in the role of the victor. Usually victory turns the heads of other leaders, and makes them arrogant and haughty. Most often in such cases they begin to celebrate the victory, to rest on their laurels. But not by one iota did Lenin resemble such leaders. On the contrary, just after the victory, he became especially vigilant and alert. I remember how Lenin insistently impressed upon the delegates: "First of all, don't be carried away by victory, and don't become proud; secondly, clinch the victory; thirdly, despatch the enemy, for he is merely vanquished, but far from being dead." He caustically ridiculed those delegates who thoughtlessly asserted that "Now it's all over with the Mensheviks." It was not difficult for him to prove that the Mensheviks still had roots in the labor movement, that it was necessary to struggle with them understandingly, in every way avoiding an overvaluation of our strength and especially an undervaluation of the strength of the enemy.

"Don't allow victory to turn your head"—this is the peculiarity in the character of Lenin which helped him to judge soundly the strength of the enemy and insure the Party against possible surprises.

Faith in the Masses

Theoreticians and leaders of the Party, though knowing the history of the people, though thoroughly acquainted with the history of the revolution from end to end, are yet sometimes afflicted with one shameful sickness. This sickness is a fear of the masses—lack of confidence in the creative ability of the masses. This gives rise to a certain aristocratic attitude on the

part of the leaders toward the masses, who, though not experienced in the history of the revolution, are yet called upon to break down the old and build up the new. The fear that the spontaneity of the masses may run wild, that the masses may "destroy more than is necessary," the desire to play the role of governess, endeavoring to "teach" the masses from books, but not wishing to learn from the masses—these form the basis of this type of aristocratic leadership.

Lenin represented the exact contrary of such leaders. I don't know of another revolutionary who believed so deeply in the creative power of the proletariat and in the revolutionary strength of purpose of its class instinct as did Lenin. I don't know another revolutionary who so unsparingly flagnellated the self-satisfied critics of the "chaos of revolution" and of the "bacchanals of the self-initiated action of the masses" as did Lenin. I remember how, during one conversation, in reply to a remark of one of our comrades that "After the revolution, normal order must be established," Lenin sarcastically remarked, "It's too bad if people who want to be revolutionaries forget that, in history, the order most nearly approaching the normal is revolutionary order."

Hence the scornful attitude of Lenin toward all those who endeavored to look upon the masses, to learn to understand their activity, to study attentively the practical experience of the struggle of the masses.

"Faith in the creative power of the masses"—that is the characteristic in the activity of Lenin which made it possible for him to understand its spontaneity and direct its movement into the channel of the proletarian revolution.

Lenin Receiving Visitors

By N. P. GORBUNOV

Thousands and thousands of people visited Lenin during the time he was at the head of the Government. All sorts of people came to see him: workers, peasants, Red Army men, Soviet and Party workers, scientists, journalists, political leaders, diplomats, engineers, physicians, authors. In the first days of the revolution, even a grand duchess of the Romanov family contrived to gain admittance to his office in Smolny in order to petition on behalf of her crowned relatives; how she managed to

get through all the guarded posts, and why the sentries allowed her to pass—remains a mystery even now. I remember how indignant and disgusted Lenin was at this visit.

I want to tell in the main, how Lenin used to receive workers, peasants, and Soviet citizens in general. This is of particular importance to us. Lenin had a wonderful capacity for learning what was going on everywhere, without leaving the Kremlin. He drew his information from thousands of sources. He knew how to attract the hearts of all who came to him. One word of Lenin was enough to inspire one with the greatest confidence in him. He thus established numerous contacts with individual members of the Party, with individual workers and peasants.

Lenin knew how to take from all the best that was in their nature. His talks with the peasants and workers who came to see him gave him the clue to the feelings of the country. He would define the changes that took place in the correlation of the class forces, changes that were imperceptible to the ordinary eye, and on the basis of the facts communicated to him he would adopt the correct line in every question and always at the right time. Lenin was endowed with superhuman intuition. In the years of his fatal illness, in bed and almost isolated from the outside world, he still dictated his last directives. This ability of Lenin to watch the course of life has been one of the most remarkable features of his great genius.

When talking with visitors during reception hours, Lenin paid great attention to individual workers, peasants and rank and file Party members who came to him with their needs, their plans and worries. Lenin listened to them with great patience, taking steps to satisfy their claims and to explain their errors to them. One of Lenin's outstanding features was his great simplicity in his relations with everybody. He knew how to approach people and immediately grasped the gist of every question. But, woe to those who came to Lenin with facts not well founded, not fully checked, or with hackneyed phrases. He would immediately get at the weak spot by two or three questions, by an ironic glance of his keen and penetrating eyes.

Lenin's logic, his passionate conviction took people captive. I remember how sometimes in the first months of the revolution certain workers and peasants would come to Smolny, who, thanks to the agitation of the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s, were hostile and prejudiced against us. After listening to Lenin, they

would leave with a feeling of love for him, inspired and ready to give their lives for our cause.

Every peasant, every soldier, after a talk with Lenin, would begin to understand that Lenin's cause was his cause and that it was in strong and sure hands. I well remember Lenin's characteristic pose when he would sit down opposite some peasant visitor, so close, that their knees would almost touch. With a kind smile he would bend somewhat forward, in a listening attitude, and in a businesslike manner ask questions and give advice.

"Seize the land of the landlords immediately and put it under your control, take strictest account of it. Keep absolute order, guard the property taken from the landlords, since it has now become the property of all the people. Let the people themselves guard it."

And the peasant, taking leave of Lenin, would say, enraptured:

"That's a Government! This is indeed our Government, the genuine Government of the peasants!"

Lenin's manner in his intercourse with people was remarkable and he had a peculiar way of listening. In talking to him, nobody ever felt that he was the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, the head of the country. While conversing with Lenin everyone felt that he was a wise and older comrade. In his relations with people there was great geniality. He was attentive to the least important rank and file worker, and always respected the personality of others. Those who spoke with him never felt that they had before them a leader, a superior, but on the contrary they saw in him a comrade who was merely their senior, a comrade who was wise and great. Lenin would reply, explain and consider seriously every remark. Another particular feature of his: he had a high opinion of the power and significance of people. And this attitude of his greatly raised in people their sense of responsibility. It compelled one to work hard so as to justify his opinion. After a conversation with Lenin, one somehow became more elevated, began to understand things more clearly and went to work with redoubled energy.

In his intercourse with people, Lenin would often speak about the simplest things, would take an interest in everything, showing thousands of questions upon his companion, attaching importance to details which at first sight appeared to be of

little importance. He had a knack of directing the conversation imperceptibly so as to compel his companion to bring out precisely what was necessary. Lenin knew how to pick out the wheat from the chaff and bring to light what was of considerable importance, to get people to analyse and to come to clear conclusions. In his conversations, Lenin would often put to test the new ideas springing up in his mind, looking for facts to confirm them.

Usually Lenin received visitors in his study. He would heartily greet the visitor and would ask him to sit down, pointing to a soft armchair beside his desk. He himself would sit down on a hard chair next to the table, turning somewhat towards the visitor with a pleasant shrewd smile and, attentively looking at his companion, would begin the conversation. Sometimes he would warn his visitor beforehand through his secretaries, that the visit must not last longer than a certain specified time. But very seldom would he stop his visitor if the latter did not leave in time. Sometimes, fearing too long a conversation, he would not receive the visitor in his study, but in an adjoining room where the meetings of the Government were usually held. He would do it in order, as he said, to have the possibility, under some plausible pretext, of saying good-bye and returning to his study. However, this was usually in the case of visitors who were strangers or in case of large delegations.

Lenin taught people to work, to be independent and to show initiative. Very often he would chide people for slovenliness and inertia:

"Write to the members of the Politburo, send an article to the paper, and a note to me."

He would mock those who thought it undignified to complain. I remember once, upon Lenin's proposal, a special decree was issued on how to lodge complaints and draw up protocols in the case of unlawful action by the authorities. It would be good even now to think of this decree more often and hang it up in a prominent place in all institutions.

In the last period of his life, Lenin, already a sick man, continued to receive representatives of workers and peasants, although this was difficult for him. I remember the delegation of Siberian leather workers, which was the last to visit him. They brought Lenin a sheepskin coat as a present. After the

first exchange of greetings the conversation immediately assumed a business character. Why has the quality of the sheepskin declined? Why is the cost of production high? What is the cause? Why can't it be removed? Who is to blame? What is to be done? And then:

"Please tell the workers that I am very pleased with their message, but they should not send me any presents."

The doctors forbade Lenin to work much, and the secretaries tried their best not to overload him with work, but he resisted and said:

"My head is clear, I am on my feet, I can and will work."

It was our good fortune to have lived side by side with Lenin, and to have called him our leader. We do not overestimate the part played by persons in history, but the genius of Lenin was the embodiment of the genius of the working class. Lenin is immortal not only because he was a great man. He is immortal because he represented the heart, the brain and the genius of the rising working class. He felt, as nobody else did, the beating of the collective heart, and the will of the masses. He was a wise seer with an eye for the destinies of humanity; he was as firm as steel, and as tender as a father. He solved the most complicated world problems, but he was simple and not beyond the understanding even of children.

How Ilyich Taught Us Revolutionary Tactics

By A. KAKTYN

One of my meetings with Comrade Lenin in the days immediately following the October revolution became particularly impressed on my memory.

It was in December, 1917, after the publication of the decree of the Council of People's Commissars on workers' control of industry, the initiator and author of which was Comrade Lenin himself. Fearing that the workers would be too precipitous in the seizure of the factories, and that the decree would be interpreted in the sense of direct interference in industry, the All-Russian Council on Workers' Control set up a commission (if I remember rightly, among its members were Comrades Larin and Lozovsky), which drew up instructions. These instructions interpreted the decree in a sense which limited the right of the factory and works' committees in the matter of

controlling the factories; i.e., control in the narrow, passive sense of the word, without the rights of countermanding the orders of the factory managers. We, workers in the Central Council of Factory Committees of Petrograd, thereupon drew up alternative instructions in which we interpreted the decree on workers' control in a directly contrary sense, in the sense of active control, with the right to interfere in management; control which would prevent and suppress sabotage of the Soviet Government and the working class by the factory owners. The exercise of workers' control in this sense would have inevitably accelerated the seizure of the factories by the workers and would have led to the nationalisation from below. The All-Russian Council on Workers' Control, on the other hand, endeavored to direct the process into organised channels, to effect nationalisation from above, by means of decrees. They attempted to impede the process.

We were profoundly convinced that our attitude under the circumstances was the only right and revolutionary one. We had the support of the working-class masses in the factories of Petrograd. We printed our instructions at our own expense and sent them out not only to Petrograd, but also to the provinces. But how could we give them an official and legal character, when the majority on the authorised body on workers' control, the All-Russian Council, was in favor of passive control? How could we "legalise" our instructions in the eyes of the workers?

We decided to appeal to Comrade Lenin, knowing his attitude on the question of workers' control. One evening, three of us—Comrade Amosov, president of the Central Council of Workshop and Factory Councils, Comrade Ivanov (Mikhailov), and I—called upon Comrade Lenin in the Smolny. We briefly, if not very coherently, outlined the essence of our problem. Vladimir Ilyich listened to us attentively, screwing up his eyes as was his wont, asked a few questions, and forthwith gave us the following piece of unexpected advice:

"If you are really anxious to have your attitude towards workers' control realised, you must not rely only upon authority and formal legality. You must act, you must agitate, you must use every possible method of conveying your idea to the masses. If that idea is vital and revolutionary, it will force a way for itself and nullify all lifeless, even if legalised, instructions and interpretations of workers' control."

Such was the purport, if not the exact words, of the answer we received from Vladimir Ilyich. For us, or at least for me, it was new, unexpected, and even strange. We had thought that the question would be settled by a signature, a confirmation, by an act of legislation. Instead, we got this piece of advice, accompanied by a genial, comradely, even ironical smile, as though to say: How naive, how young you must be not to understand that social realities and the class struggle are not decided by decrees and instructions, but that, on the contrary, the latter are but their reflection; and that they are their reflections only to the extent that they are vital and real.

Lenin's lesson was not wasted on us. We were at first taken aback; we tried to object, but nothing, if I remember rightly, came of it. But when we left Lenin we began to act energetically: our instructions were distributed broadcast, unsigned, unconfirmed, without anybody's recommendation, but definitely borne out by the whole process of revolutionary development in the sphere of production. Realities soon proved how correct Ilyich was in this matter, as in all others. He already saw, and, indeed, had seen long before, the form the first "expropriation of the expropriators" the world had seen would assume. He was certain that no attempt to halt the onslaught of the proletarian revolution would succeed. He, who in other spheres of work and under other conditions made extensive use of the "agitational" value of decrees, not without reason considered it superfluous to assist the process of the transformation of workers' control into the management of production which had already begun from below, and of which our instructions were a feeble reflection.

Of course, this incident revealed another of Lenin's characteristic features: his caution and circumspection, his grasp of the realities of a situation. Before passing decrees, one must examine the phenomenon, study it. It was one thing to issue a general decree which would free the hands of the lower working-class bodies in the sphere of control; it was another matter to give that control form. Comrade Lenin realised that elemental forces had to be directed into an organised channel, that the necessary conditions had to be created for the nationalisation of the factories before undertaking nationalisation. This, perhaps, explains his caution and deliberation, his "compromise" (so inexplicable to many at the time) with the employers until the promulgation in June, 1918, of the decree on the nationalisation

of industry. These considerations undoubtedly determined the reply he gave us and his unwillingness to ratify our instructions immediately. But the value of his lesson is not diminished by this fact. It was one more example of Lenin's skill in the art of revolutionary tactics.

The Death of Lenin

(The last section of the introduction, by V. Sorin, to Vol. 1 of the Selected Works.)

The concern displayed by the millions of workers and peasants throughout the Soviet Union for Lenin's health revealed the esteem in which they held him. Not a single gathering of workers or peasants was held anywhere in the country, no matter on what subject, but that notes were sent up to the chairman enquiring after Lenin's health. But his improvement was only apparent. The disease continued to destroy the brain. On January 21, 1924, a sharp change for the worse suddenly set in which resulted in a new haemorrhage, and at 6.50 p.m. Lenin died.

Lenin's death came as a shock to the whole world. The spirit in which the working class of the Soviet Union reacted to the death of Lenin is shown by the fact that two hundred thousand proletarians joined the Communist Party. Lenin's funeral was a mighty, magnificent demonstration of the profound sorrow of millions at the death of their leader. Lenin was buried in Moscow, on the Red Square, by the Kremlin wall.

The teachings of Lenin represent the continuation and further development of the doctrines of Marx and Engels. "Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution." (Stalin.) Lenin gave much that was specifically new in the following fields, which he carefully studied: bourgeois-democratic revolution and the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry; dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution; the Soviet state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; peasant and agrarian questions; the national question; the doctrine of the Party; strategy and tactics of the proletariat; imperialism and imperialist wars; Socialist construction, etc. The best exposition, the truest and profoundest interpretation of Lenin's teachings and also the further development of the problems of Leninism are given by Stalin (in his "Leninism") who, after

Lenin's death, became the leader of the Party. Lenin's "Collected Works" began to be published during his lifetime. Since his death, the second and third editions of his "Collected Works," in 30 volumes have been issued. The complete collection of all the literary heritage of Lenin will form not less than 40 volumes.

The great work of Lenin's life was his creation of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat—the Bolshevik Party—and the Communist International, which under the banner of Marx and Lenin are now leading the struggle for the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union and throughout the whole world.

Under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee and of Comrade Stalin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly and surely marching along the road indicated by Lenin. The first Five-Year Plan has been successfully completed. The second Five-Year Plan is now in process of fulfilment. Socialism, the inevitability of which was scientifically proved by Marx and Engels and which was the practical aim of the struggles waged by Lenin and the proletariat which he led, is becoming a reality.

These enormous successes were achieved by the Party only because it held aloft the banner of Lenin and waged an irreconcilable struggle against all opportunists (the Rights, the "Lefts" and conciliators), utterly routed Trotskyism, which had long ago become "the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie" (Stalin), the Right deviation (Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky), and the Right-"Left" bloc and defeated all the opportunists who tried to divert the Party from the Leninist path and foist an opportunist policy upon it. At the present time the main danger is the Right deviation against which the Party must wage a ruthless struggle.

As a person, as an individual, Lenin charmed all those who came in contact with him by his simplicity, his sensitiveness, his genuine, comradely attitude to the members of the Party, to the workers, to the peasants. He infected those around him with his inexhaustible energy, vitality and cheerfulness. Even Lenin's political opponents admitted that he completely lacked personal vanity or ambition. As an exile, or at the height of power as the head of a State, he led the same simple, modest life, limiting himself only to what was essential. Lenin combined a brilliant mind with an extraordinary capacity for work,

a capacity to work with precision and with an unbending iron will which knew no wavering. In fighting for revolutionary Marxism and carrying through the Party line, he was as firm as a rock. His stern adherence to revolutionary principles gained him the hatred of innumerable opportunists, reformists and anarcho-syndicalists of all shades, "Left" and Right deviators, conciliators of different kinds who felt the full weight of the blows of his criticism and polemics. In this struggle for Marxism, for the Party, for the revolution, for the victory of the working class, Lenin was ruthless and knew no half measures; he did not hesitate to "split" the Party or to expel from the Party persons, groups and trends who held views hostile to the proletariat. At the same time he could unite and rally around the Party and place under its leadership all that was foremost and revolutionary in the working class and Socialist movement, all who at the given stage of development were ready to march forward along the road indicated by the Party.

History knows of no other person who so enjoyed the prestige, confidence, love and respect among the widest masses, as did Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In Lenin the bourgeoisie quite rightly saw its greatest enemy. Lenin, who was so capable of understanding the masses, who to such an extraordinary degree was able "to feel" and define with amazing accuracy the mood of the workers and peasants, could quickly orientate himself to the most complicated political situations, and give the workers clear, precise slogans. His faith in the power of the working class, resting on the granite foundations of Marxism, was boundless. Never, even in the darkest years of reaction, did Lenin have the slightest doubt of the inevitability of the revolution and the victory of the proletariat. Lenin's whole life, from his early days to the last moment, was devoted to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

We can and must build up Socialism, not with the human material created by our imagination, but out of the material left to us by capitalism. This, no doubt, is very "difficult," but every other way of tackling the problem is not serious enough to consider. (Lenin: "Left' Communism.")

Seven Years of Struggle

From the Sixth to the Seventh Congress of the C.I.

AFTER six days of discussion on the report made by Comrade Pieck, a discussion in which 60 speakers from 46 countries took part, the Seventh Congress in its resolution unanimously endorsed the political line and practical activity of the E.C.C.I. The discussion showed the tremendous path of development traversed by the Communist International since the Sixth World Congress. **The discussion reflected the new incomparably higher level of the class battles, and the new and higher level of the work of the Communist Parties!**

The Communist Parties marched in step with the development of the revolutionary movement, for they are the inseparable leading section of this movement. The discussion on the first point on the agenda of the Seventh Congress showed this very clearly. The representatives of the Communist Parties reported of the big battles and movements in which huge masses took part, and in which the Communist Parties played a big, and very often a leading, role. On hearing these speeches, one could become convinced that the time had gone by when the Communist Parties in the big capitalist countries were propagandist groups. Each speech made showed that the Communist Parties now have a profound knowledge of the masses, and are better linked up with their lives, and that they have a better knowledge of the political problems of their own countries than at the time of the Sixth Congress. The discussion showed the ideological and political growth of the Communist Parties.

This is why the Congress, in the following words, pointed to the great responsibility which lies on the Communist Parties:

"The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International points out that the transformation of the maturing political crisis into a victorious proletarian revolution depends only on the strength and influence of the Communist Parties among the wide masses of the proletariat, and on the energy and the self-sacrifice of the Communists."

The main task of the present period, namely, that of establishing a united proletarian front and a people's anti-Fascist front, so as to beat off the offensive of capital and of Fascism and the danger of war, stood in the centre of the report and the discussion.

Both in the report and in the concluding remarks made by Comrade Pieck, and in the speeches made by the representatives of the Communist Parties, attention was drawn to the struggle carried on by the Parties after the Sixth Congress, against the Right opportunist danger. In the report and in the speeches made by the representatives of the Communist Parties at the Congress, the fire of criticism and self-criticism was directed against sectarian mistakes. The finally rooting out of the sectarian mistakes and traditions of the past is the necessary precondition for the successful bringing about of the proletarian and the people's fronts. In its resolution, the Congress, in addition to pointing to tremendous achievements, indicated serious defects in the work of a number of the Parties:

"Lateness in operating the united front tactics, inability to mobilise the masses around partial demands both of a political as well as of an economic character, failure to understand the necessity for the struggle to defend the remains of bourgeois democracy, failure to understand the need to establish the anti-imperialist people's front in the colonies and semi-colonial countries, disregard for work in the reformist and Fascist trade unions and the mass organisations of the toilers established by the bourgeois parties, underestimation of work among the toiling women, and underestimation of the importance of work among the peasants and the petty-bourgeois masses of the towns . . . an underestimation by both the Young Communist Leagues and the Communist Parties of the importance of mass work among the youth."

In their speeches, all the comrades spoke of the great assistance they constantly receive from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. They related how this assistance helped them to consolidate and close their ranks, helped them to become still more closely linked up with the masses and to extend Communist influence in the ranks of the working class. At the same time, both in the report and in the concluding remarks made by Comrade Pieck, as well as in the discussion, attention was drawn to the fact that the Executive Committee was also late in rendering political help to the Parties.

The discussion showed the ideological firmness, and organisationally, the monolithic character of the Communist Parties.

Many Parties, we need but refer to the Parties in Poland and Czechoslovakia, were, during the Sixth Congress, composed of two factions engaged in mutual conflict. Now the Parties are solid around their leaders.

Everybody in the Hall of Columns in Moscow [where the Seventh Congress took place, Ed.] felt the breath of this gigantic combat which is now taking place on the banks of the Seine. The French proletariat, together with the huge masses of toilers in town and country, are carrying on a heavy struggle to preserve the rights and liberties won in the course of the four revolutions of the last century.

In a graphic and vivid speech, Comrade Cachin painted a picture of the two camps, engaged in conflict with one another. On the one hand, the camp of reaction and Fascism, supplied in plenty by heavy industry, with funds and arms, and supported by influential circles of the army and the higher State officials. On the other hand, the camp of the working class, which is more and more uniting around itself the masses of toilers and all the sections of the population who desire freedom. This camp is being cemented by a sharp hatred against Fascism, which wants to deprive the masses of the people of France of their last liberties and rights, to reduce sharply their standard of living, and to transform France into a prison, and with Hitler Germany to drive the world into a new war conflagration.

The Communist Party of France is in the front line in the struggle against Fascism.

France is faced with big class battles in which the fate of the Third Republic will be decided. Both camps are mobilising their forces. The outcome of the struggle will be of extraordinary importance for the entire world working-class movement, for the entire world situation.

French finance capital, like the finance capital of the other bourgeois democratic countries, is drawing the lessons from the events in Germany. In their fear of the proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie are tearing the democratic mask from their faces and attempting to establish a Fascist dictatorship. But the proletariat are also drawing their lessons from the German events. They know not what Fascism has in store for them, they know they must do everything to defeat the attacks of Fascism. Our French Communist Party is rousing among the

widest masses of the population the will to resist the Fascist offensive, and is organising these masses for the struggle.

In the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses, the Communist Party of China has become a tremendous force, has organised a Red Army, has organised big Soviet regions. Even in such a backward country as China, torn to pieces as it is by the imperialists, in spite of the civil war which is going on, Soviet power immediately brought considerable improvement in the conditions of the toilers in the Soviet regions. The speeches made by the Chinese comrades once again confirmed the correctness of the fact that only Soviet power will deliver humanity from hunger and slavery.

The Communist Party of Japan has also travelled a glorious path during the last years. The Communist Party of Japan, from the very first day of the offensive of Japan against China, took up an international, Leninist position. From the very first day of the occupation of Mukden, the Communist Party of Japan heroically and self-sacrificingly fought against the stream, against the wave of chauvinism and social-chauvinism.

The Japanese Communists are not afraid of the scaffold, they are carrying on a heroic struggle in the army, in the fleet and in the munition factories, against the robber war, and are struggling to transform this war into civil war. The Communist International can be proud of its Japanese section.

In spite of extraordinary terror, the Communist Party of Germany has not for a single day severed its connection with the factories and the working-class quarters. This work is gradually bearing its fruits. The events of the last two months in Germany show this sufficiently clearly. We see the beginning of a revival of mass resistance in the factories in Germany.

The Communist Party of Germany is more and more mastering the methods of utilising legal and illegal possibilities for work. After overcoming the sectarian line pursued by some of the Party leaders, the Party has taken the right road of organising the united front with the Social-Democratic workers and of re-establishing the free trade unions.

The Communist Parties of Austria, Spain and Poland have achieved important successes. In his concluding remarks Comrade Pieck summed up these achievements and urged that there should be no resting on laurels, but that contacts with the

working class should be further extended and the confidence of the millions of toilers should be won.

The first seven days of the work of the Congress showed that the Communist International has developed into a mighty international force. They showed the growth of the forces of the world revolution, the growth of the revolutionary movement. They showed that the Communist Parties are on the right road, and that if they carry on correct, skilful and persistent work, all the possibilities exist for them to secure influence over the majority of the working class and thus to ensure the conditions necessary for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

* * *

The seven years that elapsed between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses constituted an historical check-up of two perspectives, of two lines of development. It was just at the time of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern that the Second Congress of the Second (Labor and Socialist) International took place in Brussels. The Brussels Congress outlined a perspective of the capitalist countries developing into Socialism by strengthening the State power which allegedly stood above classes, by industrial peace, and by participation in coalition Governments. As regards the Soviet Union, the Brussels Congress, in its resolution, wrote that the dictatorship of the proletariat was allegedly holding up the development of the productive forces, and prophesied economic catastrophe. The perspective outlined by the Brussels Congress of the Second International has proved to be a false one, and the path it indicated to the working class, to be one of ruin. The perspectives of world development outlined by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, of the victorious construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the shattering of capitalist stabilisation, have been borne out by the entire trend of the development of events.

The characteristic feature of the first stage of the development of the class struggle, after the Sixth Congress, was chiefly a huge strike wave. A few months after the Sixth Congress, a wave of economic strikes, unheard of for a long time, swept through all the countries of Europe. The strike wave also took hold of India and China, and confirmed the correctness of the perspectives outlined by the Sixth Congress as to the growth of a revolutionary upsurge.

What were the tactics of the Communist Parties at that time? These tactics were expressed in the slogan of "Class Against Class," the working class against the capitalist class.

Social-Democracy, whose line was that of the peaceful development of capitalism, strove to bring about an ever-closer rapprochement with the capitalist State. In Germany, England and Denmark, the Social-Democrats entered the capitalist Government. The weaving together of the Social-Democratic Parties with the bourgeois State and the trust magnates faced the working class with the task of organising revolutionary leadership over their economic and political struggles.

The Communists in a number of countries were the main initiators and leaders in the strike struggles of that period, which were the main expressions of the growing revolutionary upsurge. At that time the Communist Parties, in spite of a number of sectarian mistakes committed, grew politically strong, while their ideological influence over the masses noticeably grew.

The second stage of the development of the class struggle in the years between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Comintern was the years of the severest sharpening of the world economic crisis. In these years, advanced groups of toilers repeatedly undertook a political struggle against capital, showing the correct path to the millions of the masses. It is sufficient to point to the big unemployed demonstrations of March 6, 1930, in the U.S.A., the number of demonstrations in Germany in 1930-31, the powerful unemployed demonstration in Budapest on September 1, 1930, the farmers' strike in the U.S.A. in 1932, the tremendous War Veterans' March on Washington in 1932, the strike in the British Navy at Invergordon on September 14, 1931, the uprising in the navy in Chile in September, 1931, the peasant uprising in Western Ukraine in 1932, the uprising in the Dutch Fleet on board the cruiser "De Zeven Provinciën" in February, 1933. During all this period, the Chinese revolution achieved great historic successes.

Why did these stormy revolutionary movements of the toilers, apart from China, remain clear outbreaks, episodes, but which brought no serious results for the liberation struggle? The reason is that those movements arose to a great extent spontaneously, without serious preparation, without organisationally covering all the forces, all the concrete objects of struggle. The

Communist Parties attempted to give these movements concrete slogans, to extend them and to raise them to a higher level. But Social-Democracy and the reformist trade union leaders hindered this by all means in their power. The Communist Parties proved as yet to be insufficiently strong and influential to be able to organise the masses who had risen spontaneously to the political struggle, and to extend this struggle and to ensure it a firm leadership.

It is sufficient to point to the **unemployment movement, the most characteristic expression of the class struggle in these years.** In spite of the will of Social-Democracy, the Communists in a number of countries succeeded in raising the unemployed movement to a considerable height. However, in spite of the stubborn struggle carried on by the advanced sections of the unemployed, this movement was not transformed into a struggle of the widest masses of the toilers, and at the beginning of 1932, this movement of the unemployed began to weaken.

This was caused by the criminal sabotage and the direct struggle against the unemployed movement by Social-Democracy, and this prevented the huge masses of unemployed feeling tangible improvements in their conditions, and gave rise to disillusionment and passivity among them. The employed workers, as a result of the sabotage carried on by Social-Democracy and the trade union leaders, remained indifferent to the want and hunger of the unemployed. This was the main reason why the unemployed movement began to weaken after several years of struggle.

The working class, split by the reformist leaders and enfeebled by the reformist policy pursued by the Social-Democratic and the trade union officials, was unable to render the necessary resistance to the bourgeoisie in their efforts to place all the burdens of the crisis on the backs of the toilers. The proletariat, split and disarmed by the reformists, was unable to become a centre of attraction for the petty-bourgeois toilers of town and country, who, just as the workers, suffered under the blows of the economic crisis. This condition of affairs with the workers made it possible for the German bourgeoisie to deal the German working class a heavy blow. The defeat of the German proletariat and the establishment in Germany of a Fascist dictatorship was the biggest event in the capitalist countries in the first three years of the economic crisis. The defeat of the proletariat

in Germany strengthened the brazenness of international reaction and encouraged the bourgeoisie to establish a Fascist regime in other countries.

At the end of this stage, the bourgeoisie succeeded in easing their situation at the expense of the workers, peasants and colonial peoples, and to create the conditions for the transition from the crisis to a depression of a special kind. **The bourgeoisie did not succeed, however, in weakening the world revolutionary front.** They did not succeed in smashing the Communist Party in Germany. In Spain, at this period, there was a mighty upsurge of the mass movement. The Chinese proletariat and peasants established the Chinese Soviet Republic. In all the capitalist and colonial countries, a new growth of a wave of strikes and peasant movements took place. The Soviet Union achieved a world historic victory by completing its First Five-Year Plan.

The basic defects in the work of a number of Communist Parties, both in the first and second stages of the development of the class struggle during the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Comintern were the underestimation of the political maturity of the masses, the neglect in a number of cases to carry on the stubborn and difficult work of leading the struggle of the masses for their daily economic and political demands. The mistaken line of many Communists was shown primarily in the trade union question and in the development of the economic struggle. In spite of the ruinous policy pursued by the reformists, the masses regarded the trade unions as their own organisations. Among many Communists, however, the view was widespread that the trade unions were not their organisations, while some even went so far as to talk of the trade unions being "schools of capitalism." Neglect of work in the reformist trade unions, and rejection of the united front with the trade union organisations, when economic struggles took place, led in some cases to the Communist Parties being isolated from the organised masses of the working class.

No less erroneous was the underestimation of the danger of Fascism and the failure to understand the need to carry on a struggle in defence of the remnants of bourgeois democracy, which happened in a number of cases.

All this hindered the growth of the influence of the Communist Parties and especially prevented them winning the

Social-Democratic workers for joint struggle.

The third stage in the development of the struggle between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses has been the period following the victory of Fascism in Germany up to the present day. The victory of Fascism in Germany did not lead, as Social-Democracy foretold, to a protracted period of reaction, to a counter-revolutionary situation. On the contrary, the actual facts of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany, on the one hand, and the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the other hand, led to the bankruptcy of the Second International, and to a turn in the sentiments of wide masses of workers, and primarily of the Social-Democratic workers and the workers organised in the reformist trade unions. The expression of this turn is the spontaneously developing movement for a broad united front, and the transition of the workers to active defence against the Fascists in their own countries. The events in 1934 in France, Austria and Spain are proof of this. In Austria and Spain, a political crisis broke out.

United front agreements between the Communist and Social-Democratic workers were concluded at this time in France, Austria, Spain and Italy. In England, the U.S.A., Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries, where the leaders of the Socialist Parties rejected the united front, mass working-class action takes place on the united front basis.

What are the perspectives?

The general crisis of capitalism, on the basis of which the economic crisis is developing, has created a situation in which unfavorable conditions are preserved for the development of economy, and which hinder capitalist economy from raising itself to any serious degree, and which lead to its further decay. The economic situation, which characterises the continued special kind of depression, dooms tens of millions of unemployed to hunger and hundreds of millions of toilers to a poverty-stricken existence. It is leading to a further deepening of the abyss between the small handful of finance capitalist monopolists and the main masses of the people.

The power of the bourgeoisie is becoming more and more precarious, and their reformist social buttress is becoming more and more shaky and is vanishing. The bourgeoisie are seeking a way out in Fascism and war. The proletariat are more and

more seeking a way out in the proletarian revolution.

The toiling masses are faced with the clear question—Fascism or Socialism—war or peace? The decision of the question one way or another depends on the power of the working class, on the work of their vanguard, on the Communists.

What are the immediate tasks? Comrade Pieck gave the following reply to this question in his concluding remarks:

"The road we are taking is the creation of a proletarian united front, the creation of trade union unity, the creation of a people's front of all toilers, the creation of a united revolutionary party of the proletariat on the tried theoretical and organisational foundations of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

"We, the Communists, are the initiators and organisers of the broadest fighting front of the workers for peace, freedom and bread and against the front of the exploiters and oppressors.

"The creation of such a front is no easy task. We Communists must know how to make ourselves understood by the masses, to speak to them in their own language, to capture the masses and to lead them.

"We must learn to lead in a common fight millions of people holding different views, convictions and outlooks. We must therefore so adapt a style and method of our work as to achieve the maximum contact with the masses in the shortest possible time.

"We Communists must know how to utilise every change in the policy of the bourgeoisie in each country; every antagonism within the ruling classes, in order to repulse reaction, Fascism, the war danger and the capitalist offensive.

"The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, have shown the way to the workers of the whole world.

"The victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union endows us, the Communists, and the masses with the strength to follow this example."

The workers of all countries are following the work of the Congress. And the world bourgeoisie are attentively following the Congress, as may be seen from the references made to it

in the leading bourgeois press throughout the world. The entire press in Europe and America is printing a tremendous amount of material about the Congress, and in connection with it.

Both the hysteria and the frenzy of the German Fascist press, as well as the more sober commentaries of the influential papers of other countries, show how great an international force the Comintern is, and the mortal fear that holds Fascism in face of the growing power of Communism, the grave-digger of Fascism and capitalism throughout the world. The serious British press, which slanders the Comintern, has been compelled to openly recognise this power. Thus, the "News Chronicle" (it will be sufficient to quote this one of many newspapers) recognises that the Communists have in recent years achieved definite successes, and states that:

"It is clear that this Congress has been transformed into an attacking force, into an open grandiose force directed against war and Fascism, and especially against German Fascism."

The speeches made on the report of the E.C.C.I show what a great force the world Party of Lenin and Stalin has become. Now the task is not to be content with the successes achieved. The resolution on the report states that:

"Now, when a political crisis is maturing in a number of countries, the most important and decisive task facing the Communists is not to be content with the successes achieved, but to march forward to new successes, to extend contacts with the working class, to win the confidence of millions of toilers, to transform the sections of the Communist International into mass Parties, for the Communist Parties to secure influence over the majority of the working class, and thus to ensure the conditions necessary for the victory of the proletarian revolution."

These are the most important directions given by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Parties, on the basis of the tremendous work done by the Congress in connection with the discussion of the report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Fifteen Years of Communism in Australia

By R. DIXON

The following is the full text of a speech on the history of the Communist Party of Australia delivered by Comrade Dixon to No. 1 District Conference:—

FIFTEEN years ago, on October 30, 1920, the Communist Party of Australia was formed. That was an event of great importance. It was the starting point of that movement destined to organise and lead the Australian working class to victory over capitalism.

The history of 15 years of Communism in Australia has been one of struggle for Marxism-Leninism; it has been a history of untiring efforts to connect the revolutionary vanguard with the mass labor movement and to bring to this latter Socialist consciousness.

To understand the difficulties which the Communist Party had to overcome in those fifteen years, a brief glance at the main features of the labor movement of this country is necessary.

Isolation of Labor Movement from Socialism

The main stream of the labor movement in this country is trade unionism. It developed spontaneously, it was unionism of the pure and simple brand, having no aim other than that of making the lives of the working class under capitalism more tolerable. The Labor Party, which represented the first attempt towards independent political organisation of the working class, grew out of the trade unions. It became what Lenin described as a "bourgeois labor party."

In such company as this, in the Labor party and the upper circles of the trade unions, Marxism, the revolutionary theory of the working class, was outcast. Socialism to all intents and purposes was dead. The class struggle, in the words of these fakirs, was doomed to gradually disappear. Arbitration was to replace the barbaric strike weapon. Class peace was to pervade the very atmosphere.

Such was the idyllic picture painted by the social traitors of the past.

It needs no arguments to-day to prove that they were bad prophets. Neither sentimentalism nor pious hopes could reconcile the interests of the working class with those of capitalism, for they are diametrically opposed. The development of capitalism in Australia, as in all other countries, was not in the direction

pointed to by the apostles of class peace, it proceeded in the direction indicated by Marx, to a greater concentration of capital on one hand and greater impoverishment of the working class on the other, to the sharpening of class antagonisms and the unfolding of the class struggle which leads inevitably to the destruction of capitalism by the proletariat.

The fact remains, however, that the labor movement developed spontaneously, isolated from Socialism. It naturally tended to come under the ideological influence of the ruling class. Lenin has pointed out that this is the inevitable course the labor movement takes when it develops spontaneously. This does not mean that he frowned upon the spontaneous movement. Far from it. Lenin always greeted this movement with enthusiasm as representing "nothing more or less than consciousness in an embryonic form." He never tired of insisting that the task of revolutionaries was to connect themselves with the spontaneous movement, investing it with Socialist consciousness. This was the problem of those revolutionary groups which existed prior to the formation of the Communist Party. It was the problem of the Communist Party from the time of its formation.

Whilst the Labor party grew out of trade unions, and never lost connections with them, the Socialist parties, prior to the C.P.A., were formed apart from the unions and never made strong and durable connections with them. These latter, the Socialist Labor party, the Australian Socialist party, the Industrial Workers of the World, and a series of other little sects, had their own brand of Marxism and were rabidly sectarian. They stood aloof from the labor movement and jeered at its backwardness. Instead of Marxism being as Engels demanded, "a guide to action," they transformed it into a lifeless dogma.

The S.L.P., for instance, was for Marxist "purity." It rejected entirely the struggle for immediate demands, and had nothing but contempt for the economic issues. For it, anything short of Socialism was reformist. It combined this stupidity with a failure to grasp the nature of the capitalist State and the fact that Socialism demanded the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whilst having a somewhat better position on the State, the A.S.P. held a similar position on the question of economic demands.

The I.W.W. took another view—that of anarcho-syndicalism.

It did not understand the State, rejected entirely the political struggle, vilified political organisation, and declared that the emancipation of labor was possible only on the industrial field. It preached the gospel of the O.B.U., and bitterly assailed craft unionism, the reformist trade union officials, arbitration and the Labor party. It was sectarian to the extreme, and was incapable of raising the mass movement to the level of the political struggle against capitalism.

These organisations, the A.S.P., S.L.P., I.W.W., as well as others, contributed much to the exposure of the Labor party, arbitration and class collaboration. They all suffered, however, from one common complaint—sectarianism.

The Effects of the War

The war was to have a profound effect upon the development of the working class. The whole series of treacherous acts of the Labor party prior to the war, came to fruition in the form of the most infamous betrayal in all history when war broke out. The Labor party, carrying the reformist officials with it, supported the war under the slogan, "To the last man, to the last shilling." Such treachery was not without repercussions. The Labor party was split from top to bottom, and its leaders, Hughes, Holman, and others, went over openly to form a new party with the ruling class.

The attitude of the Labor party and the trade union officials disorganised the resistance of the masses. They were confused, dismayed, and stampeded, in the first stages, at any rate, into the war. Only at a later stage did the opposition against war commence to take real mass organised form, and then it was to defeat conscription, but not to go further than that.

If the war revealed the true role of the Labor party, it also exposed the ineffectiveness of the left wing organisations. Of these latter, only the I.W.W. was in any way serious to the Government. It was easily suppressed, due to the fact that it was mainly a propagandist organisation with no strong connections with the unions, an organisation which had failed to grasp an understanding of the need for and the methods of illegal working.

The S.L.P. and the A.S.P. were incapable of taking advantage of the situation created by the war to press home to victory the struggle of the working class. Due to their sectarianism, they were isolated. Whilst they indicted capitalism and waged a strong propaganda campaign against conscription, they were

bankrupt when it came to a positive, practical programme of how to fight against war.

In 1917, the October Revolution shook the world. The Russian working class, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, and the great Lenin, showed the masses of the whole world, not only how to put an end to the war, but more important still, how to exploit the situation created by the war to establish the power of the working class. A new epoch had dawned in the history of mankind, an epoch of proletarian revolutions leading to the establishment of Socialism in all countries.

The Russian October unleashed a powerful surge of revolution throughout the world. In 1918-19-20 uprisings took place throughout Europe. Revolution destroyed the monarchy in Germany and came to the verge of proletarian dictatorship. Soviets were established in Finland, Hungary, Bavaria, whilst in Italy the working class seized the factories. In all other capitalist countries the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses reached high levels. It was in this atmosphere that the Communist International was formed in March, 1919. Its formation was rendered necessary by the ideological collapse of the Second International at the outbreak of the war, when the majority of the parties connected with it departed from internationalism, and supported their own ruling class. Its formation was made possible by the October Revolution, and the growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries.

These events, the war, the October Revolution and the formation of the Communist International, had a decisive influence on the founding of the Communist Party of Australia.

The differentiation in the labor movement which began with the war proceeded even more rapidly at the end of the war; the swing away from the Labor party was a very decided one. The trade unions tended towards syndicalism, whilst a strong left wing appeared in the industrial movement, which was also connected with the Labor party. Revolution was in the air, and the Labor party, under the mass pressure adopted what was known as the "Red Objective," Socialisation of Industry, in order to placate the unions and to save itself from isolation.

The characteristic feature of the mass movement at this time was its groping after a revolutionary position. The characteristic feature of the various groups propagating Socialism was their isolation from the mass movement, their confusion on the basic questions of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics.

Such was the situation at the time of the formation of the Communist Party in October, 1920. The material which went to make up the new organisation came from the left wing of the Labor party and the revolutionary organisations. Naturally, such a composition, very confused, sectarian, and with a strong mixture of opportunism, made itself felt. The young Communist Party was unable to take advantage of the extraordinary situation to connect itself with the mass movement. The great revolutionary fervor of the masses passed it by.

True, the Communists had some contact with the trade unions. J. S. Garden, secretary of the N.S.W. Labor Council, and other trade union officials, were members of the Party. There was absent, however, well organised groups of Communists in the industries and trade unions. There was also absent a strong core of leaders, of Marxist-Leninists within the Party, capable of estimating correctly the tasks at the moment, and with the ability to direct the activity of leading trade union people who were soaked in reformist ideas, and whose intentions, in many instances, were opportunist.

Thus, those two things, vital to a Communist Party—a leadership equipped with revolutionary theory, and strong organisation in the industries and unions, were missing.

An event of tremendous importance at this time was the publication of those monumental works of Lenin, "Left Wing Communism," and "State and Revolution." They dealt out devastating blows to the incorrect, sectarian theories of those who had come from the I.W.W. and the Socialist parties, and to the opportunism of the left wing Labor party elements. They put the question of the need for theory, of the urgency of the C.P. going to the masses, of resolutely prosecuting the class struggle, of the significance of the connections between economics and politics, of carrying the fight of the working class against the employers to the destruction of the capitalist State and the establishment of the power of the proletariat.

Growing Pains

The first period of the new organisation was one of struggle for a united Communist Party. Almost immediately following the inaugural conference in October, 1920, which was attended by various left wing groups, with a view to forming one Party, a split took place and the A.S.P. broke away. It was not until 1922 that unity was finally secured. In the meantime, two

groups existed, both calling themselves the Communist Party. Such disunity in the revolutionary camp was a source of great weakness and no doubt contributed to the inability of the Party to connect with the mass movement. The Communist International demanded the establishment of a single Party and withheld recognition until this came about.

Whilst this was the position in relation to the C.P. of A., other processes were at work. Important changes in Australian capitalism, which had commenced with the outbreak of the war, were rapidly maturing. The war brought to an end the epoch of isolation and thrust Australian capitalism headlong into the maelstrom of world politics. It was instrumental in giving a great impetus to industrial development. This process continued in the post-war period, despite the dislocation which occurred immediately following the war, as a result of the demobilisation of troops and the transference of production from a war to a peace-time basis.

Some figures to show the rate of development: In 1914 factories numbered 18,427, by 1928 they had increased to 23,000. The volume of industrial production increased from £65,327,000 in 1917, to £159,759,000 in 1928, an increase of more than 140 per cent.

The expansion of capitalism between 1922 and 1928 was particularly rapid. This was the period of stabilisation. It was also the period of the drawing of Australian capital into the sphere of world competition for markets, of growing tariff walls constructed to keep out foreign manufactures, whilst allowing for the dumping of local production into other markets.

The strengthening of capitalism gave a new lease of life to reformism. The revolutionary wave following the war commenced to die down, and the Labor party grew and strengthened its connections with the masses; Parliamentary illusions and belief in arbitration began to extend.

The whole situation made more difficult the tasks confronting the Communist Party which was still weak, confused, and isolated from the masses. At this time Lenin wrote:

"In the vast majority of countries our Parties are far from being what real Communist Parties, real vanguards of the only revolutionary class should be, with all their members participating in the struggle, in the movement, in the daily life of the masses."

That characterisation fits the Communist Party of Australia. From the time of its formation until unity was accomplished in 1922 it was incapable of rising to the tasks confronting it.

Following the realisation of unity it went through a long protracted process of struggle against various forms of opportunism to master Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International raised the slogan: "To the masses," and advanced the tactics of the united front as the main weapon for winning to the side of Communism the majority of the working class. The application of these tactics met with opposition and also distortion. Influenced largely by Garden and the opportunist elements surrounding him, there was a tendency to replace real mass Communist propaganda, agitation and activity, with political intrigue. Efforts were directed towards capturing the A.L.P. executive, whilst there was a failure to build strong factory and local organisations.

In the 1925 State elections the Party came out on an independent platform, but the support was very poor, Garden receiving barely 300 votes. The poor results, together with the slow advance of the Party, brought to a head the liquidationist tendencies which had already developed within. Definite proposals were made that the Communist Party should disband, should wind up its activities, and that its members join and work in the Labor Party. The liquidators were expelled. The Communist Party was sufficiently healthy to crush such backward and reactionary tendencies. That such views should be held was due to the strengthening of capitalism, the growth of reformism, the weakening of the working-class movement. It was evidence of the ideological pressure of reformism within the ranks of the Communist Party. The struggle against the liquidators culminated with the expulsion of Garden at the end of 1926.

The whole period, from the establishment of unity to the shattering of the liquidationist tendencies, was one of struggle for Bolshevisation, for the mastering of the tasks of the Party, in the light of Leninism. Successes were forthcoming, the understanding of organisation was improved, the attitude towards economic and political struggles changed, and a better approach was made to the trade unions, whilst distortions of the question of the State were resolutely resisted.

The Struggle Against Right Opportunism in 1929

Fundamental changes were coming over capitalism. The period of world stabilisation was reaching its end, the danger of war and of intervention in the Soviet Union sharpened enormously, whilst a great revolutionary upsurge throughout the world was gathering.

From 1926 onwards in Australia, we witnessed the drastic preparations of the ruling class for the attack on the working-class movement. The growth of industry, the struggle for markets, and intense competition had caused the employers to plan to reduce the living standards of the Australian worker to European levels. Vicious anti-working-class legislation was introduced, legislation which provided for outlawing working-class organisations, such as the Communist Party, for the breaking of strikes, suppression of free speech, banning working-class literature and limiting freedom of the press.

In 1927 the first signs of the agrarian crisis began to appear, which was to be followed later, in 1929, by the great industrial crisis, which became interwoven with the agrarian crisis.

Changes were also taking place in the working class. The undermining of the stability of capitalism was weakening the basis of reformism. The resistance of the workers was growing, the ebb in the struggle was making way for a new revolutionary upsurge.

The offensive commenced in 1928. In the middle of that year the marine cooks were attacked, to be followed by the waterside workers, in September; in January, 1929, the timber workers came under the axe, and in March, the miners. The resistance of the working class was terrific. It knocked into a cocked hat the reformist theories of class peace, it smashed up the industrial peace conference, convened by the employers at the beginning of 1929, with the collusion of the Labor party and trade union officials, it revealed the great solidarity and fighting capacity of the Australian masses. This resistance was the more remarkable when the role of the reformists is considered. In the watersiders' dispute they treacherously betrayed the struggle, in the timber workers' strike they proceeded to stifle mass activity, and in the northern miners' struggle attempted time and time again to get the men to accept the owners' terms.

The waterside workers, timber workers and miners were the main lines of resistance to the employers' offensive. When they

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF VICTORIA

were defeated, the workers began to retreat, the Premiers' Plan became possible, the conditions existed for the general lowering of the living standards of the working class.

From 1928 a new situation developed in Australia, one which called for the application of new tactics, new methods of work, and new methods of leadership. The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, pointing to the changes in the economic situation and the class shiftings on an international scale, demanded that the Communist Parties come out independently of the Labor parties, that they strengthen the struggle against reformism and also against opportunism within the Communist Parties. At the same time, it advanced the tactics of the united front from below, the independent leadership of the struggles of the workers. The majority of the leadership of the Australian Party rejected the directives of the Comintern. They were unable to grasp the meaning of the changes in the economic situation, they could not understand the enormous sharpening of the class struggle that was taking place, they were incapable of advancing the new methods of work and leadership demanded by the new situation.

Kavanagh, at that time one of the leaders of the C.C., spoke of the masses being in "headlong retreat." This, despite the gigantic battles on the waterfront, of the timber workers, and miners.

Instead of sharpening the struggle against the Labor party and coming out on a platform independent of it, the majority of the Central Committee decided to call on the working class to vote for the Labor party in the 1929 elections, on the plea that this would temporarily disorganise the employers' offensive, and provide a "breathing space" for the working class. The utter ludicrousness of this is quite apparent to-day. In place of the "breathing space," the Scullin Government fathered the Premiers' Plan, and in every way sharpened the attacks against the working class.

In the Central Committee, L. Sharkey and also Moxon, who was later expelled from the Party, demanded an independent policy. They opposed the attitude of the majority of the C.C. in calling for support for the Labor Party, and cabled to the Communist International, drawing its attention to what was happening. The Comintern directed the C.C. to come out independent of the Labor Party and run Communist candidates. The

majority of the C.C. refused to accept the C.I. decision and persisted with their policy of support for the A.L.P. Their reasons for this they outlined in a statement to the C.I., in which the following appeared: "To consider that the Party is strong and influential enough to operate the 'new line' federally in the present circumstances is to grossly overestimate the strength of the Party."

Such were the puerile arguments advanced. The weakness of the Party, which, mind you, was due precisely to the very policy of tailing behind the Labor Party, was advanced as the reason for rejecting the new line.

In the eyes of the Right leadership the tasks confronting the Party were "not yet to lead the working class in the challenge to capitalism, but to popularise the basic ideas of the class struggle amongst the workers, their wives and children." ("Workers' Weekly," August 2, 1929.) Such was the conception of the Party and its tasks—just a propaganda sect at a moment when great working class battles were being fought out. The Communist International had a vastly different view. It declared, in a letter to the Australian Party, in October 1929, that the C.P. "should be the leader of the working class and the principal driving force in its political and economic struggles."

The Significance of the 1929 Struggle

What did the opportunist line of the majority of the Central Committee show? That the strengthening of reformism in Australia had left its mark on the Communist Party. The leadership was hypnotised by the power of the reformists and our seeming weakness. It was unable to understand that, small as the Party was, the sharpening of the class struggle and the growth of the mass movement was to bring masses into action which would be a mighty plus to the revolutionary movement and a minus to reformism.

The whole of the Party membership in the various centres, Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, and coalfields, was in revolt, was bitterly opposed to the opportunist line of the majority of the C.C. At the 1929 Congress the Right wing was routed, and in the months following, Ryan and Kavanagh, two leaders of the opportunists, were expelled from the Party.

Great significance attaches to the 1929 Congress. The policy of the Rights was in essence a liquidatory one, and had it prevailed, may well have led to the collapse of the Party. Its vic-

tory would have meant a great strengthening of reformism, leaving it in undisputed control of the mass movement. Such a strengthening of reformism would, in turn, have meant a strengthening of the position of capitalism, for reformism is the main support of the ruling class in the ranks of the workers. Its strength is the strength of capitalism.

The 1929 Congress represents a turning point in the history of the working class of this country, and more particularly, of the Communist Party. Without the defeat of the Right wing, preparation of the masses for the impending class battles was out of the question; it would have been impossible to advance to the present position occupied by the revolutionaries in the struggle against reformism.

The success of the struggle against opportunism within the Party created the conditions for the real development of a broad cadre of Communist leaders, trained in the understanding and spirit of Marxism-Leninism, capable of leading the masses into the struggle against capital.

Capitalism, from the middle of 1929, entered into the deepest economic crisis in history. The years from 1930 onwards have seen a marked exposure of the Labor Party, and a definite weakening of the positions of reformism. The workers had the experience of four Labor Governments (in South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, and the Federal Parliament), they felt the lash of the Premiers' Plan which these Governments were almost wholly responsible for. Lang's gyrations in 1931, his ignominious retreat and then defeat in 1932 did not help the Labor Party.

The first years of the crisis witnessed many struggles, mainly of the unemployed—struggles not of such wide dimensions as 1928-29, but marked by great mass activity and the growth of independent leadership. It was a time when many new and capable forces were thrown up from the workers' ranks.

The Communist Party advanced rapidly, both organisationally and ideologically, its contact with the masses, particularly the unemployed, was strengthened. Serious distortions, however, began to manifest themselves, particularly in relation to the trade union question.

The tactics of independent leadership, which in essence means the widest activation of the masses in the preparation for and the carrying through of struggles, was taken to mean independent of the trade unions, that is, of those very organisa-

tions established by the workers to wage the economic struggle. It was considered impossible to win the trade unions to a militant position, it was strongly insisted on that there must be no capitulation to what was termed "trade union legalism."

Under these circumstances there was a tendency to turn away from the unions, and bitter sectarian abuse of the reformist officials was engaged in. For unfinancial unionists and unorganised workers, the same rights were demanded as for those who were financial. On many trade union problems a negative attitude was taken up.

Such mistakes could not but help to retard the growth of the Party. It would be wrong, however, to see only the weaknesses of the Party from the end of 1929 until the end of 1932. There was much that was positive in our work, we have real results to record in that period. The strings binding the Party to reformism were broken. The differences in principle between Communism and reformism on the basic questions confronting the working class, were raised sharply and clarified. The independent role of the Communist Party was established finally and irrevocably. Without that our present position would not have been possible. The years from 1929 to the end of 1932 created the conditions for the most rapid advancement of the Party in its history; that it slipped into the bog of sectarianism during that period was the weakness.

The Turn to the Masses

From the end of 1932 the struggles of the employed workers began to take on a more important role in the general movement of the workers—the strike movement was once again on the up-grade.

At the same time profound changes were taking place in the work of the Party. From 1933 up until the present might well be described as the period of Bolshevisation of the C.P. of A., for during that time we witnessed the connecting of the vanguard of the working class with the main stream of the labor movement—with the trade unions. **The isolation of Socialism from the working class movement has come to an end.** No longer has reformism undisputed control, no longer is Marxism outcast—the Communists have established deep, firm and enduring contacts with the masses, in the industries and unions, amongst the unemployed, contacts who will grow in number and in strength daily. They are injecting Socialist consciousness into the mass movement, giving to it a new virile fighting spirit, clear aims, and more powerful organization.

What were the main achievements in the field of mass work since the end of 1932?

Firstly, the clarification of the trade union question, the turn of the Party towards the unions, the winning of a whole series of trade union positions, and everywhere strengthening revolutionary influence.

The basic principles of the trade union question have been worked out. The future will see only a further elaboration, a broadening and deepening of the main points on which the Party is now working. What in this connection are the tasks now confronting us? The final liquidation of sectarianism, which hangs like a millstone around our necks, retarding the development. Theoretically we are equipped for this; now everything depends on our work.

The second important achievement was the clarification of the tactics of the united front and the development of a whole series of united actions on the part of the working class.

Thirdly, the building of the Party to a membership of 3,000, the establishment of strong factory and trade union fractions, the development of a broad cadre of leaders equipped with the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

Such is the situation to-day. The perspective for the future is one of great class battles, of revolutionary struggles leading to proletarian dictatorship. This we must have in mind in determining future tactics.

Since 1932, capitalism has improved its position. Production already approaches the levels of 1929, profits in many cases soar above the peak year, whilst wages are 33 per cent. lower and unemployment is four times greater. The whole burden of the crisis has been passed on to the masses. The most colossal robbery of the working class and small farmers has taken place. Wage slavery is becoming more intolerable; powerful mass impulses are at work, discontent is widespread, the strike movement is rising—with increased persistence and determination the working class are demanding shorter hours and increased wages.

The employers and the Government, fearful of the sharpening class antagonism, are more actively participating in the war plans of British imperialism, and are proceeding to the open attack against the Communist Party, with a view to declaring it unlawful. By these latter means it hopes to again secure the isolation of Communism from the labor movement.

The Next Tasks of the Party

Such is the picture at the moment—the rising tide of struggle, the attack on the Communist Party, the drive to war. Those are the main issues to-day; they are the issues which will be in the forefront of the decisions of the National Congress of the Party, shortly to be held.

The Eleventh Party Congress will be the most important in the history of the movement; it will be a congress of preparation of the working class for the decisive battles against capital. The lines of such preparation will be the uniting of the forces of the working class for the economic and political struggles, for the fight against Fascism and war.

Successes have already been attained in uniting the workers in struggle. The united front to-day is no longer a slogan that finds little or no response; it has become a powerful factor in the lives of the masses, a real thing in their struggles, unifying their ranks, inspiring them to greater efforts and increasing the chances of victory. This condition has not been arrived at just merely by sending letters to the A.L.P. proposing unity. Unity in action has been achieved in strikes, demonstrations, amongst the unemployed, in the shops and unions, in elections and in defence of democratic rights, because of the daily and untiring work of the Communists amongst the masses, because they have shown to the Labor Party workers in their own experiences that with us the united front is not a gesture, or a manoeuvre, but rather that we are absolutely sincere in our desire for united action and are prepared to go to almost any lengths to achieve it.

The experience of the last few months proves beyond doubt that the main avenue for securing unity in action is through the unions. Every real success we have had, whether in the elections on the South Coast, in the struggle against mechanisation in the North, or in defence of democratic rights, was the result of working through the unions. Obviously, in the future much more attention should be given to this.

The successes in the united front work up to the present have been from below. The Party also wants an agreement for joint action with Executive of the Labor Party. Is this outside the bounds of possibility? We think not. The Communist Party is no longer the weak organisation of 1920 or 1929—it is a powerful factor in the lives of the working class. In the past the Labor Party could afford to ignore us entirely. Not so in the present. We have just witnessed the calling of a special

A.C.T.U. Congress, with a view to trying to counter the great support for the policy of the C.P. against war. For some months the "Labor Daily" has been screeching abuse at the Communists who have been so successful in exposing its reactionary policy of "neutrality," and desertion of internationalism. Are these things accidental? No, it is a clear indication of the growth of Communism, which is not merely exposing the reactionary policy of the Labor Party, but with ruthless persistence is driving it from position after position. The sharpening class struggle finds its reflection in the labor movement in the struggle between Communism and reformism, between proletarian and bourgeois ideology. No longer can the Labor Party afford to wipe us off as of yore. It does, however, still ignore our united front proposals. The time is arriving, however, when it will not be able to do even this, when acceptance will be necessary. We look forward to that moment with enthusiasm and work for it daily. It is not because we have suddenly come to the conclusion that they are good fellows that we are anxious for a joint agreement; it is because we are aware of the powerful impetus such an agreement would give to the working class fight against capitalism. An enormous strengthening of the working class would take place.

Such a united front agreement would not only mean a great accession of strength to the working class by virtue of the unity attained in its ranks; it would also exercise great influence on all other sections of the population. It would attract like a mighty magnet the middle classes, it would promote a people's front against war and Fascism on a national scale.

Our perspectives do not stop at that. The Communists are also setting their course to unite the Australian masses under one political leadership, to establish one party of the working class. On what basis would this Party be established? Certainly not on the basis of the class collaborationist policy of the Labor Party. For 44 years the Labor Party has been in existence, frequently it has held power, but during the whole of that time the power of capital was never in danger, was never menaced. To unite the working class on the programme of the A.L.P. would be to condemn it forever to the degradation of wage slavery and the brutal oppression of capitalism. The policy of the Labor Party is not the basis for the establishment of one party of the Australian working class.

Such a party must take as its starting point the class struggle and the recognition that this struggle leads inevitably to prole-

tarian dictatorship. Its programme must be revolutionary, its aim must be the violent overthrow of capitalism. One party of the Australian working class, with one aim—proletarian dictatorship—that is our objective, that is where we are moving to-day.

* * *

Fifteen years of Communism has brought us to the point where we can place the tasks of the Party in such a manner. We are taking the path at the end of which is freedom for the working class and a newer and fuller life for the whole of mankind. It is the path of proletarian revolution. Great difficulties confront us and, in order to be successful, every stage of the struggle must be carefully prepared. Comrade Stalin at the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U. declared: "Victory never comes by itself—it must be won." We must prepare for victory and that means to prepare well.

At the moment, the forces arrayed against the working class are the stronger, but only because the workers are disorganised, disunited and confused. Once this is overcome the working class will constitute the mightiest power in the land, it will smash down all obstacles. It is the task of the Communists to overcome this confusion, this disunity and disorganisation.

The Trade Unions and War, 1914-1935

By J. N. RAWLING

IN August, 1914, the Australian trade union leaders played no great part in mobilising the workers against the war—just as, or because, they had played no great part in opposition to militarism and war in the years preceding the war. On the other hand, they were almost as united and enthusiastic in support of the war as were the Labor politicians. The unions in Australia, before the war, were saturated with a craft outlook and even with the belief that they were, and of right ought to be, non-political organisations. Added to this were the facts that the revolutionary organisations had neglected the unions, and that the Labor Party had been able to mobilise behind it the support of those unions that were naturally swung in behind the Socialist Parties in Europe. The Australian Labor Party was no Socialist party—it was a Liberal party basing itself on the unions and the working class and seeking their support. Because

of this character, it mobilised the unions and the workers in support of capitalism and capitalist rule. It was able to do this the more easily because of the support of many radical and Socialist thinkers and workers, who worked within the Labor Party, and of the part played by the union leaders, from whose ranks, in the majority of cases, came the Labor politicians.

It is too simple an explanation of such a state of affairs to say that the unionists got the leaders they deserved. For the part played by leaders in the unions and by their control of the union apparatus can hardly have its importance exaggerated. So, if the history of the Labor Party during the last forty years has been one of promise and betrayal, the history of the unions during the same period has been one of alternating periods of militancy and disillusionment, brought about by the leading of them by their leaders into the blind alleys of constitutionalism, arbitration, and the support of the Labor Party. The record of successive union leaders is a record of the cooling-down of red-hot militants, one after the other. No, the explanation reaches deeper. It is based on the opportunity given to careerists, unscrupulous schemers, and even to weak-kneed and theoretically weak idealists by the lack of contact between the masses and the revolutionary organisations, by the consequent hold that the Labor Party and reformism generally had, and by the craft outlook that was fostered by the better economic conditions in Australia that thousands of immigrants coming here each year found, and the nationalism, the individualism, and lack of political consciousness that those better conditions had evolved.

Radical and militant the workers of Australia had been many times before 1914—e.g., in 1890 and 1910—and each occasion left them politically more conscious. And in 1914 there were many who were in opposition to the war, but the success that was made of recruiting and the undoubted popularity of the war in the first months prove that the opponents of the war were merely on the fringe of the working-class movement. The unions, in the majority of cases, and the union leaders almost to a man, supported the war.

We have already pointed out in previous articles that it was the Labor Party—and we can add the union leaders—that made the riveting of compulsory training upon the youth of Australia possible. Without the support of the Labor Party, or, to put

it positively, if the Labor Party and the unions had opposed it strenuously, compulsory military training could not have been imposed. So, in the war, the support of the unions was necessary to the carrying on of the war. As Lloyd George said in England, when he was addressing the Trade Union Congress, "We can win this war with you; we cannot win it without you." In Australia, with a majority of Labor Governments in power and the union leaders enthusiastic in support of the war, opposition to it was at a minimum. What else could be expected?—after a quarter of a century of a Labor Party and the mobilisation of the workers in times of peace into a military machine being prepared for the times of war that were now upon them!

In England we do read of the refusal of the South Wales Miners' Federation to listen to the suggestion of the Admiralty that some collieries should be worked on Tuesday and Wednesday (August 4 and 5), which were holidays. The reason for the refusal was given that the production of the coal desired would have encouraged Britain's intervention in the war in Europe! A definitely political, an anti-war object! In Australia, the Newcastle miners were on strike for the abolition of the afternoon shift when war broke out. They refused to allow the war to interfere with their strike, and did not go back to work. The two cases illustrate the militant attitude of those Australian unions who believed that the industrial war had to be carried on even while another war was being waged in Europe, and the political consciousness of the Welsh miners, who refused to work in an effort to prevent the war. It was not very long before one of the miners' lodges on the northern fields (N.S.W.) was expelling a member because he refused to give a donation to the Patriotic Fund!

When war broke out, or just before, many unions rushed to declare their loyalty and support of the Government. In Victoria, on August 3, the day before war was declared and two days before it was known in Australia, the Public Service Association passed the following resolution and presented it to the Premier, Sir Alexander Peacock:

"That we tender the Government an assurance of thorough loyalty to the empire in the present crisis, and tender our services to the Government in any capacity required." ("S.M.H." 5/8/14.)

In N.S.W. the management of the Naval Dockyard, at Cockatoo Island were gratified by the passage of this resolution by the **Boilermakers' Union**:

"At the last meeting of the Boilermakers' Union, it was decided that all industrial awards, as far as overtime is concerned, in the Defence and Military Departments, be suspended until further notice, to enable the necessary repairs to be carried out, and the union render every assistance necessary." ("S.H.M." 7/8/14.)

On the same day the Australasian Society of Engineers also agreed to waive the matter of overtime on Cockatoo Island. On the following day, the secretary of the Lithgow branch of the same union sent the following wire to the Minister for Defence:

"My committee has instructed me to convey to you an expression of loyalty and its intention to help in every possible way during the European crisis."
("S.M.H." 8/8/14.)

The same issue of the "**Herald**" reported the following touching incident:

"The demarcation dispute was to have been considered at a meeting of the Electrical Trades Union, on Thursday night, but the meeting decided that the claims of the nation were of paramount importance and the secretary was loudly cheered when, in moving that the questions involved in the demarcation dispute be regarded as postponed indefinitely, he stated that the services of the members of the union were unreservedly at the disposal of the Defence Authorities, to be utilised in such a manner and under such circumstances as those entrusted with the safety of Australia and the Empire might deem necessary."

Expressions of loyalty rained in upon the Governments: Civil servants, clerks and warehousemen, and the Western Districts Labor Council (Lithgow), which last-named resolved:

"That this Council expresses its loyalty to the mother country, and promises to do all in its power to maintain the prestige of the nation." ("S.M.H." 13/8/14.)

Then the Mill Employees' Union, the executive of which passed the following resolution:

"Recognising the extreme gravity of the present crisis, and realising the possibility of the position becoming increasingly complicated, thereby occasioning probable hardship upon the citizens of this State and our fellow-Britons overseas, and with a sincere desire to assist in ensuring the continuity of the manufacture of our staple article of diet, namely, flour, we, as representing the flour mill operatives throughout the State, express to the State Government our preparedness to do all that in our power lies by combining with our employers, the flour mill proprietors, and with the Government, to maintain and, if necessary, increase the output of flour as occasion demands." ("S.M.H." 14/8/14.)

In the railways, we read ("S.M.H." 19/8/14) that the **Railway Traffic Employees' Association** decided to make a collection for the patriotic fund, while R. Corish, organiser of the **Amalgamated Railway and Tramway Service Association**, addressing railwaymen at Lithgow said that

"wages claims had been held up by the Wages Boards owing to the war. When things assumed normal conditions again all these would be gone on with. At present, **no reasonable man could expect an increase in wages.** Many large firms in Sydney were working only half-time and he was convinced that railwaymen did not expect the Wages Boards to be gone on with under such unfortunate circumstances. On the contrary, he knew, they were to a man behind the empire and prepared to bear their portion of the burden of defence." ("S.M.H." 1/10/14.)

It is recorded, not that he was howled down, but that his remarks were greeted with applause!

The N.S.W. State Council of the Australasian Society of Engineers early in August passed this motion:

"That this State Council pledges itself to assist the Government in maintaining industrial peace during the present war crisis. And instructs each individual member to suspend all controversies, and remain loyal to their Government and officers, thereby assisting to lighten the troubles which may confront us at any time." ("S.M.H." 10/8/14.)

A similar story is to be told of the other States. In **West Australia**:

"The State Executive of the Labor Federation last night decided to ask the Government to convene a conference of representatives of the Government, Chambers of Commerce and Manufactures and the Labor Federation in order to discuss the whole industrial aspect of the position arising out of the present crisis.

"Mr. M'Callum, secretary of the Federation, says quite a large number of trade unionists have come to him and stated their preparedness to do anything within their power in defence of the country." ("S.M.H." 12/8/14.)

Later on, we find the same Federation urging members of the railway unions not to give to voluntary funds (patriotic) but to agitate for a graduated tax! ("S.M.H.," 1/10/14.)

While the union leaders were swearing their loyalty to the Empire, the war was already taking its toll by increasing unemployment and poverty. We read of mines closing down in Broken Hill, Newcastle and Cobar—and of prices going up. Speaking in Parliament, on August 6, N.S.W. Labor Minister Estell (Labor and Industry) said:

"Within 72 hours of the declaration of war, there were between four and five thousand employees deprived of their means of subsistence. At Broken Hill, my information says there are 2000 men thrown out of employment. You heard from the local member that it is 8000. At Cobar, there are 300 men out, Newcastle and district 700, Waratah 1000, wharf laborers 1000, and other trades probably 1000. In all, with the usual number of unemployed under normal conditions, it is estimated there are about 12,000 out of work."

And the process continued—in one issue of the "Herald": Slackening of hands in the meat industry; tailoring establishments are to work half-time; 120 bricklayers are put off at the B.H.P., in Newcastle; and so on. In Broken Hill, on August 25, the Distress Relief Committee passed £334 in coupons, making a total to date of £1100!

What were the remedial actions of the Government [Holman Labor, remember!] and the union leaders? On August 6, **Cann**, Chief Secretary, and **Hall**, Minister for Justice, were present at the meeting of the Sydney Trades and Labor Council which agreed to work with the Ministry. Hall wanted to know what he was to do. He could see only two alternatives: (1) reduction of wages by 2/- to 3/- per day; (2) rationing [he did not use that term] of work available. **The Council, E. J. Kavanagh, M.L.C., the secretary, leading, agreed to support the second alternative!** ("Newcastle Morning Herald," 7/8/14.) Kavanagh proposed that the part of the awards enforcing the payment of a full week's wages be suspended. This was agreed to.

Following upon this meeting, the Employers' Federation received a letter from the Trades and Labor Council asking for a conference to discuss questions affecting employer and employee arising from the war. That conference was held on August 25. The employers' proposal was to "distribute the work available among the employees on an equitable basis." The Labor Council agreed and promised to urge the affiliated unions to approach the Wages Boards to have the awards amended to give effect to the employers' proposals—in other words to allow rationing! ("S.M.H." 26/8/14.). Thus did the Labor Government give the lead and the union leaders carry out the work of introducing rationing and the consequent reduction of the mass wages. Not only were they supporters of the war, but in favor of the proposition that the workers should pay for it!

A few days later, Holman and Griffith (Minister for Works) visited Daceyville to fix on a site to build 500 canvas humpies for the families of workmen working for the Government on reduced time, and the committee to supervise this war-time slave camp consisted of **F. Brennan**, representing the Government, **Kavanagh**, secretary of the T. and L. Council, **O'Sullivan**, secretary of the Railway Workers and General Laborers' Association, and **Vernon**, secretary of the United Laborers. At the Council meeting (Sept. 1) only one (McDonald, of the Bricklayers) is on record as condemning the barbarity of forcing women and children to live in floorless houses in winter.

On October 3, at the Sydney Trades Hall, the annual Eight-Hour banquet was held. There were present the State Governor (Sir Gerald Strickland), the Lord Mayor, Prime Minister Fisher,

Federal Attorney-General Hughes, assorted Ms.P., Superintendent Edward, representatives of the Churches, and Colonel Roth and Colonel Kirkwood. Lenehan, president of the Eight-Hour Committee, was in the chair and proposed the toast of "The King." F. Glynn, also of the committee, proposed the toast, "Advance, Australia," in a jingoistic speech. The Governor "rose to defend my Ministers from the charge that they have been contaminated by me"; Fisher spoke of the empire for which we must fight and was greeted by enthusiastic cheering. The whole evening, said the "Herald," proved that they were wrong who said that the war was not popular with the workers. A touching scene—reminding the "Herald" of that other scene a few weeks before, when, in Parliament, Wade and Holman, Liberal and Labor, had almost fallen on each other's necks—to which a "Herald" leader had been devoted: "None were for a party and all were for the State," she had sobbed!

Of course, there was some opposition to the war. On Sunday afternoon, August 2, in the Domain, a meeting of 1000 (according to "S.M.H."), convened by the Socialist I.W.W., was addressed by the Secretary (George Waite, now in different company) and trade unionists, and passed the following motion:

"This meeting hereby puts on record its opposition to militarism, and expresses its solidarity with all other workers in every nation. It declines to be stampeded into the ranks of the misguided who are eager to slaughter the sons of working men on the Continent of Europe, thereby also making multitudes of widows and orphans, by means of wholesale murder agencies known as 'armies and navies,' and thereby helping to add to the miseries of the toiling masses of the world; and it would point out that all wars are made to benefit the capitalist class; it is the ranks of the working class that die, while those that survive have to bear the cost."

On the following day, the United Laborers' Protective Society, with George Waite in the chair, carried the same resolution.

When a Labor Government starts out on a treacherous course, a Labor paper or a trade union supporting that Government is placed in the position, precarious for its reputation either as a prophet and adviser or for sincerity, of having to choose one of two courses, both unpalatable. Either to continue to present to

its readers or members its usual radicalism and militancy and its attacks on the abuses it had previously professed hope that the Government would remedy, alongside of its reports of the actions and views of the Government—so that the reader or member is expected to assimilate both and to imagine they are one. Or, the paper, or a trade union, can attack the Governments, thus admitting that its previous trust in it was insecurely based—a course that requires more courage, honesty and theoretical clarity than we usually find in trade union leaders and labor paper directorates. So, in the war years, we continually find the most contradictory articles and news side by side in the trade union press—on the one hand, expressing militancy and anti-militarist and anti-war views and, on the other, presenting the actions and pronouncements of the jingo Labor Governments—as if there were no contradiction in so doing! The reader had to believe that no inconsistency was being shown. The result was bewilderment. The opportunist failure to criticise and the readiness to apologise for the Labor Governments meant the weakening of the ranks of the labor forces and the strengthening of the militarists. For example, in spite of the pro-war and pro-conscriptionist attitudes of the Labor Governments, the "Australian Worker" continued to support them and was largely responsible for the return of the Fisher Government—in spite of the "last man and last shilling" promise.

The coming of the war found Australia in the throes of an election campaign. Parliament had been dissolved and there was no way of "un-dissolving" it—else there would possibly have been no election. The Labor leaders, Fisher and Hughes, were saying that that was no time to have an election—all minds and forces should be concentrated on the war. Hughes, especially, was demanding that, under no consideration, should an election be held. Cook, Prime Minister, was seemingly glad that there was no constitutional way of preventing the election at that late hour, hoping that the war enthusiasm would return him at the head of a big majority. That very same fact, that there was no constitutional way to prevent an election, was probably the main cause that made Hughes demand its prevention the more, by this self-abnegation proving firmer and brighter the fire of his patriotism. To the chagrin of Cook and the joy of Hughes the result was a big Labor majority.

The trade union papers played a big part in the return of

this Government, playing up to the gallery by presenting in glowing colors the patriotism of the Labor party—and taking care to point out that it was due to the Liberals that there was an election at all in such critical times.

“Who made Australia safe?” asked the “Australian Worker,” on its front page, on August 27, 1914, and inside headlines tell us: “Australia Safe—Result of Labor’s Defence Policy.” The “Queensland Worker” (13/8/14) similarly had an article headed: “Australia’s Confidence—To Whom is the Credit Due?” The answer was, of course, Labor. In the columns of the daily press, began a controversy as to whom was due the more credit for Australia’s Navy and for compulsory military training, **Libs. or Labs.!** You can see it was only a difference of one letter between the two!

On August 13, 1914, the “Australian Worker” was telling the workers that “in this time of trial Australia needs a Labor Government,” and the “Queensland Worker” (10/10/14), after the elections said that “Labor may be trusted to do the right thing.” So pleased was the first-named paper with itself that it was selling Fisher’s photograph for a shilling and, on September 8, gave away a big photograph of the newly-created Labor Cabinet. We have advanced this far to-day: that a labor paper no longer has the cheek to give away a photograph of a Labor Cabinet—although button-hole pictures of Labor Premiers were still sold up to a year or so ago!

In spite of all the boasting and the preening of feathers by reformist leaders to-day over the alleged anti-militarism of their forerunners in 1914 and over the defeat of conscription, there can be no successful gainsaying of the fact that the following extract from one of the most important trade union journals in Australia correctly sums up the attitude, not only of official Labor politicians, but of most of the trade union leaders towards the war. It has to be remembered, too, that the majority of Labor’s political leaders had graduated from the school of trade union politics—politicians were generally union officials promoted, and trade union secretaries were, or hoped they were, politicians in embryo. There were some protests against the war, one has been quoted, but these were generally from unions in which the revolutionaries had some following. But in the main the average trade union leader believed, with all his heart, in the following presentation of his case:

“The Labor parties the world over are most determinedly opposed to war. Many people were hoping that the last wars had been fought between the great nations A Labor Government, having the welfare of the people to consider, would have no concern for the scheming and machinations of capitalism with ‘interests’ at stake. Therefore, it would be quite impossible for any two nations, under Labor Governments, to take to the bloody field as a means of settling commercial disputes

“Had this seemingly near European Armageddon been postponed for a few years, Labor would have been so firmly placed in power that the proposed slaughter would never have been thought of. But, as it is, we have to look at things as they are, and not as they might have been. The majority of people are not yet ready to insist on peace, and have refused to be saved. [Like Kautsky in Europe: blaming the people.—J.N.R.]

“But, unfortunately for the peace of the world, Labor has never held the reins of Government in Europe, and so-called statements have paid no heed to its wise and peaceful policy. **The consequences must now be accepted and faced.**” [My emphasis.—J.N.R.] And, now, note carefully what follows:

“Australia is as much part of the British Empire as England is, and while we remain so any attempt to evade responsibilities under present conditions would not only be courting eventual disaster as a people, but would be altogether unworthy of us.

“Our beginnings in the matter of defence have been based upon the principle that our army and navy are primarily for defence, and not for aggressive purposes. No man can be compelled to leave his own shores to fight. This fact stands out too plain to be overlooked. But had this country been attacked by a foreign foe it was known as an absolute certainty, not only here but throughout the rest of the world, that the available forces of England would have been ready to come to our assistance.

"That being so, where is the man who would say to Australians: 'It is no affair of yours to protect from aggression [Sic!—J.N.R.] the motherland that was always ready to protect you?' Shall we be content to be branded as a people willing to take the hand of a mother in our time of need, and afterwards see her in trouble and not go out to help her? Australian Labor has shown the world many object lessons in the way of standing shoulder to shoulder in time of trouble. And now that war has been proclaimed, Australian Labor will stand shoulder to shoulder with old England in this, her hour of storm and stress.

"Labor's aim should now also be to present an absolutely united front and determine more resolutely than ever to return its candidates with such a majority to the National Parliament that we at least will be prepared to settle any future international difficulties that may confront us by peaceful arbitration rather than by the sword."

—Extract from the Editorial of the "Queensland Worker" for August 6, 1914

So, we returned a Labor Government, as advised, and, within two years, it was attempting to conscript Australia's youth for service overseas!

To-day, in 1935, seventeen years after that war for which the Australian Labor party so conscientiously prepared and into which it led tens of thousands of our youth, people of the same kidney as the "labor" jingoes of 1914 are busily engaged in splitting the ranks of the workers in the face of as great a danger as that of 1914. A Movement Against War and Fascism has been set up in this country—a section of a world movement—and it is growing, mobilising behind it the support of many thousands of Australians. The anti-militarist tradition of Australia's workers, which has grown in spite of the imperialist bias of their leaders, especially as a result of their experiences of the Great War, demands to-day something far different from the barely-disguised jingoism of the Labor politicians and trade union officials of twenty years ago. Now, the workers are demanding, with an insistence that cannot be disguised, that there shall be no more war, and that we organise to prevent it. Because of that demand and because of their fear of the growth

of the Movement Against War and Fascism, the Labor party reformist and trade union leaders have undertaken to set up an organisation to fight against war. They have outlined a programme which leaves nothing to be desired as a basis for building such an organisation—with the exception of one point. This one point, and the proposal to create **another anti-war movement** and the consequent banning of the M.A.W. and F., constitute two sinister dangers of which the masses may be made aware!

In the first place, there is no need for **another anti-war movement**. And the decision to create another means, **firstly**, the splitting of the ranks of the workers and thereby strengthening the imperialists, and **secondly**, the lining up of official Labor with Lyons and the giving him a mass support for his attacks upon the Movement Against War and Fascism! "We agree with you, Lyons," say the bureaucrats, in effect, "we agree that the M.A.W. and F. should be banned; we shall help you ban it; and we shall create another movement more to your liking." **Shall the workers in the A.L.P. and in the trade unions, who defeated conscription in 1916 and 1917, allow their leaders to help Lyons to ban a Movement Against War in 1935?**

In the second place, the one point of disagreement between the programme of the M.A.W. and F., and that of the bureaucrats, is the question of defence of Australia. The latter says we should defend capitalist Australia. Is this the bitter pill that we must swallow—encouraged in the swallowing by the real anti-war content of the programme laid down in "**Labor's Case Against War?**" How can we workers defend anything without arms? Is not, therefore, the previous condemnation in words of Lyons' war expenditure so much hypocrisy?

The workers of Australia have to realise that they have nothing to defend, that a war in which Australia is likely to be engaged will be a war between rival imperialist powers and that we shall not defend Australian imperialism or its gains of the last war from any other imperialist power. They must understand, too, the danger of allowing the widespread acceptance of that iniquitous plank in an "anti-war" platform: **Defence of Australia**. There lies the crux of the whole question. **Advocacy of defence of Australia means, in effect, support of Lyons' war plans!**

But signs are everywhere that the bureaucrats have over-shot the mark. The very militancy of the masses and their hatred of war have led to the adoption, even by the bureaucrats

themselves, in words at least, of a strong anti-war platform. Their wordy attacks upon imperialism have, also, been shown to be wordy at the first test: when they refused to support the application of sanctions against Italy, one of the foremost aggressor nations of the moment. **The workers shall not allow the splitting of their ranks or the mobilisation of themselves in support of imperialism by the agents of imperialism in their own ranks. 1914 shall not be repeated!**

Extracts from Report Delivered by Comrade S. Purdy to District 1 Conference, Nov. 29, 1935.

Comrades.—There is no longer any need to prove the extreme danger of another world war—even the most backward persons recognise this. However, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the main instigators of war are the Fascist Governments—the Japanese in the East, Italian and German in Europe. Also the role played by British imperialism in its support of German rearmament and the conclusion of a naval treaty with the Nazis—a role which can have no other effect than to accelerate the drive to world war.

The role of British imperialism is very important for us, because, Australian imperialism being part of the British Empire, the Australian imperialists will be influenced by British foreign policy. In this condition of extreme war danger, we find the labor movement divided due to the influence of the reformist leaders.

If we take our minds back to 1914 we find a similar situation existed then—the working class was not united. Because of this, not only in Australia, but right throughout the whole world, the workers were mobilised for the war under the slogan of "Defence of the Fatherland." It was only the Bolshevik Party of Russia, led by Lenin, of all the workers' parties, which pursued to the end a policy of working-class internationalism. Now to-day, we again find the reformist leaders raising the slogan "Defence of the Fatherland." Once again they are supporting national defence and sowing confusion in the ranks of the workers, which, unless overcome, will make our class impotent to struggle against imperialist war—for Socialism. However, with our growing Party the task of uniting the workers can be successfully achieved.

At the A.C.T.U. Congress the reformists have endeavored to deepen the split in the ranks of the masses, in the course of which many slanderous statements have been made against the Party.

Contrary to the decision of the last Congress, the executive of the A.C.T.U. again organised the Congress in Melbourne, because of the stronger position of reformism there. Despite this advantage, on the major questions of difference their majorities were 63 to 47, 58 to 54, 62 to 52, 78 to 41.

I think if the membership of the unions are compared we will find that, based on a card vote, the militants had a majority. The reformists will claim the A.C.T.U. Congress as a victory, but it is the kind of "victory" that will give them many sleepless nights. It is the kind of "victory" that indicates that the period of reformist domination of the labor movement is coming to an end.

Our attitude to different kinds of wars, based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, is clear. We are opposed to imperialist wars. We support the wars of the colonial peoples against the imperialist aggressors. We support wars in defence of Socialism against reactionary imperialism. Let us compare our policy with that of the reformists at the A.C.T.U. Congress.

Mr. Crofts said: "The question before us is whether the working class is to fight the battles of the capitalist class. There is only one justification for the workers in Australia to participate in war, and that is in the defence of their own country against an aggressor imperialist nation." It was under this slogan of "Defence of Australia" that the Australians were sent overseas in 1914-18. Australian imperialism is part of the British Empire, and there is no doubt that any imperialist war participated in by Australia would be as an ally of Britain. Therefore, such a war would be a reactionary war, even if Australia were invaded. In such a war, the slogan "Defence of Australia" is a reactionary slogan. It means to defend all that is rotten in British and Australian imperialism. It means to defend capitalism in Britain and Australia. It means to defend the colonial exploitation and oppression of British imperialism. It means to defend the colonial exploitation and oppression of the New Guinea natives by Australian imperialism. It means that the working class would be fighting the battles of the capitalist class.

What does the experience of the international labor movement teach us? That in imperialist wars, if the working class is

to oppose same, it must work to defeat its "own" imperialist Government. To do so means to weaken it and so strengthen the position of the working class. That only after doing this is it possible for the working class to fight in its own interests against any foreign imperialism. This policy no longer remains one of theory only. It was practised by the Russian working class in 1917, and not found wanting.

In developing the reformist policy of imperialist nationalism, R. King, of the Sydney Labor Council, said: "Those who opposed national defence conveniently omitted to point out that Russia had the most powerful defence force in the world." We might ask King has he never heard of the Russian revolution or the fact that in Russia the working class is the ruling class? Would he have the Russian working class unarmed and easy prey to imperialism?

Monk said: "The trade union movement must oppose war in all its forms"; and then later supported "defence of Australia." He is not concerned about the colonial peoples. He does not know, or does not want to know, that imperialism could not continue to dominate the working class if it were not for the super-profits extracted from the blood and sweat of the colonial peoples. He is not prepared to support the struggles of the colonial masses. Monk does not appear to recognise that the working class must defeat imperialism to achieve its own emancipation, and because of this the colonial peoples, oppressed and in conflict with imperialism, are the natural allies of the working class. Monk is not concerned about the position of the workers where Socialism is being built. If the Soviet Union is attacked by imperialism, according to Monk "we must oppose all wars," which means opposition to a just war on the part of the workers of Russia in defence of Socialism.

This attitude of the reformist leaders is most significant in view of the aggressiveness of the German and Japanese militarists in relation to the Soviet Union. The reformist attitude can only help the Fascists who are threatening the workers' fatherland and make the pursuance of their criminal wars easier. The implication from the statement by Monk is that in the event of an attack upon the Soviet Union, the reformists will remain "neutral."

The Communist renegade, Mr. Lovegrove, also adds his "might" to that of the "big shot" reformists. We have had the opportunity to become acquainted with Lovegrove, and the only thing he made himself noted for when in the Communist Party

was his attempt to introduce into it his opportunist, anti-working-class theories and practice. That is why we threw him out on his neck. I am certain that you all agree with me when I say that if Monk, Crofts & Co. get any consolation from the support and company of Lovegrove they are welcome to it.

It is clear from those few quotations from the A.C.T.U. Congress that the reformists are pursuing a policy in opposition to the interests of our class. Therefore the basic problem for us is to win all workers away from such a policy—to unite the working class on the basis of working class internationalism. This must be done at all costs, step by step, with the greatest patience on our part. This is our class duty.

From what I have said, it should be clear that support for sanctions is a minor question for us in the struggle against world war, and for the maintenance of world peace. The main immediate question is to unite the masses in an organised manner to struggle for peace. And it is here that we must note a wrong tendency in some parts of the Party—a tendency to make support for sanctions the major issue and to place the struggle for the masses in the background. This wrong tendency must be corrected immediately.

It must always be remembered that, despite the entry of the Soviet Government, the League of Nations is still dominated by the imperialists. True, the Soviet Government can and has utilised imperialist antagonisms in the interests of peace, per medium of the League of Nations, but "everything, including peace, is determined in the final analysis by the masses" (Ercoli, Seventh World Congress). Never let us forget this fundamental fact. We must at all times base our leadership on the masses.

Further, our approach to minor officials and the rank and file of the Labor Party and trade unions in so far as sanctions is concerned, must be entirely different to our approach to the reformist leaders. Remember, I said that the main problem is unity and organisation to struggle for peace. Well then, we will say to the workers who differ with us on sanctions: "You oppose sanctions because you consider such opposition is in the interests of peace. We support sanctions because we consider it is in the interests of peace. Very well, we both want peace. Let us unite and organise to carry on the struggle to maintain peace."

Comrades, the reformists are endeavoring to distort the meaning of sanctions and to make it the major issue. We will

refuse to allow them to do either. I have already spoken of the major issue and our tasks. Now it is necessary to expose the slanders of the reformists and their policy of "neutrality."

The reformist union leaders have supported the following resolution which has been endorsed by the A.C.T.U. Congress, also the Sydney and Melbourne Trades and Labor Councils:

"Labor stands uncompromisingly for the right of minorities, for the independence of small and weak nationalities, and against ruthless exploitation by the great and powerful nations."

The document then goes on to express sympathy with the Chinese people, the Indian people, the Irish nation, and the South American peoples, in their struggles against "barbarous military suppression" by imperialism, and declares in favor of their "independence and freedom."

Very well, we also support this resolution. The Communists will become active organisers for its application. This will test the sincerity of the reformists, for the resolution is a negation of the policy of "neutrality."

The reformists oppose our support for Abyssinian independence, but let us see what Lenin has to say on this subject:

"The fact that the struggle for national liberation against one imperialist power, may, under certain circumstances, be utilised by another 'great' Power in its equally imperialist interests, should have no more weight in inducing Social-Democracy (read labor movement.— Editor.) to renounce its recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, than the numerous cases of the bourgeoisie utilising republican slogans for the purpose of political deception and financial robbery."

Of course, these people, being reformists, are not concerned about what Lenin said. They take their lead from the fervent supporter of Australian capitalism, Mr. J. T. Lang. These people do not see that a blow to Italian Fascism is a blow to Fascism on a world scale. Their policy, in the final analysis, is one of supporting Italian Fascism.

It is not necessary for me to prove that if Italy is successful in Abyssinia, this would promote German and Japanese aggressiveness, and so make the danger of world war greater. It is not necessary to prove that determined action by the League of Nations would quickly put an end to hostilities.

These people have accused us of being lined up with the imperialists because our policy in relation to Abyssinia for the

moment gives the appearance of running side by side with that of certain imperialist powers. But we reply to these people that it is they who are lined up with the imperialists. We find the reformist policy supported by Mussolini, by the Fascists of France, by the Mosley Fascists in Great Britain. These people all oppose action against Italy.

There is no need for me to prove how impotent is the policy of "neutrality" as a means of maintaining world peace. And we might well ask, What if world war commences, what will be your attitude then, Mr. Reformist? We know that if a world war commences and British imperialism blows the bugle, the Australian imperialists will fall into line. And then the difficulties of conducting the struggle against the reactionary war will increase tenfold. Reaction will throw aside its "democratic" mask and the greatest courage will be required to continue the struggle—the leaders of the working class will need to make great sacrifices. Can anyone imagine J. T. Lang going to gaol for leading the struggle to end imperialist war?

If we sincerely wish to struggle against war we must aim at preserving world peace now and one important method of doing this is to bring an end to the present conflict in Africa, before it ignites the whole world. If we take as an example the last war, the U.S.A., a far stronger imperialism than Australia, endeavored to remain neutral and make profits from it. But eventually, in order to safeguard the profits made in the earlier years, the U.S.A. was forced to take sides, with the accompanying slaughter of those who fought at the front and attacks on living standards of the toilers required at home.

The policy of "neutrality" means in essence that the reformists say to the German and Japanese Fascists: "Go ahead, attack the Soviet Union, we will do everything possible to see that the A.L.P. and the trade unions of Australia take no action to hamper you in your attack on the land of Socialism, for we believe in 'neutrality.'"

They charge us with class collaboration on this issue because we support a policy in defence of the colonial peoples against imperialism; they say we are departing from our principles. But what have they to say about their whole policy of class collaboration, their whole policy of asking the workers to depend upon Parliament, to depend upon arbitration, their whole policy of asking us to sit down alongside the capitalists and maintain industrial peace, irrespective of the fact that the workers' wages are being reduced in the process.

The "Labor Daily" is absolutely devoid of any principle. When the British elections were held, this paper, in great headlines explained the British Labor Party's defeat because of its support of sanctions. Now the same paper is making a great fuss over the victory of the New Zealand Labor Party. But the "Labor Daily" is careful not to mention the fact that the N.Z. Labor Party supports sanctions.

However, the real reason why the reformists support "neutrality" is revealed in two statements by Mr. J. T. Lang, which are "that sanctions will mean that no wool will be sold to Italy. It doesn't matter who wins or loses; it won't turn another factory wheel in Australia, nor will it add an oil well to Australia's fuel."

Here is expressed, not a policy based on the interests of the Australian working class, but a policy concerning itself with the interests of Australian capitalism.

For sordid profit the A.L.P. leaders would betray the Australian toilers—would make them impotent to struggle against imperialism and its wars—would lay low the banner of working-class internationalism.

There are some other questions we need to be quite clear about. Many reformist leaders put forward the slogan of "general strike," as an answer to the outbreak of imperialist war.

Many sincere workers also support this position.

True, the general strike is an important weapon in the struggle against imperialist war, but we must recognise clearly that the workers cannot be satisfied with the general strike as their full armor in the struggle. They will need to use every possible method of mass action to turn the imperialist war into civil war. Moreover, we must recognise that, if the workers are not strong enough to maintain peace, then they will not be strong enough to organise a general strike on the morrow of the outbreak of war.

Our task is to unite all toilers in the struggle to maintain peace now.

However, despite all opposition, we have every right to feel confident in our class. The anti-militarist traditions of Australia are something to feel proud of. You are all familiar with the anti-conscription campaign and the heroism of the masses at that time.

To quote only one example from that struggle, taken from

the "History of Broken Hill," by George Dale:

"The night before the battle, October 27—will this night ever be forgotten while the very youngest of the present generation shall live? Men marching and shouting, women cheering, and hundreds of children waving flags—not symbolic of nationhood and nationality, but red, blood red, every one of them, flags of the working class, waved on behalf of the working class, by the children of the working class."

And, comrades, if the working class at that time could develop such enthusiasm and revolutionary inspiration in the struggle against imperialism and militarism, how much greater must that spirit develop to-day, now that the masses have our Party to lead them in the period when "the reformist domination of the labor movement is coming to an end."—Dimitrov.

Comrades, every day, every hour gained in the interests of peace is in the interests of all workers—of all humanity.

In the struggle for peace the Soviet Government is playing a tremendous and vital part. Despite this fact the reactionary leaders of the A.L.P., Solomon Brigg, and the "Labor Daily" continue to slander the Soviet Government in the most unscrupulous manner. These scoundrels seem divorced from all principle whatever.

The "Labor Daily," 20/11/35, printed a statement to the effect that "Australia is not concerned as to which country gains possession of Abyssinia's oil and mineral wealth, and certainly sees no reason why it should be called upon to sacrifice the lives of tens of thousands of its young men to decide whether the oil will ultimately be carried in an Italian, a British, an American or a Soviet tanker."

Is this any different from the slander of the Sane Democracy League? Such a statement, at a time when the Soviet Government is doing everything possible in the interests of Abyssinia's independence. At a time when the Soviet Government needs all possible support against German and Japanese intervention. To issue such a statement, when everyone knows that immediately the Soviet Government came to power it granted complete independence to the colonies of the former Tzar, is nothing but counter revolution.

At the present moment all the efforts of the German and Japanese Fascists are aimed at securing a united front of the imperialist powers for a war of intervention against Socialism,

but because the Soviet Government endeavours to utilise imperialist contradictions to prevent this front from being established and to maintain world peace it is subject to the most vile slander from the "Labor Daily" and its reformist lackeys.

The mutual aid pacts with France and Czecho-Slovakia, and the entry of the Soviet into the League of Nations are completely distorted. If the Soviet Government did not utilise these opportunities to break the imperialist front, it would not be fulfilling its revolutionary duty in the interests of humanity and peace.

True it is that France and Czechoslovakia participate in these pacts for their own imperialist interests—they are both afraid of German imperialism. But that does not alter the fact that these temporary alliances, no matter how unstable, help the working class in its struggle against German Fascism, the main instigator of war in Europe—it does not alter the fact that these temporary alliances help the working class in its defence of the Soviet Union and hinders the interventionist pursuits of Hitler. It does not alter the fact that these pacts strengthen the struggle of humanity for world peace.

To understand the position in Europe and our tasks in relation thereto, it is necessary to understand that whilst France fears Germany, the main threat of the Fascists is against Socialism.

Comrades, German Fascism is the spearhead of counter-revolution in Europe. The Soviet Union is the spearhead of revolution over the whole world. Naturally, the spearhead of counter-revolution will direct its main attention to the spearhead of revolution.

If any one should doubt this, listen to Hitler when speaking of a proposed revision of the world:

"We finally put an end to the colonial and trade policy of the pre-war period and go over to the land policy of the future.

"But when to-day we speak of new land in Europe we can have in mind only Russia."

But when the workers' Government is able to outmanoeuvre the Fascists, the reformists intensify their slander, which can only have the effect of giving support to the Fascists and slowing down the tempo of growing sympathy on the part of the Australian masses for the land of Socialism.

So at the A.C.T.U. Congress we find Crofts stating "that

three Labor Governments in Australia have done more in the direction of Socialism than the Soviet Government has done in 25 years."

The fact that the Soviet Government has only been in existence 18 years does not worry Crofts. What is a few years, anyway, so long as we slander Socialism, reason these gentlemen.

When speaking of Labor Governments, Mr. Crofts evidently forgot the Premiers' Plan, which was applied by the Labor Governments at the time. But the workers don't forget. Neither do they forget the 12½ per cent. wage cuts and other attacks on living standards operated under the Premiers' Plan.

The Soviet Government is now a mighty force, able to utilise imperialist contradictions, able to concentrate the world's forces for peace against the main instigators of war at each given moment.

This displeases the lieutenants of capital in the ranks of labor. They would have the Soviet remain passive and impotent whilst the Fascists go ahead organising and preparing for a criminal war of intervention.

But as a final answer to these people let us again go to Lenin, who, during the intervention in 1918, said:

"To throw back the rapacious advances of the Germans we must make use of the equally rapacious interests of the other imperialists."

Before concluding comrades, it is necessary that certain mistakes made by some Communists be corrected. Some comrades have explained the mutual aid pacts between the Soviet Government and France, etc., "as forced and necessary retreats."

This explanation is fundamentally wrong and expresses an incorrect perspective of the strength of the Soviet Union and the world labor movement.

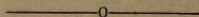
These pacts are symbolic of the growing might of the Soviet Union.

They represent a considerable development and strengthening of the struggle against Fascism and for peace. They represent a considerable development and strengthening of the struggle in defence of Socialism. The pacts represent an advance on the part of the Soviet Union, not a retreat. That, comrades, is the meaning of the mutual aid pacts.

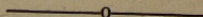
The working class on a world scale is advancing, not retreating. The Soviet Union is the strongest sector of the working-

class front. Also, what is most important, our class is advancing under revolutionary influence and leadership, under the influence and leadership of the world Communist Party, under the leadership of Stalin and Dimitrov, much to the dislike of the reformists.

Comrades, our immediate tasks are to unite the workers, to build the united front of the working class, the people's front of all lovers of peace and freedom. These are the next stages in the struggle for Soviet power, for Socialism.



The power of the name **Lenin**, as that of the name **Marx**, consists in the fact that the development of events during their lives and after their deaths fully confirmed their teachings. The power of the name **Lenin**, as that of the name **Marx**, consists in the **correctness of the way** pointed out by them to the proletariat in its struggle for final liberation. **Lenin** was a Marxist genius, and above all, and for that very reason, he became the great leader of the world proletarian revolution. He provided the correct estimation of the epoch through which we are living, the epoch of imperialism.—S. G.



It is possible to conquer the more powerful enemy only by exerting our efforts to the utmost and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully taking advantage of every "fissure," however small, in the ranks of our enemies, of every antagonism of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries, among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie in the various countries; by taking advantage of every opportunity, however small, of gaining an ally among the masses, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. (Lenin: "Left' Communism.")