

**AUSTRALIA'S**  
**PART IN THE**  
**WORLD**  
**REVOLUTION**

**Theses of the Central Committee  
Plenum, Communist Party of  
Australia, June 28th. and  
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# AUSTRALIA'S PART IN THE WORLD REVOLUTION

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## ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY.

**Theses of the Central Committee Plenum, Communist Party  
of Australia, June 28th and 29th, 1930.**

The working class of Australia is facing the concentrated fire of the triple alliance of the capitalist class, the Federal Labor Government, the various State Governments, and the reactionary officials at the head of the trade union movement. The offensive against wages, hours and conditions of labor that was launched under the regime of the Bruce Nationalist Government is being carried to a higher plane as every available force of reaction is mobilised against the working class.

The economic crisis grows deeper week by week. In glaring contradistinction to the promises of the Labor Party that if placed in office the unemployment crisis would be overcome the number of unemployed has constantly increased, until to-day there are more than 300,000 jobless workers in the country.

Accompanying this deepening crisis of capitalism and its attempts to place the burden of its crisis upon the backs of the working class is a mighty wave of radicalisation of the masses. The growing resistance of the workers to the Arbitration Court decisions, the spontaneous outbreak of strikes, the heroic resistance of the miners, the mass demonstrations of May Day, and the development of new organizational measures in combatting the capitalist offensive are indicative of the increased determination of the workers to struggle.

The attempts at suppression of these demonstrations and strikes intensifies the struggle. The workers perceive more clearly the alignment of the capitalist forces against them—from the biggest capitalist exploiters, with the Scullin Labor Government as the organizer for carrying the capitalist offensive against the working class to a higher stage, down to the left social fascists of the calibre of Lang and Garden.

The class conflict has reached such a stage that all the forces of reaction are driven into one camp, from whence

they must concentrate their drive against the working class. This, in itself, raises the conflict to a still higher stage.

While utilizing all its combined forces to place the burden of its crisis upon the working class at home, the Australian bourgeoisie participates in the war conspiracies of British imperialism and proposes to utilize the unemployed situation to mobilize unemployed ex-soldiers and able-bodied unemployed workers to aid British imperialism, which, under the social fascist Government of Ramsay MacDonald, is turning India into a vast slaughter house in an effort to suppress the growing revolution of the Indian masses. Simultaneously with this proposed mobilization for a colonial war proceeds the malignant campaign against the Soviet Union. While jailing unemployed workers at Darwin and conducting campaigns for wage slashing, lengthening of hours through its Federal arbitration courts, the Scullin Government also pursues a "small" imperialist policy of its own in ravaging the mandated territory of New Guinea, and acts as international policeman for Dutch imperialism by delivering Indonesians who are political fugitives to the Dutch hangmen.

This situation imposes tremendous responsibilities upon the Communist Party, as the vanguard of the working class. As the one working class party in this country our task is that of immediately increasing our membership so that we will have sufficient forces to cope with the problems before us. Our leading forces must be broadened and new elements drawn into active leadership of the revolutionary work. The reorganization of our Party from a territorial branch base to that of factory nuclei must immediately be completed. Only by sinking our roots deep into industry will we be able to win the masses of workers to our revolutionary standard.

The objective conditions for building a mass Communist Party are at hand. The chief obstacle to the realization of such a Party is our own weakness, which in itself is due to the opportunist heritage of the past, and the survival to-day of remnants of that opportunist past. With the assistance and guidance of the Communist International these difficulties are being overcome and the results are shown in the growing activation of the Party and its establishing mass influence over a number of sections of the working class.

## THE WORLD CRISIS—GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT.

1.—While the world crisis can be described as a cyclical crisis of capitalism its effects are bound to be more far-reaching and more disastrous for the capitalist ruling powers than pre-war cyclical crises. This crisis occurs in the period of the decline of world capitalism and is itself a powerful force in the further decline of capitalism. The economic crisis in the United States, that set in last October and which is at this moment growing deeper, intensified to a high degree the fundamental contradictions of world capitalism.

The Enlarged Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, at its February meeting declared: "The significance of the present crisis of over-production in the United States is heightened by the fact that it is unfolding in a period when the contradiction of markets is becoming extremely acute, when the tendency common to all capitalist countries for periods of depression to become longer and cause the depression to acquire character is certainly very marked, when certain important branches of world economy (coal, textile, shipbuilding, etc.) have failed for a number of years to emerge from a state of crisis, while other branches (rubber, oil, non-ferrous metals, silver, etc.) are entering a crisis, when the capitalist countries and the colonies are already in the midst of a sharp agrarian crisis, which manifests itself in some countries in the form of over-production of raw materials and agricultural produce (United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina) and in others, mainly in colonial countries (India, China), in the form of a serious under-production of foodstuffs."

2.—When the Wall Street crash revealed the marked depression that had hit the American bourgeoisie a considerable portion of the capitalist world was already in the throes of a crisis. Especially was this so in the Baltic States, Poland, Austria, and the Balkans. Certain of these States, dependent upon imperialist support, found that support curtailed as a result of the declining economy of the imperialist powers. The terrible suppression of the masses, the terrific burdens imposed upon the workers and peasants of such countries, created the conditions for political crises in a number of countries, and especially Poland, which is leading to a revolutionary situation.

In the colonial countries the condition of the masses beggars description. Mass starvation has assumed such dimensions that millions would rather perish in a desperate fight

against their oppressors than further endure their frightful impoverishment.

3.—This deep cyclical crisis of capitalism, occurring in this period of the decline of capitalism, has thrown out of employment not less than 17,000,000 workers, who, with their dependents number not less than 60,000,000, over whom the spectre of starvation hovers. Other millions are existing at a vastly lowered standard of living on part-time wages and constantly fear being thrown out into the streets to join the army of unemployed.

Added to the millions of unemployed who are thrown out of the industries are millions of farmers and peasants, pauperized by the agricultural crisis. Instead of shortening hours of labor so that work can be provided for unemployed, the capitalists utilize the presence of the army of unemployed to speed up labor and slash wages in the most frightful manner.

The crisis brings about more intense competition between the capitalist powers for markets. Especially the shrinkage of the home market in the United States forces American capital to become more aggressive in its fight for world markets, with the result that world prices are being forced down, thus ruining the weaker competitors.

#### SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION.

4.—In sharp contrast to the fall of production in all capitalist and colonial countries and the resultant mass unemployment and impoverishment is the unparalleled advancement of socialist construction in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, resulting in a marvellous increase in production, rapid decline in unemployment, shortening of hours of labor and a steady rise in real wages. The achievements of the workers' and peasants' power of the Soviet Union in the field of economic life surpasses anything ever known in all the history of mankind. Recent statistics give some indication of the tempo of this development.

In the United States of America, now the most highly developed capitalist country in the world, the growth of its productive forces from the eighties up to the world war was 9.7 per cent. In the Soviet Union, during the first year of the Five Year Plan of socialist construction, the goal set for achievement was an increase of 21 per cent., but the actual increase was 24 per cent. And during the first half of the present year production increased an additional 29 per cent.

World coal production during the past year increased

4 per cent., while in the Soviet Union the increase was 21 per cent.

The world production of steel fell off 6 per cent., while in the Soviet Union it increased 30.8 per cent. In the United States steel production fell off 16 per cent. Likewise the production of pig iron in the United States fell off 8 per cent., while it increased 17.7 per cent. in the Soviet Union.

During 1929 the total of unemployment decreased 19 per cent. in the Soviet Union. In the industrial workers' section the number of unemployed was reduced from 237,000 to 188,000, or by about 21 per cent.

Thus, it is seen that while in capitalist countries unemployment is constantly increasing, in the Soviet Union it is constantly decreasing and approaching the vanishing point. Accompanying this decrease in unemployment is the successful application of the seven-hour day and the five-day week to Soviet industry, a steady increase in wages and a lowering of the cost of living. This year real wages in the Soviet Union will be increased by 12 per cent.

5.—In the sphere of agriculture socialist construction is also moving forward with gigantic strides. No less than 13 or 14 million peasants have been drawn into the sphere of collectivization. The standard of life and conditions of toil of the peasantry is constantly improving. This is a source of tremendous strength to the Soviet power. This year, for the first time, the Soviet Union has been able to constitute a grain reserve of two million tons. This is in sharp contrast to the progressive impoverishment of the agricultural masses in the capitalist countries. The continued fall in grain prices in the capitalist world signalises a deepening of the agricultural crisis with disastrous results for the poor and middle peasantry and the throwing of millions of agricultural laborers into the ranks of the unemployed.

6.—The Five Year Plan of socialist construction in the Soviet Union has not proceeded without friction. Its introduction was recognized as a mighty advance for the revolution. All the forces of reaction within and without the Soviet Union mobilized to thwart it. The rich peasants (kulaks) initiated campaigns of murder and terror against the defenders of the Soviet power. In districts where they were not strong enough to carry on such campaigns they resorted to wholesale killing of stock, burning of grain, etc. The Soviet power replied to these provocations with the inauguration of the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class, of ruthlessly sup-

pressing all the counter-revolutionary intrigues.

7.—The success of the first period of the Five Year Plan was such as to place on the order of the day the question of its completion in four years. It also had profound international repercussions, inasmuch as the imperialists of the world realized that its successful introduction meant the raising of one more almost insurmountable barrier to their hopes of ever again bringing back into the capitalist world that one-sixth of the inhabitable globe that was wrested from them in the tempest of the victorious Bolshevik revolution of October, 1917.

The seizure of the Chinese Eastern railway by the imperialist bandit lackeys was deliberately planned in the hope of gaining an opening to the Soviet Union and had it been successful would have been the signal for an imperialist invasion also from the West. But these Chinese landlords and capitalists and their mercenary generals in the employ of British and American imperialists were taught a severe lesson. They were forced to beat an ignominious retreat. This defeat of the imperialist invaders was of tremendous political importance in raising the prestige of the Soviet Union in the Far East and was also an important factor in forcing resumption of relations by the social fascist Government of Ramsay MacDonald.

8.—This victory over the conspirators in the East, combined with the achievements of the Five Year Plan and the stern revolutionary liquidation of the kulak as a class, which removes from Soviet soil the last internal ally of the capitalists in case of intervention, naturally gave rise to new outbursts of fury against the Soviet power.

The most notable feature of this new campaign is the mobilization in the service of imperialism of the very scum of the earth, the filthy crew of religionists under the leadership of the Pope of Rome, the British archbishops, the Protestant hell-peddlers, the Jewish rabbis, the Salvation Army, the holy rollers, jumpers and crawlers, in a campaign on behalf of the kulaks inside the Soviet Union.

These traffickers in religious opium indulged in veritable contests in counter-revolutionary lying about "religious persecution in the Soviet Union."

Seldom, aside from the organized drives of war propagandists in war time, has there ever been such a campaign of studied mendacity. All this was calculated to fan the flames of religious hatred in an effort to create a favorable "public

opinion" for an imperialist war against the Soviet Union, in order to bring that country back into the sphere of capitalist exploitation.

This campaign was accompanied by the puppet Government of Mexico, at the behest of Yankee imperialism, breaking off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Only recently a diabolical plot against the Soviet Union was discovered in Warsaw, where an infernal machine, containing enough explosives to destroy a city block, were found "planted" in a chimney of the Soviet embassy in that city of White Guard intrigue. A wire connected the giant bomb with a Czarist White Guard club house. It was not merely an Imperialist plot to murder the Soviet ambassador, but to dynamite the embassy and then publish frantic tales to the effect that a bomb factory in the Soviet embassy had exploded, thereby furnishing an excuse for a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R.

9.—But the class-conscious proletariat of the whole world stands on the side of the Soviet Union. The imperialist powers of every country know that their war conspiracies against the Soviet Union will be resisted with all our power. They know that the Communist Parties in every country will endeavor to mobilize the masses for the defence of the Soviet Union. The achievements of socialist construction are an inspiration to the toiling masses and sets a magnificent example of what the workers and farmers can achieve when they overthrow their own capitalist class and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Five Year Plan of socialist construction is not merely a victory for the Soviet masses, but is a victory for the whole international proletariat and is itself one of the most important factors in the destruction of capitalist stabilization and the radicalization of the working masses.

#### FURTHER CONTRADICTIONS AND COLONIAL TYRANNY.

10.—While the capitalist world is united in its mutual hatred and fear of the Soviet Union, the economic and political antagonism within its own ranks threaten the world with another imperialist war for the redivision of the world again between the great powers. The Anglo-American world-wide economic conflict for world supremacy, the frantic naval race, the fraud of the London conference which, under the guise of a disarmament confab, was in reality a preparation for

new and more deadly armaments, indicate the frenzied war preparations.

The Young Plan, hailed as a measure for peace, is in reality also a means of preparing new wars. It is an attempt of the American bankers, the Wall Street gang, and the German bourgeoisie to further subjugate the German working class (already the campaign for lowered standard of living through wage slashing and lengthening of hours is taking place in Germany); it is also calculated to draw Germany into the sphere of American imperialist intrigue against the rivals of Yankee imperialism; the bank of international settlements is to be the institution through which financial blockades can be organized, and particularly a centre for concentration of finances for supporting a military invasion of the U.S.S.R.

11.—While intensifying the exploitation of the workers and peasants in the home countries the imperialist powers also try to further pillage the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The weight of the world economic crisis falls particularly heavy upon the masses of the colonies, especially those countries where finance capital relies upon native feudalism, and where the practice of cultivating a single crop is widespread. The slowing up of industrial production in the imperialist countries has produced a profound economic crisis in such colonial countries—especially India and Egypt.

British imperialist policy in India has been to keep that vast territory as a source of raw material for its home industries. It has systematically stifled normal industrial development. Far from elevating its colonies, the policy in India and in all other colonies has been one of systematic debasement. Human life is regarded as nothing by the avaricious British imperialists. Millions have died of famine because British capital pillaged the country of what would have been grain reserves if the masses were left to themselves to work out their own destiny. Millions die of disease every year because of British policy of stifling education of the masses; there is less than one doctor of any description to every 50,000 population.

12.—The working class and the exploited masses of the world rejoice that to-day in India the masses are moving against British imperialism. Millions of exploited victims of British imperialism in India have reached that stage of desperation where they prefer death to life under the monstrous tyranny of MacDonald's minions of imperialism. For months British imperialism has been trying to drown in blood the

growing resistance to its power in India. In spite of the systematic suppression of news by the press we now have facts to prove that there is proceeding in India a deliberate campaign of mass murder of men, women and children by the invading hordes of British imperialism. The social fascist Government of MacDonald, Henderson and Co. are playing the role of hangmen of the Indian revolution.

At Peshwar, the key to the Punjab, heavy concentration of forces has taken place. Bombing planes daily rain death upon the tribesmen in a war of extermination. There are eight hundred armoured tanks in Calcutta; in Bombay workers are killed in the streets for striking and the city is an armed camp.

But the imperialist carriers of famine, pestilence, systematic robbery and mass murder are faced with an enemy that daily grows more determined. There is evidence that the revolution is developing along Leninist lines. The working class is the motive force, and is establishing its leadership over the masses of peasantry. It is clear that the attempt of the imperialists to use Gandhi as a lightning rod to shield the structure of British imperialism from the gathering storm has failed. Gandhi tried to divert the growing revolution into harmless channels, by preaching non-violence so that the masses would remain helpless at the mercy of the machine guns, the bombing planes, the tanks, the liquid fire and poison gas of the imperialist bandits. When he failed the MacDonald Government "arrested" him in the hope that his detention in comfortable surroundings would cause the masses to abandon the path of anti-imperialist revolt and turn their energies to a demand for the release of Gandhi. But the revolutionary tide swept past this miserable mountebank and is going forward to the democratic revolution of workers and peasants.

One event in the Indian revolt will for all time hold its place in the glorious pages of revolutionary history—the mutiny of the Royal Garhwal Rifles. Two platoons of these native forces mutinied and handed their rifles over to the insurgents at Peshwar. This act symbolises the growing unity of soldiers with the workers and peasants, without which no revolution in India can succeed. In Calcutta the temper of the native forces is such that they are being replaced by companies of the East Lancashire Regiment.

In every part of the British Empire the class-conscious workers will support to the limit of their fighting ability the masses of India who are rising against the same tyranny that oppresses us all.

13.—In Egypt, a country given over to the production of one crop—cotton—and the stifling of other industry, there is a deep crisis. Here also British imperialism faces the danger of uprisings of the masses and the threat to the Suez Canal, the gateway to India.

In South Africa there is developing an ominous undercurrent of revolt that will soon raise the defiant banner of insurrection. British imperialism pursues a relentless policy of mass slaughter of natives in that hapless land in an effort to crush the masses.

With the rising tide of colonial revolution in the empire there proceeds also the new rise in the Chinese revolution. The collapse of the counter-revolutionary unification of China and the outbreak of a series of new wars on behalf of the imperialists striving to consolidate spheres of influence in that country is accompanied by the risings of workers and peasants. The close connection between the defeat of the Nanking provocations against the Soviet Union in the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the new revolutionary upsurge must not be under-estimated. The great mass demonstrations in defence of the Soviet Union in the Chinese cities were the harbingers of the fresh impetus that is now given to the new wave of Chinese revolution.

In French Indo-China the fighting spirit of the revolutionary masses is not crushed in spite of the savage carrying out of death sentences, the imprisonment and torture of workers and the Yen Bay massacres on May Day.

In Latin America Yankee imperialism continues and intensifies its murderous drive against the rising tide of revolt.

The working class of all the Pacific countries, particularly of Australia, must be aroused in defence of the growing revolutionary storms that are challenging imperialist tyranny in the colonies and semi-colonies.

#### THE AUSTRALIAN CRISIS.

14.—The crisis that was developing in Australia during the past year received a tremendous impetus as a result of the sharpening of the world economic crisis. The fall in world prices of wheat and wool had a pronounced effect upon the economy of Australia. The fall in the price of wool has been precipitous. The following figures for the past three seasons indicate the velocity of the decline. The price per bale for the seven months ended January 31, 1928, was £24/5/-; January 31, 1929, was £22/10/11; January 31, 1930, £12/19/11. The price per pound dropped from 18.94

pence on January 31, 1928, to 10.42 pence on the same date, 1930. During last season the amount received for wool was £35,000,000. The current season saw a drop to £16,400,000.

The debacle of the wheat market can be traced directly to the vast disproportion between production and the world market. The principal factors weakening the wheat market in Australia are the narrowing of the home market, the large holdings of unsold wheat in Canada and the United States of America, the generally big harvest last season in most European countries, the substantial export surplus of the Argentine and the tendency of some European countries to substitute other foodstuffs for imported wheat, and the restricted buying power of the workers of the capitalist world.

The unfavorable trade balance for the six months ended December, 1929, amounted to £16,000,000. This high adverse figure results mainly from the fall in wool prices, which showed a reduction of over £11,000,000 for the six months ended December.

The decline in merchandise exports for the first ten months of the financial year (up to April 30) amounted to £43,125,205, or nearly 25 per cent. For the first ten months of the year 1928-29 exports of merchandise were £124,652,251. The first ten months of the year 1929-30 they were £81,527,046. Imports for the same periods were £119,607,779 and £115,842,438 respectively, a decline of £3,765,341.

At the same time there has been a movement of gold of £26,134,321, as compared to £2,796,484 for the first ten months of the previous year. This heavy gold movement is an attempt to bolster up the tottering Australian pound on the international money market. The export of gold from Australia, while used to try to overcome the effects on the international money market of the unfavorable trade balance, cuts down the gold reserve in this country and hence further reduces the "face value" of the Australian notes. The Commonwealth Bank is now striving to raise the gold backing of notes by increasing its reserves, which now stand at 43.31 per cent. This attempt, in turn, will further affect the unfavorable trade balance in foreign markets. Thus, every attempt to overcome one contradiction inherent in the capitalist system of wealth production raises in sharper form more contradictions.

The so-called secondary industries, retarded in their development because of the British policy of utilizing Australia as a source of primary products for its home industries,

have been hard hit by the rapid decline of the purchasing power of the Australian market. Even the former trivial export of secondary products has stagnated, which further accentuates the crisis and the resultant unemployment. Its undeveloped state, its comparatively small home market, limited by the small population of the country, imposes unsurmountable difficulties upon Australian "secondary" industries in the export market. All the difficulties of Australian industry are further sharpened by the American crisis and the resultant intensified drive of American producers for the world market, accompanied by a still more rapid fall of prices.

At the same time, those secondary industries, established with the aid of American capital (auto body and accessory, the American meat trust, etc.), suffer as a direct result of the American crisis.

The crisis itself also sharpens the imperialist rivalry between the two leading imperialist powers of the world, Great Britain and the United States. This struggle, reflected in Australia, is leading to political divisions in the camp of the capitalist class. The most powerful section of Australian capitalism is dependent upon Britain as a market for its primary products, while a considerable section of those with capital investments in secondary industries tries to attract Wall Street banking capital to aid in the development of its industries. This struggle manifests itself in divisions in the ranks of the capitalistic parties, as yet not definitely crystallized, but clearly reflecting the conflict in Australia between the two dominant imperialist powers.

15.—The burden of the Australian crisis rests upon the working class and the poor and middle farmers. While 300,000 workers are unemployed and not less than one million members of working class families are impoverished by the crisis, the capitalist bankers and owners of industry still rake in millions off the exploitation of those workers still employed. A series of New South Wales companies with an original investment of £35,325,954 show profits of £8,368,905 per annum, or a return of 23.6 per cent. on their investment.

The continued high rate of profit realized by the capitalist exploiters of labor is due to the systematic introduction of rationalisation in all industry in this country. The chief characteristic of rationalization is a terrific speeding up of labor, an intensity of toil of such a nature that only the youngest and most rugged workers can endure it, and even they are soon worn out. Through various devices of "reorganization" the older men are thrown upon the scrap heap of indus-

try and younger men, youth and women take their places. This speed-up is accompanied by lengthening of hours and reduction of wages and the introduction of labor-saving devices. Through rationalization the number of workers permanently out of employment becomes ever larger. Tens of thousands of workers who joined the ranks of the unemployed at the beginning of this crisis will not again find their places in industry.

#### SOCIAL FASCIST GOVERNMENT.

16.—The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, analyzing the world economic and political situation, characterized this as the third period of the post-war decline of capitalism, the main features of which were the precarious condition of capitalist stabilization, the sharpening of all the inner and outer contradictions of capitalism and the radicalization of the working masses and their increased willingness to struggle.

Every effort of the capitalist class to overcome the irreconcilable contradictions of the system only intensifies these contradictions still more. Rationalization, far from solving the problem, only sharpens it, by increasing productive capacity, by eliminating ever larger numbers of workers from the productive process and by further sharpening the economic conflict with countries exporting commodities in competition with Australian products. All the social conflicts become intensified with every effort on the part of the capitalists to extricate themselves from the contradictions generated by their system itself.

As a result of capitalist rationalization, which brought about profound changes in the composition of the working class, the displacement of large sections of formerly skilled workers with semi-skilled and unskilled narrowed the base of social reformism. As the crisis of capitalism deepens the capitalist class cannot offer such concessions as formerly to even the upper strata of labor. The bribed section of the working class which furnished the basis for social reformism grows ever smaller. Hence the social democracy and the reformist labor parties that served as agents of the capitalist class by putting forth deceptive demands for trivial reforms in order to arrest the development of militant resistance to capitalism, now comes forth as the official Government party for strangling the growing militancy of the workers, through compulsory arbitration, strike breaking, organized massacres of workers, intensification of the capitalist rationalization drive, etc. Thus is the road traversed from social reformism to social fascism.

In this period social democracy and the former reformist labor parties play a special role as lackeys of the capitalists in attempts to maintain capitalism by placing ever greater burdens upon the backs of the working class. The Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International showed why, at this particular stage in the decline of capitalism, social democratic parties are called to power:

"The impotence of the bourgeoisie to find a way out of the ever sharper external and internal contradictions; the necessity to prepare for new imperialist wars and to secure the rear by bringing the greatest possible pressure upon the working class as a means of extricating themselves from the present situation; the inability of the bourgeoisie to carry out these tasks by their own efforts, without the aid of the social-democratic parties; and finally the need to screen this policy under the mask of democracy and pacifism—these facts have made necessary open co-operation between the bourgeoisie and the parties affiliated to the Second International. Hence the accession to Government of the Social Democracy in Germany and of the Labor Party in England."

It is because of the same conditions and for the same reasons that the Scullin Labor Government was called to power in Australia. The capitalist class was unable to carry out by their own efforts the ferocious drive they had begun against the working class. They had to have the assistance of the Labor Party in maintaining their own power.

#### SCULLIN'S SOCIAL FASCISM.

17.—Just as the Government of MacDonald and company in England have proved in action that they are better fitted to serve the interests of British imperialism than the Baldwin Government that preceded it, so the Scullin Labor Government in Australia, during the first half-year of its existence, has already proved that it can wage a more vicious campaign against the working class than the Bruce Nationalist Government that preceded it. It has proved itself to be the best servant of capitalism precisely because with radical phrases it can still confuse certain sections of the working class, while putting into effect the policies of the ruling class.

Far from solving the problem of unemployment as was promised in the campaign speeches of the present members of the Government, the labor regime has proved in action

that it is the Government of rationalization par excellence. In practically every section of the Commonwealth the 48-hour week has been introduced in place of 44 hours, with a resultant increase in unemployment. The statistics prove that unemployment has increased almost 100 per cent. since December (from 160,000 to more than 300,000). The wage slashing campaign continues unabated, while the compulsory arbitration system is utilized to the limit against wages, hours and conditions of labor.

The drive against the working class has reached new heights of ferocity under the Scullin regime. The capitalist offensive began with the crushing of the waterside workers, then the timber workers, then under the Labor regime the miners have been defeated by the combined drive of the mine owners, the Government and the reactionary traitors at the head of the miners' unions, who are a part and parcel of the Scullin social fascist hirelings of capitalism.

While the betrayal of the miners was being carried out, additional sections of the working class were brought under the fire of the concentrated capitalist attack. The 44-hour week on the railroads has been abolished and now the 48-hour week is re-established.

The infamous "reclassification" award of Judge Beeby against the metal workers has resulted in wholesale wage slashes and the abolition of conditions for which the workers fought for years.

The latest section of the working class to receive the full force of the offensive were the tramway workers, whose hours of labor have been increased from 44 to 48 by decree of the full Federal Court of Arbitration, directly under control of the Scullin social fascist Government.

The Scullin Government is waging an incessant campaign for increasing production and introducing efficiency measures at a time when the army of unemployed is constantly increasing, and when every new advance in the process of rationalization of industry means more workers thrown out of the industries and on to the streets.

Scullin, speaking at the Victorian State Labor Party conference, stated very frankly that he was concerned only with aiding the capitalists overcome their present crisis, and that the problem of unemployment was not worthy even of consideration until profits were again made secure and the Australian capitalist class helped out of its own difficulties. The exact words of Scullin were: "Before tackling the unemployment problem we must raise the depression."

Simultaneously with this drive against the wages, hours and conditions of the working class, the Scullin Government and the various State Labor Governments pursue a policy of batoning and jailing the unemployed masses who go into the streets to demonstrate for work or wages. Instead of bread the Labor regime gives the unemployed batons, the demands for shelter are met with jailing and concentration in compounds under heavy police and military guard. In Darwin, the territory directly controlled by the Federal Labor Government, the leaders of the unemployed demonstrations have received savage sentences and are now held prisoners in Scullin's gaols.

### THE HIGH TARIFF FAKE.

18.—The much vaunted high tariff shows in glaring light the role of the Scullin Labor Government as the pliant tool of the bankers and industrialists of Australia. The first result of the tariff on imports, prohibitive in many lines, was to further increase unemployment among the waterside workers and those workers employed in import trades. It further reduced the real wages of the working class and imposed greater hardships upon the middle and poor farmers by enabling industrialists to charge monopolistic prices for their products. At a time when there is a marked fall in world prices, the Scullin Labor Government imposes upon the working class of this country, already suffering from savage wage cuts, higher prices for the necessaries of life. The Federal Labor Government openly proclaims its policy to be that of defender of the industrialists of Australia and the filthy social fascist rag, spokesman for the Scullin Government, the "Labor Daily," urges its readers thusly to buy Australian goods:

"Australian manufacturers having been given a measure of protection by the Federal Government never before accorded to local industries in any overseas dominion, the question naturally arises: What are the manufacturers going to do to boost their own goods?"

"The time has come when merits of our own products should be proclaimed from the housetops. The necessary 'psychology' to buy Australian-made goods can easily be created by judicious advertising."

A special campaign of studied deception of the masses is being conducted regarding the tariff policy. For instance, the "Labor Daily," which is the official mouthpiece of the social fascists in the campaign against the workers and that

aided the miners' officials prepare the sell-out on the northern fields and paved the way for wage cuts and unemployment in the South and West mines, openly defends the industrialists of Australia and charges that all the difficulties in economic life to-day are the result of the deliberate machinations of the bankers. This sheet does not explain that the identical persons who dominate the banks also own the industries. It remains silent about the fact that Scullin, himself, personally declared that the prohibitory customs tariff was imposed "at the request of the banks," who could not "unaided" control imports.

The Scullin Government in its sensational tariff schedules, the highest in the world, gives preference to certain British imports and raises a prohibitive wall against imports from the United States, thereby following British imperialist policy in its world-wide economic conflict with Yankee imperialism.

The imperialist and "empire" nature of the tariff is further proved by the fact that none of the schedules apply to New Zealand, Papua, or New Guinea, and that preferential exchanges are to be carried out with South Africa and Canada.

At the same time, however, the tariff itself emphasises contradictions within the empire making for the disintegration of that vast system (centrifugal tendencies of the British Empire). Heavy duties are placed upon goods from England that compete with the growing industries of Australia. As a result of British imperialist policy of stifling the industrial development in colonies and dominions in order to maintain such countries as sources of raw material for the industries of the United Kingdom, the metal, cotton and woollen industries in Australia have been prevented from experiencing a normal growth. Recently, with the aid of Australian capital and capital from other countries, these industries have had a slight growth and so the Australian industrialists are beginning to assert themselves politically. The instrument through which their policy is being carried out is the Scullin Government.

In defence of the tariff policy the spokesmen of the Federal Government point to the development of the industries of the United States of America as an example of the beneficial operation of a high tariff and predict for Australia a similar development. Such hopes are based upon fantasies and have no relation to the facts of life to-day. No country under capitalism will ever be able to repeat the industrial development of the United States, Japan or any other developed country. The development of the capitalist economy of those

countries took place in a world where capitalism was in the ascendancy.

To-day we are living in the period of the decline of capitalism. The youngest of the capitalist countries, Australia, is doomed to suffer from arrested development as long as capitalism rules, with only brief periods of even temporary rise, with the general tendency from now on always downward.

The only conditions under which the tremendous resources of Australia can be utilized to reach a higher stage of economic development is by shattering the fetters of capitalism and introducing socialist construction. This can be achieved only through the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### CENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT POWER.

19.—In keeping with its policy of fascisation of the Government, the Labor Party is systematically carrying on a campaign to limit the power of the State Governments and to concentrate ever more power in the hands of the Federal Government. Such a highly centralized political machine will be far more effective in suppressing the masses at home and preparing for military aggression abroad.

#### REGIMENTING THE FARMERS.

20.—While assailing the workers in industry the Scullin Government also wages a drive against the middle and poor farmers. The promise to the farmers that their difficulties will be solved by a compulsory wheat pool is only a cloak behind which Scullin and company propose to regiment the agricultural population and increase the growth of primary produce for export. It is an attempt to further impoverish the farmers and compel them to bear part of the burden of the unfavorable trade balance. Even the "guarantee" of 4/- per bushel for the first year of the operation of the pool is below the cost of production of wheat and is far below the average received for the years 1922-23 to 1928-29, which was 5/5.

The farmers are subjected to the most ruthless exploitation by the bankers and the manufacturers of farm machinery, and forced to pay monopolistic prices under the high tariff for the commodities they purchase. They are being driven by the thousands from the land to swell the ranks of the unskilled unemployed workers. The condition of the farm

laborers in appalling, many being compelled to slave for the most meagre food and a chance to sleep in the stables with the live stock, while others are denied even that miserable lot.

In an effort to offset the depleted revenue in the form of import tax as a result of the high tariff, farm taxes are increased, hence the bankruptcy of the farmers and their eviction from the soil is hastened by the tax policy of the Scullin Federal Labor Government.

#### WAR PREPARATIONS AND COLONIAL ENSLAVEMENT.

21.—Like all social fascists, the Scullin Government is adept at using pacifist phrases to conceal its war preparations. It has professed to abolish compulsory military training, but in its place is preparing a system of "voluntary" training of officers and fascist guards. Only those elements regarded as reliable for fascist attacks against workers' organizations are encouraged to receive military training.

At the same time the Government is indulging in a veritable frenzy of perfecting a big air force. Air ports have been opened at Darwin and Melbourne and the Bowen air port has been enlarged.

The leaders of the Labor Party have launched a big campaign to develop the process of producing oil from certain kinds of Australian coal as a means of assuring a supply of fuel for the Australian navy and British naval vessels operating in this part of the world, in anticipation of colonial and other wars that may shut off the supply from other sources. A. C. Willis, one of the social fascist politicians, in forwarding the campaign of encouragement of Australian capitalist industries openly proclaims the policy of the war-mongers. Says he:

"One of the biggest industrial undertakings in this country is the production of oil from coal. From the viewpoint of defence alone the Federal Government should assist in establishing this industry, because all war machinery to-day is dependent upon oil, particularly airplanes and submarines. The nation that fails to produce its own oil cannot be adequately defended."

Thus, one of the most prominent spokesmen of the Labor Party openly proclaims the imperialist policy of strengthening the "defense" forces of Australia, of making stronger the link in the chain of British army, naval and air bases that extends from the Suez Canal, through the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea,

to stations in India, thence to Singapore, then to New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand. It is quite clear that the Labor Party is contributing to the extent of its power to strengthening that vast system of war bases of British imperialism, of which the Singapore Naval Base is the pivot.

The part Australia is playing in the imperialist war preparations of Great Britain received added emphasis only recently, with the appointment of Sir Philip Game, air vice-marshal in the Royal Air Force, as Governor of New South Wales.

One of the most infamous devices for building up a fascist defence of capitalism against the growing radicalization of the working class is the policy of the Scullin Government for first "preference to soldiers" in industry, and second "preference" to trades unionists. Class-conscious soldiers and honest trades unionists resent the implication that, because of their service in the imperialist war they are entitled to preference over their fellow-members of the unions.

Preference to returned soldiers reduces itself to preference to those anti-union, strike-breaking elements sponsored by the reactionary and semi-fascist organizations of returned soldiers dominated by the officer caste. This policy of the social fascist Government is directed toward establishing fascist cadres in every industry to aid in the capitalist offensive against the working class.

These war preparations of the social fascists are accompanied by the Australian capitalists pursuing a "small" imperialist policy of its own by virtue of administering on behalf of Great Britain the League of Nations mandate over New Guinea and mercilessly and ferociously enslaving the masses of that territory. One of the Labor members of the Scullin Ministry, Anstey, in collaboration with a Melbourne millionaire, conducts gold-mining operations in that mandated territory.

Labor spokesmen reveal that the social fascists are also preparing to come to the aid of the British imperialist butchers in their desperate attempts to drown in blood the glorious struggle of the Indian masses for liberation by proposing to mobilize the unemployed ex-soldiers and unemployed able-bodied workers for service in India with the invading hordes of imperialism.

This is accompanied by participation in the slander campaign against the Soviet Union as a part of the imperialist war drive against the workers' and peasants' Government.

The Labor Party lieutenants in the leadership of the Australian Council of Trade Unions have, with the blessing of Scullin, broken off relations with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Scullin thus follows the policy initiated by the Bruce Nationalist Government, which prohibited the holding of the Pan-Pacific Congress in Australia.

Garden and the left social fascists in the New South Wales Labor Council carry on a persistent campaign of vilification and sabotage of the Red International of Labor Unions, thereby placing themselves in line with British imperialist policy in trying to split the anti-imperialist working class front and forward war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Scullin, himself, in the Federal Parliament, when accused by a Tory of defending the Soviet Union, joined the jackal pack with the following slander:

"I repudiate the interjection, which carries an insult as well as a false accusation. I have never been the counsel for the defence of any people or Government that committed crimes."

#### LEFT SOCIAL FASCISM.

22.—So utterly discredited among the masses of the workers is the Scullin Federal Labor Government at the end of its first half-year in office that the left social fascists are brought prominently to the fore in order to save the Labor Party from repudiation by the workers. Left social fascism is represented by the Lang-Garden combination in New South Wales.

The left social fascists try to fool the workers with the claim that the Labor Party policy of social fascism is all right in principle and that the faults of the Federal Government are solely due to the fact that Scullin and Theodore and not Lang and Garden are the leaders of the Government.

Lang, as the leader of the Australian Labor Party in New South Wales, realizes that unless he differentiates himself from Scullin he will be repudiated by the workers at the November election, just as every other State leader of the Labor Party in every other part of Australia tries to create the illusion that the party is all right in principle, but that individuals are sometimes wrong.

This same Lang who now tries to separate himself from the policies of the Scullin Federal Labor Government, in spite of the fact that he belongs to the same party, is an upholder of every one of the social fascist measures imposed upon the workers in the past six months of the Scullin regime. In fact

this mountebank, in a speech in the Legislative Assembly on April 9, denied that there were any serious difficulties in the inner structure of Australian capitalism and made the astonishing declaration that the Federal Labor Government, through its tariff policy, had solved all the outer conflicts that affect Australian economy. Said Lang on that occasion:

"The only difficulties that existed—and they were real difficulties—were between Australia and the outside world, and, as we have seen, the Labor Prime Minister has overcome them."

To further deceive the masses with radical-sounding phrases so that they will still support the social fascist Labor Government and elect Lang to office in New South Wales, another left social fascist, Kilburn, at the conference of the Australian Labor Party raises the question of "socialization of industry," and obtains a committee for the purpose of trying to attain that goal within the confines of the capitalist State. Such an act is the worst sort of reactionary deception, inasmuch as it creates the illusion that socialization of industry can be achieved without the revolutionary destruction of the capitalist State power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is an attempt to impose a dirty swindle upon the radicalized workers, who are moving toward the revolutionary position of the Communist Party, by making a travesty of revolutionary slogans and trying to keep their support for the Labor Party.

#### SOCIAL FASCISM IN STATE GOVERNMENTS.

23.—Social fascism in various State Governments not only paves the way for open fascism, but the social fascists themselves are brazenly abandoning their attempts to conceal their role under radical phrases and are coming more and more into the open as outright fascists.

(a) In Victoria the Hogan social fascist Government, now in power, shot waterside workers during that strike. To-day it is furnishing special cars for the scabs who took the places of the waterside strikers to travel to the pick-up places. It gaoled one of the leaders of the May Day demonstrations.

(b) The Hill Labor Government in South Australia has adopted a regular policy of protecting scabs. Only a short time in office it gave police protection to the reactionary officials at the Trades Hall against unemployed demonstrators.

(c) The McCormick Labor Government in Queensland locked out 18,000 railwaymen during its term of office, gaoled

militant workers, declared stop-work meetings on the railway illegal, and fined those who participated in such meetings one pound each, that was subsequently taken out of their wages. Besides attacks of every variety upon the conditions of workers the various Labor Governments of Queensland, under McCormick and Theodore, the Federal Treasurer, carried out regular pillaging campaigns against the State Treasury, engaged in the sale of fake mining properties, and in general carried out a policy of organized graft and swindling.

(d) In Western Australia the Labor Government mounted machine guns on bridges against the striking seamen and, like all other State Labor Governments, batoned the unemployed workers for daring to resist starvation.

(e) The Lang Government of New South Wales, the leaders of which are now trying to get back into office on left social fascist phrases, has a record of treachery and betrayal of the working class that will rank with any of them. When in office this agent of the capitalist class sacked city railway workers for participating in a Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration the day after the American imperialist butchers murdered these two workers. He beat down the workers' standard of life by introducing a child endowment scheme which had the effect of reducing the basic wages of workers. In 1925, while in office, this same Lang gaoled striking British seamen and gave police protection to scab ships. In 1926 he used police against striking coachmakers. He gaoled Communist literature sellers on the Domain and was the first to introduce in New South Wales the principle of a tax on wages, which is now in effect by a decree of the Bavin Government.

These illustrations could be multiplied many times in every State where these social fascist agents of capitalism have been placed in office. These already given, however, are sufficient to prove the nature of the Australian Labor Party in office in every State of the Commonwealth.

#### SOCIAL FASCISM IN THE UNIONS.

24.—While the Federal Labor Government imposes compulsory arbitration upon the workers through its arbitration courts, its police and gaoleds, the trade union aides of the Government do everything in their power to prevent resistance of the masses to these systematic attacks on wages, hours and conditions. The outstanding example of social fascism in the trade union movement is Jock Garden, secretary of the New South Wales Labor Council. This notorious agent of the employers in the ranks of labor formerly found

it convenient to profess adherence to revolutionary tactics and even supported the Red International of Labor Unions. Now he is the principal defender of compulsory arbitration.

This creature has a political career that is remarkable only for its twists and turns, its two-faced double dealing and brazen careerism. His treachery in the timber workers' strike and his shielding of Scullin in the miners' lockout were actions that brand him as energetically aiding in the drive against the working class. Not daring to admit, even now, that he stands on the same identical platform with the whole crew of enemies of the working class from the bankers to Lang, this renegade tries to justify his support of compulsory arbitration by "theoretical" argument. He admits that the arbitration courts were formerly used to prevent the organized workers using their power, but that now, in the period of capitalist decline "it is a means to curb the bosses' powers." Garden uses this excuse merely as a means of concealing his reactionary retreat into the camp of Scullin. But, more than this, he uses the argument to try to conceal the attacks the Scullin Labor Government is waging against the masses, through the arbitration courts.

Garden and the other left social fascists will never be able to convince the waterside workers, the timber workers, the miners, the metal workers and the rail and tram workers that arbitration courts to-day are a means of curbing the bosses' power.

These arbitration courts, during the previous period of capitalist decline, during the period of temporary stabilization of capitalism, were instruments of social reformism. Their decrees granting slight wage increases and reductions of hours acted as a brake upon the movement of the workers. The courts then, through granting temporary concessions, prevented the workers receiving what they could have obtained through strike action.

Now, in this period of the shattering of capitalist stabilization, the growing radicalization of the masses, these same courts, that served the social reformists, are instruments of social fascism, aiding in the attack on wages, hours and conditions of labor.

The left social fascists, under the leadership of Garden, further exposed their role as aides in the capitalist offensive against the workers by organizing an attempt to wreck the Unemployed Workers' Movement, by chaining it to the official machine of the New South Wales Labor Council, dictating

its programme of action and preventing unity of action between employed and unemployed. In their attempts to impose still more wage cuts, greater speed-up and further lengthening of hours upon the workers, the employers find that the unemployed and employed are combining for resistance that is developing into a counter-offensive. This unity of the unemployed and the employed threatens the capitalist offensive, hence Garden and his lackeys now proceed to try to wreck the Unemployed Workers' Movement so that these workers will be helpless and in the hope that they can be used to further beat down the standard of life of the whole working class.

In this despicable attempt they will be defeated, and the organization of the Unemployed Workers' Movement will go ahead, in spite of and against Garden and his capitalistic masters whom he so willingly serves.

One of the chief characteristics of the "left" trade union bureaucracy is their unity with the "right" in fusion with the capitalist State in all its attacks upon the working class.

#### INCREASING MASS STRUGGLES.

25.—While social fascism was called to office to help the capitalist class place the burden of its crisis upon the working class, these very attacks result in an increasing determination on the part of the workers to resist. Just as we see throughout the world a rising revolutionary tide, in varying stages of development, so here also there is a profound radicalization process going on among the masses.

The struggles of the waterside workers, the timber workers, the miners, were evidences of the increased willingness of the workers to struggle. The fact that the workers participating in these struggles were defeated by the combined attacks of the Government, the employers and the labor bureaucracy cannot be regarded as evidence that Australia is in an exceptional position in relation to the rest of the world. Such an estimation would reveal the rankest form of opportunism and failure to understand the significance of such stubborn struggles against great odds. The very fact that such struggles could occur is alone evidence of a radicalizing tendency and of the precarious condition of capitalism in Australia.

When the character of the recent struggles, particularly the miners' lockout, is examined, we perceive a growing willingness of the masses to resist the capitalist offensive.

For six months the reactionary officials of the Miners'

Union (Davies, Rees, Hoare, etc.) tried by every conceivable subterfuge to impose the employers' terms upon the fighting miners. Garden and the left social fascists in the Labor Council promised a campaign for relief and then sabotaged it. The social fascist "Labor Daily," supported by the miners' money, conducted a systematic campaign in favor of acceptance of the employers' terms. The entire array of social fascists, hand in hand with the Nationalist politicians, endeavoured to break the resistance of the miners by attacking the use of the strike weapon, but the miners held out for fifteen months before they were worn down to the point where their treacherous officials could reach terms of settlement with the mine owners.

The very day that the miners returned to the pits the social fascists used their defeat as a means of intensifying their campaign against the whole working class by denouncing the use of the strike weapon. The "Labor Daily," organ of the social fascists and the identical industrial capitalists who are waging the offensive against the workers, published a leader on the outcome of the strike, in which it declared:

"The strike weapon, once again, has proved ineffective, and other means must be applied."

The "other means" are, to be sure, to place Mr. Lang in control of the official machinery of the Government in New South Wales, so he can again become an official part of the capitalist machinery for suppressing the working class; so he can again prove to his capitalist masters that he, like Scullin, is better able to organize and carry out the capitalist offensive than either Bruce or Bavin with their obsolete Nationalist methods.

To say that the defeat of the miners shows that the strike weapon is ineffective is not only a piece of foul deception, but an insult to the miners whom the "Labor Daily" helped betray. The strike weapon was not used at all. Only the Communists and the Militant Minority Movement put forward the demand for the use of the strike weapon, by demanding that the lockout be turned into a strike and that the ALL-OUT policy be put into effect, in all the coal fields in Australia. This was fought against by the "Labor Daily" and all the social fascist "labor" leaders.

All the forces of capitalism, every adroit manœuvre, every deception imaginable was used by the capitalists and their lackeys to prevent the miners' struggle developing into a counter-offensive against capitalism.

## CHARACTER OF STRUGGLES.

26.—Strikes in Australia, as elsewhere in this per- although beginning as economic movements, quickly assu political character. The miners at Rothbury, who fought against the murderous armed hordes of police, openly challenged the power of the capitalist State. The creation of the Workers' Defence "Army" was an act of political challenge to the armed forces of the State.

The strikes that are constantly breaking out against the awards of the Arbitration Court decisions are, from the first, actions against a part of the political machinery of the capitalist State. For the first time in the history of the Australian Labor movement workers responded to the Communist demand for a rank and file strike committee, went on strike against an arbitration award, and won their strike. (Brady-Franks metal works.)

The rising tide of working class militancy in Australia also finds even more pronounced expression in the character of the mass political demonstrations. This was especially emphasised in the May Day demonstrations under the leadership of our party. For the first time in the history of Australia demonstrations were held on the First of May, instead of on other days set aside by the master class. Stubborn class fights for the right to the streets took place in many centres, where the police of the social fascist Labor Governments tried to smash the demonstrations. Of special significance was the fight at Darwin against the Federal Labor Government.

In all demonstrations the unemployed play a conspicuous and, in most cases, a leading role. In addition to the planned demonstrations on international days of proletarian struggle, there are continuous spontaneous outbreaks of the unemployed; demonstrations before Government relief stations, street fights with the police, resistance to attempts to herd the unemployed in compounds (Perth, Fremantle).

That the capitalist class and their social fascist agents fear the rising militancy of the unemployed, the unity of unemployed with employed in the struggle against wage cuts, lengthening of hours, "reclassification" and speed-up decisions of the compulsory arbitration courts is evidenced by the attempt of the Garden forces in the New South Wales Labor Council to wreck the Unemployed Workers' Movement, so that the capitalists can more easily defeat the workers.

Recent election campaigns are further indications of the radicalization of the working class. This was particularly

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Recent election campaigns are further indications of the radicalization of the working class. This was particularly

shown in South Australia, where, in spite of the weak, inexperienced membership and the insufficient lead given by the Central Committee, the party polled more than 700 votes in Adelaide against the social fascists, and 2000 votes in Port Melbourne, where the Hogan Labor Government shot water-side workers.

### BUILD THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

27.—There is a vast disproportion between the radicalization of the masses, the influence of Communism upon the workers, and the organizational strength of the party. The serious question of building the Party is our major task to-day. The pre-requisite for building the Party is a correct political line and organization and leadership of mass struggles.

Aside from the opportunist errors of the Party, the very organizational structure of our Party, a survival of social democratic forms of organization, prevented our functioning as a Communist Party.

Energetic steps are being taken to reorganize the Party upon the basis of factory nuclei and to eliminate the old territorial forms of State organizations and establish functioning district organizations responsible for the direction of the work in given districts.

The first stage of the reorganization of the Party apparatus will be completed immediately after this plenum, with the creation of a number of district committees and the establishment within the districts of section committees.

In place of the territorial form of organization we have adopted the Leninist slogans of "face to the factories," and "every factory a revolutionary fortress." In our struggle to win the masses, including women and working youth, we must place our work upon a correct organizational basis. Our claim to being a Bolshevik Party will only be empty bombast so long as we have not established our units firmly in the industries throughout the country.

28.—The struggle against the social fascist Labor Party and especially the left social fascists of the calibre of Lang and Garden, as the most dangerous enemies of the working class, must be carried relentlessly forward and intensified a hundredfold. The successful carrying out of this fight implies the overcoming of all opportunist errors.

While the Party, with the aid of the Communist International, has repudiated the crass right wing opportunism that manifested itself in the rankest possible form in support of

the Scullin social fascists at the Federal elections, we still suffer from other forms of opportunism in practice, and drag behind the masses, instead of giving them a revolutionary lead. This was particularly manifested throughout the coal struggle, and even at the very last manifested itself in capitulation to trade union legalism. Trade union legalism also showed itself in the New South Wales Labor Council in observing rules imposed upon the members that were calculated to defeat measures for giving a militant lead to the workers in resisting the capitalist offensive. Only within the past few weeks has this been overcome.

There have also been evidences of left sectarianism on the part of the Central Committee, particularly in the New South Wales Labor Council, and among other sections of the Party (Melbourne). This left sectarianism is only the other side of the right opportunist medal. It manifested itself in the worst form in a tendency in the Central Committee of our Party to regard the fight in the New South Wales Labor Council as of slight consequence and among some comrades took the extreme form of regarding such work as a waste of time. Such an attitude is an opportunist evasion of the struggle and aids Garden and the social fascists in their betrayal of the mass struggles. While correctly branding Garden as an enemy of the working class, the policy pursued was one of leaving the masses to the leadership of the left social fascists.

To give up the fight in the Labor Councils is to surrender important posts in the Labor movement to the hands of the enemy.

This impermissible leftism has been corrected. With the organization of a Vigilance Committee for the Defence of the Red International of Labor Unions, composed of Party delegates and sympathisers in the New South Wales Labor Council and the campaign for organizing similar committees in the affiliated unions the struggle against social fascism was clarified. As soon as the Vigilance Committee began a determined defence of the elementary demands of the working class and took up in earnest the defence of the principles of the Red International of Labor Unions to which Garden formerly found it convenient to pay lip service, it drew the fire of the whole social fascist brigade. In a few weeks' time it completely unmasked Garden, who is now openly in the camp of the social fascists, on the side of the employers in their drive against the working class.

In the fight now being made by the social fascists to drive the Communists and the left wing out of the Labor Council

there must be no yielding to left opportunism, which is simply a means of evading the struggle by hiding a retreat behind meaningless phrase mongering, and which aids the right wing tendencies still in our Party by distorting the line of the Party. We must and will fight for every position in the Labor movement and raise the demand to kick out the renegades and the social fascists from the leadership of the trade union movement. Under no circumstances will we ever surrender the leadership of the masses to these agents of the master class.

#### PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT.

29.—Another serious defect of our Party work in the trade unions and in economic struggles generally has been neglect of the work of popularizing and defending the work of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

The breaking off of affiliation on the part of the strike-breaking Australian Council of Trade Unions should have been met with a widespread campaign throughout the entire Commonwealth. These hirelings of capitalism should have been exposed as deliberately aiding the war drive of British imperialism against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, as consciously aiding the colonial wars of British imperialism and preparing for precisely the murder campaign that is to-day being carried out against the masses of India by MacDonal's butchers.

This grave defect, neglect of the Pan-Pacific work, must be instantly corrected and, in connection with all our activity among the masses, we must keep to the fore the programme, policies and tactics of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. All our fractions must energetically organise for the building up of the circulation of the "Pan-Pacific Worker."

#### ACTIVIZE WHOLE PARTY.

30.—In the developing economic struggles, which from the first, because of the use of the Government arbitration courts as the initiators of every additional stage of the capitalist offensive, must take the form of political struggles, the entire Party membership must be mobilized and activated. No Party member shall be permitted to remain passive and regard such work as that of the industrial departments. This is the work of the whole Party. Regardless of other responsibilities comrades may have, they must participate in the work of developing and leading these mass struggles. Every committee of the Party must insist upon regular reports from the lower units directly under its control regarding such work.

Every member of the Party must be assigned special work in the Party and in mass organizations. By pursuing a policy of careful self-criticism errors will be corrected. If any members persist in repeated errors and refuse to correct their mistakes they will have to be removed from responsible positions and from the Party rolls. With the intensification of the struggle those in the ranks of the Party who are unfit will be weeded out and their places taken by new, healthy proletarian elements who are, in large numbers, moving toward our Party and who have shown their calibre in the fight against the capitalist offensive.

No longer can we be content with a few active members in each section of the Party carrying on all the work. Instead of the best and most loyal comrades being overburdened with work the tasks in the Party and mass organizations must be distributed over all the membership and individual responsibility established for the successful carrying out of the work.

In the organization of the district and section committees the former narrow leadership must be supplanted with a broad leadership embracing all the members capable of functioning in leading capacities. Instead of a handful of members doing all the work in a large section of the Party, as was the case with the old State committees, each district committee must comprise from ten to fifteen members. The district sub-committees (organization, industrial, agitprop, women's, anti-imperialist) must include members not on the district committees in order that a broader leadership may be established. The same procedure must be followed with the section committees.

The work of all district and section organizations and their sub-committees must be concentrated on the ever-increasing economic struggles and these definitely connected up with the main political campaigns, such as Hands Off India, the fight against imperialist war and in defence of the U.S.S.R., the fight against the Australian Labor Party, against compulsory arbitration, against the "White Australia" policy, and against the reactionary trade union officials.

#### STRIKE STRATEGY AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS.

31.—Hitherto in our strike strategy the Party has shown a hesitancy to vigorously apply the policy of building united fronts from below and has relied far too much upon the hope of compelling the reactionary trade union leaders to act.

This is due primarily to two serious deviations—(1) an

under-estimation of the radicalization of the masses and their willingness to fight, and (2) a failure to understand the transition of trade union reformism to social fascism.

There has been a fear on the part of many comrades that the adoption of a fighting policy against the treacherous officials would result in weakening their positions in the reformist trade unions. This latter illusion was responsible for the shameful opportunist policy followed by our comrades who participated in the leadership of the timber workers' strike last year, in which we shared with Garden, the left social fascist, responsibility for the monstrous debacle that signalled the close of that struggle.

We must clearly recognize that the trade union bureaucracy has completely merged with the social fascist Scullin Government and is hence a part of the capitalist State apparatus for the suppression of the rising tide of working class militancy. Through the defence of compulsory arbitration and the systematic sabotage and open betrayal of the strike struggles, the bureaucracy has transformed the trade union apparatus into an instrument for strike-breaking, and an organ for carrying into effect the policies of capitalist rationalization. Hence it is absolutely imperative that we develop independent leadership of strikes on the part of the Communist Party and the revolutionary opposition without the social fascist leaders of the trade union apparatus and against them.

32.—The independent leadership of the strike struggles cannot be attained without careful organizational preparation in the factories, the mines, the mills and on the railroads and water transport.

We must bring about unity from below, in the industries and break through the confines of trade union legalism.

Every industry to-day is under fire in the fierce capitalist offensive, hence in every industry conditions are rotten ripe for setting up committees of action. These committees of action should in no way be subordinated to the trade union apparatus and should be broad non-party mass organizations. Under no circumstances can they be permitted to fall into the hands of the agents of the social fascists, who will try to pervert them into instruments for stifling the rising mass struggles.

Such committees must have as their chief task the mobilization of the workers to resist the capitalist offensive. They should lead the workers into definite strike struggles against the awards of the arbitration courts.

On the outbreaks of partial strikes, in sections of an industry, the Committees of Action must endeavor to broaden the strike by drawing in workers from other establishments and must fight for the ALL-OUT policy in such struggles.

In these conflicts the Communists must carefully study and utilize every possibility of intensifying the struggles and develop them into political mass struggles. The attacks of the police, the courts, the armed forces must be met by extension of the strikes to embrace wide sections of the working masses in sympathetic political strikes. In the actual struggles higher forms of strategy will emerge as these conflicts reach a higher stage.

These committees should from the first resist attempts of the trade union bureaucracy to step into a strike situation and reach terms of agreement with the employers behind the backs of the workers. From the first they should openly proclaim that they will never recognize such agreements, but will abide only by terms reached with the committees themselves.

When the strike ends the rank and file Committees of Action and rank and file Strike Committees, after making reports to the workers, will dissolve.

But at the first signal of a further attack new committees, organized on the same lines, will be set up.

33.—The basis for class unity in the factories must be the factory councils. Our Communist nuclei must energetically work for the creation of such councils, elected by the rank and file. These councils must not confine their activities merely to the fight against grievances in the factories in which they function. They must also be organs for struggle against the trade union bureaucrats and function as centres for the mobilization of the working masses for political demonstrations, sympathetic strikes, defence of the unemployed, etc.

Unlike the Committees of Action, these factory councils are permanent bodies, elected at regular intervals by the workers in the factories.

These councils can in no sense be regarded as replacing the existing trade unions, but must embrace all the workers in a given factory, regardless of the unions to which they belong.

34.—It is only within the past few months that the Party has understood the correct policy of creating committees of action. Only during the closing weeks of the miners' lock-out were attempts made to set up such committees on effective lines. But a definite start was made and the policy is now widely accepted among the rank and file of the miners,

who now perceive that the policy, the slogans and the leadership of the Communist Party was correct.

Whereas, at the close of the timber workers' strike the Party was held responsible by the masses, along with Garden and the left social fascists for the defeat, to-day the attitude of the miners toward the Party is directly the reverse of that of the timber workers at that time. This is due solely to the change from an opportunist policy of following in the wake of the trade union bureaucrats to the open struggle against the social fascists at the head of the miners' union. The Party to-day stands higher in the estimation of the masses than ever before in all its history precisely because of the change to the new line politically and organizationally. And the new policies of strike strategy being applied to every industry daily wins new adherents to the Party.

Not the least of the causes for this rising prestige of the Party is the ruthless self-criticism to which every experience is subjected. The workers perceive that we are a serious Party, that we carefully estimate every experience and subject it to careful examination before the Party membership and before the masses.

#### BUILD REVOLUTIONARY OPPOSITION.

35.—While in New South Wales the Vigilance Committee for the Defence of the Red International of Labor Unions is the form the revolutionary opposition takes, our Party fractions in all the States must direct their activity toward the realization of definite organizational forms.

We must, through our fractions in the unions and in factory committees, etc., work carefully and tirelessly to build up, under various names (Militant Minority Movement, Revolutionary Opposition, etc.) oppositional movements that fight to carry out the line of the Red International of Labor Unions and the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Our Party fractions in the existing Militant Minority Movement must act as a driving force to activate every section of this organization.

The responsible Party committees (district committees, industrial departments) must function regularly and utilize every issue to rally militant workers to the opposition movement. When organizations of the revolutionary opposition, under various names, have been established in every part of the country, our comrades in the Communist fractions must urge the holding of a National Conference for the purpose of organizational consolidation of the movement.

#### WORKERS' DEFENSE CORPS.

36.—One of the most effective weapons in the struggle in the Northern Coalfields was the organization of the Workers' Defense Corps to defend the strikers against the murderous attacks of the police and the other forces of State power.

This work, initiated and led by our Party, was one of our best achievements during that memorable struggle. The fact that hundreds of workers who participated in this organized defense work are still maintaining their organization and are the defenders of the Party in the Northern Coalfields prove its effectiveness as a recruiting ground for Communism.

Our Party must energetically carry on organizational work in order to build up workers' defense corps in every industry and in every unit of industry. These organizations must, where possible, be elected by the workers in industry and must be given regular courses of training so they can become a powerful factor in strikes, demonstrations, etc.

Workers' self-defense corps must appear in every demonstration and resist police and fascist attacks upon the masses and must protect workers on the picket lines during strikes.

#### INTENSIFY UNEMPLOYMENT DRIVE.

37.—Inseparable from our mobilization of the masses to resist the capitalist offensive is the energetic continuation and intensification of our unemployment campaign. While we have a number of successes to record, the results are far from satisfactory. In many places we have broken through capitalist legality and engaged in pitched battles in the streets with the police. But we have been weak organizationally in mobilizing the unemployed into a consolidated fighting force.

Our organizational policy of creating joint councils of action of employed and unemployed has not been carried out with sufficient energy. In spite of the rising hostility of the unemployed to the insolent treatment they receive from the government "relief" agencies, there has not yet been organized one mass demonstration against these institutions, although there have been spontaneous attacks that the Party only learned about after they occurred. In a number of strike struggles we have failed to put forth demands for the unemployed or to insist that unemployed be on the strike committees. It is absolutely imperative that demands for the unemployed be put forth in every economic struggle at its

very inception, and that unemployed serve on every rank and file strike committee or committee of action.

In spite of repeated instructions of the Central Committee the unemployed fraction fails to respond to the favorable situations that arise for mass demonstrations. This is partly due to the fact that the Central Committee itself has underestimated this work, and considered it a secondary question, instead of the central problem in the present crisis. A careful examination of our shortcomings in this field must be made and responsibility fixed for failure to carry out the work.

The question of unemployment and the fight against it must become a dynamic part of all our campaigns, and the whole Party must be mobilized to see that the various State unemployed conferences now being arranged are a success, and lay the basis for an All-Australian Unemployed Conference.

#### AGRICULTURAL WORK.

38.—In agricultural work the Party must frankly admit that no serious attempt has ever been made to reach this important section of the exploited population. In fact no attempt has ever been made to ascertain what problems faced the agricultural worker and the poor and middle farmers of Australia.

Recently there have been attempts to appeal to the farm laborers, and the middle and poor farmers in our propaganda, but no organizational attempts to reach them have been put into effect.

With tens of thousands of families of farmers being driven from the soil yearly, with a condition of permanent poverty and misery gripping masses of those still clinging to the soil, and with the most appalling conditions existing among the agricultural labourers, the demands of the Party for a guaranteed income equal to the basic industrial wage for all farm labourers, and middle and poor farmers, will strike a responsive chord.

The Central Committee will set up a Commission to study the agricultural problem and the organizational tasks of our Party in relation thereto. Every district committee must set up agricultural departments to carry on this work. To neglect this important work, as the Party has done since its inception, is to abandon the natural allies of the proletariat to the capitalist class and to social fascism and fascism, and is a flagrant neglect of revolutionary duty.

#### ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

39.—Since the Party congress in December, which categorically repudiated the right wing opportunist policy of supporting the Scullin social fascist Australian Labor Party, there have been no major parliamentary campaigns, and but three small campaigns. A number of errors were made, all of a right wing character, which revealed strong survivals of opportunism.

After the Adelaide election campaign the Central Committee, in estimating its work, published a critical examination of its errors and shortcomings, chief of which were inaccurate characterization of the Labor Party as a party of the small capitalists, instead of exposing fully its social fascist character, and certain parliamentary illusions about the workers being able to utilize Parliament for the overthrow of capitalism.

In the recent Sydney municipal elections there was revealed a certain legalistic tendency that took the form of hesitancy to put forth demands that went beyond the narrow restrictions imposed upon the municipal government. Because the policing of the municipality is under control of the State Government the comrades forgot to include in their agitation demands for setting up workers' militia against the fascist organizations of the employers and the State and forgot to connect up the campaign with the fight against the war danger, in defence of the Soviet Union, etc.

Just as the capitalists themselves try to create the illusion that the municipal governments are something separate from the central organs of capitalist power—the State and Federal Governments—so our own campaign reflected those illusions.

In one leaflet put out (and, incidentally published in the "Worker's Weekly" after the Central Committee had ordered it suppressed), only partial demands, capable of realization within the existing municipal councils, were put forth. To overcome this it was necessary to issue an additional leaflet specially connecting up the campaign with our ultimate slogans.

These defects have been corrected and were due, for the most part, to the very short time we had to prepare for the elections and to our inexperience in waging such campaigns.

It is necessary that we at once begin the most energetic campaign for the elections in November, particularly in New South Wales, where Lang, leader of the left social fascists, is trying to again become Premier, so that he can aid Scullin in the offensive against the workers' standard of living and

to try to smash the growing resistance of the masses to capitalist rationalization.

In this, as in all other campaigns, we must concentrate on the industries and set up united front committees for the purpose of reaching the broad masses. This will be the first major parliamentary campaign the Party has ever conducted and it must set an example for future campaigns.

### SMASH WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY.

40.—The former opportunist policy pursued by the Party of evading the fight against the jingoistic "White Australia" policy must be supplanted with the most determined campaign against it.

The present deep economic crisis and the fierce drive against wages, hours and conditions of labor, the widespread unemployment and misery of the working class is sufficient answer to the jingo lie that the workers in Australia are a specially favored lot and that their "high standard of life" is due to the fact that workers of the darker races are excluded from landing in this country.

We must emphatically declare before the whole working class and in defiance of the charlatans of the social fascist Labor Party and its bureaucratic trade union henchmen that we will fight this policy and demand that any worker, regardless of color or nationality, that desires to enter Australia should be permitted to do so. There are sufficient natural resources in this country to sustain a population many times the size of the present one. The only thing that stands in the way of every inhabitant of the country having an abundance is the capitalist system.

The White Australia policy is a capitalist measure for stirring up racial antagonism between the workers and preparing for imperialist and colonial wars.

The same capitalists that boost the White Australia policy here exploit the workers both in this country and in the mandated territory assigned them by British imperialism as a part of the war spoils.

This is the identical capitalist gang whom Scullin, Lang, Garden and the rest of the social fascist crew serve in trying to reduce the standard of living of the Australian workers to that of the colonial slaves they so savagely exploit.

The logical extension of this shameful "White Australia" policy is seen in the actions of the officials of the Australian Workers' Union in joining the "British Preference League"

in an attempt to drive the Italian workers from the sugar cane industry. In this struggle our Party has proclaimed itself unreservedly on the side of these foreign-born workers and will fight side by side with them against the "British Preference League" and the A.W.U. bureaucratic scoundrels, who, in order to cover their miserable capitulation to the employers by sabotaging any attempt of the masses to struggle against unemployment and wage cuts, try to blame the Italian workers for the effects of the capitalist offensive.

We also support the Chinese in Australia in their campaign to permit their wives and daughters to enter the country and will fight for asylum to any workers of any race who are trying to escape from the vengeance of the assassins of the working class in their own countries.

In such places as Darwin, where there are masses of coloured workers, our Party must become the leader of these masses and bring them into the political struggle against their capitalist exploiters. In the pearling industry there is the most monstrous slavery with indentured coloured laborers, who work 16 hours a day in the season for a pittance of 25/- per month. These workers have shown through strike action that they are capable of putting up a stubborn fight against their oppressors.

The majority of our Party members in such districts should be coloured. Let the contemptible scoundrels of social fascism scornfully sneer at us as a "coloured party" in such districts. We will accept it as a tribute to our revolutionary determination to unite the entire working class for the destruction of capitalism.

Just as the capitalists exploit us regardless of colour or nationality, so we mobilize these exploited masses to crush our common enemy.

### WORK AMONG WOMEN.

41.—Not the least of the profound changes in the composition of the working class brought about by rationalization is that of a progressive replacement of men by women and youth and children. The world war brought about mass introduction of women into practically every industry, even the heavy industry, iron and steel, theretofore considered the exclusive domain of men.

Women workers, receiving lower pay than men for the same work, are along with the rest of the working class being subjected to the wage slashing, speed-up and lengthening of hours drive of the capitalist class.

In isolated struggles against wage cuts, etc., women and girls have shown that they are just as capable and, in some cases, more militant than the men workers.

Our Party has been guilty of the most shameful neglect of work among women, and only now is there any evidence of a serious approach to the problem of drawing working women into the ranks of our Party. The Women's Department of the Central Committee must be enlarged by the addition of women workers.

There must be no hesitancy about drawing in women workers from the shops to the leading committees, even though they have not been in the ranks of the Party long.

In every district of the Party, women's committees must be set up and the Party trade union committees and our fractions in the revolutionary opposition must set themselves the task, in collaboration with the women's departments, of mobilization of the working women and drawing them into the general struggles of the working class.

The campaign for the publication of the "Women Worker" must be energetically conducted by every unit of our Party, and at the earliest possible moment this paper must be launched.

### THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

42.—Of late the Young Communist League has shown a certain growth. From an organization with a rather precarious existence, with a membership consisting of youths connected with the League as a result of their family connections with Party members, the Young Communist League has recently succeeded in attracting new elements. As a result of the unemployment campaign and the long struggle in the mining field there has been an influx of youth that form the nucleus for a revolutionary youth movement.

While the improvement has been noticeable the Party must record the fact that work among the youth is still far from satisfactory. As in women's work, the leading committees of the Party have failed to give careful consideration to this work, and in some places the leading committees have actually acted as a brake upon the youth work by sabotaging the creation of sports clubs (football clubs, etc.) This sabotage was carried out under a smoke screen of left phrase mongering about concentrating upon the "important" work of the Party and scornfully ignoring sports organizations. Such an attitude reveals a total inability to comprehend the

nature of proletarian sports organizations as a means of combatting the capitalist and fascist organizations.

With the danger of an imperialist attack against the Union of Socialist Republics becoming more pronounced from day to day and with the British imperialist butchers waging a murderous campaign on a vast scale against the revolutionary masses of India, struggling to throw off the yoke of slavery, it is absolutely essential that utmost efforts be put forth for the mobilization of the working youth.

The condition of the youth in industry, as the most exploited section of the working class, furnishes the objective condition favorable to our work. In every factory committee, committee of action, unemployment committees, etc., the working youth must be represented and special youth demands put forward.

The present widespread drive against wages, hours and conditions affect the youth most profoundly. These young workers, many but a short time in industry, seeing the miserable conditions prevailing, are in most cases more willing to respond to the demand for revolutionary action than the older men.

The youth have not been subjected to the illusions of compulsory arbitration. They were not in industry during the period when arbitration served as a weapon of social reformism to prevent the masses taking strike action by granting trivial concessions. Their only experience with this instrument of the Australian Labor Party is that of wage cutting, lengthening of hours and systematic strike breaking. Hence the youth are usually among the very first to respond to the Communist demand for strike action, the setting up of committees of action, rank and file strike committees, etc.

The Young Communist League must be built into a broad mass organization, embracing thousands of young workers. It is absolutely ridiculous that the youth organization should be smaller than the Party. It should be much larger than the Party and should be the nucleus for setting up various auxiliary organizations, embracing tens of thousands of young workers.

The publication, "The Young Worker," must also be developed and reflect more the activities of young workers in the industries, as well as take up the questions of the struggle against militarism and imperialist war. The Party must select representatives of its various committees to work with similar committees of the Young Communist League, and the League must also be represented on all Party committees.

## DEFEND THE INDIAN REVOLUTION.

43.—Inseparably connected with all our campaigns and in the very forefront of our work is the campaign in defence of the Indian revolution. At long last the blood-streaked monsters of British Imperialism face the day of reckoning in India. That vast empire of murder, rapine and plunder, gory with the blood of millions of savagely oppressed workers and peasants, is to-day tottering under the blows of the awakened masses of India.

A special committee has been set up by the Central Committee to mobilize every available force in defence of the Indian revolution. Every section and every unit of the Party must set up similar committees.

The biggest possible united front organizations must be set up in defence of the Indian revolution. Our principal basis must, of course, be the workers in industry. "Hands Off India" committees should be set up in every industry and in every unit of industry. At the same time we must attract every anti-imperialist element that can be mobilized in the whole country on the broadest possible basis.

The hesitancy, the vacillations, the deplorable under-estimation that characterized our response to the Chinese revolution must not be repeated. In the most determined manner must we aid the Indian masses defeat British imperialism.

Our Party must not hesitate for one moment in defence of the Indian revolution, regardless of the odds against us that may be unleashed by the imperialist agents in their desperation. We must let the ruling class of this country know that if they dare try to aid the social fascist murderers in India they will have an enemy at home that will fight with any means at hand to defeat such attempts.

We must concentrate especially on transport workers, munition workers, and in the armed forces of the country and wage a relentless fight to prevent the dispatch of troops to India, prevent the shipment of arms and munitions by organizing political strikes among the waterside workers and seamen the moment attempts are made by the capitalist class to thus aid the imperialist butchers in India.

The masses of workers must be made to understand that the victory of the Indian revolution means a victory not only for these one-sixth of the inhabitants of the world, but for all who suffer under the yoke of British imperialism. We must show that out of the great upsurge in India there is one thing that emerges clearly—the advance of the proletariat as the

leader of the revolutionary movement. The multiplicity of revolutionary groups are, in the process of the struggle itself, definitely moving along Leninist lines and coming under the leadership of the Party of the proletariat—the Communist Party. The task of the Party in India is to lead the great mass movement to victory under the central slogan of: "Drive out the imperialists by the democratic revolution of the working class and the peasantry of India."

In our campaign in defence of the Indian revolution and to aid in the smashing of the vast structure of British imperialism we must popularise the Soviets, as the revolutionary organs through which victory can be organized.

The Bolshevik revolution in the realm of the former Czars of Russia showed the way that all revolutions must follow—and the revolution in India is moving in that direction—the path toward the World October.

We must clearly explain to the workers precisely what the crushing of the Indian revolution would mean to them. Aside from being the signal for the systematic slaughter of millions of Indian workers and peasants, it will mean the beginning of a drive of unexampled savagery and systematic mass murder in every colonial and semi-colonial country in the world. It will enable capitalism to launch further attacks upon the workers at home.

Capitalism, in its period of decline, will be immensely weakened by the very fact of the occurrence of the Indian revolution, and in its mad fury at its predicament will go to any extremes, if it is permitted to gain the upper hand. On the pages of the history of its own making it reads its own death warrant. There is no possibility of capitalism saving itself, but the capitalists will try by every means at hand to prolong their rule through unheard-of terror as long as possible. This means not only one war against colonials, but a series of wars. It is plain that capitalism has entered into such a stage of decline that there will never be another period when there is not some sort of war proceeding, either between the capitalist nations themselves or against colonials or semi-colonials or both.

The crushing of the Indian revolution would mean that British imperialism, fighting for its existence like a wounded mad dog, would provoke war against the Soviet Union in the desperate hope of prolonging its rule of murder and frightfulness.

The full implications of the Indian revolution, its mag-

nificant possibilities, and its meaning to the working class, must be popularized among the broadest masses of workers and farmers, and the defence of the revolution must be our major campaign, inseparably connected with every other campaign.

#### PREPARE FOR AUGUST FIRST.

44.—In connection with the struggle in defence of the Indian revolution, against imperialist war, and in defence of the Soviet Union, the whole Party must energetically work for mass demonstrations throughout the whole country on August First, International Day Against Imperialist War.

On this, the sixteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the last world war, the ominous clouds of another war on a far vaster scale hang lower. A new generation has grown up and capitalism is preparing to lead it into a worse slaughter than the war of 1914-18 for a new redivision of the world among the imperialist powers.

August First Committees must be set up in the industries, embracing working women and working youth, to prepare for mass demonstrations.

Workers' Defence Corps must be immediately strengthened and special preparations made to defend the mass demonstrations from the attacks of the police and fascist elements mobilized by the social fascist Government. The activity preceding the May Day demonstrations must be multiplied a hundredfold and August First must go down in the history of Australian labor as a red-letter day in the mass struggles against imperialism and in defence of the Indian revolution and the Soviet Union.

#### WORK IN NON-PARTY MASS ORGANIZATIONS.

45.—The increasing drive of the capitalist class against the working class and the growing resistance of the workers to the capitalist offensive sharpens the class struggle all along the line.

Arrests and savage sentences are meted out to strikers, unemployed demonstrators and the leaders of all workers' struggles.

It is essential that our Party fraction in such organizations as the International Class War Prisoners' Aid and the Workers' International Relief, exert special efforts to attract broad mass support.

Thousands of sympathetic workers can be enlisted in the Class War Prisoners' Aid to resist the attacks on the

victimized workers in capitalist gaols or facing capitalistic courts. Likewise other thousands can be attracted to the Workers' International Relief to aid in organizing relief for strikers, their wives and children.

Also of great importance is the task of helping to organize the Friends of Soviet Russia, embracing a large circle of sympathisers of the Soviet Union among the working masses, the intellectuals, liberals, and so forth. Our fraction in this work must do everything in its power to make such an organization predominantly working class, and should urge the beginning of a campaign for a workers' delegation from Australia to the Soviet Union at the earliest possible moment.

#### WORKERS' WEEKLY AND WORKER CORRESPONDENTS.

46.—The entire Party membership must, in all its work, make the distribution of the official organ of the Party, the "Workers' Weekly," an inseparable part of their campaigns. Entirely too little attention is paid to our paper.

Not infrequently the comrades do not consider it worth while even to report important happenings to the paper, and the fundamental question of organizing groups of worker correspondents for the paper is, among most sections of the Party, utterly disregarded.

Special committees for the distribution of the "Weekly" and for the organization of groups of worker correspondents must be set up. Until our paper actually reflects, through contributions of worker correspondents, the struggles and gives a lead in the solution of the problems of the workers in the industries it is a mere travesty to refer to it as a Bolshevik paper.

#### PARTY TRAINING.

47.—Our Party in all its work bears evidence of the low theoretical development of the membership, from the leading functionaries down to the newest recruits in the units. It is imperative that systematic educational work be conducted throughout the Party.

The leading Party functionaries must begin the systematic study of elementary Marxist-Leninist literature. There are a few members in each centre where the Party is established who have elementary training. These comrades must be utilized to teach selected groups of comrades the elements of our revolutionary theory.

The national agitation and propoganda committee of the Central Committee must prepare outlines for group study and arrange for systematic work in order to develop proletarian comrades for leadership.

Preparations must be made to organize a national training school, so that selected comrades from the various districts can spend three months or more in intensive training at such a school.

The agitprop committees of the various districts must see to it that in every unit of the Party the membership receives a minimum training course in Marxism-Leninism.

### FORWARD TO A MASS PARTY.

48.—Objective conditions are more favorable to-day than ever before for the development of our Party into a mass Party of the working class. The forces working for the further disintegration of capitalism, the growing radicalization of the working class, and the crisis in which the ruling class finds itself, along with its reliance upon the social fascists to prolong its tottering system, creates the soil upon which will thrive revolutionary activity.

The first problem for our Party is to increase its membership and to create revolutionary cadres capable of leading the mass struggles.

To successfully lead the masses requires real Bolshevization of our Party. This can be attained only through the most persistent mass activity, wherein every member of the Party is activized, accompanied by a relentless self-criticism and eradication of our errors before the masses. We are the Party of the working class and, as such, it is our duty to the workers to examine our own shortcomings, and report to them our conclusions.

We must direct our activity toward the industries and carry on all our work on the basis of the broadest possible united front tactics. If every ounce of energy of the Party is directed toward carrying out the tasks laid down for us at this plenum we will be on the road to becoming a mass Party that will be able to mobilize and lead the working class in the ever-sharpening struggles of to-day and to the final struggle against capitalism.

FINIS.

## INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT.

### Report to Plenum, June 28th and 29th, 1930.

Australian capitalism, in common with the rest of the capitalist world, is in the midst of a deep-going crisis. Australia is experiencing the third post-war period of capitalist decline. One of the chief characteristics of this period is the severity of the offensive against the hours, wages and conditions of the working class; the closing down and slackening of industry, due to over-production; and the large and growing army of unemployed. Another feature, lately introduced, is rationing of work, or short-time working, which is operating in almost all industries.

The rationalisation of Australian industry is making rapid strides in industry after industry; the workers are being subjected to a worsening of conditions. The basic wage has been lowered, wages cut, and the 48-hour, six-day week is almost universally applied. This offensive, waged against the working class, is made through the medium of the Arbitration Courts, both Federal and State, and the legislatures which give legal sanction to the demands of the employing class. In striking against the Court's awards, the struggle immediately becomes political, as ranged behind the Court stand all the forces of the Capitalist State machinery of suppression. The iniquitous legislation against picketing—the Mass Picketing and Unlawful Assembly Acts—also give economic struggles an immediate political content.

During this period, the specific function of Arbitration Courts as part of the State is to help organise the rationalisation of industry. The illusion regarding arbitration, although diminishing, is still prevalent among sections of the working class; and the Labor Party and the Trade Union officialdom are instrumental in strengthening support for this capitalist institution. To break down this illusion, to thoroughly discredit arbitration among the masses, is bound up with the task of the Party in waging an energetic ceaseless struggle against the Labor Party and trade union bureaucracy. The Communist Party is materially aided in this work by the radicalisation of the working class.

### TRADE UNION PART OF STATE APPARATUS.

With the leftward swing of the masses and the sharpening of the class struggle the trade unions, through the efforts of

their officials, are being linked to the capitalist State. The fascisation of the trade union bureaucracy; their support for arbitration and industrial peace; their opposition to strikes, and their role as strike breakers, clearly demonstrates that they are the agents of the employing class, assisting rationalisation in an endeavour to stabilise the system of wage slavery. This was particularly exemplified during the recent coal lock-out of the Northern miners in N.S.W., when the central officials—Davies, Rees, Hoare and Co.—tried repeatedly and eventually succeeded in driving the miners back to work on the owners' terms. Sutherland, organiser for the Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Union, signed on members of his union to scab at Rothbury. In the struggle against Beeby's metal award, affecting 100,000 metal workers, the officials, in order to prevent a general strike in the industry and discredit strikes, and strengthen arbitration illusions, called the metal workers out in one or two shops at a time, kept them out for a short period and then sent them back defeated.

#### INDEPENDENT RANK AND FILE LEADERSHIP AND RIGHT ERRORS.

The fusing of the trade unions with the capitalist State; the fascisation and strike-breaking role of the trade union bureaucracy, compels the Communist Party and the revolutionary opposition (including the M.M.M.) to adopt an entirely new attitude towards the reformist trade unions. This was worked out at the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U., and at the sixth World Congress and the tenth Plenum of the C.I. It consists essentially of the independent rank and file leadership of economic struggles without and against the trade union apparatus. To allow the trade union bureaucrats to take control of economic struggles during this period is placing leadership in the hands of the agents of the employers. The trade union officials are strongly opposed to strikes, and do all they can to prevent them, but when they cannot do so they take the leadership in order to be in a position to betray and defeat the workers. We must eradicate from within the Communist Party the opportunist conception of "force your leaders to fight," and place in its stead the slogan: "Fight your leaders, the trade union bureaucrats, organise independently from the bottom the rank and file of the workers in the economic struggle."

In the timber workers' dispute, the Communist Party

was guilty of a number of right errors. The basis of these errors was due mainly to a total denial that Australia was in the third post-war period, and consequently a denial of the radicalisation of the masses and the fascisation of the trade union bureaucracy. This right deviation manifested itself in respect for trade union legalism, collaboration with the trade union officials, and the refusal to broaden the struggle, confining it solely to the timber industry. The Party should have broken through the timber workers' strike committee, i.e., the Labor Council and union officials, which was formed from the top, and fought for the election of a broad rank and file strike committee. The refusal of the Party to broaden the struggle clearly indicated a misunderstanding of the present period, during which economic struggles immediately become political in character. So strong was the Communist Party's respect for trade union legalism, that it even refrained from criticising the treachery of Garden and the Labor Council Disputes Committee and submitted to and defended reactionary majority decisions. Even at this date—eight months since the collapse of the strike—comrades responsible for this policy have not yet repudiated it.

A wrong estimation of the present period resulted in a number of right mistakes being made by the Communist Party during the coal lockout. Chief among these was the opposition to the all-out in the mining industry. It was 10 months after the commencement of the dispute that the belated declaration, a general stoppage in the industry, was given. Then the Party's respect for trade union legalism was such that it was instrumental in setting up the spurious "rank and file" conference at Newcastle, which was used by the central union officials to enforce the acceptance of the coal owners' terms. Instead of utilising the trade union machinery and setting up the Newcastle conference, the Party should have at the November mass meetings agitated and organised for the complete repudiation of the central officials and the election of broad independent rank and file strike committees. These right errors by the Party were costly, affecting materially the development and result of the struggle.

Right mistakes were also made by the C.E.C. in connection with the attack by the employers upon the metal workers through the Beeby Award. Again the mistake of

utilising the trade union machinery was made. It was proposed to call a conference of metal workers, from which two representatives from each trade union present would form a strike committee. Fortunately this mistake was discovered and the correct line adopted.

#### COMMITTEES OF ACTION AND STRIKE COMMITTEES.

It is only the last few months that the Party has popularised and organised rank and file machinery for the control of industrial struggles. This takes the form of Committees of Action, which are set up in the factories, mines and workshops for the purpose of preparing and organising workers either against the offensive of the employers or in order to take the counter-offensive for improved conditions. Rank and file committees of action were first set up in the Northern coalfields in N.S.W. They have since been formed in Sydney (Metal and Rail) and in Townsville, Queensland. The failure of the Party to set up committees of action in other enterprises now experiencing the capitalist offensive is due to the Party's numerical weakness and lack of members in these industries. Until the Communist Party sinks its roots into the factories, its effectiveness in leading the economic and political struggles of the working class will be greatly impaired. Recently, the Party has made an endeavour to overcome this weakness. Several pit groups have been formed in the Northern coalfields, four factory groups in Sydney, three in Melbourne and three in Broken Hill. Factory papers in these localities are also being published.

Besides the formation of committees of action, which prepare and organise the workers for struggle, rank and file strike committees are elected from the mass meetings of all the workers when a strike is declared. These strike committees are thoroughly representative, consisting of men and women and the unorganised and unemployed workers. The central strike committee assumes full control of the dispute, organises picketing, acts in conjunction with the W.I.R. for relief and I.C.W.P.A. for defence, and is responsible for negotiating settlements with the employers. In one instance only, at Brady-Franks, was the Communist Party's policy of independent rank and file control of industrial disputes placed into operation, with the result that a victory for the workers in this factory was achieved. The hesitancy of the workers to adopt these new organisational forms in the economic struggles is

due to their respect for trade union rules and decision. **This respect must be shattered by the Communist Party by waging a determined struggle against the social fascist bureaucracy and all forms of trade union legalism.**

Committees of action and strike committees are not permanent bodies. They are dissolved as soon as the strike is ended. Strike committees, though, can be converted into a factory committee, should there not be one in that particular factory.

#### TRADE UNION PRACTICES.

Party work within the trade unions is carried on in the main without systematic organised effort. This is particularly so in Sydney, where trade union fraction work is non-existent. There is a left sectarian tendency prevailing in the Party, that revolutionary activity within the reformist unions is of little or no importance; that the independent leadership of economic struggles, without or against the trade unions, minimises our work within the trade unions.

While it is true that we fight for the rank and file leadership of strikes, for the repudiation of the social fascist trade union leadership, we nevertheless conduct a struggle against the reformist leadership within the unions by forming a united front with the rank and file. What we must guard against is the opportunist conception that the Communists and the revolutionary opposition can through their work within the reformist unions capture the trade union machinery. This opportunist conception is to a large degree accountable for the respect shown towards the trade union rules and decisions.

There must under no circumstances be a slackening in trade union activity; rather it should be more energetically conducted and given serious consideration by the trade union departments. Our struggle against the social fascist bureaucracy must be conducted more determinedly than ever within the reformist unions.

#### REVOLUTIONARY OPPOSITIONS.

One other important task of the trade union fractions is the formation and building up of the revolutionary opposition and militant minority groups.

The Military Minority Movement is still very weak

numerically, its membership being mostly confined to Party members. There are very few M.M.M. trade union groups, and no factory groups whatever. At the recent State M.M. Conferences, the need for building M.M. Factory Groups was emphasised, but no practical work in this direction has been accomplished. The question of building up a revolutionary trade union opposition was fully considered by the C.E.C. and it was decided that preparations be made for its formation. The task of forming these groups, which can be called by various names, will fall upon the trade union fractions, which must, with the aid of the industrial departments, push ahead immediately with this work.

On the formation of a sufficient number of these revolutionary opposition groups in the factories and unions, and on the popularisation of a programme which will be drawn up and circulated beforehand, steps can be taken to organise a conference consisting of representatives from revolutionary oppositions throughout Australia, at which a national revolutionary opposition movement will be established. As there are objections to the name of the M.M.M., the conference will decide the name to be adopted by the national revolutionary opposition.

### THE UNORGANISED WORKERS.

In view of the changes, due to rationalisation, that have taken place among the workers employed in industry—the almost entire elimination of the skilled worker, the increase of women and youths—the attitude of the Party towards the unorganised workers must be reviewed. In many of the struggles that have recently taken place in England, Germany and Poland, etc., the unorganised workers have shown greater militancy than the organised. That the unorganised have greater initiative is accountable for by the fact that they have not been subject to trade union traditions and restraint, nor led and dominated by the treacherous leadership.

While the percentage of organised workers in Australia is comparatively high, there are still large bodies of unorganised workers, mainly in the railways and metal industries and in agriculture. This number will be increased with the further rationalisation of industry.

Realising the changes that have taken place in the structure and ideology of the masses of workers on the one hand, and the fascisation of the trade union bureaucracy on

the other, it would be opportunism to merely raise such slogans as "Join the unions," "Every job a union job," etc. While we endeavour to get the unorganised workers to join the reformist unions, we do so only on the basis of their acceptance of the programme of the revolutionary T.U. opposition. To get the unorganised workers to join the unions, without first of all preparing the way for them to line up with the revolutionary opposition against the trade union leadership, would simply be strengthening the influence of the social fascist leadership within the reformist unions. In addition, in order to have unity in action, the unorganised workers must have, in accordance with their numerical strength, representation upon the rank and file strike committees.

### N.S.W. LABOR COUNCIL AND R.I.L.U. AFFILIATION.

The C.E.C. was guilty until quite recently of a left error in its attitude towards the N.S.W. Labor Council. This council has for several years been an affiliated section of the R.I.L.U. (Red International of Labor Unions) and has periodically sent delegates to the congresses held at Moscow. Up to a period of about twelve months ago, the Labor Council supported, by well-worded resolutions, the decisions of the R.I.L.U., although it never made any effort to popularise the R.I.L.U. and its decisions among the masses. The affiliation was formal, not real. During the last twelve months the Council has broken ideologically with the R.I.L.U. It has also flagrantly violated the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress decisions, refusing to place into operation the new line in connection with the independent control of economic struggles. Through the instrumentality of Garden and his "left wing" colleagues, the Labor Council has degenerated to the extent of lining up with the employers in supporting capitalist rationalisation by the enforcement of arbitration awards.

Although Garden is an executive officer of the R.I.L.U., he refused to carry out the decisions, strenuously opposing the line contained in the letter sent by the R.I.L.U. Executive Bureau to the Labor Council. The Vigilance Committee for the defence of the line of the R.I.L.U. in the N.S.W. Labor Council endorsed the R.I.L.U. letter and has submitted a minority report, which will be presented by Comrade Sharkey, who will represent the Vigilance Committee at the 5th Congress of the R.I.L.U.

The left error committed by the C.E.C. was in not paying

serious attention to fraction activities within the N.S.W. Labor Council, in refusing to give due importance to the Labor Council's affiliation to the R.I.L.U., which resulted in a hesitancy to conduct a struggle within the Council to compel it to carry out R.I.L.U. decisions. This error led to the Party building in N.S.W. an M.M., which was to be a rival to the Labor Council.

The Vigilance Committee, which has now been formed in the Labor Council, consists of the Party fraction and sympathisers who support the line of the R.I.L.U.

Full use must be made of the six delegates on their return from the Fifth Congress and their tour of Soviet Russia, to popularise the decisions, the theory and practice of the R.I.L.U. and the working class achievements in the Workers' Republic among the working class of Australia.

#### THE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

The organising of the unemployed is one of the most important questions confronting the Community Party and the M.M.M. Unemployment is growing; rationalisation, along with the break-down of capitalist stabilisation, is throwing thousands of workers out of industry.

The sectarian unemployed organisation, known as the O.B.U. of U., was liquidated, and a new organisation embracing the employed and the unemployed was formed. This organisation, the Unemployed Workers' Movement—although weak, is growing steadily, unemployed committees being formed in the suburban and country districts. A more representative unemployed conference will be held in Sydney on July 26th, which will lay the foundation for a virile unemployment movement, which will be organised and led by the Communist Party and the M.M.M. Similar unemployed conferences will be held in the other States to establish the Unemployed Workers' Movement, consisting of the unemployed and employed.

With the object of using the unemployed for strike breaking, the social fascist trade union bureaucrats of the Melbourne Labor Council, and now Garden, of the N.S.W. Labor Council, are organising the unemployed upon a union or industry basis. Such forms of unemployed organisations, controlled by the social fascist leadership, must be strongly fought by the Party.

#### THE A.C.T.U. AND THE P.P.T.U.S.

Up till its last annual conference in Melbourne the A.C.T.U. was affiliated to the P.P.T.U.S. (Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat). Urged on by the employers through their press, their agents, the social fascist trade union bureaucrats, made the central issue at the last conference that of P.P.T.U.S. affiliation, which they were instrumental in severing. It is no accident that international relations with the terribly exploited workers bordering on the Pacific should be broken off at a time when the Federal Labor Government is in power. The whole move is dictated by the British imperialist interests in furtherance of its war plans, which is supported by the Australian bourgeoisie through the Federal Labor Party. It is also significant that Crofts, Secretary of the A.C.T.U., is representing Australia at the I.L.O. (International Labor Office) at Geneva, an adjunct of the Imperialist League of Nations. This treachery towards the millions of colored workers in the Pacific countries and the Australian working class was committed on the pretext of safeguarding the chauvinistic "White Australia" policy—the policy of the ruling classes, designed to foster racial animosities and to prevent the international class solidarity of the working class for the waging of a united struggle against imperialism.

This infamous act of treachery was supported by a number of other anti-working class decisions that were carried at the A.C.T.U. Congress. These comprise support for class collaboration through Industrial "Peace" Conferences, and a scheme to structurally alter the Federal Arbitration Court in order that it can work more effectively in placing into operation the policy of capitalist rationalisation.

In view of the social fascist character of the A.C.T.U. it would be a fatal mistake for the Communist Party to assist in strengthening it and regarding it as the central trade union organ of Australia. Its role during recent strikes—waterside workers, cooks, timber workers and coal lockout—indicates quite clearly that the main function of the A.C.T.U. is to indulge in strike breaking. At the same time it would be a mistake to boycott the A.C.T.U. Conferences. Members of the Party and of the revolutionary opposition must strive to be delegated by their unions for the purpose of placing forward

their revolutionary policies and exposing the social fascist strike-breaking bureaucracy.

All sections of the Party must commence now the building in the factories and mines and unions of these revolutionary oppositions, which will be co-ordinated into a national mass movement. This broad revolutionary organisation will organically connect the working class of Australia internationally through affiliation with the R.I.L.U. and the P.P.T.U.S. and thereby strengthen the international class solidarity of the exploited in the struggle against, and for the overthrow of, the imperialist exploiters.



## **I F**

there is any part of this you do not understand, or if you want to know more about how to fight your class enemy every day, you should attend Communist meetings.

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