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THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

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THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
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The Communist Review

Vol. 1, No. 3.

SYDNEY, N.S.W.

JUNE 1934

Notes of The Month

REPUDIATE ARBITRATION IN ACTION—FOR MORE WAGES FORM A UNITED FRONT—TRADE UNION UNITY — CLASS UNITY — CLASS STRUGGLE — KEEP A.L.P. SQUABBLES OUTSIDE UNIONS

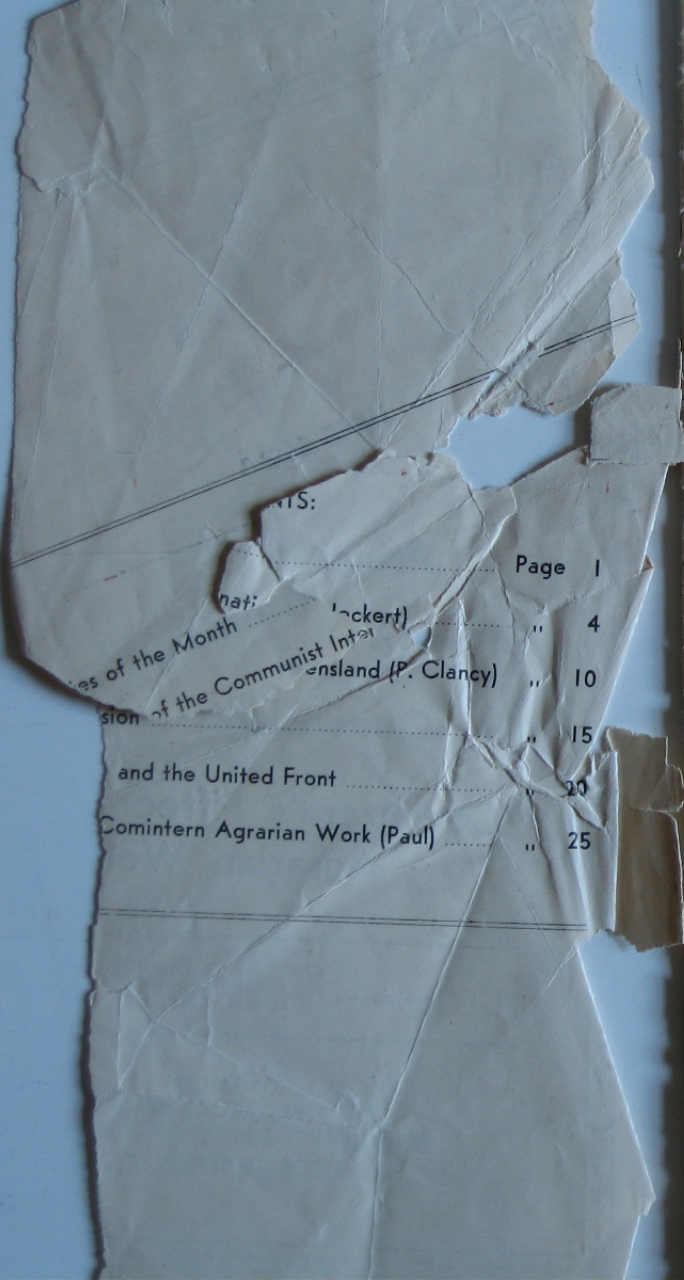
Latest reports indicate that the A.C.T.U. executive and the union officials who have responded to Croft's inquiry favor an All-Australian Union Congress.

This move to call a union congress has not come from the rank and file meetings that have been held to discuss the peculiar 10 per cent. wage restoration which resulted in increases of one penny and other slightly larger sums per week, and, in some instances, a reduction.

In Brisbane, Newcastle, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, etc., mass meetings have been held; others are announced, and the issues which concern the unionists at these meetings are wages and hours, the wage swindle of the Arbitration Court, and questions of policy and organisation.

Nevertheless, the A.C.T.U. bureaucrats place the A.L.P. faction fight as the main issue for the union congress. Several of the faction leaders on all sides and some unions had already raised the question of a congress before the court gave its decision, but it appeared that there was hesitation about calling a congress on the part of the dominant forces in each clique.

Now that there is mass resentment at the court decision and strong condemnation of arbitration, including repudiation by the New South Wales Labor Council, the arbitrationists, who have played their part in the swindle—along with the bosses and judges—propose to call a congress to discuss A.L.P. unity and, incidentally, the issue of wages.



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THE REAL ISSUE

What is the issue for the workers? Will they gain anything from A.L.P. unity? Can unity between the factions whose policy is arbitration and parliamentarianism benefit the unemployed or the wage earner?

The workers have demonstrated at job and union meetings that the main issue is wages, and the immediate situation has raised questions of policy and organisation very sharply.

A.L.P. unity may mean a Federal Labor Government, and there is no doubt that all the A.L.P. leaders and most union officials will try to divert the discontent into the channel of electioneering for A.L.P. candidates. But will Scullin, who defends the Premiers' Plan, do anything for the workers? Will Lang, who kept the nominal basic wage up, but carried through the Public Service cuts and instituted ruthless rationing, mass dismissals and the increased wages tax, change his real policy in a Federal Labor Government?

There is no more sincerity in the promise that a Federal Labor Government will assist the workers' struggles than there was in the promise that the Premiers' Plan was a temporary measure. It is as sincere as the promises of the present Queensland and W.A. Labor Governments, which attack the unemployed and help the bosses to break strikes.

UNITY FOR STRUGGLE

The Communists and militant unionists are faced with tremendous tasks, to mobilise the workers for action for the wage restoration and to expose the A.L.P. unity smoke screen. **They have to declare their readiness to unite with all unionists, and the unorganised, in the demand for increased wages and reduced hours, and for a policy of repudiation of arbitration and direct negotiation by rank and file elected committees from the jobs and the unions.**

Communists must show in action their ability to answer the workers' problems and serve their interests in every way. The employers' refusal to negotiate or concede the demands raises the question of further action, of stop-work meetings, demonstrations, and strike.

The policy and leadership of the Minority Movement must be sharply contrasted to that of the reformist A.C.T.U. The reformists

have served the bosses by betraying and crippling the workers' struggles. Militant unionism has won successes in the relief workers' struggles and among the miners.

NOT JUST WORDS—ACTION

The united front, of all who will participate in repudiation of arbitration in practice by class organisation on the jobs and trade union unity under rank and file control, is the need of the moment. The most energetic action is demanded by the situation from the Communist job groups, union fractions, and groups of the Minority Movement.

We must go to the workers with the proposal to leave A.L.P. unity to the squabbling cliques, and propose class unity. In contrast to "purchasing power" chatter addressed to the workers' enemies, we propose the election of job committees and united trade union committees to lead the workers in struggle for more wages and reduced hours. To make the demands concrete to each job and calling is a task for those in the factories and unions. The workers know what they want and what they will fight for; we must listen to them.

For the A.C.T.U. Congress, militant unionism proposes, democratic selection of union delegates, workers' conditions as the main issue, repudiation of arbitration, and trade union unity for struggle as the policy.

Fifteen Years of The Communist International

(By FRITZ HECKERT)

The victory of the great October revolution introduced a new and higher epoch of proletarian world revolution. It stirred up the toiling masses in the capitalist countries to strikes and actions against imperialist war and against the rule of the bourgeoisie, against the will of the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade union leaders. In the demonstrations and strikes of the workers, in the mutinies in the armies and navies, in the uprisings of the masses of the peasantry, the growing opposition to the wholesale slaughter of the peoples and to the whole capitalist system, found expression. The slogans of the October revolution have become the fighting signals of the insurgent masses of workers in a whole number of capitalist countries. But the tremendous influence still exercised by social democracy over the proletarian masses of the Western countries has prevented the attainment of the great goal of Soviet power outside the country of the October revolution.

The great lessons taught by the year 1917, and by the November revolution in Germany, gave the international proletariat revolutionary experience of enormous importance. The working class of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and wherever revolution raised its head, did not, however, possess such a party as that which the Russian proletariat had created under the leadership of Lenin. Hence the revolutionary uprisings in these countries lacked that great mobilising and motive force which was represented by the Bolshevik Party, the leader of the victorious October revolution. The revolutionary groupings which had sprung into existence during the war (Spartacus League, etc.) had not fully carried out their separation from traitorous social democracy when the revolution

broke out. It was not until a few weeks after the beginning of the November revolution, in the last days of December, 1918, that the German working class created its own Communist Party. As in Germany, Communist Parties were formed in a number of capitalist countries during the revolutionary events of 1918-19. The forming of these parties, and the great tasks which the revolutionary uprisings set the working class, made it necessary at the same time to form a new international organisation.

It was **Lenin** who took the initiative towards this. Headed by the C.P.S.U., eight Communist Parties appealed to all proletarian organisations standing for the dictatorship of the working class, calling upon them to take part in an international conference. This conference met in Moscow on March 2, 1919, in order to consult the steps to be taken in the given situation. On March 4 Lenin made the proposal that this conference should be declared the first congress of the Third Communist International. This proposal was adopted.

The great historical importance of the first congress of the new international association of the proletariat lies in the fact that it laid the foundation for the building up of a united world party of the revolutionary working class, and that this congress set the proletariat of all countries the fundamental task of taking up the struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This first congress, in its theses, drawn up and proposed by Lenin, explained to the proletariat of the whole world the essential character of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class character of bourgeois democracy. Here the role played by the social-democratic parties was clearly exposed, with their betrayal of the struggles of the workers for their emancipation, their treachery against the working class, maintaining that bourgeois democracy is the necessary stage on the way to socialism. "The historical task of the proletariat"—the theses state—"is the struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet power." This laid down the line on which the international proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist International, commenced its struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie in the whole world.

But at the time of the founding of the Communist International there was still a great lack of clarity in all Communist Parties, with the exception of the C.P.S.U., on many questions of the pro-

letarian class struggle. This made an energetic struggle necessary, from the very beginning of the C.I., against a number of petty-bourgeois conceptions and against the traditions inherited from the social-democratic movement. Hence the C.I. at the time of its founding was by no means an international proletarian organisation in which unanimity and clarity prevailed with regard to all the fundamental questions of the proletarian class struggle. Many members of the new Communist Parties did not yet recognise the tasks which are set a really revolutionary workers' party. They did not realise that the Communist Party can be only the vanguard of the proletariat, its most class-conscious, most strictly organised and most disciplined section, the motor, so to speak, which propels the whole mighty working class forward. In many minds complete vagueness still prevailed as to the role played by the State as the instrument of the power of the ruling class, and, in consequence, there was equal vagueness as to the nature and necessity of the proletarian dictatorship. Many still failed to recognise the role played by the social-democratic parties as the social-fascist wing of the bourgeoisie. Many illusions still existed in the ranks of the Communist Parties, many believed that it was still possible to wrest social democracy as a party from the bourgeois front and win it back for the revolutionary class struggle.

The great importance of the present small holders and sections of the petty bourgeoisie as allies in the proletarian revolution was also not understood by a large number of Communists. All this insufficient knowledge resulted in a number of wrong conceptions with regard to the toiling masses and the necessity of winning them over under the leadership of the working class. Very deficient, too, was the realisation of the importance of the national and colonial questions for the development of the proletarian revolution. Therefore the Communist International was confronted first of all by considerable tasks in its own ranks. It was of paramount importance to spread enlightenment on all these fundamental questions in the affiliated parties, and beyond these among the broad masses of the workers.

Besides these fundamental questions, a number of elementary tactical problems had to be cleared up; for instance, the question of the importance of revolutionary work in the reformist trade unions and other proletarian mass organisations, the question of the utilisation of the bourgeois parliaments, the question of the neces-

sity of applying revolutionary united front tactics in order to wrest the masses from the influence of social democracy, to mobilise them in their own interests, and thereby to create the prerequisites for the winning of the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution.

While the First Congress laid down the general line and established the great world organisation of the proletarian class struggle, the Second World Congress of the C.I. dealt in detail with the above-mentioned fundamental questions.

With the revolutionary development of the labor movement shortly after the war, the influence of the social-democratic International commenced to dwindle and the sympathies of the masses to turn towards the Third International. This development of the sympathies of masses brought with it the danger of the penetration of social-democratic and opportunist tendencies into the C.I. In order to ban this possibility as far as possible, the Second World Congress adopted the "21 conditions for admission into the Communist International." An important document, containing the fundamental obligations of a Communist and of a Communist Party.

These conditions state: "The propagation of our struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat must be concrete. The workers and the toiling masses must be shown the necessity and inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the basis of their own daily experiences. . . . The daily agitation and propaganda must bear a Communist character. The necessity of a complete break with reformism and with so-called centrism must be recognised and this break carried out. All the decisions of the C.I. and the E.C.C.I. are binding on the affiliated parties. . . . In order to secure the Bolshevik line of the Communist Parties, periodical cleansings must take place, and petty-bourgeois opportunist elements removed from the party. Every party affiliated to the C.I. must call itself the Communist Party."

On the basis of the decisions of the Second World Congress, the Comintern has carried on a successful struggle against opportunism of every kind. A large number of Communist Parties, aided by the C.I., have cleared their ranks of opponents of a Bolshevik Party, and have been able to overcome their greatest weaknesses with regard to theoretical and tactical questions. In hundreds of struggles, in many countries and in many spheres, the proletariat has had the opportunity of testing the correctness of the

fundamental decisions of the C.I.

The fifteen years of the struggle of the C.I. have been at the same time fifteen years of struggle against the Second International, its counter revolutionary ideology and class betrayal. The powerful influence of reformism in the proletariat has hampered the revolutionary development. Under the banner of "democracy," social democracy has defended the bourgeois dictatorship against the interests of the proletariat. Social-democratic theory and practice have paved the way for fascism. One of the main tasks of social democracy has been to disrupt the proletarian united front. By means of provocation and treachery it has split the working class again and again, and prevented the unification of the proletariat in defence of its own interests. Hence arose the necessity for the parties of the C.I. to wage a constant and inexorable struggle against social democracy.

The C.I. has shown that the splitting of the working class by social democracy is the main source of the weakness of the proletariat, the cause of its defeats, and the basis for the still existing terrorist rule of capitalism. So long as this split exists, the working class cannot establish its power and build up socialism, and the working class will remain in the slavery of decaying capitalism. Just as the dictatorship of the proletariat is the main strategic goal of the C.I., so its main tactical task is the establishment of the proletarian united front on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

With the formation of the C.I., the class struggle of the proletariat has been raised to a higher and more purposeful stage. The existence of the Soviet Union and the building up of socialism in the land of the October revolution, have placed the leadership of the class struggles of the proletariat in the hands of the Communist International in an epoch of two systems: The decaying capitalist world and the rapidly developing socialist era. This fact gives a special content to the struggles of the working class of the capitalist countries. Everywhere the struggle for the Soviet power is pushed into the foreground. The international proletariat, in its struggles for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, can rely for support on the great material and moral forces of the first proletarian state in the world. This is of the greater importance in view of the fact that the crisis of the capitalist system is steadily intensifying the danger of another world war, worse even than the last, which can only be prevented or stopped by a victorious proletarian revolution.

The Comintern has succeeded in the fifteen years of its existence in striking deep roots among the ranks of the toiling masses in all countries of the earth and in winning over millions of new fighters for the revolutionary class struggle. The development of the capitalist world, the increasingly visible decay, and the consequent enormous increase in the poverty and want of the toiling masses, and on the other hand the rapid progress of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and the determined struggle of the Communist Parties for the exploited and oppressed of the whole world, have enormously strengthened the faith of millions all over the world in Communism.

The example set by the Communist Party of Germany after Hitler's seizure of power, the struggles of the masses of the proletariat in Austria and France, the struggle for the Soviet power in China, show that under the leadership of the Comintern, revolutionary parties actually come into being in the capitalist countries, capable of arousing and leading the struggles of the working masses for their emancipation. In spite of the application of the utmost terror, the fascists have not succeeded in interrupting for even one moment the struggle of the German Party or the Chinese Party.

The events in the Far East, in Germany, in Austria, in France, the revolutionary struggles in many other countries, show that the proletariat has taken up the struggle for power. "The struggle for the Soviet power is the main slogan of the proletariat at the present time"—this was emphasised by the Thirteenth Plenum of the C.I. in December last year. The C.I. declares quite openly to the proletariat that the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be established by force. The force exercised by the bourgeoisie must be broken by the application of determined force by the proletariat. The latest events in Austria bring further proof of this.

In the capitalist countries the proletarians and the oppressed peoples are gathering beneath the banners of the C.I. In view of the imminent danger of a world war, the storm battalions of the working class are forming under Communist leadership, in order to prevent this war by revolution, or to shatter it by revolution. There is only one way of escape for the working class from the present situation, the path of the October revolution. On this path wave the flags of the Communist International, and beneath these flags the proletarian armies are marching forward to the Red World October.

Disintegration of the Labor Party in Queensland

Masses Impoverished Under Labor Government

(By P. CLANCY)

The disunity existing in the ranks of the Australian Labor Movement and the actions of the group "leaders" in rushing here and there peddling stories to the workers, could be looked upon with some sense of amusement if it were not for the fact that their actions can, and have, dire effects for the working class. While the "leaders" are rushing about crying for "unity," the bosses are gradually lowering the wages and conditions of the toilers, and will continue to do so, as long as the toilers remain under the influence of the reformists.

Although the Forgan-Smith Government—"the greatest of all Labor governments"—is maintaining unity in the ranks of its leaders to a greater degree than other States, there is growing dissatisfaction among the rank and file of the A.L.P. at the numerous attacks that have been carried out against the workers by Smith, Pease and company.

In July, 1932, just after being placed in office, the Labor Government, through its chief of police, Hanlon, condoned the Fascist attack upon the unemployed at Cairns (Parramatta Park), when the Fascist element, with the aid of forty members of the police force, using batons, bottles, shovels, tentpoles, broken concrete, etc., bashed and battered the workless and homeless from

the fowl-houses and horse-stalls that they were using for shelter.

It is interesting to note, that although the Government claimed it had no money to build shelters for the unemployed, it spent £700 in an unsuccessful attempt to railroad three workers to gaol. Again, while the authorities would not help financially in getting shelter for the homeless, they spent £200 employing watchmen to guard the showground before and after the clash.

Hanlon's action in allowing the police to be used against the workers is not a precedent. In 1919 the Labor Government used the police against the striking meat-workers at Townsville. Again, in 1925, a Labor Government used armed police against the striking watersiders.

The above are illustrations of how Labor Governments, and in Hanlon's case, "the greatest of all Labor Governments," govern in the interests of the bosses.

In the same year, 1932, the "greatest Labor Government" stood by and watched the Fascists organise for the purpose of bashing the unemployed out of Mackay. That the Fascists were defeated was due only to the correct application of the united front tactic, whereby all the workers were organised in support of the unemployed.

While actively participating in acts of violence against the workers the Smith, Pease Government has, right up to the present day, carried on a relentless campaign of victimisation and suppression against all who dared question their actions. Workers in industrial, unemployed and anti-war organisations have felt the lash of the political whip, as have also members of the police force and the school teachers. In regard to the latter, the favorite method of the government to silence those police who talk too much of what they see, and of school teachers who express their views too strongly, is to transfer them to some out of the way town where their activities are less liable to embarrass the politicians. Definite cases of political transfers can be given and numerous instances are known of public servants who are afraid to express their opinions in fear that they will "find out what the town of Thargomindah is like."

Alongside this campaign of victimisation, the Social Fascists

have carried on open suppression of militant working-class organisations. During the past six months, in many towns throughout Queensland, especially in the north, the control of the traffic has been taken out of the hands of the councils and placed in charge of the police. This manoeuvre is similar to the tactics of the Stevens Government in New South Wales, where militant organisations are denied the freedom of the streets. This is being carried out while at the same time a plank of the Labor Party platform demands the right of "Free speech and assembly."

The close alliance between the trade union bureaucrats and the politicians—one could say that the present Government is an A.W.U. Government—an alliance that actively supports the Premiers' Plan, has smashed the conditions of the toilers and left them open to further attacks from the capitalists. The whole propaganda of the reformist trade union leaders is directed towards influencing the workers to rely on arbitration and constitutional methods; in deluding the toilers into believing that conditions can be maintained and improved by their peaceful negotiations with the exploiters. The direct lie to this is given in the attacks that have been made, and quite recently, on the wages and conditions of workers by the Arbitration Court. In the very near future, an attempt will be made to further lower the wages of the sugar workers. Thousands of toilers in various unions will be involved and the bureaucrats are again aiding the employers by telling the workers what a wonderful fight they are going to wage in the Arbitration Court. Not one word is said about organising the toilers for struggle. When other proposals are put forward (by the workers) that the workers of all unions covering the sugar industry should organise on the job, and negotiate directly through rank and file committees they have been howled down by a united chorus from the reformist officials that "to organise for rank and file control is against the constitution of the union." Thus, the sugar barons are invited to go ahead and reduce the wages and conditions.

In all phases of industry the workers have been subjected to wage-cuts and increased wage-taxes, and have been forced to keep pace with speed-up methods, while the unemployed have been the object of vicious attacks. Although the "greatest of all Labor Governments" instituted "residential rations," thousands of men are still being denied relief work and are being forced to travel for the miserable 6/- dole. The claim of the Government that it has re-

duced unemployment is brought about by denying men the right to work and the right to live.

POVERTY ON THE LAND

The position of the men on the land is steadily growing worse, especially the dairy and tobacco farmers. In respect to the former, notwithstanding the fact that whole families are working on the farm, between them they do not receive the basic wage, but still the farmer must pay the 3d. in the £ unemployment tax, in addition to a number of other taxes. The position of the tobacco growers can be best illustrated by the fact that in Mareeba, the centre of the tobacco industry in the north, there are 200 tobacco growers drawing police rations.

The increasing poverty of the farmers is also seen in the ranks of the fruit, maize and cane growers. Under the cry of "returning prosperity," the standards of the masses are being further lowered. Prosperity for the capitalists means greater exploitation of the toilers who produce the wealth.

COMMUNISTS MUST ORGANISE

The continual attacks that are being made upon the workers and farmers are assisting to disintegrate the A.L.P.; more and more of the workers are falling away from the Labor Party, and in numerous instances the A.L.P. branches consist only of the executives. This disintegration of the Labor Party has not received the attention that the situation demands from the revolutionary workers. Little attempt has been made to strengthen the Communist Party by recruiting those workers who in disgust are leaving the reactionary A.L.P. This weakness on the part of the Communists is evidenced by the fact that in several centres there is already talk of establishing "Lang" Labor groups, the workers taking the line of reasoning that Lang is more militant than the other Labor leaders. The Communists must point out to the workers that the record of Lang in office is a record of black treachery against the workers; a record of imprisoning militant workers; using the State forces to bash workers' demonstrations; to effect evictions; enforcing the dole questionnaire, etc. The Communists must convince the workers that it is not "Lang" or any other Social Fascist Labor group that will lead them in struggle against the capitalists, but that it is only by the organised strength of the working class will the

attacks of the employers be defeated. It is not sufficient that the Communists talk to the workers, we must work with them and struggle with them, actively assist in building the united front from below, for the simple, economic and political demands against wage-cuts, Fascism, and imperialist war.

That in various localities, in the north, the comrades are not carrying out correct propoganda work is brought to light by the following questions asked party speakers at public meetings:—

"Will the party, after the revolution, kick out so-and-so from his job and put a Communist in his place?" "Will the C.P. take the holdings away from struggling farmers?" "What is the Minority Movement?" "Has Stalin the power of a dictator in Russia?" The above questions show us that the workers and farmers are looking for a way out of the crisis, but due to lack of knowledge regarding the policy of the C.P. and the role of the Soviet Government in the U.S.S.R., they are withholding active support for the Communist Party. While this weakness exists in North Queensland, it may also exist in other districts, and it is necessary that party members immediately get down to tackling the problem of enlightening the workers and farmers as to the correct policy of the only workers and farmers' party, the Communist Party, and the policy of the Soviet Government.

It is not enough to remain content with making the workers sympathetic towards the Communist Party, we must draw into our ranks all those workers who show a willingness to fight, build organisation for leading the masses in their day to day demands, organisationally consolidating our victories as the stepping stones along the pathway to a Soviet Australia and socialism.

CONTINUATION OF 4TH PLENUM DISCUSSION.

Work in Districts 5 & 6

(Excerpt from Comrade Docker's Speech)

I was at Kalgoorlie during the riots. My job here this morning is to deal with the shortcomings and weaknesses and what should be done to strengthen the party in S.A. and W.A. Before I get off Kalgoorlie I refer to what Comrade Dixon said—that certain party members had lost faith in the party.

When the struggle broke out in Kalgoorlie the miners held a mass meeting and decided not to work. This was mass action, but misdirected mass action. Then it was announced they would hold a meeting at Boulder. The comrades placed the policy of the party before the workers and were howled down. This will give you an idea of the state of mind of the workers at that time. It could not have been otherwise, but the workers afterwards remembered that our comrades made this statement. We immediately went back and got out roneoed leaflets. We had been on the job before Collier made his statement, blaming the party for the position.

District 5: The Party there have no headquarters. Comrades will realise this handicap. No headquarters, because they lack finance, yet, on the other hand, we find that they were publishing a four-page paper—"Struggle"—and were losing something like 30/- weekly, and yet they had no money even for stamps, etc. Undoubtedly, the district could not carry on with the paper. It appears to me that the comrades should have started off more modestly.

You will remember that when the Government created the ban the comrades in Western Australia started their paper—"Red Star." The comrades in South Australia should have started in the same way.

Membership: Eighty membership, and I have to tell the same tale as comrades have told previously, this has remained stationary

for the last 12 months. The composition is not good because the great majority of the members are unemployed.

One section committee is 12 miles away from Adelaide—Port Adelaide. This section is doing very good work now. Twelve months ago I almost despaired of this section doing anything. A new committee was elected, the comrades have developed since I was there previously. A class has been instituted and the personnel of the section is a big improvement on the previous one.

There are four street units in the section—one waterside unit.

In Adelaide there are four street units and one factory unit. This unit is doing good work. Comrade Wallace and this comrade have commenced a good movement among the workers and a committee of action has been elected, and a tramway bulletin is being published.

Until recently there was not one contact in the country centres. Slowly but surely the comrades are breaking down this isolation.

Port Pirie: We were told all kinds of drivel about how hard it would be to build the party there, it was a compound, etc., yet when Wallace and I went up there we found that we could go into the works and talk to the workers.

The M.M. State Committee is carrying out good work, but it lacks functionaries. Wallace says if only he had assistance he would be able to build up the party and M.M. in the most important industries.

The party now has contact at Islington, Abattoirs, Railway, Gas Works, and Power House. All it needs now is attention from the D.C., and I am fully convinced that the party can be built up inside the important enterprises.

The D.C. in South Australia reads the "Workers' Weekly" and has taken notice of the directives of the P.B. and the slogan, "Lighten the Workers' Burdens."

The restoration of the 10 per cent. cut has tremendous importance for the workers in the Gas Works and in the Tramways, and we see that the workers are very agitated over this demand.

The D.C. still lacks team work. The work is not planned. If the comrades could plan their work there is no reason why the party should not go ahead. The main task in South Australia, as it appears to me, is to carry out concentration work around the

enterprises, assist Wallace in the M.M., and carry out work in the unions to build up the fractions.

In South Australia we find a peculiar position so far as social-fascism is concerned.

There are three Labor Parties in South Australia, P.L.P., Lang Party, and Scullin Party. The party should take advantage of the situation and get among the members of the Labor Party and organise a united front and win workers away from the A.L.P.

Another thing badly needed is classes. Ideological level is very low and more classes must be instituted, and the comrades must take notice of the recruiting campaign in order to build up the party.

District 6: Membership 85. There are seven street units, two factory units—Fremantle wharf waterfront unit and one at Kalgoorlie.

The party in W.A. is almost isolated from the main industries—so far as the Power House is concerned the comrades were unable to tell me who owned the Power House. This shows that the comrades give factory concentration no attention.

Unlike District 5, District 6 has splendid contact in the country.

Compulsory Unionism: The workers go on a relief job and are compelled to join the union or get the sack. One comrade was victimised because he would not join the A.W.U.

The position of the farmers and groupees is tremendously interesting. Unfortunately, the party has no contact around Merridan.

The Government threatened to throw the groupees off their farms and the party should take advantage of this to organise them for struggle. They will be a very fruitful base for fascism and social-fascism unless we carry out work among them.

Aborigines: The aborigines are in contact with the D.C.—they write to the party and party members go down to where they are preparing facts to present to the Royal Commission when it meets. We must realise that the aborigines are an oppressed nationality. Arnheim Land, protests came from all over Australia when it was known that the Government intended sending a punitive expedition there, and when the Government decided not to send the expedition our agitation ceased, and we see that the mis-

sionary expedition is carrying out the same tasks as the punitive expedition would have.

The party owns the press which prints the "Red Star."

The position of social-fascism is a very interesting one. There is no Trades and Labor Council, and mostly every union is affiliated to the A.L.P. The A.L.P. politicians are cynical and brazen in their attitude towards the working class. This shows the need for the party to carry on work inside the trade unions. This work is lagging at the present time, but so far as W.A. is concerned I am convinced that it will do good work there in the future.

There is a State Committee of the M.M., but it was very weak when I was there. They had no headquarters, but were raising cash to secure same and one is going to take on the work of strengthening the State Committee.

Organising Mass Work

(Speech of Comrade Purdy)

In Lithgow there was no section committee at all when I first went there, no collective discussions or decisions, and only one unit was meeting at that time. It was only a short time when one comrade, who was looked upon as unsuitable for leading work, came under my notice and this comrade would always lead the discussions round to the question of who would do the job, how and when. His personal appearance was the only thing against him, and I took it up with him and he brought about an improvement at the expense of tucker to do necessary work for the party. To-day he is in the leadership there. Another comrade was inactive and the reason he gave us for it was that all he had to do was sell papers, he never learned anything, and now he is devoting all his time to the party. This shows that where we have a bad inner party life and bad leadership our organisation degenerates.

There are miles of weaknesses there still, but units are meeting and discussing leads from the "Weekly" and trying to overcome the various weaknesses that exist.

Influence of the M.M. shown in elections in connection with the Miners' Federation. We were able to get £30 to £40 as a fortnightly guarantee of finance for the textile strike while it continued.

Miners' lodges at Lithgow, with the exception of one, and other union branches, have declared for the unemployed organisations under our leadership. This indicates the tremendous influence the party has among the employed workers.

We have only one M.M. group meeting and functioning.

One comrade who was working in the power-house was very interested and when he got retrenched he joined our party and was commencing to devote his time to unemployed work. This was taken up with him and his work directed towards the power-house, where he was employed previously.

These experiences showed me what must be happening everywhere. Leading committees may even select certain comrades to work on certain factories, but due to insufficient checking up by committees comrades are allowed to drift into unemployed work.

Social Fascism, Trotsky And The United Front

(By L. SHARKEY)

The 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. designated Trotsky as "a lackey of the counter revolutionary bourgeoisie." The character of Trotskyism as a section of counter revolutionary Social Democracy and Menshevism, its anti-Leninist essence, is shown in no clearer way than in the present attitude of Trotsky towards the leadership of the Second International.

Before the Russian Revolution, Lenin pointed to Trotsky as being "predestined by God himself to hang on to the coat-tails of Bernstein and Kautsky." This is no isolated statement; without question Lenin regarded Trotsky as "the representative of the fundamental falsehood of Kautskyism" in Russia. (Vol. 18, Lenin's Works.)

Trotsky at this time was nothing other than a defender of the Social Democratic traitors against Lenin and the Bolsheviks. That Trotsky "has returned to the old Trotskyism" (Stalin) is shown by the present counter-revolutionary vapors by which Trotskyism attempts to obscure the traitorous role of Social Democracy. The Trotskyists now defend the Social Democrats against the charge of Social Fascism. This, they say, drives the workers away from the revolutionary movement. The Social Democrats, according to the Trotskyists, are fighters against fascism, therefore Trotskyism wants unity, united fronts "from the top," and bitterly assails the tactics of the united front from below alone. According to the Trotskyists, the Social Democrats are not the chief social bulwark of the capitalist system.

Now let us see how all this accords with the teaching of Lenin, with Leninism.

UNITY WITH BOURGEOISIE

According to Lenin (Collected Works, p. 230, Vol. 18, English edition), "unity with the opportunists is an alliance of the workers with 'their' national bourgeoisie." "The war has proven the inadmissibility of this combination in the future." "Opportunism has ripened, it has brought to completion its role as an emissary of the bourgeoisie within the Labor Movement." "To keep **united** with opportunism at the present time means **practically** to subjugate the working class to 'its' bourgeoisie." "The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution." The leaders of opportunism, that is, of the Second International, are "supported and often directly guided by the bourgeoisie," and in a crisis "go over to its camp, harm the workers' cause, ruin it." (Vol. 18, Lenin's Works.)

After their betrayal of the German Revolution in 1918, Lenin denounced the Social Democratic leaders as "stranglers of the proletarian revolution," "hangmen and pogromists" against the working class. According to the latest "theories" of the Trotsky hangers-on of Social Democracy, Lenin, by showing Social Democracy in its true light, was driving the workers away, splitting the workers. According to Lenin, the opportunists are "the agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' ranks," who "ruin the workers' cause." They are "the bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution." To unite with them is to "enter into an alliance with the bourgeoisie." They had reached this stage almost two decades ago.

According to Trotskyism, they are working class leaders, albeit with wrong-headed theories, with whom the revolutionary Communist Party must enter into a wholesale alliance from "top to bottom." Unity with the bourgeoisie, with "the bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution," this is how counter revolutionary Trotskyism would, if it could, inveigle the revolutionary working class into "united fronts" with the bourgeoisie; which is nothing other than the method by which Social Democracy has betrayed the working class in every crisis. Trotskyism thus attempts to take over the role of the Second International. Fortunately, Trotsky and his advice has long since been spurned by the revolutionary workers, and his present defence of Social Democracy shows up once more his counter revolutionary role.

TO UNDERMINE LENINISM

The statements from Lenin above quoted—and which could be reinforced by literally hundreds more—show that Trotskyism attempts to **undermine the whole Leninist position** in connection with our attitude to Social Democracy.

It stands forth as the defender of Social Democracy against Leninism.

Trotsky says, in effect, that the reason why the Social Democrats did not enter the united front with the Communists against Hitler is, forsooth, because the Communists called them names—Social Fascists—and not because they are "bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution," who "in a crisis (such as Hitler's coming to power) go over to the bourgeois camp" (as they did in Germany), "and ruin the workers' cause."

Obviously the Leninist and Trotskyist estimations of Social Democracy have nothing in common.

On the basis of this childish nonsense, that the Social Democrats, like school kids, refused the united front proposals of the Communist Party of Germany for a general strike, split the workers' ranks at the critical moment, thus opening the way to Hitler, because the Communists called them "names," Trotsky utters the foulest and most monstrous slanders against the E.C.C.I. and the German C.P. In concert with the whole pack of the Second International he "blames" the Communists "for Hitler," thus slandering such heroes of the proletarian revolution, amongst others, as the martyred John Scheer, Comrades Dimitrov, Thaelmann, Torgler, and scores of victims of the Nazi terror.

To such depths has counter revolutionary Trotskyism descended.

THE REAL UNITED FRONT

The Communist International cannot and will not enter into an "alliance with the bourgeoisie." The united front for which the Communists unceasingly labor is the united front of the working class, the united front from below. Any united front including the leaders, "the bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution," could only be temporary, conditional, with set objectives, **and only in actual struggle**. It can only have the objective of unmasking the betrayal of the revolutionary struggle by the Social Fascists and for

the winning of the workers, during the actual struggle, away from the Social Fascist leaders and for the revolutionary class struggle. Any other, any wholesale united front would be directly contrary to Leninism.

Trotsky "denies" the "theory of Social Fascism" in his frantic attempt to prevent the reformist workers turning their back on the Second International and joining forces with the Communists for the proletarian revolution.

There is nothing new in this for Trotsky. He "denied," in face of Lenin himself, during the imperialist war, Lenin's characterisation of the Social Democrats as "Social Chauvinists."

What relation is there between Social Fascism and Social Chauvinism?

In his article, "Under a Stolen Flag," Lenin castigated Trotsky, telling him that if "he studied the opinions of Marx and Engels and Kautsky concerning English opportunism, the result of such a study would be the recognition of the fundamental and essential coincidence between opportunism and liberal labor politics." "The fundamental class meaning of social nationalism is exactly the same." It was, said Lenin, a coming together of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists.

This shows the role of opportunism, according to Marx-Lenin, in different periods. In the period of imperialist expansion they collaborated with the bourgeoisie through liberal labor politics. During the imperialist war they collaborated with the bourgeoisie for the "defence of the fatherland"—Social Chauvinism. At the time when the bourgeoisie is going over towards Fascist dictatorship they become the pacemakers of Fascism, preventing and betraying strikes, splitting the workers, suppressing workers' organisations, preaching defeatism, shooting workers, etc., etc., thus disarming the workers in the face of the advance of fascism and preparing the ground for the actual establishment of the Fascist dictatorship. This is Social Fascism. Lenin himself showed the role of Social Democracy in preparing the way for the establishment of the Mussolini dictatorship in Italy. Trotsky, this defender of counter-revolutionary Social Democracy, this hanger-on of Kautsky, attempts to deny the Leninist teaching in regard to the role of Social Democracy in preparing the way for Fascist dictatorship. According to Lenin, the Second International was responsible for the defeat of the proletarian revolution in Germany in 1918, in

Italy, Austria and other countries. They did this at a time when, even Kautsky admits, the bourgeoisie were powerless and Social Democracy, due to its mass influence, was alone able to save the capitalist system from revolution. A few minutes' scrutiny of Lenin's writings on this period will satisfy anyone of this. They were able to do this because of their influence over the workers. Thus they were, and are, the chief bulwark of capitalism.

Trotskyism is thus a denial of all Lenin's teachings on Social Democracy, and instead of the Leninist irreconcilable struggle against the opportunists, Trotsky would substitute his old counter-revolutionary theory of unity with the Mensheviks, of pre-revolution days, and which the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, always rejected.

In the period of the world economic crisis, at the time of the end of capitalist stabilisation, on the eve of new revolutions and wars, the bourgeoisie advances towards Fascist dictatorship. In this period the opportunists, "the bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution," more than ever developed their Social Fascist role.

The connection between "the liberal politics" of Marx's day, the Social Chauvinism of the Great War, outlined by Lenin, and the Social Fascism of to-day, to which the Communist International points, is surely apparent. They are forms of collaboration required by the bourgeoisie in differing situations. Trotskyism's denial of Social Fascism is exactly the opposite of Marxism-Leninism.

Just as Trotsky was regarded by Lenin, owing to his denial of Social Chauvinism and advocacy of defence of the fatherland through his "neither victory nor defeat" slogan, as being in the camp of the "bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution," so does his attempt to cover up the Social Fascist role of the leaders of Social Democracy and their common hatred of the Soviet Government and the Communist International reveal Trotsky, like the leaders of the Second International, as a "lackey of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie."

Fifteen Years of The Comintern in Agrarian Work

(By "PAUL")

"The parties affiliated to the Second International have, as a rule, been indifferent to the peasant problem and have even been antagonistic to its discussion. The attitude has deeper reasons than the peculiarities of agrarian conditions in Western Europe. The main reason is that these parties do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are afraid of revolution, and have no wish to lead the proletariat to the conquest of power."*

This characterisation of the Second International and its parties reminds us of the fact that in the agrarian question the inheritance taken over from the Second International weighs heavily on the young Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. The only party which has realised the importance of the agrarian question for the revolutionary labor movement, which has accorded it its place in the struggle of the proletariat, and has ranged it with Marxist accuracy in the strategy of the class struggle, is the Party of the Bolsheviks which was under Lenin's leadership. The attitude of the Bolsheviks, their decades of struggle against the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists, and against the bourgeois agrarian theory, were unknown to the young Communist Parties, and therefore the theory and practice of the Bolsheviks were incomprehensible to them. They failed to grasp that here it is not a question of a "theoretical" struggle between different forms of production, but of the utilisation of the—

"revolutionary possibilities which slumber in the peasantry, in virtue of the special conditions of its existence" (Stalin)* and

*J. Stalin; "Problems of Leninism."

of the revolutionary alliance.

Hence the proletariat of the capitalist countries has not understood how to organise and lead the revolutionary fermentation among the peasantry in the years since the war, has not led the peasantry in their struggle for the land, nor combined this with its own struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. After the seizure of power in Hungary, Latvia, and Bavaria, the proletariat was thus unable by means of a really revolutionary agrarian policy to make the broad masses of the peasantry their allies, furnishing a broad basis for the firm establishment of its power in the rural districts. Thanks to this inheritance left by the Second International, the bourgeoisie was successful in fooling the peasantry by agrarian reforms.

It was only with the help of the Communist International that the proletariats of the capitalist countries received a weapon of incomparable sharpness in the Bolshevik attitude towards the agrarian question. The Second Congress of the Communist International, drawing its conclusions from the experience gained in three Russian revolutions, pointed out the mutual relations between the proletariat and the peasantry, and the tasks thus set the Communists for their work in the rural districts, as follows:—

"The toiling masses in the rural districts can only be saved by means of the alliance with the Communist proletariat, by means of the unconditional support given to its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of the junkers (large landowners) and of the bourgeoisie.

"The industrial workers, on the other hand, cannot fulfil their historical task of emancipating mankind from the yoke of capital and of wars, if these workers shut themselves up in the circle of narrow trade unionist and craft interests, and if they confine themselves complaisantly to endeavors for the improvement of their sometime tolerable petty-bourgeois situation. . . . The proletariat is only a really revolutionary and socialistically acting class when it comes forward and acts as the vanguard of all toilers and exploited, as leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiters. But this is impossible of carrying out unless the class struggle is extended to the country districts, unless the toiling masses of the rural population are gathered together, unless the Communist Party of the town proletariat educates the rural proletariat." (Resolution of the Second Congress on the agrarian question.)

This resolution, stressing the unconditional necessity of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, sharply emphasises at the same time the difference between the various strata of the peasantry in the question of their relations to the proletariat, and points out the principles determining the tactical attitude of the proletariat towards the various strata.

With the aid of these theses, drawn up with the immediate collaboration of Lenin, the Sections of the C.I. were given the possibility of throwing overboard the residue inherited from the Second International—residue consisting on the one hand of an absolute ignoring of the peasantry, and on the other of a petty-bourgeois idealisation of the peasantry as a whole.

Armed with Leninist principles, the Sections have been able to repulse both Trotskyism and Brandlerism, with their different varieties, where these have appeared in the agrarian question, as in other questions, in the Sections of the C.I.

In actual practice, however, success has not yet been accomplished in the actual Bolshevik application of the unfalsified principles of Marxism, as purified by Lenin from the dirt accumulated by the Second International, applied by the Bolsheviks in three revolutions, and made the common property of the proletariat of the whole world, thanks to the Communist International. In 1923, for instance, after the overthrow of the Stambulinsky government, the C.P. of Bulgaria did not prove capable of heading the struggle against the bourgeoisie, as ally and leader of the peasantry. The other sections of the C.I. too have only made tentative attempts at taking up the peasant question practically, and at emphasizing to the party members the importance of work among the peasantry.

The problems raised by the Fifth Congress with respect to the bolshevisation of the Communist Parties and the formation of mass parties demand fundamental changes in many spheres of work, and especially in the sphere of work amongst the peasantry. The resolution of the Fifth World Congress on the relations of the C.I. to the International Peasants' Council supplies the Communists with clear directives for their work, not only among the peasants in general, but within the different peasant organisations, for the purpose of liberating the toiling peasantry from the influence of the landlords and large farmers.

"Wherever political peasants' parties and other political

peasant organisations exist, the comrades must aid the toiling peasantry in developing these parties and organisations into class organisations of the toiling peasantry, and must drive the landlords and large farmers out of the leading positions in these organisations, even if this should lead to a split in the party or organisation. For a party or organisation led by large landowners or rich farmers cannot but betray the interests of the toiling peasantry." (Point 6.)

Notwithstanding this resolution of the Fifth Congress, the Sixth Congress devoted special attention to the necessity of intensified work among the peasantry, and stressed the fact that this work "is neglected by most Communist Parties." (Resolution of the Sixth Congress, point 40.) The programme of the Comintern, adopted by this same Sixth Congress, gives a number of fundamental directives in the agrarian question, penetrating deeper into the problems raised by the previous congresses. For instance, the programme lays down the viewpoint of victorious revolution in the sphere of agrarian politics in the three types of countries specified in the programme. A clear tactical line is laid down for the advancing of partial demands, and the partial demands themselves are concretised:—

"In the sphere of the peasant problem, the partial demands are those appertaining to taxation, peasant mortgage indebtedness, struggle against usurers' capital, the land hunger of the peasant small-holders, rent, the metayer (crop-sharing) system. Starting from these partial demands, the Communist Party must sharpen the respective slogans and broaden them out into the slogans: Confiscation of large estates, and workers and peasants' government (the synonym for the proletarian dictatorship in developed capitalist countries, and for a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in backward countries, and in certain colonies)." (From the Programme of the C.I.)

Equipped with the fundamental principles of the programme, in which the fundamental theses of the last Congresses are condensed and complemented, and under the conditions furnished by the world agrarian crisis in its reciprocal relations to the general crisis of the capitalist system, the Sections of the C.I., cleansed from the opportunist elements, are making considerable progress in the sphere of work in the rural districts. Apart from the work of the sections in the colonial countries, where the success gained in the

struggle for emancipation against the imperialists has been due to the correct Bolshevik policy applied, the Communist Parties are also able to record considerable progress in the capitalist countries.

Under the conditions of the third period, the main form of the revolutionary peasant movement is the Revolutionary Peasants' Committee, which enjoys the far-reaching support of the Parties in its capacity as an organ elected by the agricultural laborers and the toiling peasantry, and is utilised as a united front organ, as an organ actually putting into practice the alliance with the proletariat. At the same time the main task—the independent organisation of the agricultural proletariat as opposition within the reformist trade unions and in the independent Red trade union organisations—is carried out.

Numerous parties, especially the C.P. of Poland, as also the parties in some of the Balkan countries, for instance, Bulgaria, Greece, etc., have gained a firm foothold in the villages, thanks to their Bolshevik agrarian policy, in spite of the most difficult conditions. The C.P. of Czechoslovakia has organised and successfully led the mass movements of the Carpatho-Ukrainian peasantry, the struggles of the agricultural workers in Slovakia. The Italian party, in spite of the ten years of fascist terror, has gained great political influence among the agricultural workers and small-holders. The C.P.G. has headed numerous actions among the peasants affected by the crisis, and it has succeeded not only in retaining its political influence in the rural districts, and in strengthening this influence by its heroic struggle, it has at the same time restored its organisational contacts and continues to develop these.

All these successes, attained by the sections of the C.I., and signifying actual progress in comparison with the past, are only relative progress. They do not correspond, by any means, to the objectively favorable conditions given by the interweaving of the world economic crisis with a world agrarian crisis. They lag far behind the fulfilment of the political tasks arising out of the increasing acuteness of the class struggle, as "the world is on the eve of a fresh series of revolutions and wars." The absolute inadequacy of the agrarian work of the Communist Parties is proved by the circumstance that we have not succeeded in repulsing the advance of

the fascists in the rural districts in Germany or in Austria, or in emancipating the masses of the toiling peasantry, or even the agricultural laborers, from the influence of the fascists and big agrarians. We have not utilised adequately, for our work in the rural districts, the fact that the enormous successes of Soviet agriculture constitute a tremendous attractive power. Therefore the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. imposes on the sections the duty of:—

“Intensifying revolutionary work in the rural districts; opposing the landlord-kulak slogan of the ‘united countryside’ by the class slogans of the toilers and by the agrarian programme of the Soviet revolution; at the same time developing the fight for all the partial demands of the peasantry; at the same time opposing the kulak demands, which conflict with the interests of the proletariat and the village poor; obtaining a foothold (trade unions of agricultural workers, peasants’ committees) among the farm labourers, the poor peasants, and the semi-proletarian elements of the villages; and to win over the basic masses of the small and middle peasants.”

The Communist Parties must carry out these decisions with their utmost energy. This task is imposed upon us by our duty of “emphatically raising the question of power.” Whilst the passivity and aversion of social democracy—as Comrade Stalin says—are to be explained chiefly by the fact

“that these parties do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they are afraid of revolution, and have no wish to lead the proletariat to the conquest of power,”

our own firm belief in the proletarian dictatorship, our unshakable will to unfold the banner of proletarian world revolution, and our determined resolution to lead the proletariat to the world October, must be proved and demonstrated by our really Bolshevik work in the rural districts.

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