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Introduction

This exhibition stands as testimony both to the range and depth of the Monash Rare Books collection, and to the prodigious fund of knowledge possessed by its custodian, Richard Overell. It covers the phenomenon of twentieth century communism from its European origins to its many manifestations across the world: France, Russia, Spain, the United States, China, Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia and of course Australia. And it reaches across time from the Paris Commune of 1871 to the radical chic ‘music revolution’ of 2005.

In addition to the classic texts on display – the Communist Manifesto, the “Little Red Book” of Chairman Mao, the Australian Communist Party Dissolution Bill – scholars will find items to amaze and amuse them. Americanists will enjoy the revelations in 1935 of the anti-Communist Elizabeth Dilling (Mrs. Albert W. Dilling), author, lecturer, world traveller and ‘bourgeois housewife’, who provides a detailed directory of front organisations in the United States. European historians will be diverted by Nora Murray’s I spied for Stalin: Russian war-bride’s dramatic life story, by a Russian woman who worked for the Russian secret police during the war. She fell in love with a British diplomat, one of her targets, and fled with him when he left. Australianists will marvel at the revelation, pointed out by Stuart McIntyre in his 1998 history of the Communist Party of Australia, The Reds, that Herbert Moore, sent by the Comintern in 1925 to bring the Communist Party of Australia into line with Moscow, was in fact a double agent. And students of Korean history may be surprised to know that Wilfred Burchett’s claim in 1952 that the Americans were dropping plague and cholera infected insects in the North has recently been verified by American scholars Endicott and Hagerman.

The greatest rewards of the exhibition are of course for those interested in communism and radical socialism in Australia. Here too there is much that will be familiar: Egon Kisch, Menzies and the Communist Party Dissolution Bill, the Petrovs – and some surprises. The publishing details of many of the volumes on display testify to the easily forgotten fact that radical Australians have always lived in a mental world shaped not in Europe or Russia but in England and increasingly in America. The yellow dust-covers of the Gollancz Left Book Club dominated my father’s bookshelves, for all his dislike of things British. And Jerry Rubin’s Yippie manifesto, We are everywhere, published in 1971, coloured the imaginations of everyone who saw or hummed along with the musical Hair:

Previous revolutions aimed at seizure of the state’s highest authority, followed by the takeover of the means of production. The Youth International Revolution will begin with mass breakdown of authority, mass rebellion, total anarchy in every institution in the Western world. Tribes of longhair, blacks, armed women, workers, peasants and students will take over.

Visually this exhibition carries some striking images, none more so than the portrait of Joe Stalin gracing the cover of the 1945 Woman’s Weekly. Richard notes in his catalogue that “This was not a case of ‘radical chic’ rather it was to promote an image of an avuncular ‘Uncle Joe’ our powerful ally during the final days of the war”. The Weekly worked closely with government agencies, promoting war-work when women
were needed in the factories, and advising readers how to clean the grease from under their fingernails and take up cooking again when the war was over. Joe’s smiling image reveals just how politically and nationally aware the Weekly – and Australian women – were expected to be in these times of national reconstruction. The image may also be understood as catching the strong sympathies of Australia’s artistic community for Communism at this time. Australian artists have long been sympathetic with a critical approach to Australian society. The cover designs of the two Frank Hardy novels on display here make an interesting contract. Power without Glory, published in 1950, has a dust jacket designed by Ambrose Dyson, from a family whose radical credentials were first established in the 1890s (his father, also Ambrose, was a Bulletin cartoonist). But the Dead are Many, published in 1975, and critical both of Australian society and of the rigidity of Russian Communism, has a cover designed by Charles Blackman, a much more modern radical.

The covers of Australian radical pamphlets also tell a fascinating story of ideological and social change. Early pamphlets seem to carry a mixed message: Frank Anstey’s Red Europe, for instance, published in 1919, featured a lurid cover of fighting and bloodshed which might have graced an anti-Communist publication of the period, rather than welcoming ‘the drum-beats of the Armies of Revolution’ as Anstey intended. Others like the heroic masculine images promoting One Big Union adopted a social realist style, which again projected a universal rather than an Australian message. The illustration on the dust-jacket of Dymphna Cusack’s Southern Steel is in Richard’s words ‘a masterpiece of socialist-realist art, showing the young couple embracing against a background of smoke stacks and a steel mill’.

But from 1944 the covers of Communist publications changed dramatically in style and content: the CPA went to meet the Australian Women’s Weekly in a middle ground that is almost Norman Rockwellian. A series of pamphlets published by the CPA towards the end of the war was directed to specific groups within Australian society – homeowners, returned soldier, farmers, women – to explain the communist vision for a post-war Australia. Rather than boldly stylised, their covers are positively homely, in the style of Weekly advertisements for cocoa, milk, and arrow-root biscuits; the cover of Houses, slums, private enterprise and the future would have looked entirely appropriate on an advertisement for the State Savings Bank loan scheme.

This moment of cultural accommodation was of course all too brief, and its historical legacy is not clear. Richard Overell’s exhibition captures many such surprising moments, all crying out for historical investigation. I hope they attract the open-minded scholars which they deserve.

Professor Marian Quayle
School of Historical Studies
Monash University
Preface

The aim of this exhibition is to indicate the range of left-wing and Communist-related held in the Monash Rare Book Collection. We have a large collection of pamphlets, books and posters, which we have been gathering for many years. This includes boxes of material distributed at Monash during the 1960s and 1970s when the University was a centre of student unrest. Much of this was collected at the time by Library staff and by academics such as Professor Harold Love of the English Department. Posters and fliers distributed on campus are still collected by Rare Books staff.

Study of our extensive collection of pamphlets allows researchers to follow controversies in fine detail.

The pamphlets and books have been acquired from many sources, e.g. the International Book Shop, Camberwell Books, which sold us the Herald press-cuttings volumes from the 1950s, as well as Norman W. Saffin’s collection. Donations have come from the families of W. H. Tregear and Brian and Dorothy Fitzpatrick.

Radicalism is an area in which we continue to collect. This enables Monash University Library to provide access to primary resources in support of both undergraduate and post-graduate research into national and international left-wing activities.

Richard Overell,
Rare Books Librarian.

Large Upright Case

The Russian revolution

The Bolshevik Revolution took place in Petrograd in late 1917. The crucial event was the uprising of 6th November in which the Bolsheviks, led by their Military Revolutionary Committee, with the soldiers of the Petrograd garrison, the sailors from Kronstadt and the workers’ Red Guard captured the winter palace and arrested the members of the Provisional Government.

The War was still raging and the western press saw the events in Russia in terms of the collapse of resistance to Germany from the east. This was especially so as the Revolution had resulted from the Germans transporting Lenin, and other revolutionary leaders from Switzerland through Germany into Russia, obviously with a view to undermining the Russian war effort.


The volume is open at a double-page spread of illustrations showing, “The red revolution in Russia: scenes recalling the terror and the commune”; and “The triumph
of the Leninists: street fighting in Moscow and Petrograd.” Here we see the bombardment of the Kremlin and the attack on the winter palace.

A later article in The Graphic, “The Russian “peace” with Germany”, (16 February 1918, p. 198) gives details of the tactic of the Germans in concluding a separate peace with the Ukraine. This was later formalised in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) thus giving Germany the opportunity of diverting all its forces to the Western Front.


Punch was from the beginning sceptical of the idealism of the Russian revolution. Here we see two Bolsheviks standing amid smoking ruins. The glowering man, bald, but bearded, is especially typical of the Punch-style revolutionary.


The Lone Hand was an Australian monthly edited by J. F. Archibald, one of the founders of the Bulletin. It was a radical nationalist publication, but was equivocal concerning the turn of events in Russia. In March 1917 there was a general mutiny of troops in Petrograd. A provisional government had been formed which included the Socialist, Kerensky as the Minister of Justice. Czar Nicholas II abdicated on 15 March, leaving the country under the control of the Provisional Government. By mid-1917 the Russian troops were disorganised and in retreat.

The Lone Hand article reflects how the West had at first welcomed the fall of the Czar, because, “naturally it was expected by Russia’s allies that the revolution would free Russia for greater activity on the War.” However this hope had turned to disappointment.

Kerensky and the Provisional Government were not in favour of peace, but the Bolshevik elements were, and they were just about to attempt to seize power.

The revolution was an affair of the intellectuals and of Petrograd. The lower classes in the cities found liberty thrust upon them and hardly knew what to do with it – except to secure the vodka, which had been so long prohibited. (p. 379)

A section of the article has the sub-heading, “Larine the disturber”. This is a reference to Lenin. It begins,

“One party of extremists that has been a source of danger is that of the “international socialists” under the leadership of Larine, who are in favour of peace at any price.” (p. 380)

“Larine” [or Lenin] is described as “a chronic rebel and belongs to a family of rebels. ... He has been playing Germany’s game in Russia by opposing the war policy of Kerensky, but he has failed to swing the bulk of the Russian socialists over to his side.” (p. 380)

The October 1918 issue of The Lone Hand carried an article, “Why the Russian revolution failed”, by E. J. Dillon. It begins, “The rapturous joy with which the
THE LIBERATORS.

FIRST JOURNALIST. "LET ME SEE. WE'VE MADE AN END OF LAW, CREDIT, FRACTION, THE ARMY AND THE NAVY. IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE TO ABOLISH?"
SECOND JOURNALIST. "WHAT ABOUT WAR?"
FIRST JOURNALIST. "GOOD! AND PEACE, TOO. AWAY WITH BOTH OF THEM!"

Item 2
downfall of Czardom was hailed, has changed into a bewildered horror at the excesses of the Bolsheviki.” (p. 457)

4. Litvinov, M. M. (Maksim Maksimovich), 1876-1951

Maxim Litvinoff was the Ambassador in Britain for the new Russian regime. In his account of the Revolution he makes the case for the Russian peace negotiations with Germany. He asks,

What else could the Bolsheviks have done, with such a terrible legacy as they had received on their hands, in the shape of hunger, lack of every necessity for war, disorganisation of the State machinery, dislocation of the entire transport system, and with all the bourgeois elements against them, especially in the Ukraine, where they had gone so far as to make a separate peace with the Germans and to invite them to march into their own country to help them against the Bolsheviks and their own pro-Bolshevik popular masses? (p. 52-53)

There is a photograph of Litvinoff and his wife in *The Graphic*, 12 January 1918, p. 38. The article, “Men and women in the public eye” begins its section on Russia as follows, “The whimsical Russian situation brings to the front many personalities quite unknown before to the general public. ... Lenin, for example, was for some time a great reader in the British Museum.” Of Litvinoff the writer remarks, “Mr. Litvinoff, the representative they have chosen for the Court of St. James, has been living at Golders Green. In 1915 he married Miss Ivy Low, a niece of Sir Sidney Low.” (p. 38)

The British Socialist party, the publisher of Litvinoff’s booklet, was formed in 1911. Some members were keen to join the Second International, while others wanted to amalgamate with the Labour Party. By 1918, the Russian Revolution had inspired a group of the members to form a British Communist Party. In 1920 they decided to disband the Socialist Party and to form the Communist Party of Great Britain.

5. Anstey, Frank, 1865-1940.
   *Red Europe* / by Frank Anstey. (Melbourne : Fraser & Jenkinson, [1919])

Frank Anstey was a radical Labor politician. From 1902 he was the ALP member for Brunswick, and was elected to Federal parliament as the member for Bourke in 1910. He had been associated with various left-wing organisations. In 1918 he visited Europe with the imperial press mission, and spoke to prominent socialists. *Red Europe* is an account of his tour and the conclusions he drew from it.

Despite the lurid cover, *Red Europe* is pro-Communist. Anstey supported the revolutionaries in Russia and welcomed them as signalling the beginning of a worldwide overthrow of oppression. His book ends, “Capitalism listens with quaking soul to the drum-beats of the Armies of Revolution. Those beats grow louder and louder – they draw nearer and nearer.” (p. 192)
*The Communist manifesto* / by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.  
*Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. English* (Melbourne : Proletarian Publishing Association, 1932)

This edition, published in Melbourne during the Depression, includes the six early prefaces. The first is by Marx and Engels, dated 1872, the remaining five, from 1883 to 1893 are by Engels alone as Marx had died early in 1883. The first preface gives the background to the origins of the Manifesto.

The Communist League, an International Workers Union, which, owing to the conditions of its time, could not but be of a secret nature, commissioned the undersigned at a Congress held in London in 1847 to write and publish a detailed theoretical and practical programme of the party. That was the origin of this Manifesto, the manuscript of which was sent to London some weeks previous to the February Revolution. First published in German, it has since gone through at least a dozen different editions in Germany, England and America. (p. 3)

The *Communist Manifesto* is essentially a call to arms. It begins, “A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of Communism.” (p. 18), and ends,

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have the world to win.

Working men of all countries, unite! (p. 51)

The economic programme of Communism is spelled-out,

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But moderate bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense the theory of the Communists may be summed up in a single sentence: Abolition of private property. (p. 32)

The rhetoric of the *Communist manifesto* was relevant for the Bolsheviks in 1917 and 1918, but became increasingly remote in Western countries later in the twentieth century.

The Marxist economic theory was elaborated in *Das Kapital*. This put forward a labour theory of value where Capitalist society depended on “surplus value”, the profit the capitalist made on the worker’s labour after paying the worker for his labour. Volume 1 was published in 1867; volume 2 appeared posthumously, edited by Engels in 1885.

The Forerunners

Under Socialism the barefooted children ran terrible risks from venomous snakes.

Item 13
Karl Marx saw the Paris Commune of 1871 as an example of the people rising up against the "bourgeois Republicans" who had corrupted the ideals of the French Revolution. The insurrection had taken place on 18 March 1871, during the Franco-Prussian War. The German army had Paris surrounded, and the capital had capitulated. The revolutionary element in the city rose up against the National Assembly and proclaimed a "Commune" formed of "the elixir and chosen men of sansculottic patriotism", on the model of the Commune of 1792. The Communards proceeded to burn the Palace of the Tuileries and other public buildings, and put to death some "enemies of the people". Clergymen in particular were targeted; even the Archbishop of Paris was executed.

The regular French troops re-grouped at Versailles and, under the watching eyes of the German army, suppressed the Commune, executing most of the leaders. The engravings show some of the "incendiaries" being led along, under arrest; some of them being executed; and some of the bodies and coffins laid out.


These works were originally published by the General Council of the International Workingman's Association; the two manifestoes on the Franco-Prussian War appearing in 1870, and, the essay on the Civil War in France, *Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich*, in 1871. The final paragraph reads,

Workingman's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators, history has already nailed to the eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them. (p. 105)

9. Kropotkin, Petr Alekseevich, 1842-1921


Kropotkin was a Russian Prince who espoused anarchism and renounced his title. He was jailed in Russia (1874-76) but escaped to England. He also lived in Switzerland and France, where he was also imprisoned (1881-86). While in England he wrote for such journals as the *Nineteenth Century*, and *Freedom, a journal of anarchistic communism*. His work on the Paris Commune was published by *Freedom* as number two in its series of pamphlets. Kropotkin saw the Commune as beginning "a new era in that long series of revolutions whereby the peoples are marching from slavery to freedom." (p. 3)

Kropotkin was most impressed with the idea of the Communards in governing Paris, and eventually France itself, as a series of small local council units. He was intent on inspiring his readers with the example of this uprising of the common people, brutally repressed by the French middle classes.
Overthrown, but not conquered, the Commune in our days is born again. It is no longer a dream of the vanquished, caressing in imagination the lovely mirage of hope. Not the “Commune” of today is becoming the visible and definite aim of the revolution rumbling beneath our feet. The idea is sinking deep into the masses, it is giving them a rallying cry. We count on the present generation to bring about the Social revolution within the Commune, to put an end to the ignoble system of middle class exploitation, to rid the people of the tutelage of the State, to inaugurate a new era of liberty, equality, solidarity in the evolution of the human race. (p. 7-8)


The communistic societies of the United States: from personal visit and observation: including detailed accounts of the Economists, Zoarites, Shakers, the Amana, Oneida, Bethel Aurora, Icari, and other existing societies, their religious creeds, social practices, numbers, industries, and present condition / By Charles Nordhoff. (London: John Murray, 1875)

This is an account of cults existing in the United States in the period immediately after the Civil War. Most of them are religious but some are formed of believers of economic theories. All have a belief in communal living and communal property.

One of the larger groups, the “Rappist, or Harmony settlement”, was situated at Economy, on the Ohio River. They were referred to as the “Economites”. Founded by a German, George Rapp, they believed in the imminence of the Millennium, and saw their settlement as the fulfilment of the “Sun Woman” passage from Revelations (12:1-6). They were shrewd at business and made large profits from the production of high quality wine and beer. However, as they all took a vow of chastity, the settlement died out early in the twentieth century.


Progress and poverty: an inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions, and of increase of want with increase of wealth: the remedy / by Henry George. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1884)

Henry George was an American, born in Philadelphia. He worked as a printer and journalist, though at one point in his life he was reduced to begging to feed his family. He developed his own economic theory, which was based on the fact, as he saw it, of the surplus value generated by a community being absorbed in the rise in land values and the subsequent rise in rent. His solution was for the State to apply a single tax on land and abolish taxes on industry and personal income. This was first set forth in Our land and land policy in 1870, which was followed by his major work, Progress and Poverty, first published in 1879. His ideas were enormously popular among working people and “Single Tax Leagues” were set up in the United States, Britain, and Australia. He was particularly popular in Ireland and his ideas underpinned the Irish National Land League led by Parnell and Davitt. He made speaking tours of the world, visiting Australia and New Zealand in 1890. Generations of socialist were influenced by his theories.


1. Round Iron Bombs, cast whole, and designed for use with percussion caps, to explode on falling. The bomb in center was cast several years ago, and was saved from a number thrown into the lake by a scared Anarchist.

2. Sheet-iron Molds, used by Lingg in the construction of Infernal Machines.

3, 4. Sectional views of the "Car Bomb."

ANARCHIST AMMUNITION—II. FROM PHOTOGRAPHS.

Item 14
This lecture "was written for delivery as a spoken address to the members of the Hammersmith Socialist Society in 1893." (p. 3)

Although Morris is best-known as a writer, a craftsman, and designer of wallpaper and fabrics with elaborate floral decorations, he was also a committed socialist. In 1880 he joined the Democratic Federation, a new socialist party with Marxist beliefs. By 1884 this group has split and Morris became the leader of the more radical faction, which became the Socialist League. He preached the overthrow of the status quo, and a belief in a new social order where distinctions of class and nationality would not prevail. The Hammersmith branch, where this lecture was given, was one of the most active.

Many of the British radicals were members of the Fabian Society. This had been formed in January 1884 to promulgate the principles of socialism in Britain. Perhaps the most famous members were George Bernard Shaw and the Webbs. Their tracts, of which this was number 113, were widely circulated in an attempt to influence the British intelligentsia.


This is an account of "New Australia" or, "Cosme" an Australian socialist settlement formed in Paraguay in 1893. The leader was William Lane, the author of the utopian novel, Workingman's paradise (Brisbane, 1892). There were personality conflicts and Lane left in 1899. By 1905 the settlement had disintegrated although many of the people remained. Some of their descendants still live in Paraguay.

Chapter 1 of Grahame's book begins with some background to the Australian radical movement.

The Australian Socialist party commenced its career as an active fighting force in 1889, the first manifestation of its might falling like a bombshell, not at home, but in Great Britain. When the London dock labourers came out on strike ... it was freely prophesied that sheer starvation would drive them back to work within a short time. The prophets were disappointed however, for, to the surprise of most people in England, including the strikers themselves, their meagre funds were reinforced by a contribution of £30,000 cabled from Brisbane, and, thus assisted, the dock labourers gained the day. (p. 1)

This donation was organised by William Lane, the editor of The Boomerang, a radical weekly published in Brisbane, which promoted the works of Karl Marx, Edward Bellamy, and Henry George. Lane was the founder of the Australasian Labour Federation. The "Cosme" colony was organised on communistic lines by Lane's New Australia Co-operative Settlement Association. Apart from Lane himself, the poet Mary Gilmore was the most prominent member.

14. Schaack, Michael J. Anarchy and anarchists: A history of the Red terror and the social revolution in America and Europe: Communism, socialism, and nihilism in doctrine and in deed: The Chicago Haymarket conspiracy, and the detection and
THE ONE BIG UNION
WILL IT EMANCIPATE THE WORKER?

BY
P. S. CLEARY
PRESIDENT OF THE CATHOLIC FEDERATION

STICKER USED BY THE I.W.W. IN AMERICA

SYDNEY
ANGUS & ROBERTSON LIMITED
89 CASTLEREAGH STREET
1919

Item 18
Trial of the conspirators by Michael J. Schaak, Captain of Police. (Chicago: F.J. Schulte & Company, 1889)

Terrorists were active in Europe, Britain, and the United States in the second half of the nineteenth-century. Typically they saw themselves as anarchists and the bombs they used resembled shot-puts with wicks. Novelists such as Joseph Conrad, in The Secret Agent (1907), and Henry James, in The Princess Casamassima (1886) wrote about anarchists and the fear they engendered into the populace of London.

Schaack's book has detailed descriptions of the methods of the anarchists, for example the way in which they manufactured their bombs. In 1889, when this book was published, the Chicago Haymarket riot was still fresh in people's memories. This incident had taken place on 4 May 1886 when radicals had met in Haymarket Square in Chicago to protest the actions of police on the day before. On 3 May police had attacked a group of strikers who had gathered outside the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company's works to demonstrate against the use of scab labour. This was part of ongoing action by workers seeking an eight-hour day. One of the strikers was killed in this altercation. The Haymarket rally was peaceful until the police began to disperse the crowd, then a bomb was thrown, and a riot started. Seven police were killed. Eight anarchist labour leaders were arrested and found guilty. Four were hung on November 11, 1887, and another committed suicide. The remaining three were later pardoned, in 1893. There was much debate surrounding the trial; some of the accused were not present at the riot but were condemned for supposedly conspiring to commit violence.

This was a turning point in American labour history. Many workers blamed the Knights of Labor, the major union pushing for the eight-hour day, for being involved in the riot, and there was a general drift towards the less radical newly-formed American Federation of Labor.

The IWW

15. Pease, Frank Chester.
Revolution and the I.W.W. / [Frank Chester Pease]. (Sydney: Australian Administration of the Industrial Workers of the World, [191-?])

Industrial unionism and politics. (Sydney: Issued by the I.W.W. Club, [1911?])

Guilty or not guilty? : an examination of the I.W.W. cases / by H.E. Boote. ([Sydney]: Labor Council of N.S.W., [1916 or 1917])

The Two wars. (Sydney: National Executive, I.W.W. Club, [1916])

17. Workers' International Industrial Union.
Revolutionary industrial unionism : tactics and plan of the Workers' International Industrial Union, the one great union. (Melbourne: Literature and Education Bureau of the Workers' International Industrial Union, [1918])
CONSTRUCTIVE REVOLUTION

"THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM"

By S. F. FRIEDUM

PRICE 3d. PRICE 3d.


The Worker Print, St. Andrew's Place, Sydney.
*The One Big Union: will it emancipate the worker?* / by P.S. Cleary.  
(Sydney : Angus & Robertson, 1919)


The IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) often referred to as the “Wobblies”, were founded in Chicago in 1905. They opposed the American Federation of Labor on the grounds that the earlier organisation accepted capitalism and, because they were formed by craft unions, did not represent non-skilled workers. They promoted the idea of “One big union”. The IWW line on World War I was that it was a capitalist war and America should not become involved.

The IWW spread quickly to Australia and by 1907 there were cells active in most states. They campaigned against the war, and in particular against conscription, in fact against all kinds of recruiting. When Thomas Barker, the editor of *Direct Action*, was imprisoned the IWW in Sydney, they began to utter counterfeit £5 notes in an attempt to wreck the Australian economy.

Their campaigns also included arson and when a policeman was shot and killed in NSW, two of their members were found guilty and hung, in December 1916. The organisation was banned in August 1917. Twelve of their members were still in jail for offences such as sedition, committed during the anti-recruiting agitation, and there were continuing representations made to have their cases reviewed. The ALP, when it came to power in 1920, instituted a Royal Commission. The findings were that some of the men were guilty, while others were not, but most were released.

The IWW’s style of revolutionary industrial unionism proved unpalatable in Australia, although Bob Ross in his newspaper, *Ross’s monthly* was still pushing the “One big union” concept in the 1920s, as can be seen from the cartoon on the front page of the issue for 9 June 1923.

**Communism in Australia**  
*The early years*

20. Ross, R. S. (Robert Samuel)  
*Eureka: freedom’s fight of ’54* / by R.S. Ross. (Melbourne : Fraser & Jenkinson, 1914)

21. Friedum, S. F.  
*Constructive revolution: the Russian revolution and socialist industrial unionism* / by S.F. Friedum. (Sydney : Worker Print, [1919])

22. Ross, R. S. (Robert Samuel)  
*Revolution in Russia and Australia: describing and discussing the Soviet system (political and economic sides), the dictatorship of the proletariat (for and against), the Australian alternative* / by R.S. Ross. (Melbourne : Ross's Book Service, 1920)
   *Communist tactics of revolution: the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution.* (Sydney: Communist Party of Australia, [1920])

   *Party training manual* / Communist Party of Australia. ([Sydney]: The Party, 1928)

There were Socialist parties formed in Australia in the last part of the nineteenth century. In the early years of the twentieth century these were brought together under the umbrella of the Socialist Federation of Australia. However, most Australians committed to labour reform were followers of the Australian Labor Party. This had grown from an initiative of the Sydney Trades and Labour Council in 1891, and was one of the major parties in Australian politics. The early Socialist parties split on the question as to whether or not they should oppose the ALP or try to influence it from within. After the Communist Party was formed in 1920, this issue continued to divide party members.

Among the items on display we see an early attempt to establish the Eureka Stockade as part of an Australian radical nationalist tradition. Other pamphlets develop the relationship between the Russian revolution and the Communist Party of Australia. Peter Simonoff, the first Soviet Consul-General to Australia actively encouraged the Australian socialists to form a Communist Party. The first meeting, on 30th October 1920, was organised by the Australian Socialist Party and held at their hall in Sydney.

The party spent most of the 1920s trying for a “united front” with the Labor Party, but the ALP was extremely wary. In 1928 the Comintern decreed that the Communist parties in the various countries around the world must become the leaders of the workers’ struggles. *The Party Training Manual* from that year sets as its aim to equip party members “with a working knowledge of revolutionary theory and practice … to more effectively dispel the reformist illusions, which bind the mass of the workers to the chariot of Capitalism.” (p. 3) This manual evolved from classes in Marxist theory given by party leader, Jack Kavanagh in 1926.


In accordance with changes in Comintern policy, local Communist parties fluctuated in their attitudes to labor movements. During some periods they denounced them as “capitalist lackeys” while at other times they sought to form a united front with them.

Links to the Communist Party were always electoral suicide and the conservative parties would make the most of public perceptions of Communist infiltration of the Unions and the Labor Party in every election.

This front-page article of *Labor call*, the paper of the Victorian branch of the ALP, begins,

In keeping with Communist moves throughout the world to gain control of the workers by disruptive or surreptitious methods, an abortive attempt has been made in England to establish a “united front.”
Party Training
Manual

PRICE: ONE SHILLING.

Published by
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA
P.O. SUSSEX STREET, SYDNEY
Communist Tactics of Revolution

The Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution.

Theses adopted by the Second Congress of the Third International, July 1920.

Published by—
The Communist Party of Australia,
(The Australian Section of the Third International)
115 Goulburn Street, Sydney...
Every Labor Party in the world has turned such overtures down flat giving Communism a nasty jolt under the chin from which it cannot recover.

Australia long since applied the boot to Communist proposals, both wings of Labor having seen through the anti-Australian smoke-screen of falsity.

Communism in Britain

The Communist Party of Great Britain was formed in mid-1920, out of such groups as the Workers’ Socialist Federation and the “Hands off Russia” Movement. Among the original members were people such as Harry Pollitt and Rajani Palme Dutt.

26. Independent Labour Party (Great Britain)


The fledgling Communist Parties sent delegates to meetings of the Third International (Comintern) set up by the Russian revolutionaries. The First International Workingman’s Association, aimed at establishing socialism in all countries, had been set up by Marx in London in 1864. This had split over attitudes to Anarchism; and the Second International was established in Paris in 1889. The series of Congresses they organised concentrated on the means of achieving socialism, condemning cooperation with bourgeois liberals. In effect, it ceased to function with the outbreak if war in 1914. The Third International had as its aim the overthrow of world governments and the institution of international Communism. It was disbanded in 1943 as reassurance to the Allies during World War II.


*How to make a revolution / Raymond Postgate.* (London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1934.) [Jim Cairns’s copy with his signature]

Raymond Postgate was one of the founding members of the Communist Party of Great Britain. He was well-known as a writer on radical subjects. This work has chapters on the major revolutionary movements of the past, as well as a chapter on the general strike, on armed revolution and on Communist tactics. He gives advice as to which tactics he considered likely to work and which tactics were useless. His chapter on Communism includes much criticism of the adherence of the Party in Britain to the dictates of the Comintern, which he believed were inappropriate to local conditions.

The book on display was published by the Hogarth Press, better known as the publisher of Virginia Woolf’s novels. However, Virginia’s husband, Leonard was a radical and published much left-wing material.

Early in the war Postgate became the editor of *Tribune* but was removed for his impatience and belligerence, being described by a friend as “one of nature’s dissenters, a man with a talent to annoy, fond of argument but immovable once he had taken up a position”. He was also known as a man who, from his love of argument, would advance quite moderate issues with extreme passion. (see his DNB entry)
Although he remained a socialist, after the war he became famous as the instigator and editor of the *Good Food Guide*, which he published from 1951 to 1962.

**General Strike**

In 1920 the TUC and radical labour leaders had threatened a general strike unless Britain ceased to support the opposition to the new Russian state. The Communist Party had been successful in working within the Miners’ unions, particularly through the National Minority Movement.

The General Strike took place in Britain from 4th to 12th May 1926. It was the result of a dispute over miners’ wages. The TUC (Trades Union Congress) called out members of other major unions and the country came to a halt. The Baldwin government enrolled special constables. Troops and volunteers ensured that essential services continued to function and after nine days the TUC called the strike off, much to the disgust of the miners who continued to strike until August.


This was published by the British government for the duration of the general strike, May 1926. No. 1 (May 5, 1926)-no. 8 (May 13, 1926). It is accompanied by a collection of newspapers, which came out in Britain at that time.


Hamilton Fyfe was the radical editor of the *Daily Herald*. The editorial board was dominated by Trades Union Congress members. Fyfe was sympathetic to their cause and believed that socialism was the way of the future. During the strike he edited a paper called the *British Worker*. The cover of his book on the strike carries the statement, “For every 100 copies sold the Author gives a child’s keep for two weeks to the Miners’ Fund.”


*A worker’s history of the great strike : written from material supplied by Plebs correspondents in all parts of the country* / by R.W. Postgate, Ellen Wilkinson, and J.F. Horrabin. (London : Plebs League, 1927)

As noted above, Raymond Postgate was a founding member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. In addition, he was, like Fyfe, a *Daily Herald* journalist. He also contributed articles to the journal *Plebs*, published by the Plebs League, a workers’ educational association. The value of his account is that it draws information from workers involved in the strike around the country.

**Communist Youth**

The Party was always conscious of the need to engage the interest of young people. In Australia this took the form of the Eureka Youth League. This group had originated in
the 1930s as the Young Communist League, which had changed its name to the less-transparent League of Young Democrats. In 1941 it became the Eureka Youth League, appropriating the radical tradition of the Eureka Rebellion of 1854.


This English children’s book is presented as an annual, along the lines of *Eagle* or the *Tip-top Book for Boys*. It includes the usual mixture of adventure stories, comic strips, games and facts.

The “Editor’s Note reads,

The Red Corner Book is a departure from the ordinary run of children’s books. It endeavours to spur their minds to the real issues life holds out – instead of drugging them with a false glamour over ugly things.

Two great social forces are in conflict: they have the children in their grip. This book designs to stir in them an understanding of the workers’ life, the social struggles and the goal, which the workers have set themselves.

It includes “Stories of Lenin”, as well as a piece on Wat Tyler. Another group of articles, on Russia, is entitled, “Stories of socialist construction.” The volume begins with a poem, “A look at the world” illustrated by cartoons. A typical stanza reads,

Russia is the first great land
Where bosses and loungers have all been banned,
A land of the working class victorious;
Where a worker’s life is free and glorious. (p. 14)

It is hard to imagine any child having their interest stirred by such overt propaganda, and *The Red Corner Book* seems not to have appeared again.

32. Young, Richard.

*The story of the Eureka Youth League* / by Richard Young. [Sydney?] : Eureka Youth League, [1944]

The connection between the organization and the Eureka uprising is put forward using the convention of mates yarning around a camp-fire. This is meant to place the Youth League firmly in the Australian nationalist tradition. The predominantly red cover illustration of men firing on other men from behind logs is meant to portray the rebellion in the nineteenth-century, but with the boy looking towards us in the foreground it has a modern feel to it which is strangely unsettling. It is as if we are looking at a scene from the Australian Revolution.

This pamphlet carefully avoids any admission that the Eureka Youth League is connected to the Communist Party.

We are not affiliated to nor do we pledge allegiance to any political Party. We do not raise the question of parties amongst ourselves or with new members. ....

But we do regard ourselves as part of the great Labor Movement, which is not only the Labor Party, but also the Trade Unions, Consumers’ Co-operatives and the Communist Party. Many of us are Trade unionists and some of our clubs are connected with factories and Trade unions. ....
Some people believe that there should be no politics in the Youth Movement. We don’t, because if you are not satisfied with the pay many young workers have to live on — and we aren’t — to do something about it you’ve got to enter into politics. (p. 18)

The pamphlet has interesting details of the resistance the League encountered from the media and the Catholic Church.

We find big business newspapers like the “Sydney Morning Herald” attacking the League. This is part of the general attack on democracy in Australia by big business. The millionaires are very worried about the hundreds of young people now joining the League and are attempting to frighten them away. Despite the fact that there are hundreds of young Catholics in our League, some Church leaders are also on the hunt. In Victoria and New South Wales these people have used the Catholic Church to organise squads of young Catholics into basher gangs against the League. We know that the majority of young Catholics have a high regard for the work that our League does, and some have nothing but contempt for these people. The work of these Church leaders in poisoning the minds of some young Catholics is not much different from Hitler’s poisoning of the whole generation and the organisation of them into basher gangs – it boils down to the fact that they are helping Hitler and Tojo to create disunity. (p. 19)


The issue on display, for June 1964, has a photograph of the Beatles on the cover and an article on “Beatles and Beatlemania.” The article stresses the working class backgrounds of the individual Beatles, and ends with a reference to the then British Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas Home, a Conservative, and the Labour Party leader Harold Wilson,

Sir Alec Home promptly claimed credit for them [i.e. the Beatles] and was as promptly accused of political clothes-stealing by Mr. Wilson. Conservative candidates have been officially advised to mention them wherever possible in their speeches. (p. 3)

Communist Icons

We are used to seeing Che Guevara’s face promoting everything from the International Socialists to tissues, but Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky have also been appropriated for their radical chic.


This was not a case of “radical chic” rather it was to promote an image of an avuncular “Uncle Joe” our powerful ally during the final days of the war. There was no article about Stalin in the magazine.


Here we see Stalin alongside a space-suited alien. The issue of the magazine has the headline, “Flying saucers: Russia’s secret weapon?” The story is “He fell among thieves” by Milton Lesser. This has the promotional line, “When this Martian crashed the Iron Curtain ... He fell among thieves.”

MAGAZINE
OF THE
EUREKA YOUTH LEAGUE
OF AUSTRALIA

- BEATLES and BEATLEMANIA — Page 3
- Police brutality at student demonstration — Pages 4 & 5
- New Commonwealth Apprenticeship Scheme — Page 6
- Australian Basketball Championships — Page 8

Item 33
The incidence of UFO sightings in the US in the 1950s was unbelievably high and this story puts forward a reason: Russia had captured a Martian who had helped them build flying saucers, and these were now being used to spy on the US.


Here we see Che Guevara being used to promote a dance party in Melbourne, “The first anniversary of the Electric Revolution”, to mark the venue being open for twelve months. Also on display is a pack of Che Guevara “designer tissues”, made by Sniff, Meckenheim, Germany.


This is an advertisement for Bigpond music, with the slogan, “Join the revolution.” It appeared most notably as giant posters put up around the city. The image is of Lenin wearing a pair of silver head-phones.


Subversion is a night-club, with the slogan, “Everyone if revolutionary.” The portrait of Lenin accompanies a “5 week plan” which gives details of performances over the coming weeks, all described in revolutionary language, e.g. “July 15: Anarchy in the U.K. Punk it up for some serious 3-chord nihilism. Tartan, Mohawks etc.”

39. Herald Press Cuttings

When the Melbourne Herald closed to amalgamate with its morning equivalent the Sun, Monash acquired their press cuttings volumes from the 1950s. The Herald was famously anti-Communist but these volumes reflect a range of different views. They are arranged in volumes according to subject, e.g. the Communist Party Dissolution Bill, the Petrov Case, Spies and Sputnik. One of the Sputnik volumes is on display. Sputnik I was the first man-made satellite to orbit the Earth. It was launched on 4 October 1957. Sputnik II was launched a month later, on 3 November 1957, and carried a dog, Laika, the first creature to enter space. This caused embarrassment for the Americans and in 1958 Eisenhower approved the formation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

Wall Case 1

The Petrov Affair

Vladimir Petrov, the Third Secretary in the Soviet Embassy in Canberra defected on 3rd April 1954 and was granted asylum. He was, he told ASIO, in charge of non-military espionage at the Embassy and held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Soviet secret police, the MVD. He brought with him many documents, some of which implicated Australians in espionage activities. Having become fond of the Australian
life-style in the three years of his stay in Canberra, and being afraid to return to 
Russia, as he was part of the now-discredited “Beria faction”, Petrov had decided to 
defect. ASIO granted him £5000 to cover his expenses.

His wife, Evdokia, was ostensibly an accountant and secretary in the Embassy but 
was in fact a Captain in the MVD, engaged in coding and de-coding espionage 
messages. Apparently she was unaware of her husband’s intention to defect and when, 
by 6th April her husband failed to return from a visit to Sydney she was told he had 
been kidnapped by ASIO, and that for her own safety she was to be sent back to 
Russia. On 19 April she was put on a plane at Mascot, Sydney airport, en route to 
Moscow. There was a large anti-Communist demonstration during which the famous 
photos were taken of Mrs. Petrov flanked by two Russian bodyguards. In the scuffle 
she lost her shoe. When the plane landed next morning at Darwin to re-fuel, her two 
bodyguards were disarmed and Mrs. Petrov was informed of her husband’s defection. 
It is likely that during these altercations Evdokia still thought that the Australians 
were trying to kidnap her, as she believed they had done to her husband. Now she was 
able to phone and speak to him, as a result of which she sought asylum herself. 

The Soviet Government recalled its Embassy and expelled the Australian Consular 
staff from Moscow.

There was a Federal election scheduled for 29 May, and the “Petrov Affair” as it 
became known inevitably favoured the sitting Liberal government. Menzies duly won 
and the leader of the Opposition, Dr. Evatt, felt aggrieved at the role he believed 
Menzies had played in manipulating the defection of the Petrovs.

On 3 May 1954 a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into Soviet espionage 
in Australia. They met from 17 May 1954 to 31 March 1955. The hearings implicated 
members of the Communist Party of Australia as well as three of Evatt’s staff. One of 
the key exhibits became known as “Document J”. This included a list of contacts 
friendly with the Soviet cause, and was the source of the accusations against Evatt’s 
staff. It had been written inside the Russian Embassy by the Communist journalist 
Rupert Lockwood. Evatt, against all advice, appeared at the Royal Commission to 
represent two of his staff (the other, Fergan O’Sullivan, he had sacked as a traitor, 
when it was found that he had written “Document H” also brought across by Petrov)

Evatt’s cross-examination and comments to the press did much to destroy his 
reputation as a credible alternative leader of the country. His behaviour was such that 
the Commissioners withdrew permission for him to appear. He then wrote directly to 
the Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, naively asking him to assure the Commissioners 
that the documents revealed by Petrov were false. When this indiscretion became 
known, Menzies was able to complete the destruction of the Opposition leader’s 
credibility.

The Royal Commission found that the Petrovs were spies, their documents were 
genuine, and the Soviet Embassy had been used by the USSR to operate espionage 
activities in Australia. Commenting on the local support provided to the Russians, the 
Commissioners found that, “without Communism, Soviet espionage could have no 
hope of success in Australia.”
The PETROV CONSPIRACY UNMASKED
compiled and edited by W.J. BROWN
At Mascot airfield Mrs Petrov is hustled to her plane by Russian officials

Item 44
The Petrov Affair had serious repercussions for the Left in Australia. The Labor Party split over attitudes to Communism soon after, and they were unable to regain federal office until 1975. The Australian public, faced with proof of Soviet espionage in Australia, became even more distrustful of the Communist Party.

40. Brown, W. J. (Wilton John), 1917-
   *The Petrov conspiracy unmasked / edited and compiled by W.J. Brown.*
   (Sydney : Current Book Distributors, [1956])

Brown’s thesis is that the Petrov affair was engineered by Menzies to discredit the Labor Party and the Communist party. The graphic on the cover makes this point clear. We see Menzies and the mask of Petrov’s face.

41. Australia. Royal Commission on Espionage.
   *Report of the Royal Commission on Espionage 22nd August 1955.*
   (Sydney : N.S.W. Government Printer, 1955)

On display is the copy from the *Herald* office, with various annotations on the cover and throughout the text. For example there is a note on the cover, “$25,000, p. 102” which refers us to the details of the “Moscow Gold” allegation that Sharkey was paid $25,000 as a donation to the Party. Also from the *Herald* Library we have the interim report, the five volumes of transcripts, and several indexes.

42. Petrov cross-examined : evidence and statements before Menzies’ Royal Commission. (Melbourne : printed by G. Wheeler : [1954])

As is made clear from the cover, this is an attempt to show that Petrov’s evidence was coloured by the ASIO payment to him of £5000. The dialogue box reads, “First I got the £5000 then I handed over the Documents.”


Reference has been made above to the significance of “Document J” and its contents. Here Lockwood admits to having written it but in seeking to recall what is in it, refers mainly to the material concerning Japanese espionage during the war and to the activities of anti-Communists such as the politician, W. C. Wentworth and the Sydney newspaper columnist Frank Browne, “a former dog-racing writer from the Norton press” [i.e. *The Truth*]

   *Empire of fear, by Vladimir and Evdokia Petrov.* (New York : Praeger, 1956)

This is the ghost-written account of the experiences of the Petrovs in Russia and Australia. Michael Thwaites was engaged to write the book. This is the American edition. The defection of the Petrovs was international news, as can be seen partly from the fact that the photographs reproduced in this case are from the *Saturday Evening Post.*
Wall Case 2

Vietnam

Perhaps the most significant political issue in the 1960s and early 1970s was the Vietnam War. Communist groups had been influencing the Vietnamese nationalist movement since the 1930s and this influence was strengthened by their leadership of the resistance during Japanese control in World War II. When the French returned after the war the struggle continued, leading to defeat for the Colonial power at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

However, in the context of the rise of Communism in China and Korea, the United States felt it was important to contain its spread southwards, and they began to provide support to the South Vietnamese under Ngo Din Diem. The Geneva Accord of 1954 had divided the country at the 16th parallel. The Communist North, under Ho Chi Minh, had their capital at Hanoi. The Southern capital was at Saigon.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s there was a cease-fire but guerrilla warfare gradually increased, and by 1962 there were 10,000 U.S. “advisers” in Vietnam assisting the South. The same year, Australia began to send advisers as well. Diem was assassinated in 1963, to be replaced by Marshall Ky, and in 1964 the Viet Cong stepped-up their offensive against the South. President Johnson began openly to commit US troops, and Australia also sent soldiers.

Conscription was the issue, which had immediate impact on young people in America and in Australia. It was the trigger which set-off a groundswell of demonstrations, particularly on campuses. Public dissatisfaction at the war was fed by the TV coverage; especially the stories of atrocities such as the My Lai massacre. Moratorium marches led by such prominent political figures as the ALP’s Dr. Jim Cairns became a feature of the Australian cities.

The growing unpopularity of the war eventually led to the withdrawal of US and Australian troops in 1972. Gough Whitlam had made it a plank of his election platform in that year. A cease-fire was signed on 28 January 1973 and by 1975 the Communist government ruled all of Vietnam.

The Communist Party of Australia naturally wished to support the North and oppose the war. As a result of involvement in anti-Vietnam activities, a new generation of students became interested in the CPA.


Ho Chi Minh was the founder of the Communist Party in Vietnam and was the leader of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) from 1945 to his death in 1969. His *Prison Diary* is a collection of poems written in a Chinese jail where he had been imprisoned for eighteen months by Chiang Kai-shek during World War II.
THE PEOPLE OF VIET NAM
WILL TRIUMPH!
U.S. AGGRESSORS
WILL BE DEFEATED!
From morning till night, the women of T__ village near Saigon put all their hatred for the U.S. bandits into sharpening bamboo spikes which they placed at the bottom of camouflaged traps. Every time the U.S.-puppet troops came to "mop up" the village they suffered heavy losses. Today the enemy dares not come to T__ village any more.
Aileen Palmer, the daughter of the Melbourne left-wing writers Vance and Nettie Palmer, translated the poems published in this edition.

46. *The People of Viet Nam will triumph! : U.S. aggressors will be defeated! The heroic struggle of the South Vietnamese people.* (Peking : Foreign Languages Press, 1964-1966)

This was an annual publication. On display is the issue for 1965, showing an American airman sitting on the wing of his plane, which has been shot-down, being guarded by Viet Cong soldiers.


We see vol. 1, issue no. 8 with its cover photograph of Vietnamese women and children. Some of the most famous images from the Vietnam War featured the plight of the innocent victims. As well as giving details of anti-war demonstrations this newsletter provided excerpts from other anti-war publications and articles such as, "Influencing the young: pro-war propaganda in schools", by David Hudson, v.1, no. 7, p. 3-4.

   *North of the seventeenth parallel / by Wilfred Burchett.* (Hanoi : The Author, 1955)

   *My visit to the liberated zones of South Vietnam / Wilfred Burchett.* 2nd ed. (Hanoi : Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1964)

50. Transcript of an interview between Bui Cong Tuong and Nguyen Van Quy in Studio B of the Joint US Public Affairs Office, Saigon, 15 July 1971. (from the Denis Warner papers)

Wilfred Burchett was an Australian journalist who had been working in Korea, covering the War. His books and articles were openly pro-Communist, to the point where he was accused of being a traitor. He justified his actions as support for countries seeking self-determination, and being able to report from within the "enemy" lines gave him an advantage as a journalist. From Korea he proceeded to cover the situation in Vietnam, basing himself in the North.

The interview comes from a large collection of material collected by the journalist Denis Warner while working as a foreign correspondent in South-East Asia during the 1960s and 1970s. Bui Cong Tuong was a Viet Cong defector who had been Chief of Propaganda, Culture, Education and Training in the Ben Tre (Kien Hoa) Province. Tuong tells of meeting Burchett and how impressed he was at Burchett's entourage and apparently unlimited access to the upper echelons of the North Vietnamese bureaucracy. He was told Burchett was only ever to be referred to as a "Neutralist", but that he was a "positive Neutralist". The privileges Burchett enjoyed were, Tuong was told, a result of the fact the he was a high-ranking Communist Party member, and industrious propagandist for the regime. Tuong makes particular mention of the fact
that Burchett always insisted in wearing the Viet Cong uniform, the “black pyjamas”, in which he can be seen on the cover of the copy of My visit to the liberated zones on display.

51. “Grandpa Nam and his bamboo spikes” and “Spikes of revenge”, ink-brush paintings by Tung Chen-sheng; “Little Bol kills a tyrant”, woodcut by Ksing An-Ju; “Human support for a Bridge”, woodcut by Han Ko.

North Vietnam propaganda posters from the collection of Denis Warner.

The use of pits with bamboo spikes placed in the bottom was a feature of the Viet Cong guerrilla campaign.

52. Liberal Party of Australia.

It’s your choice: where do you draw the line against Communist aggression? (Canberra : Liberal Party, [1966])

This was a piece of election propaganda distributed by the Liberal Party during the Federal election on 26 November 1966. The graphic shows the encroaching “red menace” coming southwards from China through South-east Asia towards Australia.

Wall case 3

The New Left

This was the name used to describe groups of young radicals who wished to distinguish themselves from the “old” Left. They fiercely opposed the Vietnam War and believed in anti-Establishment issues under the broad banners of anarchism and utopianism. In the United States, one of the prominent New Left groups was the “Yuppies” (the Youth International Party). This was formed in 1968 by Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin. In that year the Yuppies disrupted the Democratic Convention at Chicago and both Hoffman and Rubin were convicted of crossing state lines with intent to riot at the “Chicago Seven Trial” in 1969. Although this conviction was subsequently quashed, Hoffman was later arrested on cocaine charges (1973) and served time. He spent the remainder of his life working for environmental causes and died in 1989.

Jerry Rubin became a promoter of human potential courses and ginseng products and died in 1994.

In France the equivalent movement among the young radicals resulted in the events of May 1968. A series of strikes by students, demanding a loosening of France’s restrictive educational system and the right to demonstrate led to a general strike which quickly took on almost revolutionary proportions. The unrest subsided when the French Confederation of Trade Unions and the French Communist Party convinced the workers to return to their jobs. The left wing students saw the government of General de Gaulle as repressive and the Parti Communiste Francais reactionary. Their own ideas were a mixture of anarchism, sexual liberation and anti-war sentiments. One of their most prominent leaders was Daniel Cohn-Bendit.
IT'S YOUR CHOICE: WHERE DO YOU DRAW THE LINE AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION?
DO
Scenarios of the Revolution
Jerry Rubin
IT!
53. Hoffman, Abbie.  
*Steal this book* / by Abbie Hoffman ; co-conspirator, Izak Haber ; accessory after the fact, Bert Cohen. (New York, N.Y. : Pirate Editions : Distributed by Grove Press, 1971)

This is a guide to living cheaply, providing tips on how to obtain things for free or at a small cost. As could be predicted, most of the publishers approached declined to publish such a title, and Hoffman lists the 30 firms who rejected the book on the back cover.

54. Neville, Richard, 1941-  
*Play power* / Richard Neville. (London : Cape, 1970)

The English and Australian equivalent to Hoffman's book was Richard Neville's *Play power*. Richard Neville was the editor of *Oz* magazine and espoused hippie ideals of personal liberation and legalisation of marijuana. He later became the editor of the counter-culture newspaper, *Living daylights*; a talk-show personality and the biographer of the Asian murderer Charles Sobhraj. The first edition of *Play Power* on display comes with a board-game in the back pocket, “Headopoly”. This encouraged drug use and was banned from sale with the book in Australia.

55. Rubin, Jerry.  

56. Rubin, Jerry.  
*We are everywhere* / Jerry Rubin. (New York, Harper & Row 1971)

*Do it* is a Yippie manifesto. It is written in a prose style verging on hysteria, influenced by Walt Whitman and Jack Kerouac, pop music lyrics and drugs. It ends with “Scenarios for the Future/Yippieland”,

Every high school and college in the country will close with riots and sabotage and cops will circle the campuses, standing shoulder to shoulder. The schools belong to the pigs.

Millions of young people will surge into the streets of every city, dancing, singing, smoking pot, fucking in the streets, tripping, burning draft cards, stopping traffic.

The Pentagon will send troops to fight spreading guerrilla wars in Laos, Thailand, India, the Congo, Bolivia, South Africa, Brazil, France.

High government officials will defect to the yippies.

The State Department will discover its highest ranks infested with the yippie symps. Black cops will join the black-and-white liberation army in the streets.

High school students will seize radio, TV and newspaper offices across the land.

Police stations will blow up.

Revolutionaries will break into jails and free all the prisoners.

Clerical workers will ax their computers and put chewing gum into the machines.

Army platoons and National Guard will desert to the revolution, bringing their guns with them.

Workers will seize their factories and begin running them communally, without profit.

Shorthairs will become longhairs over night.

Yippie helicopter pilots will bomb police positions with LSD gas.

The Pentagon will strafe yippie bases, and we will shoot the planes out of the sky.

Kids will lock their parents out of their suburban homes, and turn them into guerrilla bases, storing arms.
We’ll break into banks and join the bank tellers in taking all the money and burning it in gigantic bonfires in the middle of the city.

Previous revolutions aimed at seizure of the state’s highest authority, followed by the takeover of the means of production. The Youth International Revolution will begin with mass breakdown of authority, mass rebellion, total anarchy in every institution in the Western world. Tribes of longhair, blacks, armed women, workers, peasants and students will take over.

The yippie dropout myth will infiltrate every structure of Amerika. The revolution will shock itself by discovering that it has friends everywhere, friends just waiting for the Moment.

At community meetings all over the land, Bob Dylan will replace the National Anthem.
There will be no more jails, courts or police.
The White House will become a crash pad for anybody without a place to stay in Washington.
The world will become one big commune with free food and housing, everything shared.
All watches and clocks will be destroyed.
Barbers will go to rehabilitation camps where they will grow their hair long.
There will be no such crime as “stealing” because everything will be free.
The Pentagon will be replaced by an LSD experimental farm.
There will be no more schools or churches because the entire world will become one church and school.
People will farm in the morning, make music in the afternoon, and fuck wherever and whenever they want to.
The United States of Amerika will become a tiny yippie island in a vast sea of yippieland love.

Wall Case 4

Student Activism

During the late 1960s and early 1970s University campuses around the world became centres for political unrest. In Australia, Monash University was one of the most active. Classes were disrupted; there were sit-ins and occupations of Administration offices. Albert Langer was the most prominent figure at Monash and came to symbolise student activism for the general public in Victoria.

The issues began with the war in Vietnam but also included attacks on Capitalism and the Establishment in general. The Communist Party, often through front organizations, was active in encouraging the protests.

There is a continuing tradition of student protests, which can be seen in the large anti-globalisation demonstrations of the late 1990s.


This the first article in a series on “The student revolt”. It profiles Albert Langer, who we see in the accompanying photograph in front of a Maoist poster.


The files of Lots Wife trace the activities of the student revolutionaries not only at Monash but also Australia-wide. The issue of Lots wife previous to this one was a combined publication with Rabelais (Latrobe University) and Farrago (Melbourne University). The Lots Wife front cover shows a scene from the Moratorium march of 7 May, while the back cover of the combined issue features the famous image of the Viet Cong guerrilla being executed in the streets of Saigon.
THE STUDENT REVOLT - PART 1

This is the first of a four-part series in which MUNGO MacCALLUM sets out to discover what makes the student leaders tick

The Maoist from Melbourne

ALBERT LANGER is the youngest and most brilliant of the Australian student revolutionary leaders. Unfortunately, he is also the shyest. Looking rather like a short-sighted koala bear, he fends off questions about himself rather than about politics. "It all sounds a bit like a personality cult," he says.
INDO-CHINA MORA TORIUM

March begins
2 p.m.

March from
TREASURY GARDENS
59. Hansen, Soren.

_The little red school book / Soren Hansen and Jesper Jensen ; Translated from Danish by Berit Thornberry._ (Adelaide : A. Taylor in association with Brokga Books, 1972)

This was first published in Denmark in 1969. The first Australian edition was 1972. The book was aimed at high school students. It begins with a chapter headed, "All grown-ups are paper tigers." Other chapters deal with child molesters, homosexuality, drugs and abortion. This book was often reprinted, in student newspapers for example, and widely distributed.

**Flat Case 1**

**The Depression**

The great economic depression of the 1930s seemed like the fulfilment of the Communist rhetoric of the failure of Capitalism. The situation in Australia was widely seen as the result of Australia’s dependence on overseas investors, the “British bondholders.” This caused a renewed interest among workers in alternative models such as socialism. The ALP was becoming more radical, but in accordance with the prevailing Comintern line the Communist Party of Australia was opposed to any co-operation with left-wing bourgeois parties and the CPA membership still numbered less than 3000.


_The great crisis and its political consequences; economics and politics, 1928-1934, / by E. Varga._ (London, Modern books limited [1935?])

Eugen Varga was the Director of the Institute of World Economy and Politics in Moscow.

61. Trinca, Frank.

_Science and democracy : adjusting the laws of advancing mechanization to the objectives of civilized policy / by Frank Trinca._ (Melbourne : Brown, Prior, 1933)

During the depression many people put forward their own ideas for a solution to the economic crisis. Melbourne doctor, Frank Trinca published his proposals in this wide-ranging survey of “the origin and life history of boom and depression cycles in industrial and social evolution.” (Foreword) This is a presentation copy to another Melbourne doctor, H. Boyd Graham. It includes Graham’s manuscript annotations, including the following, commenting on one of Trinca’s paragraphs in the Foreword,

Written in the trough of the world depression when chaos seemed inevitable, & some of us were members of a White army under one of Australia’s greatest AIF leaders – just in case the restless communists revolted.

This is a reference to the right wing militia groups, which were a feature of the anti-communist movement in the early 1930s. The New Guard was the best-known.
Demonstrations against itinerant unemployed were organised mostly in country towns in New South Wales and Victoria. The most famous action of the New Guard was by Francis de Groot who cut the ribbon at the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge before the official ceremony with the Labor Premier Jack Lang. The White Army was supposedly led by General Blamey, presumably the “AIF leader” referred to by Graham. On the evening of 6 March 1931 they mobilised themselves across Victoria in readiness for a Communist revolution which did not eventuate.

62. Moore, Herbert.

*Australia and the world crisis : political report delivered to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Australia, April 5, 1931 / by Herbert Moore.*

(Sydney, N.S.W. : Communist Party of Australia, 1931)

Herbert Moore was an American who was sent to Sydney by the Comintern to discipline the party and bring it back in line with Moscow. His real name was Harry Wicks. CPA leader, Jack Kavanagh, himself a Canadian who had arrived in Australian in 1925, claimed to recognise Moore from America as a Ku Klux Klan member. After the war Moore was expelled from the American Communist Party as a spy and it seems that he was an undercover anti-Communist agent throughout his career in the Party.

63. “De-registration for employment and sustenance for various reasons.”


This is part of the collection of left-wing material put together by Norm Saffin. It gives details of offences and penalties for relief workers in labour camps, which incurred suspension of sustenance payments.


Contributors to *Proletariat* included Communist such as Ralph Gibson and Guido Baracchi. There were many articles on life in the Soviet Union, including one by Gibson in the first issue, “The depression and the five year plan.” The issue for October 1933 on display has as its lead article, “The world economic crisis”, by the editor, Ian C. Macdonald.

Part of the significance of the journal lies in its cover art. The issues on display feature art by Jack Maughan, showing a worker holding aloft the world, with the USSR high-lighted in red; George Finey showing workers toiling to lift the world; and, by an unidentified artist a representation of a worker with a pick striking a capitalist in a dinner suit, carrying a package which reads “Work for the dole”.

**Flat Case 2**

**Egon Kisch**

In 1934 Egon Kisch, a radical Czech journalist was invited to Australia to address an Anti-War Congress organised by the Movement against War and Fascism. This was a
Kisch's Message...

From the World Committee To the Australian Workers

1d

Issued by
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
193 Hay Street, Sydney

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Communist Party front organization, formed in 1933 from their unsuccessful League against Imperialism. When Kisch reached Australia he was refused permission to land by the Immigration Department. Kisch jumped ship in Melbourne and broke his leg, but was put back on board. Although Kisch could speak many European languages, a dictation test in Gaelic was administered when the ship reached Sydney, to provide a pretext for formalising the ban. He failed the test, but the public outcry raised by the press and prominent Australians such as Vance and Nettie Palmer and Katherine Susannah Prichard made the Kisch case a cause celebre. Legal representation was arranged and he was allowed to speak at rallies, where he appeared on crutches, to loud public acclaim. He later wrote an account of his visit, Landung in Australien translated as Australian landfall (1937).

Part of the significance in organising the Anti-War Congress was to have it coincide with the 1934 Melbourne centenary celebrations, in particular, the opening of the Shrine of Remembrance in St. Kilda Road by the Duke of Gloucester.

Kisch's message from the World Committee to the Australian workers / issued by the National Council Against War and Fascism. (Sydney : The Council, [1934]) (Sydney : Wright & Baker)

The illustration on the cover of this pamphlet shows Kisch waving from on board ship. His talk, which he was finally able to deliver, not to the Congress in Melbourne, but to a large rally in Sydney Domain on 18 November, tells of the persecution writers had to suffer in Nazi Germany.

Landung in Australien / Egon Erwin Kisch. (Amsterdam : Verlag Allert de Lange, 1937)

This was Kisch’s account of his visit to Australia. It was translated into English and published by Seeker and Warburg in the same year. He visited to all the mainland states and his book is quite different from the usual traveller’s account. He looked at Australia through the eyes of a European radical and saw inequalities and cruelties, which would have gone, unnoticed to an Englishman. He has for example a chapter on the treatment of the Aborigines, which gives detailed accounts of the various massacres.

67. Smith, Julian.
Newspaper reporting and modern reportage : a lecture to the Writers’ League / by Julian Smith, with notable examples from the works of Egon Erwin Kisch. (Sydney : Australian Writers’ League, [1935])

Kisch was a charismatic figure and had captured the attention of the Australian public in general and Australian writers in particular. Therefore it was topical for Julian Smith to refer to him in his lecture on reporting. Kisch was well-known as a radical journalist in Europe, famous for his “reportage” style of engaging with the subject.

Included in this pamphlet was a report of the First National Writers’ League Conference, with a statement of their principles. This includes an account of the
Conference by Katherine Susannah Prichard and the Presidential address by Jean Devanny, both of whom were prominent Communist writers.

Flat Case 3

Spain

In 1936 there was a military coup against the Socialist Republican government of Spain. The coup was only partly successful and a Civil War ensued, lasting until 1939 when the Nationalists (Falangists) under General Franco gained control of the country. The Republicans were helped by the Soviet Union, while the Nationalists received aid in the form of troops and equipment from Germany and Italy.

The Comintern directed Communists to support the Republican cause and the International Brigade was formed. Left wing writers such as W. H. Auden and Stephen Spender wrote in favour of the Republicans while writers such as Roy Campbell took the opposing side. Hemingway and Orwell both wrote of their time fighting for the Left in Spain.

Australian left-wingers who served included Vance and Nettie Palmer’s daughter, Aileen.

68. The Spanish people are fighting for you (Melbourne, Victorian Council Against War and Fascism [1937?]) 1 leaf. [from the collection of N. W. Saffin]

The Victorian Council Against War and Fascism, which published and circulated this single-leaf flier, was a Communist front organization. The Labor Party threatened any of their members who were also in the VCAWF with expulsion.

The flier has a graphic featuring the Spanish republican war-cry, “They shall not pass”. Nettie Palmer is quoted on the virtues of the Spanish government, “It showed, in the words of Nettie Palmer, the Australian writer who was in Barcelona before and during the rebellion, ‘complete toleration as regards the church.’ ”

Awareness of the denominational divide over the Spanish War is evident in the plea printed on the flier, “Australians! Protestants and Catholics! Men and women of all parties! You have a great tradition of liberty!”

69. Spain: the Spanish people present their case: Australian nurses’ response, with special article by Nettie Palmer (Camberwell, Vic.: Spanish Relief Committee, 1936)

This includes a first-hand account by Nettie Palmer of her experiences in Spain from which she had just returned. Her daughter Aileen was with her, and stayed for two years, working as an interpreter with a British medical unit.

The Spanish Relief Committee included Maurice Blackburn, a Federal Labour MP who was disciplined for his membership of the VCAWF, Nettie Palmer, and the Communist Len Fox.
The Spanish People Present their Case
Australian Nurses' Response

With Special Article by
NETTIE PALMER

3d.

Proceeds to Spanish Relief Committee, Melbourne
(Hon. Sec.: Helen Baillie, 103 Wattle Valley Road, Camberwell, E.S.)
THE SPANISH PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING FOR YOU!!

WHY ARE THE SPANISH PEOPLE FIGHTING? They are fighting, because their democratically elected Government was attacked. This Government was neither Socialist nor Communist; it was a Liberal Government. Its only "crimes" were the building of hospitals and schools, and the giving of land to the starving peasants. It showed, in the words of Nettie Palmer, the Australian writer who was in Barcelona before and during the rebellion, "complete toleration as regards the church."

THE ATTACK WAS MADE BY FASCIST GENERALS, LANDOWNERS, MILLIONAIRES. "In defence against this fascist eruption," declares Senator Branting of Sweden after a visit to Spain, "practically the whole of the Spanish population has rallied or is prepared to rally." Liberals, Socialists, Communists, Anarchists and Catholics are fighting side by side.

BUT THE "CIVIL WAR" IS FAR MORE THAN A CIVIL WAR. From the first Franco relied on Moorish troops and German and Italian arms. Today we have the wholesale landing of German conscripts. This is not a civil war, but a foreign invasion. And if Spanish democracy falls? Then every democracy receives a blow. Belgium and Czechoslovakia would soon share the fate of Spain. And sooner or later the Fascist Powers would be strong enough to defy the world, and death would march over the whole of Europe, and over Australian homes as well.

OUR FATE IS BEING DECIDED ON THE BATTLEFIELDS OF SPAIN. And what are we doing to help? Our Governments have denied the Spanish people their legal right to buy arms, and left them to fight against the most up-to-date foreign machine guns, tanks and aeroplanes with whatever weapons they could lay their hands on, which in some cases were only sticks and knives.

AUSTRALIANS! PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS! MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL PARTIES! YOU HAVE A GREAT TRADITION OF LIBERTY! Today it is the Spanish people who hold the front line trench in the fight for freedom. Their heroism has dealt a severe blow at reaction everywhere. But, in the words of a Spanish miner's wife, "Heroism is not enough, we need help." Can we turn a deaf ear to the call of those who are giving their lives for us?

Send Food to the Spanish People! Send Medical Supplies to the Australian Nurses in Spain! Send money for these purposes to the A.C.T.U. Fund, the Spanish Relief Committee or the V.C.A.W. & F.

(Issued by the Victorian Council Against War and Fascism, 191 Queen St., City)

C. G. Hopkins, Printer, 3 High St., Malvern.
70. Albiston, Walter.

The Rev. Albiston begins with an extensive quote from Nettie Palmer’s speech in Scots Hall, Melbourne on 15th October 1936, where she emphasised that the Republicans had destroyed churches but only because the rebel forces had taken refuge in them, “using the towers to shoot from and using the building as dumps for ammunition.” (p. 1)

Part of the thrust of the pamphlet is to encourage the ALP to ignore the calls from Rome for all Catholics to support Franco and the rebels against the Republicans in the Spanish war.

We are satisfied that the Labour Party, which has been dominated too long by Roman Catholic influence, will not, in the case of Spain allow the Church to dictate its policy. The time has come for Labour to shake itself free from the crippling hand of the Roman Catholic Church, and the situation in Spain may be the means of official Labour in Australia seeing clearly that the Roman Catholic Church has always been the enemy of the working people in every land and in all ages. ...

We issue this pamphlet as a challenge to the attitude and claims of the Roman Catholic hierarchy throughout Australia, who have been endeavouring to pull the wool over the eyes of the community at large, and who have deliberately trailed a red herring across the situation, in the form of Communism. (p. 12)

For God and Spain: the truth about the Spanish war / [by Aodh de Blacam]. (Melbourne: A.C.T.S., 1936)

This Catholic Truth Society pamphlet put forward the Church’s view on the war. The Foreword begins by quoting from the Pope’s radio broadcast of 14 September 1936,

His Holiness, in words of such eloquence as seemed to come from the very soul of the Church, blessed those “who have taken upon them the difficult and dangerous task of restoring the law of God and the rights of conscience,” and counselled them to do all things in charity and without wrath. (p. 1)

The author clearly warns his readers that “Godless Communism” is behind the conflict,

Let all remember that Spain is fighting for the cause of all Christendom, when its soldiers strive to hold back the atheistic materialism of Moscow, and the church-burning, culture-destroying fury. For the freedom of our Faith, and the life of our own grave Christian civilisation, the parties of the Right and their soldiers are waging the Last Crusade. (p. 1)

Spain (London, Faber and Faber, 1937)

Most of the young writers in England were pro-Republican, and the most famous poem about the conflict was W. H. Auden’s “Spain.” Indeed it was one of Auden’s most popular and widely-anthologised works, although he later refused to allow it to appear in his Collected Works.
According to a note on the inside flap, “all the author’s royalties from the sale of this poem go to Medical Aid for Spain.”

Part of the poem’s effectiveness relies on the stance of the man-of-feeling setting aside his pleasures in favour of urgent action,

To-morrow for the young the poets exploding like bombs,
The walks by the lake, the weeks of perfect communion;
To-morrow the bicycle races
Through the suburbs on summer evenings. But to-day the struggle.

To-day the deliberate increase in the chances of death,
The conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder;
To-day the expending of powers
On the flat ephemeral pamphlet and the boring meeting.

To-day the makeshift consolations: the shared cigarette,
The cards in the candlelit barn, and the scraping concert,
The masculine jokes; to-day the
Fumbled and unsatisfactory embrace before hurting.

The stars are dead. The animals will not look.
We are left alone with our day, and the time is short, and
History to the defeated
May say Alas but cannot help or pardon. (p. 11-12)

73. Programme of the new Spain (London, F. G. Sturrup, 1938)

This is a twenty-six point programme for the future of Spain under the Falange Espaniola Tradicionalista, or Nationalist regime.

In the section headed, “The State and the individual liberty”, point 6 reads,

Our State will be a totalitarian instrument in the service of National integrity. All Spaniards will take part in it through their family, municipal and syndical functions. No one shall take part in it through any political party. The system of political parties will be implacably abolished, with all that flows from them – inorganic suffrage, representation by conflicting parties and parliament of the familiar type.

The section on “Economy, work, class-warfare” includes point 10,

We repudiate any capitalist system, which ignores popular necessities, dehumanises private property and huddles workers into shapeless masses ripe for misery and despair. Our spiritual and national sense also repudiates Marxism. We shall organise the impulses of the working-classes, led astray to-day by Marxism, by exacting their direct participation in the great task of the national State.

74. Negrín Juan.

*Spain desires her independence and freedom* / [Juan Negrín]. (Barcelona : Ediciones Espanolas, 1938) [from the collection of N. W. Saffin]

"Declaration of Doctor Negrín, the Prime Minister, on April 30th, 1938".

Juan Negrín was the Prime Minister of Spain from 1937 to the end of the war in 1939. He was a Democratic Socialist but his dependence on the Communists alienated the other Western powers. The Soviet Union was the only ally the Republicans had, so
they were forced to go to them for arms. Negrin oversaw the shipping of much of Spain’s gold reserves to Russia. Even after the fall of Catalonia in January 1939 he tried to fight on, but had to accept defeat after an anti-Communist uprising in Madrid.

The cover title, “The thirteen points for which Spain is fighting”, indicates that this manifesto was possibly drawn up, and published in April 1938, in answer to the Falangist’s twenty-six points published in January of the same year.

Flat case 4

World War II

When the war started in September 1939 the Communists in the West were still trying to come to terms with the Soviet-German non-aggression pact which had, surprisingly been signed in the previous month. There was a general tendency on the Left to condemn the war as a capitalist-imperialist struggle in the same terms used during World War I.

However, in Australia, at least initially, the Communist Party was strongly supportive of the war, believing the Fascists were the natural enemies, and the workers of Poland must be defended. When it became obvious that German and Russian forces had in fact divided Poland, the rhetoric changed to reflect the supposed liberation of the Polish workers, at least in the east, by forces of the people’s Soviet. Russia then proceeded to invade the Balkan states. Russia was, to many ordinary people, the enemy in the same way as Germany, and the Communist Party suffered a further decline in popularity.

During this first period of the war Communists were instructed by the Comintern to oppose their country’s involvement; clearly an unpopular move when the countries were under threat from the Axis powers. In Australia the Party was banned under wartime emergency powers.

The official attitude of the Australian Communist party changed abruptly when, in June 1941, Hitler ordered an attack on the USSR. After this local Communist Parties world-wide were loud in their agitation for a “Second Front”.

After Russia entered the war on the Allied side, Stalin disbanded the Comintern as a sop to the West. The local Communist Parties began to gain in popularity, and by 1945 in Australia they boasted a membership of 23,000. However, under peace-time conditions their appeal rapidly faded. Fifty per-cent of the Australian members had left by 1947 and by 1958 there were only 5850.


This was the “Organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia.” Publication was suspended from June, when the Party was banned, to December 1940, but re-commenced in January 1941. Copies were still being seized, as the ban on the Party was not lifted until December 1942.
On display are copies for May, September and November 1941. The May 1941 issue begins with "Notes of the month", the first of which refers to Dunkirk, and the threat of German invasion of Britain. The piece ends,

The further the war develops, the more the very stones cry out that it is an imperialist war and expose the hollow lies of the Labor Party leaders that this is a "war for democracy and a new order", that at the end of this war, the British capitalists, imperialists and fascists are politely going to commit suicide and allow the people to take control.

The September issue, in the aftermath of the German invasion of Russia, gives a different slant on the war. An article entitled, "For a people’s war for the defeat of fascism" begins,

The aggression of the fascists against the land of Socialism has changed the nature and course of the war and presented the international labor movement with new and decisive tasks. The central issue now is to ensure at all costs, the victory over Hitlerism.

The November 1941 issue begins with an editorial, headed "Britain and the U.S. must act" which calls for a second front and for the entry of the United States into the war. On 7th December 1941 the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour and America entered the war, but it was not until 6th June 1944 that the second front was opened with the Allied landings in Normandy. The editorial ends in a flourish of rhetoric,

The working class movement uniting its own ranks demands the ruthless prosecution of the sacred war of independence and freedom, for the defeat of the new barbarism that threatens all lands.


This is Sharkey’s report on the work of the Central Committee of which he was General-Secretary.

The Party’s attitude to the war was discussed and Sharkey reports on this in a section headed, “The war becomes a people’s war”. This includes mention of the apparent change of policy after the German attack on Russia,

The enemies of our Party allege that the Party “sombresaulted” but the policy of alliance with the Soviet Union against the fascists is, and always has been, our policy. It was those who had opposed collective security, who fought the peace policy of the Soviet Government, who were compelled to somersault. In the end it was the pro-fascists, appeasers and isolationists who were defeated and compelled to accept the policy of Unity against the fascists. Certainly the Party changes its line, just as Marx, Lenin and the Bolsheviks frequently changed immediate policy, but never the ultimate aim, Socialism. It is true that our reformist critics never change their fundamental line, namely, support for whatever policy the bourgeoisie is following: class-collaboration.

77. Soviet-German non-aggression pact explained / by Molotov, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, with an introduction by E.W. Campbell. (Sydney : Central Committee, Communist Party of Australia, [1939])

Ernie Campbell had studied at the Lenin School in Moscow in 1934 and on his return was given responsibility for teaching new recruits the fundamentals of Marxist theory. In his introduction he begins by admitting that, “A great deal of confusion exists
The TRUTH about the BRISBANE LINE

"The Government of which I had the honour to be the leader has no apology to make to history."
R.G. Menzies, June 22, 1943.
(Hansard, p. 34.)

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about the real nature and reasons for the conclusion of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact.” His intention, he says, is to dispel “the false impressions which have been created.”

To clear things up, we are re-publishing statements by M. Zhdanov, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Supreme Soviet; V. M. Molotov, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs; and Marshall Voroshilov, People’s Commissar for Defence.

78. **Second front. (Melbourne : Australia-Soviet Friendship League, 1941)**

79. **The Red Army. (Melbourne : Australia-Soviet Friendship League, [1941])**

The Australia-Soviet Friendship League was a Communist front organisation, which had originated in 1930 as the Friends of the Soviet Union. The Party used it to promote awareness among Australians of the need for Allied support for the Russian war effort.

The A.S.F.L feels that the possibility of opening of a second front is not being considered by many influential people in Britain, who are prejudiced against the Soviet Union – perhaps by some members of the British Cabinet – simply as a military question. Are some of these Cabinet members, for example, under the influence of the ideas expressed by the Minister for Aircraft Production, Lieut.-Col. Moore-Brabazon, when he said that the German and Russian armies would exterminate each other and that this would enable Britain to gain the dominating power in Europe? (see “Herald” September 11th)

Anyone in Britain who dreams that Britain should stay more or less aloof and fully-armed while the Soviet Union and Germany weaken each other, leaving Britain safe, sound and unscathed, is a madman or a Nazi agent. (p. 3)

*The Red Army* begins with a sense of urgency, “As this is written, the calendar shows June 26th 1941. Less than a week has passed since Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union.” (p. 2) The message of the pamphlet is how well-trained and disciplined the Red Army is and how high their morale.

The final section is an account of the Red army’s invasion of Lithuania. This had taken place in 1940 after the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact had been signed. This had enabled Germany and Russia to divide Poland, and Russia to invade Finland and the Baltic States, including Lithuania. The ASFL pamphlet quotes Anna Louise Strong’s account of the invasion. Miss Strong was a Communist journalist of long-standing, and had been a close friend of several senior Soviet officials. She lived in Russia and edited the *Moscow News*. According to her account,

Lithuania became transformed, without the shedding of one drop of blood, into a people’s Socialist Republic and a member-Republic of the U.S.S.R.

One thing only made this peaceful transformation possible – the presence of the Red Army inside Lithuania. (p. 19)

80. **Julius, M. N.**

**The Truth about the Brisbane line / by M.N. Julius. (Brisbane : Queensland State Committee, Communist Party of Australia, 1943)**

The “Brisbane Line” was notorious in Queensland as being a policy put forward by Menzies that stated that if Australia was to be invaded the troops would fall back to a
line through Brisbane and defend Australia from there, ceding all areas to the north to the enemy.

The introduction to the pamphlet is by Fred Paterson, a radical barrister who later became the only Communist ever to be elected to Parliament in Australia; he was the member for Bowen in the Queensland Legislative Assembly from 1944 to 1950.

The graphic on the cover shows Menzies as a washerwoman washing his army tunic with the legend on the back reading, “Resigned Militia commission 1914”. The clothes on the line, staked out across Australia from Adelaide to Brisbane, refer to the “scrap-iron that came back”, a reference to the pig iron for Japan which Menzies insisted be shipped despite the protests from the Wharfies; “praise for Hitler”; “Munich” and “non-intervention to help Franco”; all of which refer to Menzies sympathies with right-wing totalitarian regimes and the policy of appeasement.

81. *The Communists were right! : Why was the second front delayed? Could the war have been prevented?* (London : Communist Party of Great Britain, [1946])

This pamphlet arose from evidence presented at the Nuremberg trials, in particular by General Jodl who gave as his assessment that it was “totally incomprehensible that the Anglo-Americans should have avoided forming the Second Front in the West.” (p. 5)

The Communists blamed Churchill for his insistence that the campaign continue in the Mediterranean rather than mounting an invasion across the Channel. In the immediate aftermath of the war, they warned,

The Fascists are crawling out of their holes. Attempts are being made to break up our alliance with the Soviet Union.

Against all this, the Communists will fight, as they fought against the spirit of Munich. But they can do so a thousand times more effectively in their rightful place, as an affiliated organisation of the Labour Party. (p. 15)

The call was going out once again for a popular front with the other parties of the left, but as had been the case in the 1920s and 1930s the reformist parties were not interested.

**Flat Case 5**

**Post-War Reconstruction**

The proposals for changes in society after the war began to be put forward and considered from about 1943. In their striving for the reform of society, the Communists often had detailed schemes to promote.

Their Utopian inclinations are evident in such works as Ralph Gibson’s *Socialist Melbourne* (1951) and *Women in our new world* (1947) The Gibson pamphlet had first appeared in 1939 but was now re-written to fit the new era.

The Party in Australia was aware of the need to broaden its outlook to include ideas on reform that would apply to farmers and to minority groups such as the Aborigines.
A NEW DEAL FOR WOMEN

COMMUNIST PROGRAMME SERIES No. 4

Item 85
Women in Our New World
Some of their practical proposals appeared in pamphlets on such issues as housing and slum clearance.

In Europe the occupation of Eastern Europe by the Russian forces, the imposition of socialism onto the people of those countries, and the closing of the borders resulted in a renewed fear of Communism in the West. Churchill gave his famous “iron curtain” speech in 1946, and World War III appeared to be a real threat, especially after Russia obtained the ability to make the atom bomb.

82. Communist Party of Australia.  
*Houses, slums, private enterprise and the future.* (Sydney : Australian Communist Party, [1944])

83. Communist Party of Australia.  
*Every farmer well-to-do : based on evidence submitted to the Rural Reconstruction Commission / by the Australian Communist Party.* (Sydney : Australian Communist Party, 1944)

84. *Plan for the fighting man.* (Sydney : Australian Communist Party, 1944)

85. *A New deal for women / illustrated by E. Fairway.* (Sydney : Australian Communist Party, [1944])

These pamphlets were published as the “Communist Programme Series”, authorised by the Central Committee of the Australian Communist Party. They aimed to convey to a cross-section of Australians the Communist vision for the post-war world.

*The New Deal for Women* refers to the situation of women doing men’s jobs,

Women’s achievements in the war years have proved beyond all doubt their right to equality.

After the war has been won, Australia will face the task of re-organising the country for peace-time production. The skill and experience gained during the war period by the women will be needed in the execution of post-war plans.

The tremendous scope of industry in the post-war period should ensure the right of women to remain in the new spheres of activity where they have proved their ability.

Equality gives womanhood the opportunity for the highest development; it frees a great force to work in the interests of the nation.

Let us all work towards the achievement of it. (p. 30-31)

86. *Women in our new world.* (Sydney : Current Book Distributors, 1947)

The author begins by showing us a scene in an Australian city, with the children playing cricket on the street, using garbage cans as wickets and sitting on the gutters. We are then asked to imagine “that we have a Socialist Australia, and see what has happened to one family, the Morris family – and how they live under socialism. (p. 6)
The family had lived in "a two-roomed condemned cottage" but, after "Socialism began to get under way" they had been "moved into a self-contained flat in a converted mansion" (p. 7)

Margaret Morris works in the Eureka machine-building plant and finds she is pregnant, "She was put onto lighter work, and six weeks before the baby was due she went on leave on full pay." (p. 8) Her doctor reassures her,

"Don't worry about the birth, Mrs. Morris," she encouraged. "You'll have no hospital expenses, of course, and there's the new painless birth treatment for everyone now. I felt nothing at all when I had my last baby, and he was born in two hours!" (p. 9)

After giving the reader a glimpse of the ideal life in the socialist future the writer exhorts women to "stand side by side with their men today - whether they are housewives or workers in industry". (p. 20)

87. Gibson, Ralph, 1906-

Socialist Melbourne / by Ralph Gibson. (Melbourne : International Bookshop, 1951)

Ralph Gibson was educated at Melbourne Grammar and Melbourne University. He lectured for the Workers' Educational Association and joined the Communist Party in 1932. He became the Victorian State Secretary and served on the National Committee. He helped Frank Hardy with research for Power without Glory.

Socialist Melbourne begins by forecasting the end of Capitalism, "having produced the two greatest wars and the greatest depression in all history. It shows every sign that it has outlived its day and will soon cease to be." (p. 3)

After setting the scene, he takes us on a guided tour of the new Melbourne.

It is five years since a Socialist Government was elected to power in Australia. …

When the majority of Australians declared for Socialism the rich rebelled. It was called the Bankers' Revolt. There was a short, violent struggle, but the people won - and here we are. (p. 3)

Gibson takes us on a tour of a factory run by the workers, and shows us the new Spencer Street Station, "We enquire how it came to be built. We are told that when the new system began, the debts of the railways were wiped out, with compensation in case of hardship only." (p. 11) There is also an underground railway system and a people's bank. Worship at Churches is allowed but "They have no longer their Church schools, which helped to divide Australia youth on lines of class and creed." (p. 13)

The State Theatre has a fixed price for seats of 6d.

Inside we see films of many kinds - comics, romances and other films, some of which appear very much like the pictures of old days, but we soon notice a big difference. We miss the millionaire heroes, their exclusive hotels, their fashionably dressed wives and mistresses. We miss films of sex, gangsterism and violence. The scenes are from the lives of ordinary men and women …

We leave the theatre anxious to see more of the cultural life of the new society. (p. 13-14)
On visiting Parliament House our guide tells us there are still different parties,

We learn that the largest party, with the majority of cabinet seats, is a united workers' party formed of the Communist Party of the old days and those of the Labour Party who finally supported the change to Socialism. ...

Soon the building of socialism will be complete and we shall have a classless society. We shall then have only one party, and finally no party. (p. 16)

88. Outline for work in municipal councils. (Melbourne : International Book Shop, [1945])

Although they are best-known for infiltrating trade unions, the Communist Party encouraged its members to become involved in other fields. This pamphlet briefs them for work in local councils.

The Councils are a fertile ground for mass political development. The role of the Councils will grow, their place in government will expand, their importance to the people as a whole will develop immeasurably. Further, the Councils, which lie at the base of government, are the most stable stepping stones to parliamentary leadership. They can be made the mass rallying ground for great national movements towards the achievement of Victory, peace, Security and the objectives of the programme of the Australian Communist Party. (p. 3)

89. Civvy street : a booklet of information for members of the services returning to civilian life / issued by the Communist Party. (Sydney : Australian Communist Party, [1945])

The Communists had been successful in recruiting within the armed services during the war. The official Army magazine Salt was run partly by Party members. This pamphlet lists all of the rights and entitlements due to ex-servicemen after demobilization, as well as giving information regarding Communist Party policies relevant to employment, pensions and home loans.

90. Communists tell how to build houses fast : A.C.P. program. (Melbourne : International Book Shop, [1946])

91. Barnett, F. Oswald (Frederick Oswald), 1883-1972.

We must go on : a study in planned reconstruction and housing / by F. Oswald Barnett, W.O. Burt, F. Heath. (Melbourne : Book Depot, 1944)

Barnett had done ground-breaking work with his publication in 1933 of Unsuspected slums a study, which had grown from his Melbourne University thesis. He had published other works on poverty and juvenile delinquency and was to publish, in 1945, an inspirational exhortation to the working class, his poem, I hear the tramp of millions. Barnett was a Christian socialist and one of the driving forces behind the establishment of the Housing Commission of Victoria, and helped the Chifley government develop its housing and urban plans as part of the work of the Post-War Reconstruction Department. We must go on was one of the most influential publications of the era in that field. However in 1948 he resigned from the Housing Commission because the Victorian government had become concerned at his Communist sympathies, and in 1949 he was forced to resign from the Victorian Board
of City Mutual Life Assurance because he was the auditor of Australia-Soviet House. Barnett was one of the early casualties of the Cold War in Australia.

**Flat Case 6**

**1950s**

The 1950s was dominated by the “Cold War”, with the stand-off between the Western and Eastern blocs, much sabre-rattling, brinkmanship and spy scandals.

In 1949 Cecil Sharpley defected from the Communist Party of Australia and published his story in the Melbourne *Herald*. Among the allegations he made were some concerning the Communist Party’s infiltration of the trade unions through ballot-rigging and even that they arranged industrial sabotage. The Victorian Hollway-McDonald Liberal-Country Party government called a Royal Commission to inquire into the activities of the Communist Party. Brian Fitzpatrick and the Council for Civil Liberties railed against it, and the Communist Party took out a writ for libel against Sharpley. However, the Royal Commissioner, Charles Lowe, found only one instance of ballot-rigging was proved, and that, although the Party controlled the front organizations listed, they did not provide a threat to national security, nor did they constitute a “fifth column”, working on behalf of a foreign power. The report is valuable for researchers partly for the lists of organizations investigated and the communist publications tendered.

The Federal Liberal-Country Party coalition was in opposition but they called for the ALP to legislate against Communist involvement in the trades unions. Chifley, the Labor Prime Minister refused but his party agreed to pass some legislation against ballot-rigging. In the lead-up to the Federal election of 10 December 1949 Menzies promised that if the coalition was elected it would institute measures to ban the Communist Party in Australia. The ALP was defeated and the coalition believing it had a mandate to act on the matter introduced the Communist Party Dissolution Bill on 27 April 1950. The Bill was passed but the Party and some of the Communist-controlled unions took out writs claiming it to be unconstitutional. The High Court found in their favour.

Menzies fought the election of April 1951 partly on a promise that he would pursue the dissolution of the Party. They won the election, and then sought wider powers on the matter with a referendum. The Democratic Rights Committee, another front organization, formed in Melbourne in 1949 led the opposition, calling for a “No” vote. The ALP also opposed the referendum seeing it as an attempt by the Liberals to assume greater powers at the cost of civil rights. The referendum lost by a small margin. This was an instance of the Communists and the ALP fighting a successful “united front” campaign.

After the defection of the Petrovs in 1954, there was a Royal Commission into Espionage (1954-55). This had as its brief to examine the possible links between local communists and the espionage activities carried on by Soviet spies operating from the Russian Embassy. Among the allegations were that the President of the Communist Party of Australia, Lance Sharkey, had been receiving “Moscow gold” on behalf of the Party, in particular a payment of US$25,000, and that Rex Chiplin, a CPA
"I was a Communist Leader"

By Cecil Sharpley

A Melbourne Herald Publication

One Shilling
member, was an active spy. The Commissioners were finally unable to state that such allegations were true, but they found that even if the CPA was not actively engaged in espionage itself, some individual Communists were.

There were allegations made by the Left that the Royal Commission into Espionage, with its parade of witnesses, CPA members, fellow-travellers, and assorted radicals was the Australian equivalent of the US Enquiry into Un-American Activities under Senator Joe McCarthy.

The world view of Communism changed after the death of Stalin in 1953 and the stated intention by Khrushchev that he believed in “peaceful coexistence” added to his willingness to attend a Summit Conference,” seemed to augur well. He also revealed details of the Russian show trials instituted by Stalin in the 1930s. The invasion of Hungary by Russian forces in 1956 to suppress a nationalist, anti-Soviet revolution once again cast the Communists as repressive villains. Many intellectuals in the West left the party.

In Australia the battle for control of the trade unions saw the Communists to the left and the Industrial Groupers, or members of the Catholic Action “Movement”, to the right. This was the background to the “Split” in the Australian Labor Party, which took place over a period from 1956 to 1958 and led to the formation of the Democratic Labor Party. DLP preferences helped keep the ALP out of office until 1972. They were loudly anti-Communist and helped the Liberal-Country party coalition keep the “red scare” alive as a force in Australian politics.

92. Sharpley, Cecil H. (Cecil Herbert)  
_That was a Communist leader / by Cecil Sharpley. (Toorak [Vic.]: Joseph Swanson Wilkinson for Colorgravure Publications, [1949])_

The headline on the front cover reads, “Revealing confession of an Australian red leader”. After having appeared as a series of articles in the Melbourne _Herald_, the Adelaide _Advertiser_, and the Brisbane _Courier-Mail_, Sharpley’s confessions were printed as a pamphlet in editions for the _Herald_, the _Courier-Mail_ and the _Sydney Morning Herald._

Before his defection in 1949, Sharpley was a member of the Victorian State Executive of the Communist Party. His revelations, particularly as they dealt with the Communist tactics of ballot-rigging in trade unions, led to the Victorian government setting up a Royal Commission.


We also hold a copy of this report from the _Herald Library_, bound at the end of thirty-one volumes of transcripts, giving details of the 154 days of hearings beginning 6th June 1949 and ending 6th March 1950.
94. Australia.

Communist Party Dissolution: no. 16 of 1950: an act to provide for the dissolution of the Australian Communist Party and of other Communist organizations, to disqualify Communists from holding certain offices, and for purposes connected therewith. Communist Party Dissolution Act 1950 (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, [1950]) [from the collection of W. H. Tregear]

The preamble to the Act sets out the government’s perceptions of, and objections to the Australian Communist Party,

Whereas the Australian Communist Party, in accordance with the basic theory of communism, as expounded by Marx and Lenin, engages in activities or operations designed to assist or accelerate the coming of a revolutionary situation, in which the Australian Communist Party, acting as a revolutionary minority, would be able to seize power and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat:

And Whereas the Australian Communist Party also engages in activities or operations designed to bring about the overthrow or dislocation of the established system of government of Australia and the attainment of economic, industrial or political ends by force, violence, intimidation or fraudulent practices:

And Whereas the Australian Communist Party is an integral part of the world communist revolutionary movement, which, in the King’s dominions and elsewhere, engages in espionage and sabotage and in activities or operations of a treasonable or subversive nature … (p. 2)

95. Hill, E. F. (Edward Fowler)

Defeat Menzies’ fascist bill / by E. F. Hill. (Melbourne: [Communist Party of Australia, 1950])

Ted Hill was a Communist barrister. He had joined the Party in 1936 and was the Victorian Secretary from 1948 to 1962. He was expelled in 1963 and formed the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), a Maoist group.

His pamphlet is an attack on Menzies, comparing him to Hitler. He calls upon the Australian people to rise up against their government.

A united people can rapidly destroy the Menzies and the Faddens and their American masters -- a united people can defend the peace -- can defend democracy -- living standards …

No people’s movement has ever been successfully suppressed; the Communist Party can never be suppressed. This very Bill, sponsored by Mr. Menzies, the greatest enemy Australia ever had, has aroused greater and greater interest in Communism -- more and more people are thinking about it. (p. 8)

96. Defend peace-defeat Menzies. 3 p. foolscap manuscript. [1957?] [from the collection of W. H. Tregear]

This appears to be the manuscript of a speech, written in point form, with the recurrent theme, “Defeat Menzies”. On the back of it is a list, possibly the agenda for a meeting. Item 1 is “Defeat Menzies”.

It begins, “Report by EFH [i.e. E. F. Hill] to CC [i.e. the Central Committee] 13/14/15 Dec. 1957”, and ends with an assessment of the ALP and the “spreading of
pessimism”; and the danger of “revisionism” within the Communist party. This includes the following underlined sections,

No-one will pretend the masses in Australia are in a great ferment, but there is an awakening, events do not pass Australia by. Our job is to influence the situation.

Danger of revisionism! Still remnants of revisionist elements. Those people with anti-Soviet anti-party views – these in the logic of history, get more anti-Party, more anti-Soviet.

Bill Tregear was Hill’s Secretary.

_There’s no iron curtain: an Australian journalist in Eastern Europe_ / by Stephen Murray-Smith. (Melbourne: International Bookshop, 1952)

Stephen Murray-Smith served as a commando in New Guinea during the war. He joined the Communist Party and worked in Prague with a Communist news agency from 1948 to 1951. It was from his time in Czechoslovakia that he gathered material for this account of life in Eastern Europe under Communist control.

The first section is headed “This Iron Curtain business”. He concludes,

That the Iron Curtain then IS a reality, but it is an Iron Curtain shutting us off from people like the Czechs, not them from us. One of my last jobs in Czechoslovakia was to prepare for publication by the Czechoslovak youth organisation a volume of Henry Lawson’s short stories, and for the Czechoslovak Trade Union movement a History of Australian Trade Unionism. The Czechoslovak workers and young people demanded these books. Who dare say that the Iron Curtain is imposed from that side of the fence in view of facts like that? (p. 9)

Stephen Murray-Smith later became the editor of the Australian left-wing literary magazine, _Overland._

98. _Your future is involved: read this!_ (Melbourne: Victorian A.L.P. Groups, [1954]) [from the collection of Dinny Cotter]

The Industrial Groups were organised by elements within the Catholic Church. They grew from Catholic Action, which had begun during the Spanish Civil War as an anti-Communist organisation. B. A. Santamaria was involved, but Archbishop Mannix is thought to have been the driving force. In 1939 Mannix began “The Movement” or “Industrial Groups” specifically to infiltrate the trade unions to counter-act the growing Communist influences. Once again Santamaria was the major lay figure involved. In the early 1950s the “Groupers” became powerful enough to control the Victorian Executive of the ALP. When they exerted pressure on the Labor Party to move further to the right, Evatt opposed them and caused a Split.

This pamphlet immediately pre-dates the split and presents the Industrial Group’s defence of their influence within the ALP. The pamphlet has a section, “Do the Communists fear the Groups?” This includes a series of quotes from the _Communist Review_ showing the tactics the Communist party recommends to its members to counter-act the Groups in the battle for control of the trade unions. One of the tactics described involved the Communists working on a united front with the ALP members in order to isolate the Groupers. “Thus while pretending to be friendly, the
Communists worked to establish contact with A.L.P. members to separate them from, and undermine the A.L.P. Groups.” (p. 9-10)


This account of the experiences of Nora Korzheno first appeared in 1950. It is included here as an example of the interest generated during the 1950s by stories of spying. Nora worked for the Russian secret police during the war. She fell in love with a British diplomat, one of her targets, and fled with him when he left to return to England.

Flat Case 7

**Anti-Communist Propaganda**

The anti-Communist genre is best-known from the 1950s when there was a constant barrage of such material from the mass-media as part of the Cold War effort. Examples included *Life* magazine's "The Reds Have a Standard Plan for Taking over a New Country" (1948), the M-G-M cartoon "Make Mine Freedom" (1948), Columbia Pictures' 1952 film *Invasion USA*, the 1962 TV special *Red Nightmare* ("presented by the Department of Defense"). There were of course earlier examples, often published by the Churches who were critical of the lack of religious tolerance shown in the Soviet Union under the sway of "Godless Communism."


In the biographical details supplied on the dust-wrapper, Elizabeth Dilling describes herself as 'Author, lecturer, world traveller, “bourgeois housewife”' She visited the Soviet Union in 1931 and "being told boastfully that the Communist world revolution would start with China and end with the United States she returned home stirred to study the subject." As a result she began to write books and articles and toured the US to warn people of the threat the Communists posed. Her biographical details end with, "Communicant of Protestant Episcopalian Church", in bold type.

*The Red Network* begins with a description of how the Communists have infiltrated American life, and have been particularly successful in influencing Roosevelt's government towards the socialist policies of the "New Deal". Mrs. Dilling then provides a detailed directory of front organisations.

I SPIED FOR STALIN
RUSSIAN WAR-BRIDE'S DRAMATIC LIFE STORY
Nora Murray

Written with convincing sincerity and realism, it is of enthralling interest - BBC Broadcast.
IS THIS TOMORROW

AUSTRALIA UNDER COMMUNISM!

Item 102
Verne P. Kaub was a retired journalist and PR man who was also President of the American Council of Christian Laymen. He criticised the trends in education as he saw them in the early 1950s and lays the blame on “so-called and self-styled progressive educators occupying policy-forming positions within National Education Association.” (p. 17) The chapter on “Using Communist-Socialist techniques” begins with a critique of the way in which American history is being taught,

No technique of the propagandists for Communism-Socialism is more satisfying to its users, or more effective in preparing the minds of both adults and young people for acceptance of the Marxian ideology, than the “debunking” of American history, which includes gross misrepresentation of the character and aims of the Founders and of the historical documents which they wrote. (p. 29)

102. *Is this tomorrow: Australia under Communism* (Melbourne, Australian Constitutional League [1949?])

This comic is based on one published in America in full colour in 1947 by the Catechetical Guild Educational Society of St. Paul, Minnesota; the Australian version is black and white, with a colour cover. There was even a French-Canadian version, *À quand notre tour?* The Australian version is adapted to local conditions, e.g. references to “Congress” are replaced by “Parliament.” The opening scene even shows Parliament House in Canberra with hammer and sickle flags.

It is a truly chilling scenario beginning with strikes on the coal-fields, a feature of the Australian mining industry in the post-war period. The Communist Party plans to “engineer a total crisis”. The Minister for Home Affairs backs a proposal made by the Communists through a front organisation against “intolerance”, and the Prime Minister and his deputy are assassinated. The puppet minister is placed in charge, with the head of the Communist Party as his adviser. Elections are then changed to the “European model” with the Communist Party as the only party on the ballot paper. All dissent is brutally quashed and the Church, universities and schools are undermined. Children begin to inform on their parents and the comic ends with the CPA leader dying but the system continuing. His successor tells the press that “Communism does not depend on any one man. It is a form of government which will rule the world.”

103. Sellers, Connie.


This example of anti-Communist pulp-fiction is a novel set in the United States after an invasion by the Russians, “the Ivans” as the American guerrilla forces call them. The sub-title on the cover reads, “It can happen here!”

104. “How prepared are we if Russia should attack?” by George Fielding Eliot, in *Look*, vol. 14, no. 13 20 June 1950, p. 31-35.

The sub-heading to the article reads, “A leading military expert analyses our defenses and finds America vulnerable at almost every point.” Among the possible methods of attack which Eliot takes into account are “Sporadic one-way bombing attacks from bases on Soviet territory – a few possibly with atomic bombs”; “Seizure of Alaskan airfields by air-borne troops and subsequent development of bombing attacks against
north-west US”; “Seizure of Iceland by amphibious operation and subsequent development of medium-scale bombing attacks against north-east US.”

Flat Case 8

Visitors to Russia

Many left-wing writers, public figures, party functionaries and trade union delegates were invited to visit Russia. Typically they would be shown carefully chosen aspects of Soviet life and encouraged to return home to spread the news of life under a Communist regime. “I have seen the future and it works” is perhaps the most famous quote from one such visitor. It was said by the American radical journalist, Lincoln Steffens on returning from a visit to Petrograd in 1919.

105. Wright, T. (Thomas), 1902-  
Russia to-day: an Australian trade union delegate's report / by T. Wright. (Sydney : Sheet Metal Worker's Union, 1928)

Tom Wright was a trade union delegate to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference held in Canton on 1st May 1927. From there he went to Russia. His report was one of the first comprehensive accounts brought back to Australia of conditions for the workers in Russia.

106. Smith, W. A.  

Smith’s account was hailed as a “wonderful revelation of the Great Plan now taking place in Russia.” (p. 5)

107. Stalin-Wells talk / the verbatim record and a discussion by G.B.Shaw, H.G.Wells, J.M.Keynes, E.Toller and others. With three caricatures and cover design by Low, December 1934. (London : New Statesman and Nation, 1934)

H. G. Wells was one of a number of left-wing writers who visited Russia in the period between the wars. He travelled there in September 1920 and interviewed Lenin. An account is given in his book, Russia in the Shadows (1920). He criticised Lenin for his despotic rule, and pointed out to him that the party leaders were already enjoying privileges denied to the workers, but hoped that this would change as the revolution stabilised.

In July 1934 he again visited Russia. This time he met Stalin. His report of the talk was published in the New Statesman 27 October 1934. In subsequent issues of the paper other writers debated the issues raised in the “Stalin-Wells talk”. They included George Bernard Shaw and John Maynard Keynes.

Shaw had met Stalin in the Kremlin on 29 July 1931, and the Soviet leader had facilitated his tour of Russia in which he was able to observe, at least to his own satisfaction, that the statements being circulated about the famine in the Ukraine were
A TRAMWAYMAN TALKS ON RUSSIA

BY W.A. SMITH

Item 106
merely rumours. He had seen that the peasants had plenty of food. In fact the famine had notoriously been caused by Stalin in his desperation to achieve the goals of his five-year plan. An estimated ten million people, mostly Ukrainians, died of starvation.

*The real Russia* / by Katherine Suzanne Prichard. (Sydney : Modern Publishers, 1934)

One of the most prominent Communist writers in Australia was Katherine Susannah Prichard (she even features in the movie, “Shine”). She had been a founder member, in 1920, of the CPA, and served on its Central Committee. This book is an account of her journey to Russia in 1933. She visited a Commune in the Ukraine where she was assured the harvest had been good and the peasants all lived well.

109. Hardy, Frank, 1917-  
*Journey into the future* / by Frank J. Hardy. (Melbourne : Australasian Book Society, 1952)

Hardy used Lincoln Steffens quote, from which his title is derived, as the epigraph for his book. It is an account of a trip he made to Russia with his wife, Rosslyn in 1951. Frank Hardy had become a Communist during the war and had worked for the Army Education Service magazine *Salt*, which had many Communists on the staff.

After the success de scandale of *Power without Glory* and the subsequent court case, Frank Hardy and his wife were sent to attend the World Youth Festival in Berlin. From East Germany they proceeded to Russia where they were treated well and shown the usual sights.

*Journey into the Future* was written from a sense of idealism as were most accounts by sympathetic Westerners who visited the Soviet Union. Hardy particularly noted the speed of post-war reconstruction work, which was being achieved.

In late 1968 he returned to the USSR, in the aftermath of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. This time he wrote a series of articles, “Stalin’s heirs”, which appeared in the *Sunday Times* in Britain and were reprinted in the *Bulletin* in Australia (from 11 January 1969) These were critical of the Communist regime and he was told he would not be allowed to return.

**Flat Case 9**

**China**

The Communist Party of China had its origins in groups of radicals, which began in the early 1920s. Mao-Tse-tung was the leader of a small Communist group in 1920, which received aid from the Comintern. The first conference of the Chinese Communist party was held in Shanghai in 1921. However Russia began to support the Kuomintang under Sun Yat-sen. One of his young officers was Chiang Kai-shek who was sent to Moscow for training. In November 1931 Mao proclaimed the Chinese Soviet Republic in the south-eastern province of Jiangxi, with himself as Chairman.
His long-range intention was to isolate the cities by taking control of the countryside. Chiang began his anti-Communist drive. It was as a result of the KMT siege of Jiangxi that Mao and his followers set out on the “Long March” of 6000 miles to the north-west. However, the Japanese invasion was under way and eventually the KMT and CPC had to join forces to fight the invaders. When the Japanese were defeated in the Pacific and had to fall back from China the Communists maintained control of the country. After a civil war, and despite the United States giving aid to the KMT, the Communist were victorious and Chiang and his army had to retreat to Taiwan. On 1st October 1949 Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the People’s Republic of China.

Although supported from the start by the USSR, a Sino-Soviet split occurred in 1960, apparently over matters of doctrine, in particular whether or not it was possible for Communism to triumph without a war against Capitalism. The Chinese claimed to be more pure in their adherence to Leninism and denounced the Russians as “revisionists”, while the Russians denounced the Chinese as “dogmatists.” The Russians withdrew their technicians and much of their financial support.

The Cultural Revolution took place from 1966 to 1977. It was an attempt by Mao and the more radical of his followers to invoke the support of the youth and the workers to oust the conservative elements on the Party bureaucracy. While it succeeded in these short-term goals, it had a bad effect on China as a whole, putting it even further behind the world as an economic power.


This is one of the key Communist icons, Mao’s “Little red book”.

The Foreword by Lin Piao begins,

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively, and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage.

Mao Tse-tung’s thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory.

Mao was a practical revolutionary leader who placed action above theoretical debate.

A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. (p. 11-12)


This international propaganda magazine was a means of publicising the “Cultural Revolution” to the world. It has a quote from Chairman Mao inside the front cover,
Our country has 700 million people, and the working class is the leading class. It is essential to bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work.

The issue on display is from January 1969, and the cover photograph shows Mao surrounded by a cheering crowd of people, all waving their copies of “the little red book.”

112. Falconer, Alun.

*New China, friend or foe?* Foreword by Joseph Needham. (London, Naldrett Press [1950])

Alun Falconer was a New Zealand journalist living in Shanghai where he was working as assistant editor of the *China Weekly Review* when the Communists took over in 1949. He watched the take-over of the city and was able to observe the behaviour of the Communists, who seemed very reasonable after the rule of the Kuomintang. Falconer also observed their tendency to self-criticism,

There is a great deal of inner party discussion, criticism and self-criticism. This goes on continually and covers everything from the smallest details of personal behaviour to the largest question of national policy, which the rank and file may have little say in formulating but which are invariably discussed at length until they are unanimously accepted. (p. 51)

They are intent on re-conquering all of the traditional Chinese empire for the new order. He quotes Madame Sun Yat-sen, “honoured Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Central People’s Government” on the future of the new China,

Every shot fired to bring Taiwan back to its rightful owner, every step taken to liberate Tibet means that much more security for the world. (p. 128)

113. Alley, Rewi, 1897-1987

*Yo banfa! (We have a way!)* Edited by Shirley Barton. Foreword by Joseph Needham. (Shanghai, China Monthly Review, 1952)

Rewi Alley was a New Zealand journalist who arrived in Shanghai in 1927 when the Communist forces and the Kuomintang were fighting. He became a Communist after seeing the conditions under which the Chinese were living and witnessing some of the atrocities inflicted by the KMT. Later, during the Japanese invasion he helped set up a series of Chinese Industrial Co-operatives with the slogan “Gung Ho”, a revolutionary slogan meaning “work together”. This is thought to be the way in which the phrase entered English.

The present work has a similar title. Alley explains its significance,

In the old China, in the exploited, ruined villages and cities, subject to perpetual wars, to floods, famine, pestilence, there was a cry, accompanied by baffled and angry eyes, the cry of a people who could see no way out.

It haunted, it spread like an infection. A truck would limp to a stop and the driver get out, look at the decrepit engine, hurl his wrench at it and mutter savagely, “Mei-yo banfa!” – No way! Refugees with hungry children, soldiers dying of their festering wounds, would murmur desperately, “Mei-yo banfa …” It was the cry of the defeated, the hopeless.
Then there began to appear men who changed the tune. As the Japanese imperialists penetrated, these men fought back. “Mei-yo banfa” changed to “Yo Banfa!” — We have a way! It can be done!

He continued to write in support of the Chinese Communist ideal and was venerated by the People, and the Government, who had made him an honorary citizen in 1982. He died on 27th December 1987 in Beijing. After his death the New Zealand government gave a grant to build a Rewi Alley agricultural extension unit at Gansu University.

114. Palmer, Helen G.

*Australian teacher in China* / by Helen G. Palmer. [Sydney : Teachers' Sponsoring Committee, 1953?]

Helen Palmer, was the sister of Aileen Palmer who had gone to Spain during the Civil War. Their parents were Vance and Nettie Palmer Victorian writers and left-wing activists. Helen Palmer visited China as a delegate to a Peace Conference in 1952. She wrote of the schools she saw and the teachers she spoke to, and commented on the fundamental change the new regime required of Chinese intellectuals,

One can sympathise with the scholar, torn by conflict, whose contact with “the people” might even be little closer than that of the foreigner, when forced to find justification for certain values deeply-entrenched in his mental and emotional nature. In future he would be judged, experience showed, not by abstract scholarship, nor position, nor success, but by how he served the people.” If the purpose of education or art or science was not to serve the people and increase their ability to create a better world, then, he was asked, what was it? (p. 47)

The final section in the book describes a meeting with Rewi Alley, “His new book, Yo Banfa! (There is a way!) had just arrived hot from the press while we were in Peking, and we read it eagerly into the night.” (p. 48) There is a photograph of Alley dressed in Maoist fatigues, “in the courtyard of the Palace Hotel, Peking.”

115. Burchett, Wilfred G., 1911-

*China's feet unbound* / Wilfred G. Burchett. (Melbourne, Vic. : World Unity, 1952)

After having covered the war in the east for the *Daily Express*, Burchett was sent to cover the situation in Berlin, but returned to China in 1950. This book is an account of the successful Chinese revolution from the Communist point of view. Much detail is given of the massive rebuilding of infrastructure, which was going in under the new regime.

The biographical details on the flap tell us that,

Wilfred Burchett is at present in Korea ... and readers of *China's Feet Unbound* will look forward eagerly to the book he is now writing about the heroic struggle of the Korean people against the U.S.A.-led imperialist war with all the horror and brutality of frenzied capitalism already employing bacteriological weapons and threatening the use of the atom bomb.
Flat Case 10

Korea

Russia declared war on Japan seven days before the end of World War II. This enabled them to enter North Korea to clear out the remaining Japanese forces. When the Japanese surrendered, the Russians sealed off North Korea above the 38th parallel, and appointed a Communist government. They left in 1948 after declaring a Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

On 25th June 1950 the Communist forces of North Korea pushed over the border and invaded South Korea. The United Nations called upon the North Koreans to withdraw. When this was ignored they asked member nations to send troops to assist the South. Most of the troops were sent by the United States. The Communists captured Seoul and pushed the allied troops south, but General Macarthur was able to out-flank the North Koreans, re-capture Seoul, and cut-off the Communist supply lines. The invading army collapsed and the southern forces pressed north in the hope of re-uniting the country. However the Chinese Communist forces intervened and pushed the allied forces back. Truce negotiations began in July 1951, but fighting continued and it was not until 27 July 1953 that a cease-fire was agreed to. A demilitarized zone (DMZ) was set up along the 38th parallel.

The northern leader Kim il-Sung continued to engage in belligerent propaganda warfare while armed forces faced each other across the DMZ. From time to time tunnels have been found under the cease-fire line indicating the intention of the north to infiltrate South Korea. In January 1968 North Korean commandos were captured on a mission to assassinate South Korean President Park Chung Hee. They were within a mile of the Presidential Palace.

The government of the North has neglected the economic welfare of their people in favour of military spending and under Kim Jong-il, Kim il-Sung’s son, the siege mentality continues to predominate. Formerly they could rely on support from the USSR and China, but after the collapse of the Soviet Union and China’s changed economic priorities, for example, the Chinese established full diplomatic ties with South Korea in August 1992, North Korea has become one of the most isolated countries in the world.

116. Burchett, Wilfred G., 1911-
This monstrous war / Wilfred G. Burchett. (Melbourne : Joseph Waters, 1953) [cover art by Noel Counihan]

Burchett gives the background to Syngman Rhee’s rise to power as the leader of South Korea, and his relationship with the United States. He also justifies China’s involvement. He also devotes a chapter to the stories of germ warfare. In February 1952 the North Korean Foreign Minister alleged that the Americans were dropping plague and cholera infected insects in the North.

117. Burchett, G. H. (George Harold)
That rascal Rhee! / by G.H. Burchett. Also, Western wreckers of peace / by Victor James. (Melbourne : The Unitarian Church Office, [1960?])
George Burchett was Wilfred's father. He was a Communist like his son, and travelled to Russia, China and Korea.

Rhee had been a campaigner for Korean independence from Japan in the period between the wars. He had been appointed President of the Korean Provisional government in exile in 1919, a post he held until 1939. He spent World War II in Washington, lobbying for his country's independence, and, after the fall of Japan the United States returned him to Korea. He was elected President in 1948.

He proved to be extremely dictatorial, silencing all dissent, and was re-elected in 1952, 1956 and 1960. However, after the 1960 elections there were student demonstrations which spread to the general community, and, when the national Assembly voted unanimously for his dismissal, he resigned and went into exile in Hawaii.

118. *Germ war in Korea?* ([Melbourne] : Victorian Peace Council, [1952 or 1953])

The Victorian Peace Council was another Communist front organisation. They set out here the evidence supporting the allegations against the US forces. These seem to be entirely from Communist Chinese experts, and there has long been a controversy on whether or not such attacks took place or were simply another point in the propaganda war. However a recent book, *The United States and Biological Warfare: Secrets from the Early Cold War and Korea* by Stephen Endicott and Edward Hagerman (Indiana University Press, 1998), written after research into the US, Chinese and North Korean archives, makes a case for the germ warfare attacks by America as having taken place as "black ops", i.e. covert operations undertaken without the official knowledge of the US government.


During the 1970s three North Korean tunnels were discovered beneath the Demilitarised Zone. These had apparently been dug to enable invasion forces to surface behind the lines of the UN troops guarding the DMZ. This booklet gives details of all three tunnels and of an attack by North Korean soldiers, armed with axes against UN troops near Panmunjom.

120. *Axe-murders at Panmunjom, seen from abroad.* (Seoul : Korea Herald, 1976)

On 18th August 1976 a work party, escorted by UN guards in the Joint Security Area of the DMZ, was attacked by North Korean soldiers armed with axes. Two American officers were killed.

121. *Bestial atrocities of military fascist clique in South Korea.* (Pyongyang : Foreign Language, 1980)
This Communist propaganda pamphlet was published by the North Koreans to capitalise on the brutal suppression of a student uprising at Kwangju in South Korea in May 1980.

On 26th October 1979 General Park Chung Hee, the ruler of South Korea had been assassinated by the Director of his secret service. Choi Kyu Hah became Prime Minister but the country was run by General Chun Doo Hwan. The students and dissidents were demonstrating for full restoration of democracy; an end to what was essentially a military dictatorship. The Junta however put down the dissent, killing hundreds of students. They extended martial law, banned all political activity and closed universities.

Flat Case 11

Indonesia

All the materials in this case come from the Southeast Asia Pamphlet collection within the Asian Studies Research Collection.

The Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party), known as PKI, was formed in 1920, making it one of the oldest communist parties in the world. It grew out of the Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereniging (Indies Social Democratic Union), founded in 1914 by Dutch socialists residing in the Dutch East Indies. In its early years, many of its members also belonged to and sought influence through the Islamist nationalist organisation, Sarekat Islam.

In 1926, the PKI attempted a revolt against Dutch rule in West Java and West Sumatra but it was strongly suppressed by the Dutch colonial army. Many thousands were killed and 13,000 were arrested and interned, some of them in the notorious Dutch-built prison camp in Boven Digul in West Irian. A further communist uprising took place 20 years later in Madiun, East Java, this time against pro-Republican forces during the struggle for independence against the Dutch. Again, it was strongly put down and many were killed or arrested.

Notwithstanding these setbacks, the PKI was able to build into a huge and influential mass movement during the 1950s and early 1960s under its new, youthful leadership and the chairmanship of D.N. Aidit. In the 1955 election, the PKI won 16.4% of the national vote and became one of the four big parties. Most its followers were in Java, where population density and pressure on land were greatest. In 1960 the PKI had 2 million members and five years later it had over 3 million members, making it the largest communist party outside the communist countries. It had a further 15-20 million supporters through the membership of mass organisations affiliated with it, such as trade unions, peasant leagues, teacher associations and women’s and youth bodies. It was a major legitimate force in Indonesian politics, highly regarded by President Sukarno, and it supported the government in power.

On 30 September 1965, an attempted coup involving members of the Presidential guard resulted in the murder and mutilation of six top army generals. The precise details of this event, which is commonly referred to as G30S (short for Gerakan [Movement of] 30 September), are still unclear but the coup was blamed on the
communists and subsequently led to the massacre, by the army, local militias and vigilantes, of well over ½ million PKI members and supporters, and the imprisonment or exile to Buru Island, in Maluku, of tens of 1000s of others. The coup enabled General Suharto to take control of the government and subsequently become president. The PKI was banned and communism was outlawed both as a movement and a doctrine. It is only since the end of the Suharto regime in 1998 that the taboo over this period in Indonesia’s history and the stigma attached to former political prisoners have begun to be lifted.

122. Aidit, D. N., d 1923-1965


This pamphlet contains three speeches made by Indonesian Communist Party chairman, D.N.Aidit, for the 5th, 6th and 7th anniversaries respectively (in 1956, 1957 & 1958) of the Party’s newspaper, Harian Rakyat (People’s Daily).

123. Aidit, D. N., d 1923-1965

PKI dan AURI [PKI and the Airforce of the Republic of Indonesia] (Djakarta: Pembaruan, 1963)

By 1963 Aidit was a minister in the Indonesian government and vice-chairman of the People’s Consultative Assembly. This speech, on the theme of 'Manipol-Usdek from the perspective of Marxism', was given to members of the Indonesian Airforce. Manipol was the political manifesto of guided democracy, the new form of government introduced by President Sukarno in 1957. The initials USDEK stood for the 1945 constitution, Indonesian socialism, guided democracy, guided economy and Indonesian identity (Undang-undang dasar 1945, Sosialisme ala Indonesia, Demokrasi terpimpin, Ekonomi terpimpin, Kepribadian Indonesia).


Hajo, ringkus dan ganjang kontra-revolusi! : pidato ulangtahun ke-43 PKI diutapkan...pada tanggal 26 Mei 1963 [Come, let us catch and crush the counter-revolution: a speech on the 43rd anniversary of the PKI] (Djakarta: Pembaruan, 1963)

This pamphlet and some others in the display bear the stamp of Garuda Book Services in Glebe, Sydney, which imported and sold Indonesian language books in Australia in the 1960s.


Kaum tani mengganjang setan-setan desa : laporan singkat tentang hasil riset mengenai keadaan kaum tani dan gerakan tani Djawa Barat [Farmers crush the devils of the village: a short report on results of research into the situation of farmers and the farmers’ movement in West Java.] (Djakarta: Pembaruan, 1964)

The research for this report was carried out over a 7-week period by Aidit and a team of 40 researchers, each of whom was assisted by a team of local farmers.
D.N. AIDIT.

Kami Tani Menggangang
Seluruh Desa
126. Aidit, D. N., d 1923-1965
Aidit menggugat peristiwa Madiun : pembelaan D.N. Aidit dimuka
Pengadilan Negeri Jakarta, tgl. 24 Februari 1955 [Aidit confronts the Madiun Affair: D.N. Aidit’s defence before the Jakarta court, 24 February 1955]
(Djakarta : Pembaruan, 1964)

This pamphlet, which contains Aidit’s defence of the 1948 Madiun uprising (commonly known as the Madiun Affair), went into four printings. The first came out in March 1955 and the fourth – displayed here - in October 1964.


Gerwani, which stands for Gerakan Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian Women’s Movement), was affiliated with the PKI and, by 1963 claimed 1.5 million members. The opening sentence of this booklet reads: “Up until now, Indonesian women continue to be victims of exploitation and discrimination that exceed all limits.”


The cover of this booklet is inscribed with the name of its donor, the late Professor Herb Feith. Feith was one of the founders of the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies at Monash University in 1964 and was instrumental in developing Monash University’s international reputation as a centre for the study of Indonesia. This booklet, which is marked up by Feith, would have been used in researching one of his seminal works, The decline of constitutional democracy in Indonesia (1962).


This album of photographs, drawings and writings documents the first 40 years of the PKI because “the masses of the people...need inspiration from history” and “falsification, distortion, filth, slander, and treachery have long obscured the history of the Communist Party of Indonesia as dust clouds a mirror.”

130. Harian “API” mengganjang Nekolim – PKI – Gestapu / disusun oleh Dewan Redaksi API. [“API” crushes Nekolim, the PKI and Gestapu] (Djakarta : Merdeka Press, 1965)

The anti-PKI magazine, Api (Fire), first appeared in the aftermath of and as a response to the G30s coup. This collection of unsigned articles and cartoons, compiled by the editorial team of ‘Api’, is dedicated to the memory of the murdered generals. The first article in the book was written on 1 October 1965. “Nekolim” stands for Neo-colonialism, Colonialism and Imperialism, and was a slogan of the
guided democracy era. “Gestapu” was an alternative name for G30S (GERakan September TigAPUluh) and deliberately alluded to the Gestapo of Nazi Germany.

131. Sutjipto, 1926-

Written by an army general, this book presents the army’s perspective on the coup and the PKI.


Small upright case

Literature

133. Lane, William, 1861-1917.
The workingman’s paradise: an Australian labour novel / by John Miller. (Sydney : Edwards, Dunlop & Co. ; Brisbane : Worker Board of Trustees, 1892)

Lane wrote this novel in the aftermath of the Queensland shearers’ strike of 1891. He intended any profits to be used to help the shearers who were still in jail.

If this book assists the Union Prisoners Assistance Fund in any way or if it brings to a single man or woman a clearer conception of the religion of Socialism it will have done its work (p. iv)

The action takes place in Sydney where Ned, a Queensland bushman meets Nell, a Sydney dressmaker, based on Mary Gilmore. Nell shows Ned the poor areas of Sydney and introduces him to radical intellectuals who introduce him to Marxism and socialism. At the end he leaves to return to Queensland to confront Capitalism and organise the Shearers’ Strike.

There is an advertisement in the back of the book for a forthcoming sequel which was never published, In New Australia: Nellie Lawton’s diary of a happier life. It was to have described life in Cosme, the settlement in Paraguay, which Lane and Mary Gilmore both helped to establish.

In New Australia will not detail a mere dream. In a popular way, continuing the story of Ned Hawkins and Nellie Lawton, it will deal with the scheme for complete co-operation on which the New Australia Co-operative Settlement Association is based. This scheme has been discussed for years among well-known unionists and experienced labour organisers and subjected to the severest criticism by the very men who are now prepared to devote their lives to it in the interest of the Labour movement. … Nearly 500,000 acres are under offer to the Association in one of the most fertile and suitable parts of the world, which immense tract is being prospected by its own agents; sufficient to carry 50,000 people happily under intelligent management.
SOUTHERN STEEL

DYMPHNA CUSACK
Part-Author of "COME IN SPINNER"
134. Bellamy, Edward, 1850-1898.
    Looking backward 2000-1887 / by Edward Bellamy. New ed. (London:
    Ward, Lock and Co. [1890?])

This was first published in Boston in 1888, the first English edition being 1889. It was
very popular and at least four English editions had appeared by 1890.

Bellamy was a radical journalist. His novel is set in the future. The hero, Julian West
goes to sleep in 1887 and awakes in 2000, with the world a socialist paradise, where
"no man any more has any care for the morrow, either for himself or his children, for
the nation guarantees the nurture, education, and comfortable maintenance of every
citizen from the cradle to the grave." The transition had occurred without revolution.
It was "a triumph of common sense", with people gradually realising that the way to
cure the ills of the world was for everyone to have equality, with the nation’s wealth
under the control of a "national syndicate".

The novel was widely-read in radical circles around the world. The Socialist Labor

    Animal farm / [by] George Orwell. (New York : Harcourt, Brace and
    company, 1946)

Animal Farm was first published in England in 1945. It is probably the most famous
novel written to criticise the Communist regime in Russia. The novel is an allegory in
which the animals rise up against the farmer and take over the farm, setting up their
own society where all are equal. However, things develop in such a way that the pigs
become the leaders and one pig, Napoleon, the Stalin figure, soon becomes dictator.

136. Hardy, Frank, 1917-
    Power without glory : a novel in three parts / by Frank J. Hardy, "Ross

Frank Hardy joined the Communist Party in 1940, after it had been declared illegal by
the Menzies-led United Australia Party government. Power without glory was
Hardy’s first novel. It was printed clandestinely, partly because it dealt critically with
the life of John Wren, a powerful figure in Melbourne. When it appeared it was sold
at factories and building sites and copies were passed from hand to hand. It became
enormously popular, but Wren took Hardy to court on a charge of criminal libel; the
case being based on the portrayal of his wife Ellen, who is described having an affair
in the novel. The Communist Party organised the Frank Hardy Defence Committee
and Hardy was found not guilty.

On display is a copy of the book with its dust-wrapper by Ambrose Dyson, and
another copy showing the typed key to the real characters behind the thinly-veiled
names used by Hardy in his book. These “Keys” appear in varying forms tipped-in to
many of the early editions of the book. Dave Nadel later published a complete list,
with photographs, as a supplement to The Battler 4 August 1976, to coincide with the
ABC TV series.
137. Hardy, Frank.  
But the dead are many: a novel in fugue form / Frank Hardy. (London: Bodley Head, 1975)

If Power without glory was Hardy's most successful novel, But the Dead are Many was his most ambitious. It deals with a member of the Australian Communist Party, John Morel, who becomes disillusioned with life after he realises the repression and hypocrisy of the Russian Communist model. He ends by committing suicide.

Although the character is based on Paul Mortier, Hardy has created a figure who carries many of the concerns of CPA members in the 1950s and 1960s; particularly how a committed, idealistic Communist should respond to the Soviet invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the details of the show trials of the 1930s, which were made public under Khrushchev.

The cover is by Charles Blackman.

Art: its origins and social functions / by Paul Mortier. (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1955)

Paul Mortier was an ex-seminarian who had joined the Communist Party in 1939, just prior to the war. He met Hardy when they were both in the Army, stationed in the Northern Territory. They remained friends, but neither Hardy nor any of the other CPA members who knew of Paul's depression were able to prevent him committing suicide in September 1965. Pauline Armstrong gives more detail on this period and the relationship between the two men in her book, Frank Hardy and the making of Power without glory (Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2000) p. 174-182.

The pamphlet on display deals with the relationship of art to politics. In the "Introduction" Paul Mortier states his intention. He dismisses the artists who espouse the belief, "No politics in art", and gives what is essentially the party line.

These theories are a reflection of the general crisis gripping monopoly capitalism. They have a two way harmful effect: They degrade art, by squeezing out of it its historic function of helping man in his struggle for emancipation; and they aim to isolate the working people from art, and this deprive them of a very valuable weapon in their social struggles.

It is the aim of this pamphlet to help defeat these rotten ideas, and to help find the correct way to use art in the struggle against imperialism and for the building of socialism. (p. 5)

The little company / by Eleanor Dark. (New York: Macmillan, 1945)

Set in Sydney during World War II, this novel deals with a group of intellectuals centring on Gilbert Massey a left-wing bookseller. Marxism, socialism and communism are the predominant ideologies in the air, set against the threat of invasion.

Southern steel / Dymphna Cusack. (London: Constable, 1953)
Like Eleanor Dark, Dymphna Cusack was a committed socialist. Though not a member of the Communist Party, her books were translated into various European languages and sold well in the Eastern bloc.

*Southern steel* is set in Newcastle and deals with labour conflicts and class antagonism. The illustration on the dust-wrapper is a masterpiece of socialist-realist art, showing the young couple embracing against a background of smoke stacks and a steel mill.


This journal was edited by the 19-year-old Judah Waten, who was later to become one of the foremost Communist novelists in Australia. It includes poetry, reviews and articles. Among the poems are “The song of the hammer and sickle” by Seamus O’Rourke, and “Jesus Christ in an ash tray” by Impius IX. This poem was in fact by Brian Fitzpatrick, and caused the magazine to be confiscated. No further issues appeared.

The manifesto under which the magazine appeared has the strident tone of the radical adolescent,

“STRIFE,” is another force added to the world-wide movement to uproot the existing social and economic order of chaotic and tragic individualism!

INSTITUTIONS that represent this must be destroyed, and, on the newly-turned soil of free human aspiration, a nobler edifice erected.

ALL WHO DENY THIS MECHANISM of progress are our enemies; all who await impatiently the new dawn our comrades! All who accept the permanence of the present regime, whether as protagonists or complacent nay-sayers and fatalists, are our foes. All who believe in the permanence and validity of conscious and creative liberating energy, our blood brothers and friends!

“STRIFE” affirms the validity of materialism in its widest sense. It affirms that, as the future belongs to the people, the new form and content must be a proletarian form and content!

**APPEAL.**

On this broad basis we appeal to the people of Australia, both industrial and intellectual workers, whose revolt we embody, to further our aims. The columns of “STRIFE” are wide open to all who feel and can express forcefully and really this SPIRIT OF REVOLT.

The sinews of war, in the form of cash contributions, small or great, are urgently needed. We are confident that the advance guard of the NEW AUSTRALIA will not be niggardly in providing this publication, its first and most vital medium of expression, with the means of carrying its CAUSE a step further on its march through the long and stressful hours that herald the COMING DAWN. The attack has already sounded! Forward.

THE BOARD OF EDITORS.

The cover design of a man inside an industrial pipe is a lino-cut by H. McClintock.

**142. Australian new writing : short stories, poetry, criticism.** (Sydney : Current Book Distributors, 1943-1946)
This journal of short stories, poetry and criticism was published in a format based on the English series, Penguin New Writing. Although the English publication was more or less left-wing, its Australian equivalent was published by the Communist Party; Current Book Distributors was their publishing imprint; and the editorial board, Katherine Susannah Prichard, George Farwell and Bernard Smith were all party members. The content is unrelenting in its socialist realism and the publication ceased after four issues.

**Screens**

Three posters of Chairman Mao in the “Accordion to Mao” series by Melbourne artists, Ian Robertson.

Copies of Chinese Communist posters from the period of the Cultural Revolution. We have an extensive collection of originals of the posters from this period.

Copies of Soviet propaganda posters, and posters from May 1968 in France.

**Corridor Cases**

**Left Book Club**

The familiar books bound in red paper-covered boards, and yellow dust-wrappers, or in the orange limp cloth of Gollancz Left Book Club have been staples on the shelves of radical households for over half a century. They were published from May 1936 to October 1948. There was no formal link to the Communist Party of Great Britain although many of their books were on Communist themes or were written in support of Soviet policy. Communists such as Harry Pollitt, also spoke on the Club platforms.

Among the most noteworthy Left Book Club publications were George Orwell’s *Road to Wigan Pier*, which appeared as the Left Book Club choice for March 1937; and *The socialist sixth of the world*, by Hewlett Johnson, the choice for December 1939. Hewlett Johnson, the “Red Dean” of Canterbury was a notorious figure in his day. He wrote widely on social issues such as unemployment but always held up the Soviet model of Communism as the solution. Beatrice and Sidney Webb’s *Soviet Communism: a new civilisation* appeared in October 1937, in the same month as Edgar Snow’s *Red star over China*.

The Communist Party of Australia helped promote the series and was involved in the discussion groups organised to encourage readers.

We have large holdings of them, and a selection is on display. This includes some of the promotional fliers.

Also on display are titles from the Right Book Club. Their titles appeared in a blue binding; the series was never a popular success. There was an Australian Left Book Club, which ran from 1939 to 1947 and published books and pamphlets on issues such as slum housing and monopolies. Some of their publications are also on display.
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**SUBVERSION**

5 WEEK PLAN:

**July 1:**
The revolution begins...
An initial meeting of the minds.

**July 8:**
Subversion high...
Back to school for a dose of rousing propaganda.

**July 15:**
Anarchy in the U.K....
Punk it up for some serious 3-chord nihilism. Tartan, mohawks, etc.

**July 22:**
Boot camp...
Basic training in dance floor warfare. Military camouflage.

**July 29:**
T-shirt politics...
Start a revolution with your Cheasy Bonds. Fabric paints on cotton.

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