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JULY, 1934

Principal Contents
Notes of the Month
-Wonthaggi

Problems of Organisation

The Leader of the World
Proletarian Revolution

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Notes of The Month

CONTENTS.

Notes of the Month	Page 1
The Leader of the World Proletarian Revolution	" 5
Problems of Organisation and Leadership (R. Dixon)	" 14
For Marxism-Leninism (L. Sharkey)	" 22
The 1917 Strike—Some Lessons for To-day ("Nugafonos")	" 25
The Fear of Communism	" 30

**WONTHAGGI STRIKE—MINERS' COUNCIL DECISIONS—
COMMITTEES OF ACTION—PREPARE GENERAL STRIKE
—PARTY LEADERSHIP—ACTIVISE MINORITY MOVE-
MENT—BUILD UNITED FRONT OF STRUGGLE—LES-
SONS FROM M.M. SUCCESSES—LESSONS OF WON-
THAGGI—ORGANISATION AND ACTIVISATION
—DEFEND UNIONISM—RESTORE 10 PER
CENT. — CONSOLIDATE GAINS — FOR
SOVIET POWER.**

The solidarity and unwavering enthusiasm of the Wonthaggi strikers, the consolidation of the Miners' Federation, the Australian-wide support for the Wonthaggi strike, and the deep resentment of all workers against the 10 per cent. wage swindle, have made it practical to organise rank and file committees, prepare for solidarity strike action in the coalfields and in all industries for restoration of wage cuts. The central council of the Miners' Federation has resolved itself into a committee of action and has directed the district councillors, the committees of management, and delegate boards of each district, to constitute themselves committees of action to take steps "to strengthen the campaign for solidarity with the miners at Wonthaggi and for the mobilisation of our full industrial might to win this struggle and other struggles which are involving our union." The district committees of action are given the right to "organise and direct committees in each area to carry out preparatory work."

A further important decision is included in the resolution of the Miners' Council. The central and district officers are directed to strengthen the relations already established with other unions

and trades councils "to mobilise the whole trade union movement in defence of Wonthaggi and to link up the claims for Wonthaggi with the agitation of all unions for the restoration of the 10 per cent. wage cut."

In these proposals we see the slogan of the Communist Party and the Minority Movement, "Prepare for General Strike," beginning to take concrete form; we see also the influence of the party and organised militant unionism in relation to the development of the Wonthaggi struggle. The "Workers' Weekly," of June 1, commenting on the remarkable activation of the strikers, the widespread support, and the visit to N.S.W. of delegates from Wonthaggi, stated:—

"The visit will raise the enthusiasm of the N.S.W. workers and pave the way for solidarity strikes in the mining industry in New South Wales." Before the Miners' Council met, the Melbourne Conference of Shop Stewards pledged unanimous support to the Wonthaggi struggle and, about the same date, the strikers answered the capitalist press and the handful of defeatists. All except two, at one of the largest meetings since the strike commenced, declared enthusiastically for continuation.

In the issue dated June 15 of the "Workers' Weekly," based on the growing support for the strike, and the discontent of all workers with the recent 10 per cent. decision (despite the social-fascist efforts to divert it into electioneering channels) our party gave the lead to ensure victory by extending the struggle in the mining industry in support of Wonthaggi and to build the united front of struggle for restoration of the 10 per cent. cut.

On the work of the members of our party in activising the M.M. groups to realise the line of the Minority Movement, to support and give form to the Miners' Federation decisions, in leading the preparation for democratic election by the rank and file of committees of action in the mines and other work places, in linking job activity with union activity—on this depends the building of the united front of struggle.

The lessons of the work of the M.M. in the Miners' Federation, in Wonthaggi, and throughout Australia, in support of Wonthaggi must be noted and applied to ensure a continuation of the rising level of organisation and solidarity. The work of our party fractions, nationally and locally, and the mobilisation of the M.M. in

a favorable situation, and with a correct programme, placed the Minority Movement in a strong position in the executive organs of the Miners' Federation.

In spite of a tendency to sit back on this victory, when the very success demanded greater vigilance and activity; in spite of inadequate appreciation of the importance of the mining situation in some party sections, the leadership of the M.M., and particularly Comrade Orr, in the Miners' Federation, has been consolidated.

Agitation, propaganda and organisation, correct united front work by the M.M. in the leading councils and in the pits has consolidated the Miners' Federation, organised model strike action in Wonthaggi, and mobilised Australia-wide support for the strikers. Members of the Federation and the whole working-class have been made aware of the causes of the Wonthaggi strike and its significance for the miners and all workers.

The commencement of the struggle reflected wage-cuts, intolerable working conditions, speed-up, ill-health, and accidents. The immediate cause was victimisation and the attempts of the management, on behalf of the Victorian Government, to smash the union. Wonthaggi was shown to the miners and other workers as a spearhead in the further offensive of capital against the working class. The response of the miners in all fields and the support from workers all over the country has turned Wonthaggi into the spearhead of a counter-offensive by the working class.

This solidarity, which has expanded during the period of the strike up to the time of writing, is the result of organised leadership, the result of the propaganda, militant policy, and organisation of the M.M. It is the chief task of our party, immediately, to lead the work of agitation, propaganda, and organisation to raise this struggle to higher levels for victory at Wonthaggi and restoration of the 10 per cent.

The work in Wonthaggi has very important lessons for our members in the preparation of solidarity action, and particularly for the conduct of strikes. "It is the best strike we ever had," is the opinion of a Wonthaggi woman. What is behind this estimate? Organisation and activation! The strikers, their wives, and other workers, feel that it is their strike, they are conducting it. The broad committee numbers 60, and there are over 200 activated in the various self-aid committees. Over 300 have been enrolled in

the Minority Movement. The Wonthaggi strike shows the line of the Minority Movement in practice.

This is no accident, it is the result of correct communist leadership. It demonstrates that if we energetically take full advantage of favorable conditions, militant trade union organisation can be built, and hundreds of new activities and scores of new leaders developed.

Victory at Wonthaggi and restoration of the 10 per cent. wage cut can be achieved, the workers' burdens can be lightened, success will give a tremendous impetus to the movement of the workers away from arbitration and the treacherous reformist leadership. The organisational gains will greatly strengthen the movement towards industrial unionism.

Organisational consolidation of the gains, by recruiting to the party and the M.M. is of decisive importance for the struggle against imperialist war and fascism, for the isolation of the social fascists, for the overthrow of the capitalists and the realisation of Soviet power.

The Leader of The World Proletarian Revolution

(By V. KNORIN)

The history of the class struggle contains many noble and unforgettable names. Myrtridates and Spartacus were leaders of slave revolts against slave owners. Thomas Muenster and Florian Geier, Razin, and Pugachev were leaders of peasant revolts against the feudal aristocracy. Marat and Danton, Hebert and Robespierre were leaders and directors of bourgeois revolutions against feudalism. These names will always remain in the history of mankind. Campanella, Babeuf, Fourier, St. Simon, Robert Owen, the great utopian socialists, will always shine as beacons marking the path of development of socialist thought.

The toiling masses have risen hundreds of times in struggle against their oppressors, but have always been defeated. The brilliant plans of the utopian socialists remained unreal, impracticable dreams. Social formations and forms of exploitation changed. In place of the slave-owning society came feudal society, to be replaced in turn by capitalist society, but the exploitation and oppression of man by man remained unchanged.

Only capitalism prepared the objective prerequisites for socialism. It created its own grave digger—the proletariat. But for the toilers to be able to throw off the yoke of their oppressors it was necessary for the revolutionary movement of the oppressed masses to turn into an organised conscious socialist struggle for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the revolutionary proletarian party.

Marx and Engels turned socialism from a utopia to a science. They showed the toilers the path towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the path towards socialism through the violent overthrow of the ruling classes. They formed the first international party for the struggle of communism, the First International.

Lenin, the great thinker who continued the work of Marx and Engels, created the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution. The theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat, formed

a mass revolutionary party in Russia for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. He led the proletariat and the peasants of the U.S.S.R. to victory over the exploiting classes and to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on one-sixth of the globe. He formed a new international workers' association—the Communist International.

Stalin, who took over from Lenin the struggle for socialism, developed Lenin's teachings still further, gave a practical plan of struggle for socialism, and on this basis brought the toiling masses to the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and at the same time to the strengthening of the position of the international socialist revolution.

Lenin proved in practice that the victory of the toilers over capital throughout the world is not a dream and not a matter for the distant future. This victory can be achieved in the class struggle if the proletariat of the capitalist countries, following the example of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., form a party which is strictly centralised, which knows the aim of its struggle, and is supremely faithful to the cause of the liberation of the toilers.

Continuing the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, Stalin converted into reality in the U.S.S.R. the boldest dreams of the best representatives of mankind of all times on the subject of socialism, smashed the opportunist dogmas of the Second International regarding the impossibility of the construction of socialism in such a country as Russia, a country having only a medium development in economic respects. In Stalin there is concentrated all the best traditions of the international workers' movement, all the experience of the class struggle of many centuries and all the experience of the struggle of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R.

Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin . . .

These four names have penetrated deeply into the minds of the revolutionary masses of the world.

Stalin . . .

He rose from the very midst of the toiling masses. As far back as 30 years ago, in the pamphlet "A Glance at Party Differences," he set out the main problems of the Bolshevik Party in a way which can be set alongside the works of Lenin, and which should be included in the iron arsenal of Bolshevism. In 1912 he elaborated in detail Lenin's teachings on the national question, and

his pamphlet "Marxism and the National Question" can also be compared only with Lenin's work on this question. At the sixth Congress of the Bolsheviks, deputising for Lenin as the speaker giving the report of the C.C., he gave an interpretation of the basic problems of Bolshevism and the prospects in its struggle for power and socialism which has been put at the basis of all the further activity of our party.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin took on himself the defence of Leninism against the neo-Mensheviks and Trotskyites who tried to distort Leninism, just as Kautsky and Bernstein had distorted Marxism. It became urgently necessary to present Leninism in such a way as to beat off every attempt to distort and to bring Leninist theory to the forefront. It was precisely this presentation of Leninism which was given by Stalin in his lectures on the "Foundations of Leninism" at Sverdlov University.

The significance of these lectures for spreading socialist consciousness and Marxist-Leninist theory among the masses can only be compared with the significance of such works as the "Communist Manifesto," "Capital," "The Criticism of Gotha Programme," "What's to be Done," "State and Revolution," "Imperialism," and "Left-Wing Communism."

Translated into all the languages of the U.S.S.R. and into all the chief languages of the peoples of capitalist and colonial countries, into French and Anamite, English, Urdu and Bengali, Chinese and Japanese, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, German, Dutch and Malayan, Comrade Stalin's book has become the basic source of Marxist-Leninist conceptions and revolutionary study for the toilers of all countries.

The opportunists strove to stamp Leninism—this international theory of the proletariat—as a product of purely Russian conditions. What did Stalin do? He defended Leninism as the theory of the international proletariat, as the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, as the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, as the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

Proceeding from the Leninist theory of imperialism and proletarian revolution, in contrast to all the social-democratic and neo-Menshevik theoreticians, on the basis of the inexorable Marxian laws of the development of capitalism, Stalin in "Foundations of

Leninism" formulated three principles determining the course of all world development:—

(1) "The sharpening of the revolutionary crisis in capitalist countries, the growth of the elements of an outburst on the home, the proletarian front, in the 'mother countries'."

(2) "The sharpening of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial countries, the growth of the revolt against imperialism on the external, the colonial front."

(3) "The inevitability of war under imperialism and the inevitability of a coalition of the proletarian revolution in Europe with the colonial revolution in the East into a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism."

These three principles of the Leninist theory of imperialism and proletarian revolution which were defended by Stalin in the struggle against the opportunists gave a revolutionary direction and orientation to the Communist International for the whole subsequent period.

Based on the Leninist theory that imperialism is dying capitalism because it carried the contradictions of capitalism to the last boundary beyond which revolution begins, Stalin developed Lenin's thesis on the necessity of proceeding to new methods of struggle of the working class for the destruction of the almighty power of monopolist capital:—

"In the struggle against this mighty power, the usual methods of the working class—trade unions and co-operative societies, parliamentary parties and the parliamentary struggle—proved to be entirely insufficient. Either submit to the mercies of capital, starve in the old way and sink lower and lower, or take new arms—this is how imperialism puts the question to millions of the proletariat."

In practice this meant the necessity for a most determined struggle against the parties of the Second International, who, taking advantage of scattered theses and fragments of the theory of Marx, torn away from the living revolutionary struggle of the masses, tried to keep the masses under their influence. Stalin deduced four principles from Lenin's teachings as the programme of this struggle:—

(1) The verification of the theoretical dogmas of the Second International in the fire of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, in the fire of the living practice, i.e., the restoration of the broken

unity between theory and practice, the liquidation of the gap between them, because only thus can a real proletarian party be formed, armed with revolutionary theory.

(2) The verification of the policy of the parties of the Second International, not by their slogans and resolutions (which can not be taken at their face value), but by their deeds, by their actions, because only thus can the confidence of the proletarian masses be won and deserved.

(3) The reconstruction of all party work on new revolutionary lines in the spirit of the training and education of the masses for the revolutionary struggle, because only thus can the masses be prepared for the proletarian revolution.

(4) The self-criticism of the proletarian parties, educating and training them on their own mistakes, because only thus can real cadres and real leaders of the party be trained.

These principles of Lenin and Stalin became the basis of the practice of the Communist International.

The ten years which have passed since the appearance of Stalin's lectures, "The Foundations" of Leninism," have been full of the greatest changes and events throughout the world.

The U.S.S.R. has become converted from a backward country—culturally and economically—a country of small peasants, into an industrial country, a country of big collective agriculture, a country which is well advanced in technical matters. In strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, the U.S.S.R. liquidated the last considerable exploiting class—the kulaks—and is building the first classless socialist society in the history of mankind. The dogma of the Second International, according to which the proletariat cannot and should not take the power unless it forms the majority in the country, if it has not ready-made a sufficient number of cultural and administrative cadres capable of carrying on the proper administration of the country, this dogma has been utterly destroyed. The dogma that the method of the general political strike and the armed insurrection are inapplicable for the proletariat has been finally destroyed.

Who will believe these dogmas now when the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., who form a minority in the country, having taken the power by means of an armed insurrection, without having their own cultural cadres, formed these cadres and are building classless

July, 1934.

COMMUNIST REVIEW.

socialist society? Who will now believe the social democrats who, promising to achieve socialism by peaceful methods, in reality in Germany and Austria, led to fascism, led to new imperialist wars and the indescribable poverty of the masses, and who themselves are collapsing under the pressure of the sharpening of international contradictions and of their ally, fascism?

It is not surprising that some of the leaders of social democracy are now passing over directly to the fascists (Severing and Loebe in Germany, Mosley in England, etc.), some are trying to manoeuvre, recognising in words the necessity of abandoning reformism and going over to the struggle for revolution. It is not surprising that the masses who not long since followed the social democrats are now turning towards the communists.

Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. has tremendously influenced the development of the international revolution. The growth of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is rousing the toilers of all countries to the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for socialism in their country. The victory of socialism in our country has become a mighty force accelerating the historic course of the world proletarian revolution.

Leninism decisively destroyed the traditions of the Second International, which accepted imperialist domination in respect to colonial people. Stalin elaborated still further Lenin's teachings on revolutions in colonial countries. The great example of the U.S.S.R. rouses the colonial peoples to the struggle for their agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. The teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the national question united and enlightened the young national proletarian cadres who have become the leaders of the revolution in dependent and colonial countries. The communists of imperialist countries are learning that their struggle is closely connected with the struggle of the colonial peoples.

The development of the revolutionary movement in colonial and dependent countries did not permit capitalism to make firm its stabilisation, but constantly undermined it. The growth of revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries undermines the entire imperialist system. The Chinese Soviet Revolution has already become a powerful international anti-imperialist factor. The limitation to Europe of the workers' movement which was cultivated by the Second International (which in essence was only

COMMUNIST REVIEW.

July, 1934.

European) had been destroyed. The workers' movement in imperialist countries is united with the movement of the oppressed peoples in the dependent and colonial countries.

In the "Foundations of Leninism" Stalin gave in a concentrated form the theories of imperialism and proletarian revolution, theories which were elaborated by Lenin and which served as a key to the understanding of the entire development of the world situation. The stabilisation of capitalism which had commenced required that its place be determined in the general process of the development of capitalism and proletarian revolution.

"If an ebb of revolution has begun in Europe, does this not mean that the principle of Lenin on the new epoch, the epoch of the world revolution, thus loses its meaning? Does it not mean that the proletarian revolution in the West is thus abandoned?"

Stalin gives a clear answer to these questions:—

"The epoch of the world revolution is a new stage of the revolution, a whole strategic period stretching over a whole series of years and even of decades. Throughout this period there may be and must be ebbs and flows of revolution." Revolution "... usually develops not along a direct rising curve in the form of an unbroken growth of the rise, but by zigzags, by advances and retreats, by ebbs and flows, which in the course of the development steals the forces of revolution and prepares for its final victory."

At the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Stalin said, on the basis of the further development of events:—

"From partial stabilisation will arise an increase in the crisis of capitalism, a growing crisis will break down stabilisation—such are the dialectics of the development of capitalism at the present historic moment."

Further:—

"In the midst of the working class, revolutionary energy has accumulated which seeks and will seek an occasion, sometimes appearing to be a most insignificant occasion, to burst out into the open and fall on the capitalist regime. We are living on the eve of a new revolutionary upsurge both in the colonies and in the dominating countries. A new revolutionary upsurge will arise from stabilisation."

This means that all the energy, all the forces of the international Communist Movement must be directed more than ever to winning over the masses, to preparing them for the decisive class battles, because there is no Chinese wall between a revolutionary upsurge and a revolutionary situation.

There was already a world economic crisis at the time of the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. On the basis of his analysis, Stalin states that: "The contradictions between the chief imperialist countries," ". . . between the victorious and defeated countries," ". . . between the imperialist countries and the colonies," ". . . between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat," are becoming more naked and more acute, that "The stabilisation of capitalism is coming to an end," "that the upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the masses will grow with new force," that "the world economic crisis will grow into a political crisis in a number of countries," that the bourgeoisie will seek a way out of the situation by further fascination and a new imperialist war, that the proletariat "will seek the way out in revolution."

Finally, at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., Stalin stated that "capitalism has succeeded in somewhat easing the position of industry at the expense of the workers," that evidently "what we are witnessing is the transition from the lowest point of decline of industry, from the lowest depth of the industrial crisis to a depression, not an ordinary depression, but to a depression of a special kind which does not lead to a new boom and flourishing industry, but which, on the other hand, does not force it back to the lowest point of decline." He states that "a result of the protracted economic crisis was the hitherto unprecedented acuteness of the political situation in capitalist countries, both within the respective countries as well as between them," that "quite clearly things are moving towards a new war," that "the revolutionary crisis is maturing and will mature." But at the same time, returning to the idea which he developed even at the Fourteenth Conference, he again emphasised the question of the necessity for a **strong, powerful Communist Party.**

Ten years of the Stalinist estimate of the international situation! But altogether they comprise one whole work. This is because every conclusion of Stalin arises from the exceptionally profound analysis of facts and events based on scientific theory, the

theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. This is the only scientific theory which can carry with it the millions of toilers, because it is the theory of the overthrow of the power of capital, the theory of the proletarian revolution. This theory rouses the masses, fills them with confidence, because it is true, because it has been justified again and again, year after year, in the eyes of hundreds of millions of people.

This theory of the proletarian revolution has tremendous strength because it has been proved in practice in the U.S.S.R., because the U.S.S.R. on its basis has become a powerful socialist country. It is a practical guide to action for hundreds of millions of people in all the countries of the world. In a brilliantly concentrated form it was set out in the "Foundations of Leninism" and has been developed further by Stalin uninterruptedly in accordance with the new facts in the development of the class struggle throughout the world.

From the utopian socialists to the powerful Soviet government which rouses the toilers of the whole world by its example to the struggle for socialism; from the spontaneous movements of the masses without theory and guidance, without definite tasks and aims, to the modern revolutionary movements which have the best theory elaborated by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, such was the path of development of the class struggle and socialism.

Problems of Organisation and Leadership

(Extract from the concluding speech of Comrade Dixon to No. 1 District Conference)

The struggle for the further bolshevisation of the party is also a struggle to raise the whole level of organisational activity. This question is placed very sharply in the resolution. It is one of the weakest but most vital points of our work. Take the question of the recent waterside delegate to the Soviet Union, which Comrade Thomas spoke about. Party members worked tirelessly for the sending of this delegate, but did not go to the trouble of setting up an F.S.U. group on the waterfront—that is, to obtain organisation. This is not an isolated case. In the discussion at this conference many other examples of weak and bad organisation have been given.

The question of organisation has occupied the attention of the C.C. and D.C. very much of late. As a result, a reorganisation of the sections in District 1 has been undertaken, and also of the district committee. Stable section committees have now been established, but they are not yet well functioning organs. Our problem is to make them function well—to raise the whole level of leadership in the district.

The district committee must give better leadership to the sections and the sections to the units.

The main flaw in the work of the district and section leadership in the past has been the tendency to go for everything—to place all tasks on the same level and attempt to solve the lot. This is wrong. Instead of scattering our energies all over the place, trying to do everything and getting nowhere, let us be a little more modest and get somewhere by doing less but doing it better. The problem of our leaders in solving the various tasks is not to place all tasks on a par, but to be able to select the most vital and most essential element in the work, that link to seize hold of and on which to concentrate the main weight, and which will result in

moving the whole chain.

What is the main link we must seize upon at the present moment to assist in solving the problem of organising the party in the factories and developing T.U. work? It is the struggle against arbitration, for industrial unionism and general strike. It is here we must concentrate our main attention and best forces.

Both Lenin and Stalin have pointed out that the essence of the organisational question rests in the selection of cadres and check up on the fulfilment of decisions. The resolution before the conference bases itself on this Leninist position when it states "it is necessary that when decisions are arrived at strict personal responsibility for the carrying out of same be established, and a system of check-up on fulfilment of the decisions be instituted. The check-up on the carrying out of decisions, which is only really possible when strict personal responsibility has been established, is of decisive importance in the struggle for winning the masses, and organised supervising of fulfilment becomes a task of all committees and units."

It is not only a question of selecting the vital element in our work, and arriving at decisions, but also of the cadres to carry out the work, and establishing a system of check-up. But there is another question here. Does personal responsibility negate collective leadership? It does not. On the contrary, unless we have personal responsibility there can be no collective leadership in the party. It is only when the D.C. and sections, after collectively working out the directives for the different phases of work selecting comrades to specialise and lead the carrying out of same and from time to time check up on fulfilment, that there will be a rapid move forward on all sides in our work.

Further, on the question of check-up. Who is responsible for checking up on fulfilment? Certainly the organs which arrive at the decisions have responsibility in this direction, but in addition there are the control commissions, which are elected at our conferences, and which should occupy an important place in the work of the party. In the past the control commission has been regarded as an organ which sits and waits for someone to inform it that a deviation has been made, and then it goes after the culprit. We have got to abolish this sort of control commission and have one which really controls and checks up on decisions arrived at.

The control commissions must know the line of the party and the nature of decisions. The leader of the control commission must attend the respective D.C. and S.C. meetings, participate in the working out of decisions, and mobilise the members of the control commission to check-up on the carrying out of decisions. The district control commission can investigate the work of any member of the D.C. or sub-committee and department of D.C. as well as the lower organs and of party members. Similarly, the section control commissions in their respective spheres. We want control commissions which will do this and then we will commence to really move forward more rapidly in this vital work of check-up and control.

Now, the third question. Very few of our district and section leaders know how to lead. They try to do all the work themselves. Such an attitude is very bureaucratic and reveals a lack of faith in the party members. What are the tasks of our leaders in this connection? They must lead the party members and through them the masses of workers and poor farmers. That means to say that the attention of leading comrades must be mainly directed towards improving the internal party position, leading and mobilising the party units, fractions and members for mass work. I do not think we have yet arrived at the point where we can realise this in the sections, due to the shortage of trained leaders. It has been necessary to place the leading comrades for direct participation in different phases of mass work. However, in the further development of the work, our leaders are faced with the task of drawing in other comrades to work under their guidance so that a number of the section leaders may give more attention to internal party work, strengthening the work and leading the fractions and units. The sections must very seriously take up the task of developing a cadre of organisers outside of the S.C., but which acts under its instructions and directly assists in leading the work of the section.

It is in solving these questions of organisation particularly that we conflict with the fossilised bureaucrats. Many comrades imagine organisational forms as being static. They cannot see that as new conditions develop, as the party grows and is faced with new problems, so must our organisation develop and changes take place. Thus, for instance, the district has been reorganised, reducing the number of sections in order to establish stronger section leaderships. In a very short time, however, I expect the district committee will

be faced with the task of once again reorganising—this time to establish more section committees, which will be necessary, because the growth of the party will make it impossible for the existing sections to cope with the problems of organisation. Hence, you see, organisational forms are not static, but change even as life changes. This is the dialectics of the question. Those comrades failing to understand the processes making for changes cannot reorientate themselves to the new situation or do so with difficulty. They have become fossilised.

Fourthly, I want to stress the importance of the section committees. The resolution before conference states: "The section committees are vital points for the development of the whole of the mass work of the party, and must become more live and mobile, reacting quickly to party decisions, applying them to the local situation and rallying every party member for the realisation of same."

Why are the section committees such vital points for the development of the mass work? Precisely because it is the section committees which have the most direct contact with the units and fractions through which the mass work is developed. On the sections tremendous responsibility rests for organising and supervising the carrying out of the directives of the highest organs of the party.

In No. 1 District the section committees, unfortunately, have been one of the weakest links in the chain of our organisation. There is no quick reaction to C.C. and D.C. directives. It takes weeks and even months for directives to trickle through to the units, or they are so mechanically transferred that no real mobilisation of the party membership takes place. Much of this is due to the inability of the section committees to correctly plan their work and establish personal responsibility and also from lack of driving force and personal guidance from the D.C. An instance: A D.C. commission was held on rail work and detailed instructions sent to the section committees, directing that responsibility be established for leading this work. Nothing came of it until some months later, when at the commission on the various sections the work was reorganised and responsibility established. Why was this directive not acted upon by the section committees earlier? Because the comrades did not know how to reorganise their weak forces to accomplish this. There was lacking personal guidance and leader-

ship from the D.C., and what applies here also applies in the connections between the sections and the units and fractions. It is necessary to examine this question of connections in the light of our experience. Earlier, the D.C. had more or less spasmodic connections with the sections and the sections with the units. Later an improvement took place, and now fairly strong connections exist by correspondence. But this is not now enough. The developments that have taken place demand that we improve our connections. To-day a most vital and essential need is to establish living, personal contact and guidance between the D.C. and the sections, and the sections and units. Only this can hasten the carrying of our work to a higher level. This means that not only must the D.C. and S.C.'s send out directives by correspondence, but in addition comrades are to assist in working out the plans for putting the decisions into operation.

Finally, on this group of questions, I want to deal with our inner party democracy. The whole development of our mass work and party organisation demands the rapid raising of the level of inner party democracy, a much sharper struggle against bureaucratic methods of leadership. Take the tramway delegate to the S.U. last November. When the question arose as to which candidate the M.M. would support in the elections two comrades at the top bureaucratically decided the issue without consulting with the M.M. members, and the M.M. members were just informed. Naturally bitterness arose which could have been avoided had the matter been discussed and decided upon at a full meeting of the M.M. members. To-day, nine months later, we are still feeling the repercussions from this extremely bureaucratic action, which is hindering to some extent our work in the tramways. Many other such examples could be given applying not only to mass organisations, but also to inner party democracy.

It is a hangover from the past, when we were extremely sectarian and narrow. The changes that have taken place on all sides mean also that we must rapidly overcome such distortions of party democracy.

The party is based on democratic centralism—it is able to combine the higher centralisation and discipline with the broadest democracy. The one is necessary to the other. Bureaucracy destroys the essence of democratic centralism—it creates a condition where you have centralism without democracy, which, in turn,

undermines the discipline of the party and reduces its fighting fitness. Bureaucracy is a bourgeois manifestation within the party which we must resolutely resist.

The 13th plenum placed sharply before the sections of the Comintern the task of raising the discipline of the parties and the fighting fitness of all party organs and members. Discipline is not something to be bureaucratically imposed from above in our party, it is of real power only when self-imposed. Our leading organs must discuss more with the lower organs the questions affecting them, working out with them the application of the party line, and obtaining agreement on questions of forces, etc. This will create enthusiasm for our line, raise the level of discipline, and also of the confidence of the party members in the leadership.

Now to some other questions. The Federal elections have received very little attention in our discussions. This is bad, as the elections are not far off and the campaign is lagging.

What is necessary in connection with the elections? Firstly, that we make ourselves acquainted with the mistakes and shortcomings of earlier election campaigns and pursue the line of overcoming them in the forthcoming campaign. In the past we have conducted election campaigns after the manner of the Labor Party, that is, our campaigns were influenced to a very great extent by the ideology of the Labor Party. This is serious, because we communists have a different conception of parliamentarianism and of parliamentary elections to other parties. For the Labor Party parliament is the beginning and the end. Its whole organisation is nothing more than an electoral machine and is subordinated to this end. On the other hand, we are out to destroy parliament and the capitalist state and we make use of election campaigns for this end as a weapon to assist and strengthen our whole political and organisational work. In the past, however, elections have disrupted the party organisation. Our section committees, units and fractions ceased to meet, training classes went out of existence, and the party organisation was virtually transformed into an electoral machine somewhat like the Labor Party. It is clear that we must sharpen the struggle against social democratic tendencies and prevent such a situation as this in the forthcoming elections. The campaign must lead to a strengthening of the whole mass work of the party as well as of the party organisation. This means that

July, 1934.

COMMUNIST REVIEW.

the main slogans we raise in the elections will be those of the 4th plenum and also against arbitration, for industrial unionism, general strike and Soviet power. We will use the elections to strengthen the existing campaigns. It will be necessary to see that all units and fractions not only meet but strengthen their activity, that the number of classes is not reduced but increased, making use of the election campaign to build them up and also that the campaign be used to raise the level of party recruiting and to obtain the 50 per cent. increase in membership.

After dealing with a number of other points the speaker continued as follows:—

I am now coming to the end of my remarks and will finish on the question of unity. The conference has revealed in the clearest and sharpest manner how united the party is around the line of the central committee. According to Tripp such unity is a sign of weakness. We can dismiss this stupid observation with the contempt it deserves. It is clear that we could not develop a real struggle against the class enemy whilst we have its reflection in our ranks. Hence we root out and scatter the opportunists.

In contrast to the unity in our ranks the situation in the camp of the enemy is anything but united. The U.A.P. and the Country Party are at each other's throats, whilst the Labor Party is split into warring cliques.

The splits in the Labor Party are connected with its fascisation. Its disintegration and fascisation corresponds to the leftward swing of the masses, which serves to intensify the internal squabbles within the Labor Party, giving a further impetus to its disintegration and fascisation.

The process of the break-up of the Labor Party means the break-up of the main social support of capitalism. It is a sign of the disintegration of capitalism. Important class shiftings are taking place. The forces of reformism are becoming weaker, are breaking up, whilst the forces of communism, of revolution, are rapidly strengthening. It is symptomatic of the times, signifying the rapid approach of the revolutionary crisis.

The unity in our ranks is possible only because of the collectivity of effort and unity within the C.C. It is possible because the C.C. has waged the most consistent, resolute and successful struggle for the line of the Comintern—for the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

COMMUNIST REVIEW.

July, 1934.

There has been a real consolidation of the party membership around the line of the C.C.

The unity in our party is not an Australian peculiarity—but is to be observed in all parties and first of all in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of Stalin the opportunists of all brands have been defeated and scattered and the C.P.S.U. is marching at the head of tens of millions of workers and peasants, leading them to socialism.

In Germany, in face of the most terrible terror launched by the fascists, the Communist Party, on the basis of correctly estimating the situation and adopting correct tactics, has been successful in reorganising its work and strengthening the struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

To-day the various sections are united around the executive committee of the Communist International, at the head of which stands Comrade Stalin, in a manner never before known. A discipline prevails in the world communist movement which is tremendous.

The renegades can rage in their peurile, puny way, the fascists can unleash their terror, but the Communist Movement grows stronger. To-day a million communists in the capitalist world, completely united under the banner of the Comintern, are going forward in an organised and disciplined way leading millions of the masses along the path to the proletarian revolution and Soviet power.

For Marxism-Leninism

LENIN'S THEORY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY AND A TROTSKYIST ATTEMPT AT FALSIFICATION.

(By L. SHARKEY)

An example of the Trotskyist attempt to falsify the history of the Bolshevik revolution and to substitute Trotsky as the central figure of the revolution, and the Trotsky "theory of the permanent revolution" as the theoretical programme of the Russian revolution, "confirmed in the October days," is very clear in the Trotsky attitude to Lenin's theory of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" and its role in the Russian revolution.

Unscrupulous Trotsky attempts to utilise sentences and paragraphs from Lenin's reply to Kamenev in 1917 to show that Lenin was wrong and that he, Trotsky, was right; in other words, that Trotsky alone had forecasted the course of events in the Russian revolution.

How is this fatuous attempt to dethrone Leninism and enthroned counter-revolutionary Trotskyism made?

By using, for example, this statement of Lenin, "Whoever now talks of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is lagging behind life." (Revolutionary Lessons, p. 13, N. Lenin.)

"This formula," said Lenin, "is out of date."

And here Trotsky rushes in, on the basis of this statement, to claim that his ideas (which, incidentally, Lenin described as "playing with revolution") were correct and "confirmed" by the course of the revolution.

The question, however, happens to be somewhat different, and is: When, and in relation to what, at what stage, did Lenin say this this formula had become "obsolete"?

UNSCRUPULOUS MISUSE

A moment's study of "Revolutionary Lessons" will show how unscrupulously Trotsky has misused Lenin's words.

"The revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry has already been realised in the Russian Revolution, since this formula has in view merely the mutual relationship of classes, and not the concrete political institution embodying this mutual relationship, this co-operation. The council of workers and soldiers' deputies—here is life's concrete realisation of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." (Revolutionary Lessons, N. Lenin.)

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry already exists, but in an extremely original form, bound up with a number of highly important variations. I will deal with the latter in one of my subsequent letters." (Revolutionary Lessons p. 14.)

So Lenin's theory was not "obsolete" in 1917, as the Trotsky forgers would make out, but was "realised in life" in an "original form."

When did it become obsolete? After the 1905 revolution? No, during the unfolding of the revolution in 1917, after certain stages had been passed, and new tasks were on the order of the day, it became "out-of-date" in relation to these tasks and only in connection with the Russian revolution, not the revolution in other countries, India or China, as the Trotsky fakirs claim.

Let Lenin explain this:—

"What is the first stage? It is transfer of power to the capitalist class.

"There exist side by side, together, at one and the same time, both the supremacy of the capitalists and the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, which voluntarily gives up power to the capitalist class."

And it was here, at this stage, that the "democratic-dictatorship" became "obsolete" in relation to the tasks of the Bolsheviks in the given stage of the unfolding of the revolution.

Lenin continues:—

"There is a new and different problem on the agenda: the separation of the proletarian elements (anti-patriotic, internationalist, 'communist,' standing for the transition to communism) inside this dictatorship, from the small bourgeois or lower middle-class elements."

SCATHINGLY CONDEMNNS TROTSKYISM

And here, in the self-same article ("Revolutionary Lessons," pp. 18, 19), from which Trotskyism steals a few sentences, in order to represent Lenin as actually, in practice, following Trotsky and "admitting" that Trotsky was right, is a scathing condemnation of Trotskyism.

"But are we not exposed to the danger of falling into subjectivism, into a desire to leap over the unfinished (because it has not yet passed through the peasant movement) bourgeois-democratic revolution, in order to arrive at a socialist revolution?"

"If I had said: 'No Tsar, but a Labor government,' I would be running this danger. But I did not say that; I said something quite different." ("Revolutionary Lessons," p. 19.)

TROTSKY'S PET SLOGAN

And the slogan, "No Tsar, but a Labor government" was the slogan of the self-same Mr. Trotsky, the synonym for the "permanent revolution."

Lenin further slaughters this absurd misrepresentation by Mr. Trotsky!

"I absolutely insured myself, in my theses, against any leaping-over an unexhausted peasant or, generally speaking, lower middle-class movement, against any playing at the conquest of power by a workers' government. . . ."

"Playing at revolution," "leaping over the peasant movement," this is Lenin's life-long estimation of the Trotsky "permanent revolution," repeated once more during the development of the 1917 revolution, on the eve of October.

In particular, in countries where the peasants predominate (India, China, etc.) Lenin's formula of the "revolutionary-democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" is an essential stage, which cannot be "leaped over," but only becomes "out of date" after certain necessary stages of the revolution have been fulfilled, whilst the Trotsky "permanent revolution" remains what Lenin evaluated it, as "playing with revolution," "leaping over the unexhausted peasant movement."

The revolution of 1917 confirmed in their entirety the theories of Lenin, including the above estimation of Trotskyism.

The 1917 Strike—Some Lessons
For Today

(By "NUGAFONOS")

General strikes, says Mr. A. C. Willis ("S.M.H.," 12/5/'34), have proved disastrous wherever they have been put into force. "The call to-day is for the workers to use their intelligence in securing those improvements in conditions which can never be obtained by the old jungle methods." With this latter sentiment I am in complete agreement. I also call upon the workers to use their intelligence and have always been an opponent of the "jungle methods" by which, for example, the 1917 strike, of which Mr. Willis was a leader, was organised and led. I differ, however, in my interpretation of "jungle methods."

A story is told to Kaffir children that the animals of the jungle, who had dug a big hole for water during a hot summer, refused to allow the jackal to drink from it because he had been too lazy to help them dig it. The jackal, coming along later with some honey, was able to persuade the lion, who had been put to guard the hole, to lie on his back and allow his paws to be bound in anticipation of the jackal's pouring honey down his throat. But while the lion was bound, the jackal had his fill of water. These are the "jungle methods" I object to; and it is the jackals, like Willis, who have been able to do to the lion of organised labor what the jackal did to the lion of the fable.

It is a remarkable thing that both the capitalist press and the social-pacifist "labor leaders" are deeply concerned, when it is a question of struggle for the maintenance or betterment of conditions, about the "sufferings of the workers." "It is the workers who suffer most from strikes," says Mr. Willis. And so, the communists and the militants are accused of wishing to sacrifice the workers in an attempt to achieve their own ends, while such men as the labor-jackals are intent upon preventing suffering! But it is at the same time a peculiar thing that this concern about the suffering of the workers finds loudest expression when the workers begin to struggle against the worsening of their conditions or for the betterment of them. It is struggle that causes more disturbance to the jackals'

July, 1934.

COMMUNIST REVIEW.

peace of mind than silent suffering. It is not a choice between suffering as the result of a strike and prevention of suffering by refraining from striking. On the contrary, it is a choice, firstly, between maintaining our conditions and not maintaining them, and, secondly, between silently suffering more and more attacks on our conditions and "by opposing, ending them."

In pursuance of their plan to bind the labor-lion and to keep it back, by means of the honey of parliamentary promises, from struggle to maintain and better conditions, the jackals are, to-day, pointing to the alleged failure of strike action in the past. The 1917 strike is their pet illustration. Let us consider this strike, and I think we shall find that it represented, not the failure of solidarity and determination on the part of the strikers, but the success of those who had wormed their way into the confidence of the strikers, the better to be able to betray them. "Jackals" seems too polite a term—something like "snake" or "serpent" would be more descriptive.

In studying the great Strike of 1917, it is necessary to consider the parts played by the various forces in that fight. Those forces that we have to consider are:—

- (1) The Government and the Employers;
- (2) The Strikers; and
- (3) Their Leaders;
- (4) The revolutionary movement.

It is also necessary to pay attention to the peculiar political conditions of the period: the country in the midst of a great war; the failure of the first conscription campaign; the disillusionment of many people about the objects of the war, increased by the poverty of the workers, including returned soldiers; and by the viciousness of the Government against its opponents and in its use of the War Precautions Act, etc. By arriving at a correct appreciation of the objective conditions and by understanding the parts played by all concerned, we shall be able to learn important lessons for to-day's application.

I think it is necessary, in the first place, that we understand correctly the sequence of events. What immediately follows, therefore, is a chronicle.

The strike lasted from August 3 to October 20, 1917. The immediate cause of the strike in the railways was the reintroduction

COMMUNIST REVIEW.

July, 1934.

of the card system for the purpose of speeding up. This had been introduced a year before, but had been withdrawn, and the men had been given to understand that it would not be reintroduced while the war lasted. A meeting of members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, held at the Trades Hall on July 27, carried a resolution that "the members of the society at this meeting will not accept or work under the card system." On July 30, a meeting between the executive of the Trades and Labor Council and representatives of unions involved, was held. The unions represented were: Electrical Trades, Amalgamated Engineers, Australian Society of Engineers, Boilermakers, Operative Plumbers, Sheet Metal Workers, Tramway Employees, Amalgamated Railway and Tramway Service Association, Moulders, Carpenters. A deputation from this meeting to the Railway Commissioners was told the card system would not be withdrawn, and at an adjourned session of the meeting on the same day this resolution was adopted: "That we affirm the resolution carried at Monday night's meeting, that an ultimatum be issued to the Government that unless the card system is withdrawn by next Thursday, August 2, the whole of the unions concerned stop working."

August 1.—An ultimatum was presented to the commissioners that the men would stop work failing withdrawal of the cards by August 2. Fuller, Acting-Premier, called the introduction of the card system "a slight administrative change." In Parliament, promised protection for scabs—before the strike had commenced!

John Storey (A.L.P.), in reply to Fuller, requested a committee of inquiry in order to avert the "threatened disaster," stating that no one would regret a general strike more than the Labor members of the House.

August 2.—Fully 80 per cent. of the men in the railway shops were out before the day was over. All members of the A.S.E. in the Railway Department were out. Two delegates from each union met at the Trades Hall and E. J. Kavanagh was appointed press secretary.

August 3.—Fuller, in Parliament, said that nine-tenths of the men did not know what the strike was about, that the Government would not compromise, that the fight was between the "extremists" and the rest of the people of the State, and that the door was still open "for the reinstatement of sensible men."

August 4.—Fuelmen stopped work. This involved in turn the engine-drivers and firemen. E. J. Kavanagh admits that "it was originally intended to confine the strike to those directly affected by the card system." The rank and file, however, forced the issue.

August 5.—Engine-drivers and firemen come out, as do also the Railway and Tramway Association. Four South Coast collieries thrown idle through lack of trains. Electrical Trades Union decides to stop work at railway power-houses.

August 6.—All coal in the railway service declared black. Railway boilermakers ceased work. Forty suburban trains into Sydney and 34 out, in place of the usual 660. Railway Commissioners threaten that there will be victimisation after the strike.

August 7.—Trolley and draymen resolve to refuse to cart goods into or out of any Sydney Railway Station; ironworkers decide to stand by the other unions; engine-drivers and firemen's decision to come out affects 9000 miners, 400 coal-trimmers and 200 crane employees in Newcastle and Maitland. Men on strike to date number 30,000. Ultimatum issued by the Government: Unless the men return by Friday, August 10, they will lose all rights, and volunteers will be called for.

August 8.—Newspapers publish reports of meetings of the Chamber of Manufactures and the Employers' Federation. The former pledged full support to the Government, "whatever the cost might be," while the latter deplored the "unjustifiable strike" when "the Empire is engaged in a life and death struggle for the preservation of our liberties" (sic!) Mr. Willis and other representatives of the unions wait on the Cabinet. Mr. Willis says: "We are most anxious that something should be done to bring the dispute to a satisfactory termination. We are not here to discuss the merits of the dispute. We met together ourselves, and thought that perhaps, even now, at the eleventh hour, we can so put the position as to help you out of the difficulty." (The would-be peacemakers were snubbed, the Government gaining fresh courage from their obvious readiness to betray—the Government was out to smash unionism.) Willis, continuing, offered the Premier the aid of the unions in making victimisation effective! "We want," he continued, "to make the suggestion that if it is a matter of

dealing with the alleged slackers, we think there ought to be some way of providing means to deal with cases of that kind, and that the unions involved would have to undertake that they would not defend the men of the class referred to. . . . We feel our responsibility as much as you do, and if an honorable understanding can be arrived at, even now, what threatens to be a national calamity can be averted. You know as well as we do that unless something is done, the mining and other industries will be involved in a few days. We want to avoid this. That is the reason we are here tonight. We are not here to threaten at all." The answer of the Government was: "The Government are prepared to meet . . . any emergency when it takes place."

August 9, 1917.—Another deputation was received by the Cabinet. The following is the report in the "Herald" (10/8/'17) of that meeting: "Ministers received the deputation in the Premier's room at the Treasury. Wharf-laborers resolve not to resume work until the cards were withdrawn from the railways. Coke workers at Corrimal and boilermakers at Walsh Island are out. Several hundred women demonstrate in Macquarie Street. A deputation from them was received by Fuller."

Mr. Dooley, Labor M.L.A., says: "Even if both sides had to sacrifice a little they should do it in the interests of the harmonised working of the country."

August 10.—Fuller announces that all men not back at work by Monday will be dismissed.

August 11.—Union's defence committee issues a manifesto on conditions in the Railway Department and against the speeding-up system sought to be introduced.

August 12.—Seamen come out. All wheat and flour arriving by train declared "black." "Sunday Sun" and "Sunday Times" carry full-page advertisements calling for scabs, ending with: "Who is for Australia and the Allies"?

(To be continued.)

The Fear of Communism

The national leader of the fascist special detachments, Himmler, has now taken the place of Diels in the leadership of the Secret State Police and Goering has found a post as provincial governor in Cologne for his protegee Diels. The removal of Diels means a very definite weakening of Goering's position in Germany and his efforts to secure the whole of the police powers in Germany into his own hands have failed finally. Naturally, the appointment of Himmler does not mean any diminution of the police terror, or even a normalisation. Himmler, the leader of the most reliable fascist terror organisation, will undoubtedly do his best to outdo not only his predecessor Diels, but his superior Goering, whom he hopes to replace in time, in point of brutality and cunning.

The change in the leadership of the Secret State Police took place to the accompaniment of threatening speeches which were at the same time a confession of the fear harbored by the fascist authorities at the growth of the revolutionary movement in Germany.

Goering declared: "Every enemy of the State must realise clearly that the time has passed when he could go about his criminal activities with impunity."

And Himmler answered: "Millions have come to us with honest hearts, but there are still thousands and tens of thousands who have remained our enemies, even if they have outwardly conformed. We must not deceive ourselves, the enemies of national socialism are organising themselves all over the world in order to fight against us with all possible means."

Himmler speaks of tens of thousands of enemies. If that estimate were true then each enemy of the State would be covered a hundredfold with military organised protectors of the State, for Roehm has again assured the world at a meeting of foreign diplomats and press representatives that the tasks of the millions of men organised in the fascist special and storm detachments are exclusively inner-political ones. However, Roehm was incautious enough to add:—

"Any attempt to violate the frontiers of the Reich would be resisted not only by the Reichswehr, but by the whole of

the German people down to the last man. In this sense one can speak of our storm detachments as the guarantee of peace in Central Europe."

Roehm also declared in the same speech: "We do not flatter ourselves that Marxism is dead," but it was just this belief that was trumpeted to the four winds by the national socialist leaders when they came to power, and now from the same people one hears the contrary. Hard facts compel the professional fascist liars to make such admissions.

After a year of ruthless terror against the revolutionary working-class movement Goering is compelled to admit that all the repressive measures have been without effect.

In an interview he declared: "The communist danger is still acute so long as communism is fed from abroad." And he added that he had therefore drawn up new and draconic measures against communism.

The draconic measures which have already been put into operation this year have not prevented the growth of the revolutionary movement and they have not liquidated the energy centres of the communist movement outside Germany. Even more powerful persons than Goering and Hitler have tried conclusions with the Communist World Movement, led by the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union, and for 17 long years all their efforts have come to nothing. The end result is that world communism and its advance guard the Soviet Union are stronger than ever before.

In the same interview Goering betrays his impotent anger when he abuses and slanders the leaders of the German Communist Party. He declared:—

"Individual judgment would have to be exercised to settle the question of any release of Thaelmann, Torgler, etc. At the moment, however, there can be no question of the release of either of them on account of the processes for high treason which are being prepared against them. Torgler has long ago abandoned communism. Thaelmann has not done so, first of all because he is much more stupid than Torgler, and secondly because he really does not know what communism is."

It is not often that one hears such insolent and hypocritical mouthings even from Goering. Now we are suddenly told that there can be no question of release because trials for high treason

are pending. Six months ago the Czechoslovakian lawyer Sekanina was in Berlin in order to interview Thaelmann and offer him legal assistance. The fascist public prosecutor declared, however, that there could be no question of the acceptance of any legal defence for Thaelmann because no charges had been preferred against him. Thousands of proletarian officials have been in "preventive detention" for over a year and there is no question of any legal proceedings against them.

As far as the slanderous accusation is concerned, it is sufficiently disproved by the fact that the fascists are still holding him in gaol despite the acquittal. If Torgler had consented to make public declarations of loyalty to fascism as Severing and Loebe have done, then he would be in freedom as they are.

Thaelmann is certainly not so "clever" as Severing and Loebe, who purchased their immunity with miserable treachery. He is also not so "clever" as Goering himself, who disappeared to Sweden for years when the collapse of the Hitler putsch in 1923 threatened to introduce him to the amenities of prison life. Thaelmann has not the cleverness of these political careerists, for him and for the other leaders of the Communist Party it was a natural thing that at a time of acute danger they should stand shoulder to shoulder with the fighting workers despite the threat of death or imprisonment and torture. It is, of course, grotesque when Goering pretends to know better what communism is than the leaders of the Communist Party do. This is the same Goering who was permitted to deliver a tirade for hours at the Reichstag trial and whilst doing so gave vent to not one single political idea, but regaled his listeners with hair-raising stories about arson, murder and poison. This same Goering who was unable to answer the questions put to him by Dimitrov and who stood there, in the words of a British telegraph agency, "with foam at the lips, shaking his fists, trembling over his whole body and dancing with rage," now dares to speak condescendingly of Thaelmann, the leader of the German proletariat, a man of whom the national socialist bandits are so afraid that after a year of preparation they dare not bring him to trial in public.

The workers of the world know how much this abuse is worth. It confirms what the workers already knew, although for months no sign of life has been permitted from Thaelmann, and no visits have been allowed, namely, that, despite maltreatment and threats,

Comrade Thaelmann is still standing up staunchly to the fascist executioners, and that he is still what he was when he was flung into prison, the example of a steadfast and heroic revolutionary leader.

The revolutionary workers and anti-fascists of all countries have made the struggle for the freeing of Thaelmann into their own struggle. In the factories of the Third Reich committees have been formed to defend Thaelmann and workers of all shades of political opinion belong to them. The furious abuse and the threats of Goering show how much the lives of the imprisoned anti-fascists are in danger, the lives and health of Comrades Thaelmann, Torgler, Neubauer and all the others, and how necessary is the intensification of our international solidarity campaign to rescue them.

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