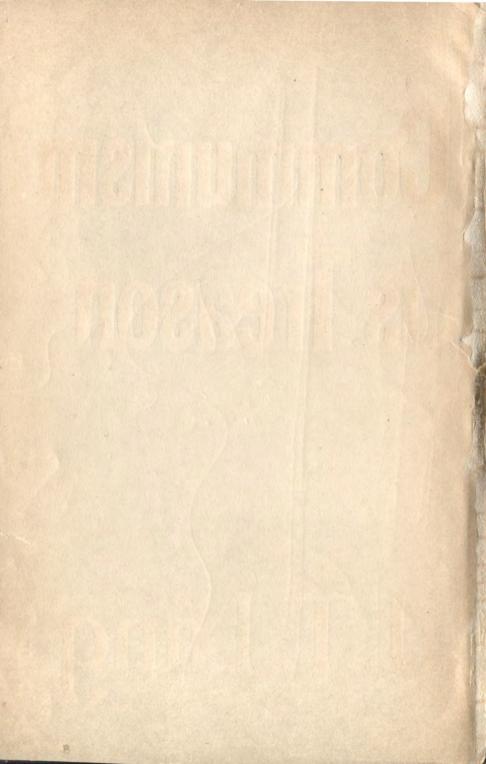
Communism is Treason



J.T. Lang



Communism is Treason

gin DButy, 1948

By

J. T. Lang

Express Newspapers Ltd., 90 Pitt Street, Sydney.

Registered at the G.P.O., Sydney, for transmission by post as a book.

Foreword

"It annoys me to hear people talk soothingly about traitors whom they call Fifth Columnists. What is the meaning of "fifth column"? Franco coined the word when he led the revolt against the Republican Government of Spain. He said that he had four fighting columns in the field and a fifth column in Madrid. The only way he could take the city was with his Fifth Column—a column of traitors in the city itself. The Fifth Columnists of to-day are traitors. To call a Communist a Fifth Columnist is only a polite way of describing a traitor. Why don't we speak the thunt truth and call them traitors?"

-J. T. Lang, Federal Parliament, May 15, 1947.

Definition, Traitor: Subject of one country who owes allegiance to another; one who attempts to overthrow the government to which he owes allegiance in the intérests of another country.

Chapter 1.

CHALLENGE ON CANBERRA

MY decision to transfer from State to Federal politics came from my conviction that Communism had to be fought. It could only be combatted by strong, determined action on the part of the Commonwealth. That had not been forthcoming, and the Communists were getting stronger. They were flourishing because of the default of those responsible to the nation.

I believe that the Communist is a pledged traitor. I believe that Communism is a threat both to our social structure and our national security. Believing these things, I had to stand up to my own responsibility as an Australian. The first task was to expose the Communist Party, its objectives, and its leaders.

So I assembled the evidence and published "Communism in Australia." One of the Communist leaders, Ernest Thornton, of the Ironworkers' Federation, immediately served me with a writ claiming £10,000 damages.

Instructions were given to accept service of the writ, and to brief leading Counsel to defend the action. J. B. Shand, K.C., was retained. Next, steps were taken to ensure that if the case went into Court, there would be a complete show-down.

Evidence was collected all over the Commonwealth. A commission was given to obtain information in England. Thornton's complete background, his industrial antecedents, his activities on behalf of the Communist Party, the war-time history of his organisation, and the record of the Communist Party itself—these were all covered.

Had the case gone into Court, no punches would have been pulled by the defence. My instructions were that the opportunity should be taken to place the Communist Party on public trial.

Subpoenas to be issued included many leading

members of the industrial Labor Movement—particularly executive members of the A.C.T.U. and the Melbourne Trades Hall Council. One Federal Cabinet Minister in the Chifley Government would also have been called upon to give his version of certain events.

Months of hard work went into preparing the case. Then, before the case went into Court, Thornton threw in the towel. His solicitors intimated that he did not propose to proceed with the action.

That meant that Thornton was legally liable to pay my taxed costs. My solicitors received a cheque for $\pounds 286/9/2$ from Thornton. Of course the actual costs incurred in preparing for the case were far in excess of that amount.

That experience convinced me that the Communists would not fight in the open. If the purpose in serving the writ had been to silence me, then it proved all the more that they were afraid of public exposure of their aims and methods. The Communists had unlimited financial resources, so that had not been a factor. The truth was that the stopwrit had failed to stop the fight, and the next round promised to be more interesting than the first.

That confirmed my belief that if I was to carry on the fight against the Communists in Australia, I had to transfer to the Federal political arena.

State politics had been my stamping ground for a third of a century. That period had covered many stirring chapters. There had been ups and downs. There had been great achievements. There had been bitter disappointments. But the fruits of the struggle were still there.

New South Wales had led the Commonwealth in social reforms. It had led the world in Family Endowment, Widows' Pensions, and Workers' Compensation. Those measures had remained on the Statute Book. Despite amendments, the principles remained. They had proved themselves. But of what use would all that work and struggle finally be, if Communism is allowed to rampage through our nation? The aim of the Communists is to destroy all social reforms. They are out to smash every thing for which Democracy stands. They are the willing tools of Russian foreign policy. To make Russia supreme in world affairs, they must work incessantly to destroy Western Democracy, and everything for which that Democracy stands. They are Russian Nationalists, not Communists in the strictest meaning of the word. In the event of being called upon to choose between Russia and Australia, they would choose to be loval to Russia and Stalin.

Once that analysis of the position is accepted, the clear responsibility is on every Australian to examine his own conscience to see whether he is standing up to his obligations to his country.

My own position was never in doubt. I had fought them inside the Labor Party since 1923. The anti-Communist pledge had been placed in the A.L.P. Rules at my insistence. The so-called Lang Dictatorship was directed against earlier attempts at Communist infiltration under the guise of Socialisation Units. Finally, the Communists, after capturing the powerful Miners' Federation, and other key unions, had established a united front with supporters of the Federal Labor Party, to overthrow my leadership in New South Wales.

The Heffron Group had the backing of the Communist-sponsored Hughes-Evans Party, as well as the Chifley-Calwell Group, at the 1940 Unity Conference.

Throughout all the period of bitter factional fighting from 1931 on I had believed that I could best serve the Labor Movement by remaining in State politics. Many reforms vital to the Labor Movement still had to be achieved. Many already gained, had to be defended.

In Canberra, there was a group of members

from New South Wales pledged to fight Communism. The Party was known as the Australian Labor Party (Non-Communist). The leadership had been entrusted to J. A. Beasley, whose background and professed beliefs were all against Communism. He had the support of a small group of tenacious fighters, including J. S. Rosevear. The Communists had opposed them at every election. Their job was to see that no quarter was given to the Communist Party. Those who had voted for them, and worked for them, believed in their sincerity with implicit faith.

But disillusionment was ahead. The Menzies-Fadden alliance was falling apart. It appeared inevitable that Labor would take office under the Curtin leadership. But while the Australian Labor Party (Non-Communist) retained its separate entity, that would mean that its members would not participate in the fruits of office.

Overtures were made for unity. Assurances were asked whether all entanglements with the Communist Party and near-Communists, would be abandoned. Assurances were said to have been given. I still held to the belief that we would be better off without unity. A vigorous, independent group with the balance of power would ensure that no concessions were given to the Communists—and that was our first article of faith in the Federal arena at the time.

Beasley, however, was insistent that it was imperative to instal a Labor Government in Canberra, and that the next elections could only be won with a united front. A unity agreement was signed.

The Menzies' Government had placed a ban on the Communist Party. Its members had gone underground. Its leaders were in a funk. Its propaganda machine was smashed. Its illegal bulletins circulated only amongst its own members. Repression was not complete, but it was still most effective.

Meanwhile, Beasley had become one of the

leaders of the Federal Labor Party. With the overthrow of the Fadden Government, and the success of Curtin at the elections, Beasley became one of the Big Four, the dictatorship that controlled the Government.

Then came the lifting of the ban on the Communist Party by the Curtin Government. That was regarded by my supporters as an act of repudiation. It violated all the assurances that we believed had been given. It resulted in an immediate break between Beasley and myself. My attitude was that the record of the Communist Party was such that it could not be trusted. Beasley had given lip-service to the same faith, on countless occasions. If he was prepared to accept the Communist Party, I was not.

The Communist Party was immediately admitted into the inner sanctum of the Government. It received preferential treatment with the issue of newsprint licenses. Its industrial leaders—Thornton, Healy, Elliott and Wells—became the personal confidants of Ministers. Beasley was a party to all that. I was not.

Inside the Labor Movement in New South Wales, the fight was on again. Beasley joined forces with McKell, Heffron, Chifley, and other bitter opponents of former years. The Conscription break was inevitable. I continued the fight outside.

I then realised that the issue could only be joined in Canberra. The stronger the Communists became, the more urgent the need for their exposure. To me, Canberra meant isolation from the environment to which I had so long been accustomed. It meant a new mode of life. New standing orders after being so long versed in those operating in the State Parliament. It would mean personal isolation, although that did not trouble me, because if you believe a fight to be worthwhile, physical discomfort is of minor consequence.

When I nominated for Reid the first time, the Communists threw everything into the fight. They joined forces with the Official Labor Party. I was defeated.

Then, in 1946, the fight was on again, and this time, despite the efforts of the Communist machine, I was elected for Reid.

My course was clear. I had two jobs to do. The first was to expose and fight the Communists. The second, to stand the Government up to Labor principles and the Labor platform. My purpose in this volume, is to deal only with the first.

I was a party of one. Three powerful political Parties, and two Independents, comprised the Eighteenth Parliament of the Commonwealth. I knew that as one of those Independents, I was just one of 75 members. The Government propaganda was that I had lost my punch. That I was too old. That State politicians never made the grade in Canberra. That I would probably make one speech and then be silent for the rest of the Parliament.

The Government made one very elementary blunder. My mission to Canberra had nothing to do with personal ambition on my part. I had been right through the political mill. My role was rather like that of Parnell in his first term in the House of Commons.

I had a job to do. The link between the Government and the Communist Party had to be broken. That could only be done successfully if I first made certain of all the facts.

Abuse of Communism would get nowhere. The mistake that had been made in the past had been that the Communist Party had been accepted on its own conception of itself as a mass organisation secretly controlled by a junta of bosses nominated by its overseas paymasters.

No attempt had been made to penetrate the curtain. The Communists had been treated with kid gloves. They could even obtain access to the national broadcasting service while other political parties were denied access, except during election times. They were permitted to defy all building regulations. They appeared to have immunity from all restrictions. They could hold the nation up to ransom, with impunity.

So, in the first place, I proceeded to assemble all the evidence. It had to be sifted, checked, and counter-checked. Then it had to be presented in such a manner that the Government could not evade it.

Crux of the situation was to decide whether the Government, in covering-up and actively assisting the Communist Party, was doing so because its members were classified in the Communist jargon as "Innocents," or whether the motive was one of sordid political opportunism.

If presented with the facts, then there could be no doubt remaining. If the Government was sincere, then it would act. If it side-stepped the issue, then it was as culpable as the Communist Party itself.

The reaction of the Government to my presence in Canberra tells its own story. My first speech was heard in silence. At its end, no one rose to reply for the Government, and the debate lapsed. The Government lost control of the business of the House.

On the next occasion, the Government resorted to all kinds of stratagems to prevent my speaking. They have been following that line ever since. Sometimes they have succeeded. But, by and large, they have failed. It has been a battle of wits, in which the forms of the House, monument to Parliamentary Government in English-speaking countries, have come to my assistance time after time.

By using Question Time to raise specific issues, and by patiently waiting for an opportunity to speak, I have been able to confront the Government with at least portion of the indictment against Communist activities within the Commonwealth.

Suppression has failed. The facts are out. But

what has been the reaction of the Government? Instead of taking the offensive against the Communist Party, it has been on the defensive. It has covered up for the Communists. It has retreated behind empty phrases.

This refusal by the Government to face up to the issue of Communism is not, by any means, the end of the fight. It is only the beginning.

The next step is to present the evidence to my fellow-Australians. That is being done in this volume. It is based on the proceedings in Parliament, questions asked, speeches made and replies given.

Whereas in my previous volume, I dealt principally with the Theory and Methods of Communism, my purpose now is to throw into proper relief the Communists in action. If Communism is to be eradicated, then it is necessary that the Communists themselves should be known.

My firm belief is that once these facts become generally known, the Australian people will act. There is no place in the public life of the Commonwealth for any politician who either aligns himself with the Communists, or permits himself to be used by the Communists. There is no room for dupes or "Innocents." The fellow-traveller is just as dangerous as the Communist.

First, I will present certain Communist casehistories. It will amaze many Australians that such things have actually happened in this country. But when a little thought is given to what happened in Canada; to the disclosures made in the United States; to recent events in Colombia and Czecho-Slovakia; and to action deemed necessary by the Attlee Government in Great Britain, to eradicate Communism from all posts involving national security, there can be no grounds for believing that this country is immune from Russian intervention, through its agents.

Secondly, my purpose is to emphasise the dan-

gerous inactivity of the Government, its vacillating weakness, and the protection it has given to Communists. As you read, ask yourself who is responsible for such a tragic state of affairs existing in this country. Then, the issue becomes a matter of personal responsibility.

Chapter 2

AID FOR RUSSIA

THE Australian Communist Party is controlled by Russia's foreign policy. Stalin and Molotov are the chief puppeteers. If Russia is friendly to Britain and Australia, then the Communists are co-operative. If Anglo-Russian relations become strained, then Marx House immediately becomes Anti-British and Anti-Australian.

Let us examine the record. The German Armistice had not been completed before Russia began to press its own Imperialist plans. It had particular interests in South East Asia. It needed oil and rubber. Both were there in abundance.

Stalin is an Asiatic. Like Hirohito he also had plans for a Greater Asia, with himself as the Great Liberator. Japan wanted Indonesia and Malaya. So did Stalin.

When the Dutch made a move to regain their possessions in the East Indies in 1945, the Australian Communists immediately went into action. A Dutch fleet had been assembled in Australia. The Communists through their control over vital maritime unions immobilised the fleet in Australian ports, while Communist agitators stirred up the natives to open rebellion.

Reviewing the history of that period, the Communist official organ "Tribune" of May 29, 1948, gave the show away when it exulted:

"The Australian trade unions' ban on Dutch ships prevented Dutch Imperialist forces from keeping their October 4, 1945, re-occupation rendezvous, with Lord Louis Mountbatten in Batavia.

"Australians and striking Indonesians, Chinese, Indians, and others who supported the ban thus prevented re-imposition of Dutch rule over Indonesia's 75 million people, and gave the Indonesian Republic precious time to gather its forces."

The Communist organ further accused Britain and the United States of perfidy "dictated by the American imperialists in the interests of Rockefeller oil kings and others wishing more colonial loot from the Indies."

How much of the bloodshed that followed this Communist intervention in Indonesia is a matter of conjecture. But by backing the Indonesian Republic, the Communists did assist in building up a new danger north of Australia.

Communists from Australia rushed to Indonesia to fan the embers of revolution. Other agents went to Malaya.

For eighteen months after the cessation of hostilities in Europe, relations between the former Allies just drifted. Molotov still attended meetings of the Big Three, while Gromynko played his obstructive role at the United Nations.

Finally came the break-down of the London talks for the proposed Peace Treaties. Molotov went back to Berlin, and cut the line of communications.

Immediately, there was activity on the Third International front. Millions were poured into Italy for Communist propaganda. The French Communist Party was alerted under Thorez and Duclos. Instructions were given to end the policy of French nationalism. Open support was given to Greek Communists in their attempt to overthrow the monarchy and end Anglo-American influence in that area.

There was a coup d'etat in Roumania and the way prepared for the overthrow of Democracy in Czecho-Slovakia. The iron curtain was drawn.

During the war, the Comintern had been liquidated on direct orders from Stalin. Communist Parties all over the world were instructed to adopt nationalist lines in support of the war effort. Anti-Conscriptionists became fanatical conscriptionists. Strike agitators became speed-up advocates.

With the break in London, Moscow decided to reverse the party line again. So the Communists again somersaulted.

The Cominfern was revived in a new disguise as the Cominform at secret sessions in Warsaw attended by representatives of Stalin and important party chieftains. Plans were set afoot for capture of control of governments throughout the world, and the organisation of resistance to those governments not amenable to Moscow directions. Belgrade was to be the new headquarters.

Every country in the world was to have its own nest of traitors—willing tools of Soviet foreign policy.

In Australia, the Communists again resumed their policy of industrial sabotage.

Representatives of the Communist Party travelled unimpeded between Australia and Communist overseas headquarters. Often they went as delegates to Government conferences with all expenses paid by the Chifley Government.

Russia feared a military alliance between Britain and the United States. The Moscow directive to all satellites in British countries was to direct their propaganda against American Imperialism, Wall Street, Dollar Diplomacy and other symbols of American power.

Early in 1947 a vital conference of British and Dominion Communist parties was summoned in London. Delegates from the Australian Communist Party were J. C. Henry and Gerard Peel, both Marx House identities. Both travelled with passports issued by Immigration Minister Calwell. Henry delivered a lengthy report on the activities of the Australian Communist Party. Strategy was also laid down at the Conference and steps taken for a shake-up in the Australian high-command in preparation for what the Communists themselves described as the Coming Crisis. In his 9,000-word report, Henry described the position of the Communist Party in Australia thus:

"Communists are holding leading positions in a number of unions, including the Iron-workers', Miners', Seamen, Amalgamated Engineering Union, Wharf-laborers', and Building Workers', while influence is exercised in unions such as Clerks', Teachers', Hospital Employees', etc.

"Australian Communist Party branches exist in most country centres, and as a result of tours by leading propagandists, is becoming known in most scattered parts of the continent.

"It was the large vote from small sugar farmers that placed Fred. Patterson in the Queensland Parliament."

These claims are not news. They were dealt with in "Communism in Australia."

But it is the International role of the Communists that demands particular attention from all Australians. That was the real purpose of the London Conference.

"Communists are agitating for decisive action on behalf of the Indonesian Republic and campaigning against Dr. Evatt's line-up with the Byrnes-Bevin-Churchill war-mongering against the Soviet" Policy.

"Australia's value as a Pacific base imposes special duties."

That final sentence carried more than ordinary significance. What duties could any organisation in Australia have to a foreign power in relation to Pacific bases not directly detrimental to the interests of Australia? On his return, Henry addressed the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

First, he said that the Communists must con tinue their support of the Chifley Government. They must get into the branches and the unions and whiteant the Official Labor Party, but there must be no open breaches or attacks.

This is what Henry told his associates:

"Despite the vacillations of Right-wingers, the Australian Labor Party is essentially an Australian Party. The great mass of its supporters, and even the majority of its leaders in the Parliamentary and trade union field will, I believe, fight against American domination and for Australian independence in the situation that is growing up."

Turning to his main assignment, the hymn of hate against the United States, Henry's directive read:

"Australia's main task to-day is the struggle against economic penetration by the American monopolists.

"To wage this fight there should be a National Front, which will be fighting for peace, to expand democracy in our own country, and to help strengthen the democratic forces, particularly within what is generally referred to as the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"This National Front should include workers," farmers, town middle-class people and patriotic elements among the capitalist class of Australia."

Moscow, with its usual sad lack of a sense of humor, believed that it could drive a wedge into any Anglo-American bloc by organising Australian capitalists, farmers and patriotic elements through the kindly offices of Marx House.

Every issue of their official organ began to print out-pourings of venom against the United States, while in America the Communist official organs were publishing ribald attacks on Britain and demanding to know how much longer Uncle Sam was to be Uncle Sap?

Next move was the establishment of a Cominform of the Far East. At a conference in Vladivostok, Communist emissaries from Asiatic countries in the Soviet bloc, as well as underground members from Japan, formed the counterpart of the European Cominform. This was to unify Communist policy in the Far East—all part of Stalin's Greater Asia policy. There were delegates from Malaya, Mongolia, Burma, French Indo-China, Korea, China and Indonesia.

Under cover of the abortive World Federation of Trades Unions, steps were also taken to establish a Pan-Pacific Secretariat which would provide a meeting place for all the leading Communists of the Pacific and South East Asia. That assignment was handed to Thornton, who made a special trip to Paris to discuss the plan. While there he was an enthusiastic witness of the Communist attempt to seize power by a general strike, only to find it collapse when the French Government acted tough. On his return he gave an interview at Singapore. He was reported to have said that the Pan-Pacific Bureau would have headquarters in Singapore. Its object would be to:

- (a) Stop repression of trade unions in such countries as China.
- (b) Ensure free, democratic institutions in the Pacific, and see that American big business in Japan does not suppress them.
- (c) Assist young and less experienced trades unions in countries like Malaya and Burma.

The Pan-Pacific Secretariat found very active support from the maritime unions, who wanted their own section under the leadership of Australian-born United States activist Harry Bridges.

With representatives from the Philippines, Hawaii, Indonesia, Malaya, Siam, and other islands. the industrial problems of the Pacific would be tackled on a "black, brown, or brindle basis," with every opportunity for under-cover Communist conferences.

In November, 1947, I directed the attention of the Prime Minister to the publication of the full speech delivered by Mr. Vishinsky as Soviet delegate to the United Nations, and the following comment by "Tribune" on its own cable:

"Mr. Vishinsky showed himself to be very well informed about Australian conditions."

In his speech, Vishinsky had made many satirical references to conditions in Australia. I asked Prime Minister Chifley:

"Is the Prime Minister aware that Mr. Vishinsky revealed a very detailed knowledge of political occurrences in Australia? Is not sufficient evidence disclosed in his speech to prove that the Soviet Foreign Office is receiving detailed reports from Australia?

"Does the Government know who is supplying these reports? What steps are being taken by the Government to prevent such leakages as might easily lead to treasonable espionage.

"Have any steps been taken to check the movements of Mr. Lewis and Mr. Thornton while abroad?"

Mr. Chifley replied:

"I do not read the 'Tribune' and consequently I have not seen the article in that journal to which the honorable member has referred. As to ascertaining the trend of political events in Australia, I should say that any person who cares to sit in this chamber listening to the debates would get a fair idea of political trends. It is not difficult to obtain information of that kind. I have no knowledge of any leakages of information which the Government would regard as serious, or likely to lead to treasonable actions. The Commonwealth Investigation Service watches over that matter. As acting Ministerial head of the Department, I know that it keeps a close watch on information leaving Australia which might be regarded as beneficial to a potential enemy and which therefore should not be disclosed."

That would be very comforting, if there had not been doubts caused by other lapses in the Government intelligence about the movements of important Communists.

About the same time, I asked the following question about the movements of Thornton:

"In connection with the recent departure of Ernest Thornton, secretary of the Ironworkers' Federation of Australia, and a well-known Communist, to attend the congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions to be held in Paris, can the Prime Minister inform me whether it is a fact:

- (1) That Thornton is not the accredited delegate to the congress, because Mr. Albert Monk is to act in that capacity?
- (2) That the Australian Council of Trades Unions is not paying Thornton's expenses, because he is only an alternate delegate?
- (3) That Thornton was the author of the 'Hands off Hitler' resolution at the Australian Council of Trades Unions Congress on the 16th April, 1940? In view of the fact that the congress to which I have referred is to be held in Paris, where the Communists are actively fomenting civil war against the French Government, will the Prime Minister inform the House:
- (a) Whether any steps have been taken to ensure that Thornton does not involve himself in the activities of the Comintern, or the 'Cominform,' as it is now called, while in Paris?
- (b) Whether officers of the Commonwealth Investigation Service have informed the Prime Minister who is to defray the costs of Thornton's trip abroad, which will amount to more than £2,000?
- (c) If the money is not to be provided from trade

union funds, is the Government aware of the source from which it is provided?"

Mr. Chifley replied:

"No doubt Mr. Thornton received a passport to leave Australia just as any other citizen would, subject to compliance with certain laws. However, his trip was certainly not sponsored by the Government, whose members have no knowledge, apart from what they have read in the press, of any mission with which he is associated. I understand that Mr. Monk would be the delegate from the Australian Council of Trades Unions to the World Trade Union Congress in Paris, but that he is to engage in other work. I believe that he was at New Delhi and was going later to Geneva. I cannot be certain about that, but I do know that he had to visit some other European city. I was informed, not officially, because I have no official knowledge of the workings of the Australian Council of Trades Unions, that Mr. Thornton is the alternate delegate in the event of Mr. Monk not being available. I understand that it was because Mr. Monk would not be available on the date of the Congress meeting that Mr. Thornton took his place.

• "The Commonwealth Investigation Service has no knowledge of Mr. Thornton in association with the French Communists. I should imagine that the Government of France would act if any visitors to that country committed breaches of the law or acted in defiance of constituted authority. If an Australian visiting France broke the law, at least as regards political activities, the French authorities would inform the Australian Government."

Following further questions about other Communists who were travelling abroad on Australian Government passports, with credentials supplied by the Chifley Government, on February 20, 1948, I invited the Prime Minister to answer questions regarding the passport issued to the President of the Australian Communist Party, L. L. Sharkey, to

COMMUNISM IS TREASON

attend the Congress of the Indian Communist Party with Communist delegates from European and Asiatic countries.

I asked:

- "(a) Has the attention of the Prime Minister been directed to the fact that the Government of India is very concerned about the visit to that country of Mr. L. Sharkey, the leader of the Australian Communist Party?
 - (b) Did the Australian Government issue a passport to Mr. Sharkey?
 - (c) If so, on what grounds did the Government issue this passport, when it had refused to grant passports to Australians working for the Americans in the Pacific?
 - (d) Is the Government aware of any action being taken by the Communist Party to establish a section of the Cominform in South-East Asia?
- (e) Is Mr. Sharkey's visit to India connected with that proposal?
- (f) Further, has the Government of India conveyed its views on this subject to the Australian Government?"

Mr. Calwell replied:

"An application was received from Mr. Sharkey—not_Mr. Miles—for the issue of a passport to enable him to go to India. The Government of India stipulates that before a visa can be issued to anybody to enter that country, the views of the Indian Government must be ascertained, and its approval given.

"The ordinary procedures were followed in the case of the application by Mr. Sharkey. A cablegram was despatched to the Indian Government asking whether it had any objection to the issue of a visa and whether it approved of Mr. Sharkey being permitted to enter India.

"The Government of India replied that it had no objection to Mr. Sharkey coming to that country.

"It did lay down a condition that he could re-

main in India for a certain period, which would enable him to attend a particular conference there, but that he must leave the day after the completion of the conference.

"When the Indian Government intimated that it had no objection to the issue of a visa, a passport was issued to Mr. Sharkey and he proceeded abroad. In respect of the issue of passports, no discrimination is made between persons of different political faiths, provided they are permitted to function legally.

"As the Communist Party has the right to nominate persons to stand for Parliament and is in every way permitted to function legally, no discrimination is made against its members seeking to go abroad."

En route to Delhi, Sharkey was interviewed at Singapore by representatives of both the English and native press. He took the opportunity to attack the White Australia policy. That also was in accordance with Communist doctrine and directive. He was reported as having strongly opposed the White Australia policy and to have urged the lifting of restrictions on immigration. He also said the Communist Party was growing in Australia and had 15,000 members.

Taxed with his statement after his return, he accused the newspapers of distortion, and then quoted at great length an Indian, Mr. S. M. Sharma who had promised that India "would hit back."

Sharkey's own comment in a signed article in "Tribune," on April 3, 1948, was "Asia is on the march. There is a tremendous revolutionary ferment, which is smashing to smithereens the chains of feudalism, imperialism, and mediaevalism which have hitherto bound the Asiatic peoples."

Not a word about how the Russians are still bound in the same fetters, after more than a quarter of a century of Communist rule. According to Sharkey, the White Australia policy is "an Imperialist race superiority policy."

Then came the outbreak of terrorism, rapine, and murder in Malaya, with the Communists attempting to destroy all white inhabitants.

Sharkey, in another signed article in "Tribune," on June 12, 1948, said:

"The events now taking place in Malaya reminds me of the fortnight I spent in Singapore and of the splendid people I met there belonging both to the Malayan Communist and Progressive Parties.

"British Imperialism is attempting to re-establish itself once more, to make Malaya, with its rich tin and rubber resources, its colony.

"What has to be struck down in Malaya is not, as that Imperialist dog Malcolm MacDonald declares, the Malayan Communist Party, but brutal British Imperialism."

Once again I decided to confront Prime Minister Chifley with the necessity of taking some definite action, and on June 16, 1948, asked the following questions:

"Has the attention of the Prime Minister been directed to the activities of the Australian Communist Party in inciting civil war in Malaya, and in particular, to an article by the general secretary of the Australian Communist Party, Mr. L. L. Sharkey, in its official organ, on the 12th June?

"Mr. Sharkey wrote:

"'What has to be struck down in Malaya is not, as that Imperialist dog, Malcolm MacDonald declares, the Malayan Communist Party, but brutal British Imperialism.'

"Has the Prime Minister's attention also been directed to the fact that Mr. Sharkey poses as an authority on the question because recently he spent a fortnight in Singapore, where he conferred with the leaders of the Malayan Communist Party?

"Will the Prime Minister issue instructions that no further passports be issued to members of

AID FOR RUSSIA

the Australian Communist Party to visit countries in South-East Asia?

"Will steps be taken to prevent the despatch of Communist propaganda from Australia to such countries?"

Then Prime Minister Chifley again trotted out the usual alibi, and replied as follows:

"I have read in the press reports of difficulties which have arisen in Malaya, where political and industrial disturbances are occurring at the present time. I am not aware of all the facts surrounding the particular disturbances, and I have not seen the article by Mr. Sharkey, to which the honorable member has referred.

"However, I shall have the issues raised in the question examined for the purpose of ascertaining whether they are factual, and I shall supply an answer to the honorable member later."

On July 21, when the Malayan terrorist campaign was at its height, Prime Minister furnished a written reply in which he stated:

"(1) He had read the article.

- (2) He had noted Sharkey's statement that he had met the Communist leaders in Malaya.
- (3) In accordance with the established practice of the Department of Immigration the political views of an applicant for a passport are not regarded as a disqualifying factor in the issue of such a document.
- (4) Action along the lines suggested would constitute a re-introduction of wartime censorship. The Government consider that the taking of such action would be in conflict with the principles of freedom of thought and action."

That was a complete admission of Government appeasement of Communists, whatever the risks to the nation. It meant the Communists were free to travel in order to conspire against this country, and to advocate a policy of terrorism against British and Australians. Meanwhile there had been a shake-up in the top command of the Communist Party as a result of Henry's visit to London.

At the 15th National Congress of the Communists, held in Sydney, at the beginning of May, with 114 delegates present, J. B. Miles was dropped from the position of General Secretary—key post in the Communist hierarchy.

L. L. Sharkey was promoted from President to General Secretary; R. Dixon, former assistant secretary, became the new president, and J. C. Henry was elected as the first organising secretary. It looked as if Henry was rapidly on the way up to top command. Most of the time was occupied by attacks on Britain and the United States, and obeisance to the gods of the Kremlin.

The Marshall Plan inspired most of the invective, although Britain was accused of treachery, and most other crimes in the Soviet black book.

Sharkey was permitted to do most of the talking, with Dixon as a faithful echo.

For months the local Communists had been screeching "Long Live Tito." A number of Eureka Youth members had even been sent to Yugoslavia to help Tito build railways for the coming clash with Italy. Some had won "Udarnik" awards—or shock worker recognition by exceeding the normal production requirements. Diplomas were handed by Tito to other worker-heroes. "Tribune" was in delight.

Then the Cominform denounced Tito. Hurriedly Marx House pulled down all its Tito banners and photos. Just another somersault dictated by the Kremlin. The news was broken to the local dupes in a lengthy announcement direct from Moscow. Obediently, everyone from Sharkey down rolled over in bed and denounced Tito.

That is how Moscow controls its political machine throughout the world. One day a hero. Next, a subject of the vilest abuse. No one dares ask for reasons. Moscow alone has the right to decide. The Communist has no soul of his own. It has been pawned by his Russian bosses.

The Chifley Government cannot plead ignorance of the traitorous design of Communist activities in Australia.

The Federal Executive of the A.L.P. passed a resolution on May 14, 1947, supporting the Government on action taken against the Communist black ban on the rocket range, and affirmed:

"It is apparent that the propaganda recently issued by the Communist Party in connection with this undertaking is for the sole purpose of defeating Australian Defence Policy in the interests of a foreign power."

External Affairs Minister and Deputy Prime Minister H. V. Evatt, published a pamphlet entitled "Hands Off The Nation's Defences," quoting that resolution, and attacking "would-be saboteurs." He said that it "constituted a very ugly incident, and it has undoubtedly opened many eyes to the menace to Australian defence interests involved in a facile acceptance of proposals put forward by members of the Communist Party."

It may have opened the eyes of many people, but not those of the Government itself. As W. M. Hughes pertinently interjected during the debate on the Rocket Range Bill, the penalties for treason were less than the penalties for black marketing.

Dr. Evatt quoted the Communist organ as stating that "The rocket plan is part of the Attlee-Bevin and Chifley-Evatt policy of turning Australia into an Imperialist base."

Then Dr. Evatt proceeded to explain why "extremist" measures were not taken against the Communists—why even the Crimes Act was not to be applied. My attitude is that if the defences of Australia are in peril, then drastic measures alone can deal with the situation.

. If any further proof was needed of the international plans of Communism to cripple other countries' defences, it was furnished by George Malenkov, Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, in an address over Soviet Radio, on December 11, 1947.

Malenkov said that the Soviet Communist Party was training representatives to further its foreign policy abroad. It was attaching great importance to the selection, and adequate training of groups capable of assuring a following of the Party's line on external policy.

Leaders of such groups would be instructed how "to defend international interests of the Soviet Socialistic State, tell true friends from foes and divine intrigues and plots of Imperialists and their Agents." He further added that it had become increasingly necessary to maintain close contact between Communist Parties in different parts of the world.

This statement, originally delivered at the inaugural session of the new Cominform, in Warsaw, last September, is a clear directive to Communists throughout the world.

Gone is the pretence that the Soviet staffs abroad are diplomatic representatives only. In the past, the Soviet Embassy in Australia has carefully avoided open fraternisation with the local Communist organisation. They kept to Canberra, and refused invitations to participate in Communist political rallies.

But now they are no longer only diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Foreign Commissariat. They are to become activists in advancing that policy. That means that they must also set themselves up as an espionage bureau to "tell true friends from foes, and divine intrigues and plots of Imperialists and their agents."

How long can any Government continue to recognise a diplomatic mission established on such lines?

The presumption is that it is located in enemy

AID FOR RUSSIA

territory and that its true function is to spy on the enemy and bring about his downfall.

In short, the Moscow Government is reverting to the original line of international warfare in the interests of Russian Imperialism.

There is no guarantee that those being instructed in this new type of warfare, are all citizens of the Soviet Union. It is far more likely that agents selected to carry out the Malenkov directive are nationals of the country concerned, selected to work in conjunction with the Soviet.

That is the reason for the revival of the Comintern. There is to be a unification of control. Close contact between the different units is stipulated.

Hence the reason for the sudden urge of leading Communists to travel abroad, to visit other Communist leaders and to receive their instructions as per the Malenkov directive.

Reports to headquarters and then instructions as to the work ahead, have been matters of urgent priority.

The conviction of Dr. Raymond Boyer, former professor of physics at the famous McGill University in Canada, by a jury on charges of having conspired to reveal the secret of a deadly explosive to the Soviet Embassy, in Ottawa, was a timely reminder of what is happening all over the world.

What precautions are being taken by the Chifley Government against espionage here?

What precautions against sabotage similar to that disclosed in Canada?

Instead of adopting a strong stand against Communism, the Chifley Government facilitates Communist organisation at every stage. Typical example was the organisation of the Younger Cominform at Prague in the disguise of a Youth Festival in 1947.

Immigration Minister Calwell was asked a question as to why he had granted passports to

what was called by the Communists the Australian Reconstruction Brigade.

Calwell replied that "Ten men sailed by the 'Asturias' under the auspices of the 'World Federation of Democratic Youth' to attend the World Festival in Prague afterwards to proceed to Lidice to assist in re-building the town. They were all granted passports valid for the United Kingdom, Australia and all European countries. It is not known what visas were placed on their passports."

The Eureka Youth League sponsored the delegation. While abroad, the delegations were given a full course in militant Communism and academy. If was the Soviet's military academy. They were to be the staff officers of the future. Instead of going to the Marxist-Lenin Institute in Moscow, they went to field head-quarters. They were indoctrinated in Russian Nationalism, and given a course in revolutionary technique.

At the Prague Conference a prominent young Communist from Australia, H. C. Williams, was made secretary of the new international. A conference was held early in 1948 in Calcutta. It claimed that there were 50 million members of the new organisation—mostly in Russia.

The London "Daily Telegraph," commenting on a meeting of the Executive in London, in July, 1948, said it is one of the major instruments of Russian foreign policy. It provides a courier service for the despatch of agents to all Communist groups. It supervises instructions, and has a highly developed network for agitation and propaganda under Agitprop—the Moscow Bureau:

The same paper also said that the Calcutta conference was used for briefing the Communist leaders of Burma and Malaya on the plans for revolt.

If the Communists win in South-East Asia there will be 200 millions of hostile peoples adjacent to Australia, with access to Russian arms and Russian military aid and under Russian direction. The anti-White Australia slogan would be used to fan resentment against this country. Communist agitation could easily lead to trouble. That is no abstract problem of political philosophy. It is a menace to our security.

Australian Communists, preaching hatred against Britain and America amongst these native peoples, are preaching hatred against Australia. That is treason.

Chapter 3.

DR. J. R. ATCHERLEY.

CANBERRA itself is the setting for the first case history of a Communist in action. Canberra, not only the National capital, but also nerve centre of government. Repository of all our defence secrets. The whispering gallery of the Commonwealth. Where all secret communications from London, Washington, and other vital centres are decoded and filed. Home of the Soviet Legation in Australia.

Canberra would be the one place that the Communist General Staff would require strong organisation. Yet it should be the most difficult to penetrate. Security should be at its strongest. The capital's citizens are mostly Government employees.

Yet, in Canada, it was found that the Communists had not only suborned leading scientists, but even had agents in the de-coding rooms and on the British High Commissioner's personal staff, in Ottawa.

We know that the Communist Party has succeeded in establishing itself in Canberra, and that Communists have received personal appointments by Ministers.

The Secretary of the Canberra Zone of the Communist Party was an under-cover operative— Dr. Jack Rowland Atcherley, of 4 Ainslie Street, Ainslie, a suburb of Canberra.

COMMUNISM IS TREASON

Any complacency that may have existed regarding the Chifley Government's complacency towards the Communist Party and its objectives in Australia, must have been rudely disturbed by disclosures regarding Atcherley. Not only did the Government deliberately attempt to evade the issue, but it even went to the extreme length of producing a defence of an underground member of the Communist Party!

Atcherley had a criminal record. He had fifteen convictions for stealing and house-breaking. During the war, he had been given charge of the production of nitro-glycerine and cordite in the Commonwealth Explosives Factory. At the same time, he was a member of the Communist Party. Then he transferred to Canberra, where he became the local Communist leader in an undercover capacity.

. Those were the facts. The Government had boasted that its Security Service had a complete list of every Communist in the Commonwealth. It would be extraordinary, indeed, if that list did not include the Communist leader in Canberra itself right under the nose of the Security Service.

This is how the story of Atcherley unfolded itself in Parliament.

On April 14, 1948, I addressed a question to the Prime Minister, without notice. I asked him whether he was aware that the President of the Canberra branch of the Communist Party, John Blom Pomeroy, residing at 33 Campbell Street, Ainslie, had been appointed Official Photographer with the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

I also asked him whether he was aware that Dr. Jack Rowland Atcherley, of 4 Ainslie Street, Ainslie, an investigator with the Prices Branch, was Secretary of the Canberra Communist Party.

The Prime Minister said that he did not know of them, but promised to have enquiries made, and

DR. J. R. ATCHERLEY

to inform me of the result of such enquiries. I am still waiting for the promised information.

Next day, both Atcherley and Pomeroy rushed into the Press with indignant denials that they were Communists. That was in accordance with Communist strategy.

I assumed that the enquiry would be immediately turned over to the Security Service. If the claims made on behalf of that Service were correct, then the names of Atcherley and Pomeroy would have been included in that list. At the same time, a specific enquiry into Atcherley having been requested, the investigation should have uncovered his criminal record.

Just at this time, the Prime Minister introduced into the House a Supply and Development Bill, designed to give the Government drag-net powers over the control of defence projects. In his second-reading speech, the Prime Minister said:

"Provision is also being made for secrecy on the part of persons employed upon the operations, and for the steps necessary to prevent the entry of unauthorised persons upon secret defence undertakings, and for search of suspected persons in such areas."

As this obviously referred to the Rocket Range, the debate centred around the danger of Communist sabotage, and the steps that the Government should take to meet the danger.

The Leader of the Country Party, Mr. Fadden, moved an amendment providing that no Communist should be eligible for employment on prescribed defence projects. He directed the attention of the House to the following questions asked by the Member for Bendigo, Mr. George Rankin, on the 25th July, 1946, and to the replies then given by the Prime Minister. As recorded in "Hansard," they read:

"Mr. Rankin asked the Prime Minister, upon notice:

COMMUNISM IS TREASON

- 1. Has he seen the statement in a Canberra newspaper of the 17th July, that 'in Canberra, Communists have boasted they are working under cover in public departments, to serve the ends of the Party'?
- 2. Were any investigations made by the Commonwealth authorities during the war years, as to whether Communists were employed in the Commonwealth Public Service?
- 3. If so (a) were any Communists discovered, and (b) what action was taken?
- 4. Will he direct the appropriate Commonwealth authorities to ascertain if Communists are employed in the Public Service in Canberra?
- 5. Will he take steps to have any Communists removed?"

"MR. CHIFLEY: The answers to the Honorable member's questions are as follows:

- 1. No. I have not previously read the Press statement quoted.
- 2. No investigations of such a nature have been made.
- 3. See answer No. 2.
- 4. Commonwealth Public Servants, in common with all citizens, are entitled to hold political views, and the Government does not propose to initiate an enquiry on the lines suggested by the honorable member. The Public Service Board has full power under the Act to deal with employees who violate the oath taken before entrance to the service, whereby they swear allegiance to the King and to uphold the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia.
- 5. See answer to No. 4."

Replying to the amendment, Mr. Dedman, Minister for Defence and Minister in Charge of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, said:

"The amendment is quite unnecessary, and the Government cannot accept it. The Leader of the Australian Country Party read a reply which the

32

Prime Minister gave to a question asked in 1946. Much has transpired since then."

MR. FADDEN: My word it has! The Minister is quite right.

MR. DEDMAN: During a recent debate, the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General explained what the Government was doing about the matter. The Attorney-General stated that the Commonwealth Investigation Service, under his jurisdiction, had a complete check on all Communists in Australia, and knew where they were.

MR. FADDEN: Therefore, the Government knows the persons whom it should not employ. The Minister should accept my amendment.

MR. DEDMAN: The list, it is true, does include some individuals who are members of the Public Service, but the great majority of them hold positions which they could not possibly use in order to betray official secrets.

MR. HOLT: Did the Minister say that the Commonwealth Security Service has a complete list of these people?

MR. DEDMAN: A complete list of known Communists and Communist sympathisers.

MR. HOLT: In Australia?

MR. DEDMAN: Yes. That is what I understood the Attorney-General to say in his speech, and I believe that that statement is correct. The Attorney-General also said that the Commonwealth Investigation Service made a thorough examination of all new entrants to the Public Service. Because of that screening, it is possible for Communists to be excluded from the Public Service. In the circumstances, there is no reason for inserting the amendment in the Act, and for that reason, the Government cannot accept it."

That speech by the Minister for Defence was a revelation of the Government's attitude to the Communist Party. It exposed how complacent was the oversight of vulnerable security projects. The only members of the Public Service required to take the oath of allegiance were the permanent members of the Service. As the majority of employees in C.S.I.R. were temporary employees, they were exempt. In every instance, the Communists I was to name came under that category.

Speaking in support of Mr. Fadden's amendment, I then said:---

"MR. LANG: The reason given by the Minister for Defence for rejecting the amendment is not sufficient. Indeed, his answer is contemptuous of the Parliament.

"The measure which we are asked to take very seriously, embodies provisions for the defence of the country against possible aggression, and the amendment seeks to prevent traitors from being employed in defence establishments.

"The Minister simply said that the Government cannot accept the amendment. The reply which the Minister gave to the member for Bendigo was given a long while ago, but, recently in this Chamber, I challenged the Minister with respect to the employment of a certain person in the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, which the Minister himself controls.

"I pointed out that that particular gentleman was employed as an Official Photographer.

"I recall having read in the Press that the result of photographing the whole of Australia was to be made available as a No. 1 Priority to the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, which employs that gentleman.

"I asked whether he was not the President of the Communist Party in Canberra. To that question, I am still awaiting a reply. I also named another gentleman.

"Later, both of them wrote to the 'Sydney Morning Herald' denying that they were members of the Communist Party. They are a Mr. Pomeroy and a Mr. Atcherley. "The Government knows that what I said is true. If it does not know, then the Commonwealth Investigation Service is a sham and a mockery. If our Security officers do not know that those gentlemen are members of the Communist Party, they are incompetent, and have fallen down on their job.

"If they are aware that my statements are true, then the Government also is aware of the facts: but the Government has not yet supplied an answer to my question.

MR. DEDMAN: Is the honourable member's question on the Notice-paper?

MR. LANG: No; it has been taken off the Notice-paper in the usual way. I have been given a reply that a further reply will be furnished later; but it has not been removed from my memory, and neither has the Government removed the necessity devolving upon it to furnish a reply to it.

"One of the gentlemen I mentioned, although he is not a permanent officer of the Public Service, was appointed to the Department by the Minister himself, and that makes the position worse from the point of view of both the Minister and the Government.

"Here in Canberra, under the very noses of the Security officers, these potential traitors to this country meet, and are prepared to betray their fellow citizens.

"They suspend from the Communist Party any person who does not obey the Communist tenet of making a Communist retraction.

"They debase themselves by taking a pledge not to make the oath of loyalty or to subscribe to the Constitution of Australia.

"Those are the kind of people who are being screened by the Government and the Minister for Defence.

"Desperate diseases require desperate remedies, and these people must be dealt with. I know that I cannot discuss a motion of which I have given notice, but have so far been prevented, I hope temporarily, from moving in this Chamber.

"The Minister hurled at the honourable member for Fawkner (Mr. Holt) the question, 'What would you do?' The Minister should address that question to me; but he does not need to do so, because, in the motion of which I have given notice, I have set out what I would do with potential traitors to Australia!

"It is not sufficient for the Government to say that it knows who are the members of the Communist Party, and that it will deal with them if they occupy responsible positions.

"It knows of men who are in responsible positions, but it is not dealing with them.

"The only thing to do, therefore, is to try to compel the Government to obey the law by inserting in the Bill the words contained in the amendment.

"They will then be incorporated in the law of this country, and the Government will be compelled to act. I support the amendment. The Government must face up to its responsibilities, and take action against people who are avowed potential traitors to Australia.

"Ministers talk of the Security police and of their trusted officials, but in Great Britain, a model Secretary turned out to be a model Communist. One of the most trusted Secretaries in Great Britain turned out to be one of the most trusted Communists. If the Communists were known to be what, in fact, they are, possibly they would not be of so much use to the enemies of this country; but because they are smart and clever, and because they are in key positions, they are valuable to those who wish to destroy Australia and its manner of life, and to take away its freedom."

When I had finished speaking, the Minister hastened out of the Chamber. He was away some time. Then he returned, with a gleam of triumph in his eye, carrying a letter. He then rose for the second occasion in the debate on the amendment, and after declaring that it would be impossible for any Communist to be employed on defence work, launched into a personal attack on myself. He then said:—

"MR. DEDMAN: I take this opportunity to clear the name of a resident of Canberra, whom the honourable member for Reid traduced in this House. I have here a letter received by the Prime Minister (Mr. Chifley) shortly after the honourable member for Reid had made certain allegations in the House, and I now quote the letter in order to put it on record. It is as follows:—

" 'Dear Sir,

'I am advised that Mr. J. T. Lang, M.H.R., made a statement in the House yesterday that I am Secretary of the Canberra branch of the Australian Communist Party: also, that I have been appointed as Economic Adviser to the Prices Commissioner. I deny all these allegations in totality. Neither am I a member of the Communist Party.

'I think that the Government should take some action to protect citizens against slanderous and malicious statements made under privilege in Parliament.

Politically, I am a Socialist, and support the Socialist plank. I am an Investigating Officer, Grade 3, in the Prices Branch, and have never claimed to have any other position therein. If I had done a tithe of the damage to Australia that Mr. Lang has accomplished in his political career, I would hang my head in shame. My record in the Public Service is clear.

'In 1941, I was appointed as shift chemist at the Commonwealth Explosives Factory, at Maribyrnong, where I was responsible for the production of nitro-glycerine and cordite. In 1943, I was transferred, at my own request, to my present position. "I shall be grateful if you will make my position clear to the House in which I have been traduced.

(Sgd.) J. R. Atcherley.'

"That is all I have to say on this amendment," concluded Mr. Dedman.

That letter was to become a matter of major political importance. It will be heard of again.

In a brief reply, I pointed out that the Minister had not produced any evidence regarding the employee in his own Department—Pomeroy. Instead, he had produced the letter from Atcherley.

There was still no report from the Security Service. I said:-

"MR. LANG: When I made those charges, I wanted to ascertain whether the Security Police were as competent as I considered they ought to be, and whether they had on record the names of Pomeroy and Atcherley, two avowed Communists in the employ of the Government.

"My duty as a member of this Parliament is to expose such masqueraders. Therefore, in order to ascertain whether the Security Service knew about the records of these two men, I raised the matter in this Chamber. My object was also to ensure that the facts would come to the knowledge of the Minister, and lead to ministerial action.

"From that time until now, the Government has engaged in subterfuge, in order to side-step my questions.

"Now, on a matter of prime importance, when members of the Committee seek to bind the Government, by Act of Parliament, to do certain things, the Minister for Defence runs out and gets a letter from Mr. Atcherley.

"Let me tell the Minister, the members of this Committee, and the people of Australia, that I hold a sworn document bearing Mr. Atcherley's signature as a Zone Secretary of the Communist Party! If the Security authorities are not aware of the

STATION WAR IN THE LOC

No II CARGO

facts about Mr. Atcherley, then they are incompetent.

"I have never made any charge in this Chamber that I am not prepared to stand by, and to prove up to the hilt.

"This matter is serious. Every honourable member, like myself, must accept his responsibilities. The matter now before the Committee concerns the defence of Australia.

"The Leader of the Australian Country Party has declared that it is of first importance in this connection to ensure that Australia shall not be destroyed from within, by traitors.

"Therefore, he has moved that such a provision be embodied in the legislation now before the Committee, so that, whoever may be Minister for Defence in the future, will, if he obeys the laws of the country, ensure that traitors and potential traitors, shall not be employed in the services of the nation services that should have the utmost protection and secrecy, because they are of immense importance.

"I must make my decision and record my vote upon it. Every honourable member will have to justify his vote, if he opposes the amendment when the division is called."

Mr. Fadden's amendment was then put, but was defeated, voting being:—

 ÄYES
 18

 NOES
 31

Majority 13 So the Government voted *against* the amendment that no Communist should be employed on a specified defence project. It again evaded the im-

portant issue.

But I was still determined that the Government had to face up squarely to the Atcherley position.

My next action was to direct a question to the Speaker, Hon. J. S. Rosevear, in the following terms:— "MR. LANG: I direct a question to you, Mr. Speaker. In this House on the 6th May, the Minister for Defence read what purported to be the full contents of a letter addressed to the Prime Minister by Dr. J. R. Atcherley, of the Prices Branch. In that letter, Dr. Atcherley denied that he was a Communist, and made a personal attack upon me.

"I have since made application to examine the letter, but find that it was not left in the custody of the House.

"Whilst the Minister was able to have the contents of what purported to be the letter, placed in the records of this House, there is no way of verifying the authenticity of the letter as read.

"I also understand that the Minister now states that he is no longer in possession of the letter.

"As I have reason to believe that, in reading that letter, the Minister omitted certain words that would have seriously affected a very important member of the Government, and in view of the fact that a certain Public Servant has just been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for altering the contents of an official document, will you, Mr. Speaker, issue a direction as follows:—

- (1) That the letter in question be returned forthwith to the custody of this House:
- (2) That, in future, when letters are read in this Chamber, and especially when they contain attacks on members of this House, such letters be tabled immediately;
- (3) That before letters are incorporated in 'Hansard,' they be made available to 'Hansard' for checking, in order to ensure that the official records of this Chamber are a true record of documents?"

The Speaker duly investigated the position, and then gave a ruling that as the original letter had not been tabled in accordance with the Standing Orders as a Public document, he could not order it to be produced. The Government made no attempt to produce the letter, despite the serious charge I had made in my question. It hid behind the Speaker's ruling.

I had given the Government every opportunity to probe the Atcherley affair. I had even informed it of the evidence I held. But still it did nothing.

In the meantime, Atcherley had been arrested in Canberra, not because of his political activities, but on a charge of criminally assaulting a child of ten. In his defence, he stated that he had been worried by the accusation that he was a Communist, but said that he had convinced the Prime Minister that he was not a member of the Communist Party.

He pleaded guilty to the charge at the Canberra Supreme Court, and was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment. It was then also revealed that he had had no less than fifteen prior convictions for stealing and house-breaking, several years before.

As the Government had been given every opportunity to face up to the Atcherley case, but was still covering-up, I decided to review the case, and table the evidence in my possession.

This was a most unusual procedure. A Private Member handing over documentary evidence on the floor of the House. I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister, and then, when an Appropriation Bill was before the House on 18th June, 1948, indicted the Minister for Defence in the following terms:—

"MR. LANG: Our responsibility is not only to vote sufficient funds to provide for the adequate defence of this country, but also to make certain that the administration of those funds is in the right hands. Recent events have convinced me that the present Minister for Defence is not a fit and proper person to be charged with that responsibility.

"As Defence Minister, it is his job to see that traitors are kept out of all key positions in the Public Service. That has not been done. The onus is on him to make certain that there is not the slightest loop-hole for infiltration into key security posts of anyone prepared to serve a foreign power against this country. It is his job to see that there is no repetition of the Canadian leakages, in this country.

"On his own admissions, the Minister for Defence should not be left in control of this Department. He does not appear to have the faintest concept of the dangers of sabotage and treachery.

"He told this House recently that the Security Service have a complete list of all Communists. He admitted that it included some members of the Public Service. Then he made the staggering statement that 'the great majority of them hold positions which they could not possibly use in order to betray defence secrets.'

"That means that there are some Communists in positions where they *can* betray official secrets."

"That, from a Minister for Defence, is a confession of utter incompetence. How many Communists are there in key positions which they can use in order to betray official secrets? Is that his attitude to the problem? How many does he think it would take to betray this country's defences? What confidence could our potential allies have in us, if that is the attitude of the Minister for Defence? Could we expect the United States to share the secrets of atomic warfare with this country?

"No Communist should be allowed to hold any position whatsoever in the Defence organisation. But what do we find in the Minister's own administration? Of all Defence arms, none is more vulnerable to sabotage than the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

"It has been hiring temporary employees as fast as they can be obtained. The Prime Minister recently gave the figure of 1,480 temporary employees in C.S.I.R. Such employees are not bound by rigid Public Service conditions, and do not even take the oath of loyalty.

"The Minister has accepted personal responsibility for many of those appointments. He appointed Donald Mountjoy to the Council himself. Mountjoy had no known qualifications for the position. He had definite leanings towards the Communist Party. It was the Minister who accepted personal responsibility for the appointment of Rudkin, a West Australian Communist with a notorious war record. The Minister has personally sponsored the Public Service career of Dr. Lloyd Ross, author of the infamous 'Hands off Russia' resolution, at a time when Russia was an ally of Nazi Germany. Dr. Ross' brother is known as one of the leaders of the Communist Party in Australia to-day.

"Dr. Ross claims to have recanted, but that, too, is part of the Communist technique.

"It is strange, indeed, how the fellow-travellers, the crypto-Communists and the Communist activists find such a consistent sponsor and defender in the Minister for Defence!

"If the Communists desired to penetrate into the very heart of Government administration, they would obviously concentrate on Canberra itself. Here, they have direct liaison with foreign embassies. Through Canberra, pass all important code messages between Governments. Plans for the Rocket Range; plans of war-time dispositions of troops, navies and air-power; plans of chemical developments; new methods of warfare—all, sooner or later, are handled in Canberra. The Communist General Staff has a very acute appreciation of the advantages of Canberra centralisation, so far as its work is concerned. A few key men or women in the right place, and the Communist Party would be in a position to break every official secret.

"With all that in mind, I addressed a question to the Prime Minister on April 14th. I asked whether he was aware that the President of the Canberra branch of the Communist Party, John Blom Pomeroy, residing at 33 Campbell Street, Ainslie, had been appointed Official Photographer for the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research?

"I also asked a question about Dr. Jack Atcherley, of 4 Ainslie Street, Ainslie, a member of the Prices Branch, and Secretary of the Canberra Communist Party.

"The Prime Minister said that he did not know of them, but promised to have enquiries made and to inform me of the result of those enquiries. I have not yet been informed by the Prime Minister of the result of those enquiries.

"The following day, both Atcherley and Pomeroy denied they were Communists. I waited to see whether the Security Service had a full record of Communist Party members. I was not in the least surprised that Atcherley and Pomeroy should deny their membership. That was in line with Communist Party directives.

"Then, on May 6th, the Minister for Defence, during a debate on Security measures, disappeared out of this House and came back with a letter from Atcherley, that he proceeded to read into the records of this House. He said:—

"'I take this opportunity to clear the name of a resident of Canberra whom the Honourable Member for Reid traduced in this House. I have here a letter received by the Prime Minister, shortly after the Honourable Member for Reid had made certain allegations, and I now quote the letter in order to put it on record.'

"No mention was made of any check by the Security Service. No investigation of the supposed full record of members of the Communist Party. Just what purported to be a letter from one of the men mentioned, without corroboration, and without any attempt being made to report on it!

"The Minister was satisfied to accept the letter on its face value. He was quite excited about it all. The fact that Atcherley had seen fit to make a personal attack on myself, appeared to provide the Minister with some great personal satisfaction. He was ready to sponsor Atcherley without inhibition. He was prepared to take Atcherley's word. If Atcherley had been the key figure in a Communist network, and simply wrote a letter to the Minister, he would be quite satisfied. No more questions. No further investigations. How naive! How dangerous!

"Atcherley denied that he was a member of the Communist Party, but claimed to be a Socialist. Then he made this rather important statement in that letter read into the records by the Minister:

"'In 1941, I was appointed as a shift chemist at the Commonwealth Explosives Factory at Maribyrnong, where I was responsible for the production of nitro-glycerine and cordite. In 1943, I was transferred, at my own request, to my present position.'

"Now, if Atcherley was a Communist, on his own admission he was in a key position in a Munitions plant in 1941, at a time when the Communists were bitterly opposing the war. Then, after the Communists had somersaulted, he turns up in Canberra. Under certain circumstances, that move could well have had considerable significance. It might well have been part of the Communist Party's war plan.

"In view of the Minister's failure to submit a proper report to this House, and in view of his action in championing an individual to the extent of having his claims incorporated in the records of the House, I now propose to take a certain course of action. I propose to hand the Prime Minister certain documents.

"The first is a copy of a letter written by John Pomeroy, as Secretary of the Canberra branch of the Australian Communist Party, to the 'Canberra Times,' on Thursday, the 7th February, 1946. A Canberra Justice of the Peace has certified that he has cited the original of the letter, and that it is an exact copy.

"Pomeroy wrote the letter on behalf of the Canberra Branch of the Communist Party, in reply to allegations that the Communists were infiltrating into the Ainslie Progress and Welfare Association. In the course of his letter, Pomeroy said:—

"'There are Communists in all Welfare and Progress Associations in Canberra, but never has it been alleged that Party politics have been introduced. The allegations that Communists are attempting to inculcate political doctrines into the minds of the Boys' and Girls' Clubs, is arrant nonsense. Ainslie residents must all be aware that the needs of youth are not being catered for adequately.'

"Pomeroy signed as Secretary of the Canberra branch. Pomeroy is an Official Photographer with C.S.I.R. Arrangements have been made for C.S.I.R. to handle the key photos in connection with Rocket Range survey work. It is one activity that no Communist should be allowed to have anything to do with. It is now over two months since I directed my question regarding Pomeroy to the Prime Minister. Since then, there has been a two months' silence on the part of the Government.

"The next documents I propose to hand the Prime Minister deal with Dr. J. K. Atcherley, whose denial that he was a Communist was read by the Minister, to this House.

"First, I will direct attention to the fact that one of the letters, dated October 4th, 1945, in Atcherley's own hand-writing as Zone Secretary of the Communist Party, was written on official Government Minute Paper.

"What members of the Public Service are permitted to use that particular kind of Minute Paper? Is it available to temporary employees, or only to senior officials preparing Minutes for the Minister?

"The fact emerges that during the war, the

Communist Party in Canberra was able to conduct its correspondence on official Government Minute Paper. If the Communist Party had wanted official Minute Paper for any other—and more sinister purpose, is there any reason to believe that it would not have been available to them?

"The particular incident dealt with in the three papers I have tabled related to the Moscow Trial of a Canberra resident, who joined up with the Communist Party to find out what it was doing, and who then proceeded to unmask its activities. This man, Geddes, allowed himself to be admitted to membership of the Communist Party because he realised that was the only way to discover who were members, and what they were doing. Because of possible victimisation, I am most reluctant to use his name, but in view of the Minister's attitude, I feel that the security of this country demands a complete disclosure of all the facts.

"(1) The first letter I am handing to the Prime Minister, dated December 7, 1945, from 4 Chaffey Crescent, Ainslie, to Geddes, reads:—

"'I am instructed by the Zone. Committee of the Australian Communist Party, Canberra, that your Party membership has been suspended as from the above date, pending an enquiry into charges made against you of disruptive tactics in mass organisation work. (Sgd.) J. R. Atcherley, Zone Secretary.'

"(2) The next is a letter addressed to Geddes, on Official Minute Paper, inviting him to attend a meeting of the North Canberra Branch of the Communist Party on October 9, 1945, to reply to charges made against him by a member of the branch. This is also signed J. R. Atcherley, Zone Secretary.

"(3) The third document I am handing to the Prime Minister is a copy of the Minutes of a previous meeting of the North Canberra Branch of the Communist Party, when Geddes was tried. The Minutes are signed by A. C. J. Russell, Secretary

COMMUNISM IS TREASON

of the North Canberra Branch. They read as follows:---

"'Minutes of A.C.P. Meeting, North Canberra Branch, held at the Ainslie Hall, 9th Sept., 1945.

"'Moved—That the enquiry concerning Comrade Geddes be carried out according to legal procedure and the finding be communicated, in writing, to Comrade Geddes. Carried." "Comrade Atcherley's report was read and

voted on, paragraph by paragraph. It affirmed that Comrade Geddes worked against Party policy, by-

- 1. Agitating against the formation and support of the Progress Association for the Girls' Club. After discussion, the charge was declared proved, by the vote of 6 to 2.
- Agitating against establishment of a Joint Board of Control for the two Clubs, in direct defiance of branch resolution. Vote 5 to 2.
- 3. Betraying Comrade Atcherley's membership of the Party whilst he was still an under-cover member, by informing Mr. Van Heck, Captain of the Boys' Club, that the President of the Boys' Club Board of Management was a Communist, and aimed at turning the Club into a political organisation.
- 4. Disrupting Party links with the Progress Association by holding Comrade Pomeroy up to contempt at a meeting of the Association. Charge withdrawn through lack of evidence.
- 5. Creating further discord between the Party and the Association by violent speech against a member (Comrade Atcherley) at a meeting of the Progress Association, when Comrade Atcherley tendered his resignation as President. Vote 5 to 2.
- 6. Informing Boys' Club members that Com-

DR. J. R. ATCHERLEY

rade Atcherley, their former President, had been kicked out by him (Geddes) from the Board of Management. Vote 5 to 1.

 Refusing to attend meetings called for the purpose of affording him an opportunity of refuting the charges, or explaining his motive for such behaviour. Vote 5 to 1.

'Moved—That Comrade Geddes be asked to admit that these charges have been proved against him, and on admission of same, and if he will undertake, in writing, to carry out Party instructions, he be permitted to retain his membership in the Party. Vote 6 to 1.

'Moved—That Comrade Low be deputed to approach Comrade Geddes, to obtain such an undertaking. Carried.

'Signed—A. C. J. Russell, Hon. Sec., Nth. Canberra Branch, A.C.P.'

"There you have a Communist cell in actual operation. You have the typical Moscow trial technique. The Communist confession, and self-accusation. The renunciation.

"But Geddes refused to co-operate. He preferred to take the independent line, and uncover his accusers. But note that Atcherley was an undercover member of the organisation. How many more under-cover members are there in Canberra?

"It is not what might happen at the Progress Association, or the Boys' Club, or the Girls' Club, that is the matter of the gravest concern. Membership of the Communist Party involves blind adherence to all directives and unquestioning obedience to all orders. No Communist can be loyal.

"Therefore, no Communist should be employed in any capacity whatsoever in the Defence Services.

"Was the Minister aware of the facts I have produced here, when he brought Atcherley's letter into this House? If so, whose fault was it that he did not know? The facts were known to many responsible people in Canberra. How was it possible, then, for them to escape the vigilance of the people who should have known?

"Was the Security Service asked to make any investigation whatsoever? If so, did it fail? The House is entitled to know. If the Security Service could not uncover the leaders of the Canberra Communist Party, after they had been named, their addresses given, and their official positions disclosed, what confidence can we have in the Security Service? Who is going to accept responsibility for Atcherley's letter being read in this House three weeks after I made my allegations in this House?

"The Minister for Defence has wilfully blinded himself to the menace inside his own Department. He has covered-up for Communists. He has either been hoodwinked, or is travelling the same road. In either case, he has no right to remain in charge of the Defence co-ordination of the Commonwealth.

"I do not expect this Minister or this Government to do anything about the Communists. They are too eager to suppress attacks on the Communist Party. Not until this country finds itself in a position of extreme danger, will the damage perpetrated by this Government, in covering-up for the Communists, be fully realised. If that day arrives, then this country will know where to look for the Guilty Men. They are to be found on the Treasury Benches of this Government."

Since then, I have had a letter from the Prime Minister acknowledging receipt of the documents. But what action has been taken?

Still to be answered are several pertinent questions. Why did the Security Service fail to uncover Atcherley? If it did, why was no action taken? Why were the facts suppressed when I asked my direct questions?

Either the Security Service failed right in the heart of Canberra itself, or the Government deliberately screened the Communists.

When Atcherley came up for sentence in the

Canberra Supreme Court on the shocking sex charge, he was still able to make the statement to the Judge that he was not a Communist. He also said that he had a personal interview with the Prime Minister, and had convinced him that he was not a Communist, but a Socialist.

No attempt was made even then to unmask him: The Trial Judge himself had been in charge of Security during the war years.

Was the Government prepared to accept Atcherley's personal assurance, without making any Security check? All the evidence was right under the Government's nose. Did the Prime Minister know that he was dealing with a convicted criminal? Just previously, he had indignantly declared that he would not accept the word of a convicted criminal, when requested to take some action following on disclosures made during the Garden case. Yet, apparently he was prepared to accept Atcherley's word, without making any check!

Atcherley was employed as a Prices Investigator. Previously, there had been charges that people with dubious records had obtained employment in both Prices and Land Sales Control. Here was a man with a criminal record, employed as an investigator right in Head Office!

Had any check been made prior to his appointment to the Public Service? My experience in New South Wales was that the Public Service Board took every precaution to check every application for employment.

If criminals can pass through the screen, then how easy it would be for Communist agents. The position is little less than alarming. In Atcherley's case, he was both a man with a criminal record and a Communist!

Geddes would be available for a public enquiry into Communism in Canberra. He would tell how the Communists recruited members from the Public Service. He would explain how they infiltrated even the Boys' Club, of which Atcherley was Secretary, in order to mould it on Eureka Youth League lines.

He would tell how Atcherley insisted on remaining an under-cover member. How a Communist novice is trained. How Atcherley lectured to members on Australia's iron ore deposits. How trades unions were infiltrated. How a prominent executive of the C.S.I.R. and personal appointee of the Government attended one of the Communist Party's meetings. How he (Geddes) was given a Moscow Trial in his absence.

- This case-history has been fully documented. Read in conjunction with the Canadian disclosures, it should be disturbing to every Australian. It should be a warning, both to the Government and to the Australian people.

CHAPTER 4

SAMUEL PHINEAS LEWIS

NEXT we pass to the New South Wales Teachers' Federation and its president, Samuel Phineas Lewis. In this instance we have the circumstances leading up to the briefing of Lewis as an accredited delegate of the Australian Government to the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organisation Conference held at Mexico City, in October, 1947. From Mexico, Lewis proceeded to Central Europe.

The New South Wales Teachers' Federation is a very significant example of the infiltration of a trades union whose membership would normally be expected to be conservative in outlook. Control of education is a primary objective of Communism. Through the teachers, the Communists hope to mould the children of the nation.

The Communist programme in the educationalfield is comprehensive and detailed. It embraces the indoctrination of teachers from the time they enter the Teachers' College. The control of the teachers' industrial organisation. The capture of Parents' and Citizens' Associations. The re-writing of the syllabus to provide a Marxian slant. The holding of special tutorial classes for teachers. The distribution of pseudo-intellectual manuals and text-books.

The Communists believe that from the teachers they will be able to recruit what they call a cadre of trained minds—that is, minds soaked in the doctrines and jargon of Communism.

In working amongst the teachers, the Communists gloss over their revolutionary objective. They concentrate on social reform rather than on the revolutionary platform of Marxian philosophy.

In its early years, the Teachers' Federation was regarded by other trades unions as a reactionary organisation. It was mostly controlled by headmasters and head-mistresses. Before the Depression, Communism was practically non-existent in the ranks of the teaching service.

Salary reductions and a big drop in the Basic Wage caused some of the lower-paid teachers to become bitter. Unlike other sections, they did not actually suffer unemployment, but they did find their standard of living had been undermined. In their frustration and disappointment, some of them were easy targets for Communist propaganda.

As there was a non-Labor Government in office, many of them took assumed names inside the Communist Party. At that stage they were not prepared to risk their careers, and the Communist bosses were quite satisfied to give them under-cover status.

A Communist cell was established inside the Federation. It was linked with the Militant Minority Movements. as the Communists' industrial wing was then called. with Wm. Orr, of the Miners' Federation, as National Secretary.

The teachers' cell was immediately affiliated with the unit in the Communist International constellation system then operating. It directed the Communist Party's work amongst teachers throughout the world from headquarters in Paris.

Articles on education began to appear in the various Communist Party organs, all well informed on matters affecting teachers.

First direct public acknowledgment of the interest that the Communist Party was taking in the Teachers' Federation came at the 1932 Teachers' Conference, when it was announced that the Friends of the Soviet Union—a Communist auxiliary—was prepared to pay all expenses for a teacher to visit the Soviet Union.

Who was finding the money was not divulged. The Friends of the Soviet Union was a phantom organisation. The Federation rejected the offer. But later it was announced that a non-Communist member of the Federation had been selected to make the trip.

On her return the teacher lectured on what she had seen in Russia. She was suspended from duty by the then Minister for Education, Mr. D. R. Drummond. That was the opportunity for which the Communists had been waiting.

A Defence Committee was established. The Communists quickly realised the advantage of a campaign built around a teacher who previously had no known affiliation with their organisation.

The Communist Party took over the organisation at the highest level. Meetings were held at Communist Headquarters, then at 395 Sussex Street, Sydney. Many teachers made their first acquaintance with the Communist higher-ups. Likely recruits to the cause were carefully vetted, and then cultivated. They formed the ranks of Depression Communists.

Meanwhile, the Communists were making steady headway towards the capture of the organisation. Like most trade unions, the Federation had no machinery for a plebiscite of members, and was easy prey to a small, well-disciplined group of Party fanatics.

The lower-paid groups were captured first. Then amalgamations were arranged to extend control. The Communist Party started to devote special attention to education at its District Plenums.

The Communist Party organised a "No More Homework" campaign. Next, Party orders were issued to capture the Parents' and Citizens' Association and to link up with the Teachers' Federation.

The Communists organised flying squads of women members as well as men to link up with Parents' and Citizens' Associations throughout the State. Key positions were quickly captured, with a cunning platform of educational reform—such as "No More Homework." When that was achieved, steps were taken to co-ordinate the work of both organisations.

The Federation joined the Trades and Labor Council for the first time in its history. The teachers' delegation joined the militants. When the "Stop the War" resolutions were moved at the 1940 A.C.T.U. Conference, the teachers were with the Communists.

Teachers were prominent in the Communist auxiliaries opposed to the war at the time Hitler had his alliance with Stalin. They joined the socalled State Labor Party—the Communists' organising group while the ban was in operation.

When the ban was lifted, prominent members of the Federation again renewed their open association with the Communist Party. Teacher speakers appeared on the Communist Party platform. Teachers marched in the May Day procession, and in the procession that celebrated the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, carrying banners of Moscow design.

Particular attention was given by Communist teachers to the youth auxiliary known, during the banned period, as the Australian Labor League of Youth, and later as the Eureka Youth League—a travesty of an Australian historic event that had no connection with Communism.

In 1943 occurred the Partridge Incident. Lecturing under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, Partridge had criticised the Soviet regime. The Communist Party immediately demanded that Partridge be dropped by the W.E.A. from its roster of lecturers. The W.E.A. refused to interfere with the freedom of its lecturers, pointing out that many pro-Soviet lectures had been delivered from its platform.

The Communist Party ordered an offensive against the W.E.A. By 92 votes to 73 the Sydney Trades and Labor Council cancelled its affiliation. Delegates from the Teachers' Federation supported the attack on freedom of thought and speech.

The Federation Council was asked to endorse the action of its Labor Council delegates. By 66 to 14, the Federation suspended its W.E.A. affiliation, thereby proving how Communist influence had penetrated into the inner circle of the Federation. Many teachers objected strenuously to the Council's action, and the original motion was later rescinded in an attempt to allay suspicion.

In November, 1944, the Communists inside the Federation became so audacious that they openly invited teachers to persuade their pupils to march in the Russia Day Procession to the Domain.

In July, 1945, the Eureka Youth League approached the Federation to provide monetary assistance towards sending two delegates to an International Youth Conference in London. A subscription list was opened by the Federation amongst teachers, and a youthful teacher was nominated as one of the delegates. The Federation voted £250 towards expenses, but the Public Service Board refused leave of absence so the plan fell through.

The Teachers' Federation affiliated with all the

principal Communist auxiliaries, including the Council of Culture.

In 1946, the Communist Party decided to launch a New Deal in Education Movement. The programme was prepared by the Communist Party. Arrangements were made for co-operation between the Federation and the Parents' and Citizens' Association.

The inaugural rally, held in the Assembly Hall, Sydney, in September, 1946, had all the leading Communists sitting cheek by jowl with the leaders of the Teachers' Federation.

Once in control of the Teachers' Federation, the Communist Party established a trades union machine, unique in conception and arrogant in action.

The Federation now controls the personal destiny of every teacher in the service. It has a direct say in all transfers and promotions. It has direct access to both the Education Department and the Minister, R. J. Heffron, who received the support of the Hughes-Evans Group when he broke away from the then Labor Party in Opposition in the New South Wales Parliament.

Many prominent teachers supported the Communist faction from sheer opportunism. They have no sympathy with Communism. But they do believe that it pays to go with the strength. There is a fixed belief current in the teaching service of New South Wales that teachers on the Communist ticket obtain speedy rewards.

What will be the eventual outcome of Communist control of such a key organisation as the Teachers' Federation? The first obligation of the teaching service is to train the children entrusted to their care to become good Australians. That is in conflict with the aims of the Communist Party.

If the education systems of Australia become contaminated with Communism, then Communism will have made major inroads into our social structure.

This then is the background leading up to the appointment of Samuel Phineas Lewis to represent the Commonwealth of Australia at the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference, held in Mexico City, in October-November, 1947.

The United Nations Educational and Scientific Organisation is one of the outcrop of subsidiaries that have followed the establishment of the United Nations.

U.N.E.S.C.O. provides a gathering-together of intellectuals of many grades and nationalities. Countries in the Soviet bloc are well represented. Scientists absorbed in the problems of atomic energy; communications, radar, microbes, all have their place. In the educational field, the scope is unlimited ranging from the problem of Censorship to to the latest ideas for the school-room. Leader of the Mexico City Conference was Professor Julian Huxley, himself a prominent Leftist for many years.

The responsibility was clearly on the Chifley Government to see that whoever represented Australia would present the viewpoint of the Australian people. When votes were taken, the delegates would be entrusted with a mandate from the Government. When speaking, they were speaking in the name of Australia.

The Government allowed the Australian Teachers' Federation to submit the name of a delegate. But the onus was still on the Government to satisfy itself that any delegate carrying Government credentials was acceptable to the majority of the Australian people as their representative.

Samuel Phineas Lewis was nominated by the Teachers' Federation. The Chifley Government accepted the nomination, and provided him with Commonwealth credentials.

At the time Lewis was not engaged in teaching

SAMUEL PHINEAS LEWIS

duties. He was on leave of absence from the New South Wales Education Department to act as fulltime President of the Federation, the members paying him his salary. He had been in that position since December, 1946. Lewis applied to the Education Department for Leave of Absence on Full Pay for six months. It was stated that he would proceed from Mexico City to Europe to investigate education abroad.

Other teachers desirous of going abroad to study educational developments, had actually been refused leave without pay. Lewis received leave with pay.

As the matter directed concerned the Commonwealth, I raised the matter in the Federal Parliament on October 23, 1947, with a question directed to the Prime Minister.

Mr. Chifley said that he had no knowledge of Lewis' political philosophy.

The next day, I pursued the matter further with the following questions to the Prime Minister:

MR. LANG: Further to my question yesterday regarding the appointment of Mr. S. P. Lewis as a representative of Australia to the Unesco Conference in Mexico City, will the Prime Minister inform the House whether he is aware that Lewis is a notorious Communist and holds an important position in the inner Communist organisation in Australia?

Is it a fact that Lewis has indicated that he proposes to visit France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Greece, in addition to Mexico, Canada, and the United Kingdom?

Have vouchers for his expenses been approved by the Department of External Affairs, and to what amount?

Has the Prime Minister considered all reports that have been received from the Commonwealth Investigation Service regarding Lewis' activities, and is it a fact that Lewis is going to headquarters of the Cominform in Europe, as a direct representative of the Communist Party of Australia?

Will the Prime Minister give an assurance to this Parliament that in view of the serious disclosures regarding Communist subversion, no Communists will be permitted to represent Australia at international gatherings?

Will the Government cancel Lewis' credentials and passport forthwith?

MR. CHIFLEY: The Minister for Postwar Reconstruction will answer the question.

MR. DEDMAN: The activities of Unesco in Australia come under my department. When the matter was raised in this House recently, I got in touch with the Director of Education, Professor Mills, and I have received from him the following telegram:

'Mr. Lewis was recommended for membership of the delegation by the Australian Teachers' Federation, which represents State school teachers of all States except Queensland, a membership of 21,000. Mr. Lewis is an officer of the New South Wales Department of Education. The Director-General of Education, New South Wales, informs me there is no information in the records of the Department as to what political views are held by Mr. Lewis, and there has never been any complaint raised to the Department that he has attempted to introduce any political views into his work within the Department.'

MR. DEDMAN continued:

The Government has no information whatever as to whether Mr. Lewis belongs to the Communist Party. The delegation was selected on the basis that there shall be a representative of the Teachers' Union, and the Union has approved of Mr. Lewis.

The Department of Education in New South Wales, will, I hope, agree to make him available for that purpose.

The Australian Government will bear the cost

SAMUEL PHINEAS LEWIS

of the delegation, which consists of five members, to the conference in Mexico City.

Whether Mr. Lewis will be able to visit other countries rests almost entirely with the Department of Education of New South Wales.

MR. LANG: But my question has not been answered.

MR. SPENDER: What about dollars for the trip?

MR. SPEAKER: On a number of occasions, I have pointed out that an honorable member may, subject to the Standing Orders, ask a question in any way he likes. In the same way, a Minister may reply in any way he likes, provided he conforms with the Standing Orders. He may even refuse to answer the question at all.

MR. CHIFLEY: Dollars are being provided for the journey as far as Mexico City only."

Still determined that the Government must face up to the issues I had raised in previous questions, on October 30, I addressed these further questions to the Prime Minister:

MR. LANG: Since I asked a question in the House last week, has the Prime Minister had an opportunity to examine the reports of the Commonwealth Investigation Service regarding S. P. Lewis, who is representing the Government at Unesco at Mexico City?

"Is he now aware that both Lewis and his wife are members of the Communist Party of Australia? Is he aware that Lewis stood as a State Labour Party candidate for the electorate of Barton in 1940, when the State Labour Party was the Communist Party's underground movement advocating peace with Hitler?

"Did the report disclose Lewis' intention to go to Europe to visit the Communist satellite countries and the Cominform headquarters at Belgrade, after attending the conference at Mexico City? "If so, for what purpose did he intend to visit those countries?

"Did it disclose his previous association with the Comintern through the International Educational Workers' League, a Comintern auxiliary?

"Is it not a fact that the Australian delegation to Unesco is entirely a Government delegation which was appointed for the purpose of defining Australian Government policy on important social, scientific and educational questions?

"Does the Prime Minister consider a member of the Communist Party a fit and proper person to define Australian policy on behalf of his Government?

"Will he cancel Lewis' credentials and give an assurance that no Communists will be appointed to future delegations to act as spokesmen for Australia?"

MR. CHIFLEY: In answer to the first part of the honorable member's question, I have not examined the files in the office of the Commonwealth Investigation Service relating to Mr. Lewis. That is a matter for the Minister acting for the Attorney-General.

As I indicated last week, I have no knowledge of Lewis' political philosophy.

I understand that he is an employee of the New South Wales Government and that he is also president of the Teachers' Federation in that State.

I do not know anything about the aspects of Mr. Lewis' history mentioned by the honorable member. I was unaware that he stood as a State Labour Party candidate for the electorate of Barton, or, for that matter, for any seat.

If the honorable member will place the last two portions of his question on the notice-paper, I shall furnish him with detailed replies.

On November 5, I again raised the matter with further questions to the Prime Minister:

MR. LANG: Will the Prime Minister say

whether the voucher for Mr. Lewis' expenses as Government delegate to the Unesco Conference at Mexico City was signed by Mr. Millwood, an officer of the Department of External Affairs?

Will the right honorable gentleman indicate the total amount of dollars and sterling which the Treasury has granted to Mr. Lewis?

Of that amount, how much will be paid by the Government? Will Mr. Lewis enjoy diplomatic privileges white he is abroad?

As Unesco is directly concerned with important scientific matters, will the Prime Minister issue an instruction that Mr. Lewis shall not be allowed to have access to Government files?

MR. CHIFLEY replied:

Mr. Lewis has been approved as a Delegate to the Unesco Conference, which will be held at Mexico City. The Minister for Postwar Reconstruction has already made it clear to members of the delegation that the only dollars which will be made available to them will be for the purpose of carrying out their work as delegates at Mexico City, and that dollars will not be available to enable them to travel in other parts of America.

The persons whose names the Minister for Postwar Reconstruction announced in a press statement have been approved as the delegates to the Unesco Conference, and the expenses of the delegation to Mexico City will be met by the Government.

Any further travel which the delegates may undertake will be a matter for other people, except where it involves providing dollars, and I have already dealt with that aspect."

Having failed to obtain unequivocal answers to my questions, I then decided it was necessary to test the sincerity of the Government on the Communist issue, and on November 7, moved the formal adjournment of the House to consider as a matter of urgent public importance:

The necessity for the cancellation of the creden-

tials and the revocation of the passport of Samuel Phineas Lewis to the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference at Mexico City.

On moving the motion, I said:

*MR. LANG: I submit this motion on the ground that Samuel Phineas Lewis is a notorious Communist. This Government is most unfortunate in its dealings with the Communists.

One Minister told the House recently that he could not see the difference between Communism and the teachings of Christianity.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Chifley) has appointed Communist leaders to important Government conferences.

On three occasions I asked specific questions of the Prime Minister regarding the appointment of Lewis as an Australian delegate of Unesco, and on each occasion I was given an evasive reply.

I then placed eight specific questions on the notice-paper. More than a week has elapsed, but I have not received a reply.

In the meantime, Lewis has been representing the Government, and, what is more important, Australia, in Mexico City.

There can be only two explanations for the Government's attitude; either it is ignorant of the identity of Communist traitors in the community, or it is sheltering them.

In 1939, the Communists proved themselves to be traitors to Australia, and in the event of another war they would prove even more dangerous.

It is of vital importance that the links with the Cominform, or as it should be called, the Comintern, should be broken; yet Lewis has been given a passport to go to Belgrade, the headquarters of the Comintern.

If the Government is unaware that Lewis is one of the key members of the Communist Party in

* Hansard, November 7th, 1947, Page 1852.

this country, then the Commonwealth Investigation Service must be completely ineffective.

If it is true that it does not list a man as a Communist unless he announces himself to be a member of the Communist Party, then the Commonwealth Investigation Service is a joke.

If the Prime Minister is still unaware of Lewis' real background, I propose now to disclose a few facts concerning his activities in the Communist Party.

Samuel Phineas Lewis was born in Sydney on the 15th June, 1901. He joined the Education Department of New South Wales, in 1920, and first became associated with the Communist Party in 1932.

During that year he attended a Communist "Study Group" at Coogee, and became secretary of the Coogee Branch of the Communist Party.

Shortly afterwards he was appointed secretary of the Educational Workers' League, which was composed of teachers, and later secured the affiliation of that body with the Communist Internationale through a subsidiary body of the Communist Internationale in Paris.

In February, 1933, Lewis represented South Sydney at a district plenum of the Communist Party. He was selected as organiser for the "militant minority group" in the Teachers' Federation, and was closely associated with Wright, Sharkey, and other well-known Communist leaders, whose headquarters were then at No. 395 Sussex Street, Sydney.

He again attended the District Plenum of the Communist Party in December, 1934, and reported on his activities among the school teachers in New South Wales. At that time the Stevens' Government began to make inquiries about Lewis, and so at the No. 1 district conference of the Communist Party, held on the 29th November, 1935, Lewis turned up under the assumed name of Samuel Curtis.

He has gone by that name inside the Communist movement ever since.

Meanwhile, Lewis was extending his grip on the Teachers' Federation, and succeeded in ousting the moderate secretary of that body, Mr. W. J. Hendry, in favour of one of his close associates named Norington.

In 1936, Lewis and Dixon, whose real name is Walker, and who was a porter at the Lithgow Railway Station in the Prime Minister's electorate, moved at the No. 1 District Conference of the Communist Party, that all Communists should link up with the Parents and Citizens' Association for the purpose of capturing that organisation.

That move succeeded, and at the 1937 Communist conference, Lewis congratulated women members of the Communist Party on their victory.

Still under the name of Curtis, Lewis was elected to the District Committee of the New South Wales Communist Party at the State Conference held at the Buffalo Hall, Regent Street, Sydney, on the 16th July, 1938.

That is the body that controls the Communist Party in each State in which it exists.

In 1939, Lewis, alias Curtis, conducted study classes for the Communist Party at its headquarters.

He reported that the Communist Party was making rapid headway among school teachers in New South Wales.

Two other prominent members of the Communist Party Executive of his organisation were Mrs. Hetty Ross, or Hetty Weitzel, and William Gollan, who is now a member of the Communist Party Executive.

Lewis also acted on the editorial committee of the "Tribune," the Communist official organ.

When the Communist Party was banned by the Menzies' Government, Lewis was among those

66

1

selected to join the Heffron State Labour Party. Other Communists were Edgar Ross, Rupert Lockwood, W. A. Wood, J. R. Hughes, of the Clerks' Union, and H. B. Chandler, from the electorate of the present Prime Minister.

The Communists captured the Official State Labour Party conference and carried the notorious "Hands Off Russia" resolution.

Then the leading Communists were expelled, and Lewis joined the Communist State Labour Party.

He was a candidate for Barton, and later for Randwick, in the State elections.

In July, 1940, he married Ethel Nelson Teerman, a school teacher and fellow member of the Communist Party who came from the Cessnock district.

She had helped to organise the Australian Labour League of Youth, formerly known as the Young Communist League. Later, it became the Eureka Youth Movement, and Mrs. Lewis remained one of its chief organisers.

Lewis also took part in the Legal Rights Committee and the Communist moves for peace with Hitler. He linked up with Ernest Thornton, and other Communist trade union leaders in that campaign.

When the Communist Party emerged into the open again after the ban was lifted, Lewis attended the celebrations in the Sydney Town Hall, on the 29th January, 1943.

He was elected as a delegate to attend the State Conference of the Communist Party in the following March.

He has attended all Communist conferences since then.

Meanwhile, he was elected Deputy President of the Teachers' Federation, and became the real power in that body. When challenged with being a member of the Communist Party, he evaded the question. Finally, the Communists, through their cell movement, captured the organisation completely.

Lewis became President of the New South Wales Teachers' Federation, and conducted its affairs according to instructions issued by his superiors at Marx Hall.

At the Australian Council of Trades Unions conferences, he has followed the Thornton line. He has been one of the directors of the People's Council of Culture and other Communist organisations.

To-day, Lewis is one of the key figures in the Communist hierarchy. Those are only a few of the facts; but they should help the governments of other countries which desire to know the kind of person who is travelling within their borders.

If the Australian Government allows Mr. Lewis to remain abroad, it must accept responsibility for everything that he does.

MR. CHIFLEY (Macquarie—Prime Minister and Treasurer): The member for Reid has recited a number of matters regarding the history of Mr. Lewis which, apparently, have come to his notice. I am sure that the member for Wentworth (Mr. Harrison) will be green with envy that the honorable member for Reid has been engaged in some witch-hunting of which he has had no knowledge.

MR. HARRISON: Why bring me into the discussion? If the right honorable gentleman wants me to speak to the motion I shall be happy to do so.

MR. CHIFLEY: The fact is that Lewis was a member of the New South Wales Education Department when the honorable member for Reid was Premier of that State. I notice that the honorable member quoted a particular month in 1932.

I do not remember the exact date, but it is a curious thing that that is the same year in which the honorable member for Reid lost the Premiership of New South Wales, Mr. Lewis' association with the Education Department in New South Wales, and perhaps his preliminary training, if not his active association, with the Communist Party—whatever it may have been called in those days—goes back to the time when the honorable member for Reid was Premier.

I had not heard anything about Mr. Lewis until he was mentioned in this House by the honorable member for Reid. I accept in general terms what the honorable member has said about Mr. Lewis that he has given a fair recital of the position.

I do so, because I hope he has not introduced into this House under privilege an absolute libel of anybody associated with the delegation.

MR. LANG: I would not do that.

MR. CHIFLEY: Therefore, I assume that what the honorable member has said is correct, and, apparently, he claims to have verified it. The position regarding Mr. Lewis, as I know it, is that he was appointed delegate to attend a meeting of Unesco in Mexico City.

Australia's representation at this meeting was discussed at a conference of Commonwealth Governments, and suggestions were made by the National Co-operating and Advisory Committee, which includes representatives of education departments, radio, films, libraries, museums, music, social science, and literature.

The conference reached the conclusion that a limit should be placed upon the number of delegates to represent Australia at the conference in Mexico. Various organisations, many of them were cultural, nominated representatives. The Teachers' Federation, by a vote of executives in all the States, selected Mr. Lewis as its representative.

It then became the task of the National Cooperating Advisory Committee to make a choice of delegates from all the nominations submitted.

Thus, not only was Mr. Lewis nominated by the Teachers' Federation, but later he was chosen by the National Co-operating Advisory Committee as one of the delegates to attend the conference. The fares and expenses of all the Australian delegates to the conference are being paid by the Commonwealth as far as Mexico City and back.

As for any other travelling which they may do in America, in Great Britain, or in Europe, that must be paid for by somebody else.

In the case of Mr. Lewis, it would be paid, no doubt, by the Teachers' Federation, or by the Government of New South Wales.

I have not been in communication with them, and so do not know what they propose to do in the matter.

The honorable member for Reid has suggested that Mr. Lewis is a member of the Communist Party under another name.

That is not an uncommon thing. It is done, not only in political circles, but also in racing circles. Men decide for some reason not to use their own names. I am offering no criticism or comment on that.

MR. BLAIN: Why not bring General Galleghan (Director of Security in New South Wales) here, and be done with it? He could give some information on the point.

MR. CHIFLEY: I have a great respect for the courage and the valour of the honorable member for the Northern Territory, but I have very little respect for some of the remarks which he makes in this House. His present suggestion is positively silly.

The policy to be followed by Australian delegates at the conference in Mexico City will not be determined by Mr. Lewis, or any other delegate from this country. An indication is given to the delegates of the views of the Government on the various items to be discussed by the conference. The Australian delegation includes a number of other distinguished and cultured persons. I do not think that there is anything more I can add for the information of the House.

The charge is that Mr. Lewis is a Communist, or has Communist sympathies.

MR. RANKIN: That he is a traitor.

MR. CHIFLEY: That is the statement of the honorable member for Bendigo, but I do not think that the honorable member for Reid said that. He did say that Mr. Lewis was an active Communist and, of course, Communism in Australia is a philosophy which it is legal to profess.

MR. RANKIN: Unfortunately.

MR. CHIFLEY: The Opposition ought to make up its mind on this point, because members of the Australian Country Party say one thing, and members of the Liberal Party say something else. The Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Menzies), who speaks for the Opposition, has never advocated the placing of a legal ban on Communism.

MR. ANTHONY: He advocated the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into Communism.

MR. CHIFLEY: I did not suggest that the attitude of the Leader of the Opposition on this issue betokens any sympathy with Communism, but, apparently, he believes that it is better to have the Communists out in the open than to have them underground. However, the leaders of the Opposition Parties ought to get together, and decide to say the same thing about Communism. There should be some unanimity among them as to whether Communism ought to be banned, or permitted to exist.

MR. HARRISON: We all know where the Prime Minister's party stands.

MR. CHIFLEY: I think my record in the public life of this country will compare quite favorably with that of the honorable member for Wentworth in the matter of honesty and political integrity. It is very easy to make slanderous statements. To my own satisfaction, I could say some very hard things about the honorable member for Reid.

MR. LANG: The right honorable gentleman can say them; he is entitled to say them.

MR. CHIFLEY: I am merely mentioning in passing that what my views might be about the honorable member for Reid have nothing to do with the point at issue. I repeat that Mr. Lewis was elected by the Teachers' Federation of Australia as its representative, and that he was also recommended—it was a double-barrel recommendation to the Government—by the co-ordinating committee of the national co-operating bodies, which are not composed of public servants but are representatives of all interests involved.

That fully explains why that recommendation was endorsed and why Mr. Lewis has gone to Mexico City to attend this conference. He was not selected by the Government, but by the bodies I have mentioned.

Motion (by Mr. Chifley) put: That the question be now put.

The House divided.

Ayes Noes	· · · ·		35 20
Majori	ty	 	15

The Prime Minister himself gagged the debate after first speaking—a most unusual action. His only argument was that Communism is a philosophy that is legal to profess.

But that does not require the Government to blind itself to the machinations of the Communist Party. It does not mean that the Government should place Communists in key positions and appoint them as its spokesmen abroad. Chifley's attitude in this case is typical of his Government's attitude every time the question of Communism is raised. So Lewis went to Mexico City as the representative of the Chifley Government, with dollars provided by that Government. From Mexico City, he went to Europe on a passport supplied by the same Government, and on leave with pay extended by the State Government.

While the Prime Minister's replies to my questions were neither very relevant or illuminating, I have quoted them verbatim as a revelation of the attitude adopted by the Government when confronted with a specific motion involving any phase of the Communist problem. It is the larger question of the measure of success achieved by the Communist in establishing a bridge-head inside our education system that gives me, and I am sure, the majority of Australians, the gravest concern.

Chapter 5.

THE THOMAS CASE.

W HAT happens when the Communists control a trades union? The dictatorship is rigid and complete. Opposition to the new bosses is suppressed ruthlessly. There is a highly organised system of co-ordination between the Communist-controlled unions. They work to a common policy under common direction. No Communist bureaucrat dares step out of line. If he does, he is out. That was demonstrated in the case of Wells, President of the Miners' Federation.

Wells was at the pinnacle of Communist industrial power. He was the boss of the coal industry. The Communist organ defended him with fanatical zeal against all attacks. Then, in a day, he was out, and Idriess Williams in his place. Wells was no longer a member of the organisation. But Communist control over coal hadn't relaxed for a moment during the transition.

Now we turn to what happens when a trades

unionist decides to resist the Communist bosses of his union.

The case is that of Frank Thomas, ableseaman, with a vigorous Australian outlook and no inclination to dodge his responsibilities. He had been at sea for 20 years. During the war he had served in the merchant service, discussed conditions with his fellow-seamen and thought the time had arrived for improved conditions.

The Seamen's Union has always been a militant body. In the days of Walsh and Johnson there had been many major industrial struggles.

Just before the war, the Communists captured control, and E. V. Elliott became the new national secretary. During the war, the Curtin Government appointed him as a member of the Maritime Industry Commission, a position he still holds under the Chifley Government.

Elliott made no attempt to conceal his Communist affiliations. Thomas, on the other hand, had pronounced anti-Communist convictions.

Thomas decided that it was time some one contested the ballot against Elliott, so in November, 1947, announced himself as a candidate. He issued only one pamphlet dealing with the conditions in the industry.

Elliott polled approximately 1,500 votes and Thomas 500, or just about a third of the membership. That also was in line with usual union experience.

But the Communists were incensed that any member should dare challenge their union boss. So at the December, 1947, stop-work meeting of the union, Thomas was tried in his absence.

Communist speakers called him a "wrecker," a "Trotskyite," and accused him of fraud without specifying any details. Just a vague blanket charge. The attacks were all taken straight from the Communist Industrial text-book, without any variation. The meeting was small, and the fact that Thomas was at sea at the time made no difference.

By resolution he was suspended from membership of the Union, without being given the opportunity to defend himself. Later the official union organ stated that he had been expelled from the union, although that was not the resolution carried. The same vague charges were repeated.

When his ship tied up at the wharf on his return to Sydney, a representative of the union was there waiting for it. He went on board and interviewed the mate. He informed him that Thomas was no longer a member of the union, and under the conditions of the award, could no longer be employed by the company.

The mate had no alternative but to hand Thomas his notice. Otherwise the vessel would have been tied up by the union. So Thomas had to be sacked on the spot.

That meant that he couldn't obtain employment at sea. He was barred from every vessel on the Australia coast.

It meant that he had no union O.K. ticket to go to another job. The Communists could hound him from job to job as one who had been expelled by his union. He would be an industrial pariah. His only offence had been that he had contested a position against an avowed Communist.

But the Communists decided to make an example of Thomas. For seven months he was unemployed. He had no union credentials. No hope of getting a job in the industry.

But Thomas didn't take it lying down. He decided to fight.

Immediately he was informed of the position he went straight to the union office for a show-down. He was there asked to submit a copy of his circular in his own hand-writing. He flatly refused, saying that he had signed it and that was all there was to it. His supporters in the union, other seamen on the Australian coast, rallied to his help.

All attempts to obtain redress through the proper industrial machinery failed. Newspapers were not interested in the affair of an ordinary seaman.

Thomas interviewed me at the Commonwealth Offices in Sydney. He was frank and open about his position. He told me that he knew when he started the risk of challenging the Communists, and events had proved him to be right. Still, he thought that every Australian had the right to his own opinion, and a say in the affairs of his union. He was paying dearly for that belief, but was still convinced that Democracy meant something to Australians. I agreed to ventilate his case in the Federal Parliament.

On April 29, 1948, I addressed the following questions to the Attorney-General, Dr. H. V. Evatt:

"Will the Attorney-General institute inquiries into the recent ballot of the Seamen's Union, in order to ascertain:

- (a) Whether the ballot for the position of general secretary was conducted in accordance with the rules of the union?
- (b) Whether Frank Thomas, a member of the union for twenty years, who opposed E. V. Elliott for the position of general secretary, was subsequently suspended, after a 'Moscow' trial, at which no charges were preferred?
- (c) Whether Thomas was subsequently notified, through the union's official organ, that he had been expelled, without charges being preferred?
- (d) Whether Thomas has since been deprived of his livelihood as a seaman, and refused a clearance to another union, so that he has become unemployed? and
- (e) Whether the Communist controllers of the union have embarked on a systematic campaign of victimisation, and intimidation against

Thomas, in order to prevent any challenge to Elliott's dictatorship in the union?

"If these charges are sustained, will the Attorney-General do what is necessary to ensure democratic rights to members of the union?

"Will he review Elliott's position as a member of a government board controlling the maritime industry?"

Dr. Evatt, in reply, said:

"If there have been irregularities or improprieties in the election of office bearers of the Seamen's Union, at least two remedies are available to those who complain. The first is provided in the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act, which enables a member who is aggrieved to take the matter before the Arbitration Court, and if his allegations are proved, an appropriate order can be made.

"The second remedy is for the aggrieved member to take action in the ordinary courts of the land.

"I do not think, therefore, that this is a matter for inquiry by the Government, but rather one to be dealt with by application to the available tribunals."

A very chilling reply from one who had fought on behalf of Walsh and Johnson; from a leading defender of the Four Freedoms; and an upholder of the Arbitration system.

If this country condones what happened in the Thomas case, then no arbitration system could survive.

Still, the results of the challenge in Parliament were almost immediate. The Seamen's Union decided to review the Thomas case.

The heat was on the Communist Party, and it was in no mood for further public exposure of its methods.

At the July, 1948, stop-work meeting. Thomas was re-admitted to his union by 300 to 7. The Communists did not oppose the re-admission. This case-history is one that should be studied carefully by everyone interested in the Communist power in trade unions. If Thomas had failed to fight back, he would have been out of the industry for all time. The Chifley Government failed him. Its attitude covered-up for the Communists. Thomas never got anything out of the fight he waged, but other trades unionists did. The Communists will be more careful in future.

Chapter 6. ORANGE HOLD-UP

B EHIND the Emmco Hold-up at the recently converted munitions plant at Orange, that threatened to deprive 1,200 workers of their chance of continuous employment in a country industrial plant, was the story of the latest Communist industrial political strategy ordered by the Marx House bosses.

Just as Marx House is directly involved in the Malayan terrorist campaign in order to establish a bridge-head for Russia in South-east Asia, so are the Communists now out to cripple Australian defences, in the same cause.

Decentralisation of munition production during the war was a key move in the Pacific war. It enabled production to be stepped up to a new high level. Workers were trained in the country factories and achieved remarkable standards of efficiency. Australia not only provided for the needs of its own forces, but made substantial contributions to the needs of American forces and the British Navy.

The Communist General Staff realises that it is much easier to transfer a going concern to a wartime footing than a plant that has been closed down.

Workers engaged in metal manufacture for domestic use can very quickly be changed over to the production of defence needs. By closing a plant down, the Communists believe they can achieve two objectives. The plant itself will become useless from neglect. Secondly, the skilled workers will disperse, and it will be difficult to assemble them again.

That is why Marx House ordered its blitz on Orange. It was the first on the list. For obvious reasons, it took precedence over plants that had been converted into dress and shoe factories.

While Emmco would be turning out refrigerators, stoves, and other domestic appliances, the workers would be acquiring skill in the use of machine tools and industrial processes. So, if the Orange factory was working satisfactorily, transition to war production would be achieved smoothly.

Marx House dreams of the day when Communist forces will dominate South-east Asia—when the teeming millions of Indonesia, Malaya, Siam, and China, and their Communist-led armies, will move down in support of Australian Communists. So it has set out to cripple possible Australian defence industries immediately.

The Marx House gang had a secondary objective. Russia and its satellites need Australian wool to clothe their troops in readiness for war. Last year, Russia bought more wool than any other foreign country. In order to continue these purchases, it plans to create credits in this country by establishing markets for manufactures from Czecho-Slovakia. High up on the list are stoves, baths, tiles, and electrical goods. That was another reason why production had to be halted at Orange. If Australian production stops, imports will rise. That will help Russia.

By sterilising Australian manufacturing industries, they hope to capture markets for the satellite countries. In exchange, Russia would get the wool it needs so urgently for the war it regards as inevitable.

That is the story behind the Communist drive into Orange. Everything was arranged like a military campaign. The Orange factory was saturated with Communist propaganda. First one issue was raised and then another. The local industrial machinery was taken over, and the local Leftists found themselves taking orders instead of giving them.

Leading Communists rushed up from Sydney, There was a stand-over atmosphere. The locals just couldn't get to the bottom of the organisation. At the same time, anyone criticising the set-up was pounced on immediately by the Communists. It was just a case of a close-down, whatever the reason. So the Arbitration Court finding was rejected in favour of Communist job control.

If the works had been forced to close down it would have meant the loss of almost $\pounds450,000$ a year in wages for Orange. The factory provided employment for just on a quarter of the employees in the town.

But Marx House was not worried about that. Its plan was to smash country industries, especially those capable of assisting in Australia's defences. They believed that if the plant were forced to close down, it would not reopen. That would be acclaimed as a great victory in Marx House. But not in Orange.

The workers could see good, permanent jobs disappearing. They knew the Communist agents were responsible. The Communists thought their organisation was sufficiently strong to suppress unorganised opposition. The Orange workers were being industrially massacred to assist Stalin's foreign policy. They had to make up their minds whether they were going to tolerate indefinitely the imported Communist, union bureaucrats, or whether they were going to put their own and Australian interests first.

Communist policy is against decentralisation of industry, so they are out to wreck country factories.

The Communists aim at centralisation in their drive to capture power.

The plan is to capture trades unions in the larger country towns. Successes were achieved in the Building Workers' Industrial Union group. The Labor Councils at Wagga, Albury, Grafton and Lismore were given priority next to industrial centres like Lithgow and Wollongong. Least success was achieved in Broken Hill. There was soon a revolt against them at Wagga.

Then came Orange. The fight lasted two months. But as soon as the Communist plan was unmasked, the local workers acted as any body of Australian workers would. A meeting unanimously demanded that the strike be terminated. The Communists were howled down. The Communists capitulated and the men went back to work. It proved that Australian workers will not stand for foreign sabotage. The leadership against Communism came from the rank and file.

CHAPTER 7

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES.

COMMUNISM has paid very handsomely for those fortunate few who have captured key union positions. From the time that the Communist leader of the Waterside Workers' Federation, Healy, was publicly described by a Labor Prime Minister as "My friend, Jim Healy," they have been going places—at the taxpayers' expense.

Thornton of the Ironworkers' has been repeatedly abroad, both at Government expense as well as trade union. These international gatherings had provided him with the opportunity of consulting other Communist union leaders. Lewis went as delegate to U.N.E.S.C.O. Scanlan, of the Northern Miners, went to an I.L.O. Conference on coal at Geneva—all with first-class fares and expenses met by the Government. In addition, Communist union officials have occupied positions on many government boards created during the war. There they acquired a detailed knowledge of Government administration. Secret memoranda on supplies and movement of supplies prepared by Government executives were at their disposal. Facts kept from the public were an open book to them.

If the Communist Party decided to hold up Australian transport to precipitate a crisis during a period of war it has men with experience right on the inside.

The Communist official organ has openly disclosed that the purpose of the ban of Dutch shipping was military in character. It was intended to prevent the arrival of Dutch forces in Indonesia. That is definite intervention.

The decision to apply the ban came from the Communist-controlled Waterside Workers' Federation. The Communist Secretary of that organisation was actually sitting as a member of the Commonwealth Stevedoring Commission when the ban was imposed. Thus he had access to a complete picture of all shipping on the Australian coast. Another official of his union, E. Roach, proceeded to Indonesia as a consultant for the native Republicans, and a passport was issued without question.

While the Australian Government was telling the world that it was keeping aloof from all intrusion into such struggles between rival groups inside other countries, Communist trade union officials were intervening in the affairs of Indonesia, Greece, Malaya, and India.

In addition, the Communists were drawing fat fees and allowances from the Chifley Government, while their pay from their union still went on.

For them it was never a case of "one job, one pay." They grabbed both fees and travelling allowances in addition to their trade union salaries.

On April 15, 1948, I asked the Prime Minister

to furnish me with information regarding the positions held on Government Boards, Commissions, or Committees by J. Healy, E. V. Elliott, and Idriess Williams, with a statement of fees and allowances as well as amounts received by Thornton for trips abroad.

On June 8, 1948, I received a reply from Prime Minister Chifley, giving all the details. It is to be found on page 1775 of "Hansard," of that date.

J. Healy

J. Healy, general secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation was shown to be a member of the Commonwealth Stevedoring Commission, and a member of the Commonwealth Handling Equipment Pool dealing with mechanical handling on the wharves.

Healy is paid 30/- a day sitting fee and 30/a day travelling allowance when away from home.

So, if the Stevedoring Commission sits for an hour, Healy draws 30/-. While he is there his ordinary union salary goes on. If he goes away from home, he can both attend to union business and draw Government travelling allowance as well, so long as there is a meeting of the Commission.

If the Commission has a six day meeting in Melbourne, Healy draws $\pounds 18$ as well as having his fares paid by plane or train.

Payments made by the Government to Healy for his attendance at meetings of the Stevedoring Commission—work that is essentially trade union work and that should come within the ordinary ambit of his secretarial duties—up to May, 1948, amounted to $\pounds 621/10/-$ for "sitting fees" and $\pounds 438/17/8$ as travelling expenses—a total of $\pounds 1.060/7/8$.

In addition, Healy is paid at the rate of $\frac{\pounds 2}{2}$, a day as a member of the Commonwealth Handling Equipment Pool, and has drawn $\frac{\pounds 60}{19}$ - or a total from Government funds sanctioned by the Chifley Government of £1,121.

E. V. Elliott

Another Communist activist is E. V. Elliott, general secretary of the Seamen's Union, who is a member of the Maritime Industry Commission established under the National Security Regulations. That body controlled the movement of shipping during the war.

In the event of another war, the attitude of the Chifley Government would no doubt be the same. Elliott is the nominee of the Seamen's Union, so automatically moves into a position of control, with the benign approval of the Chifley Government.

Elliott also received generous payment from Government funds, while he was acting in a dual capacity.

He also received 30/-a day for "sitting fees," and 30/-a day extra when away from home overnigh.

He has collected £333/10/- while sitting on the Commission, and £209/10/8 for travelling expenses —a total of £543/0/8 from Consolidated Revenue, in addition to his union salary and allowances. Elliott, like Healy, is a key member of the Communist Party.

Idriess Williams

Idriess Williams, successor of Harold Wells, as General President of the Miners' Federation, a full-time paid position, was not a member of any Board, said Chifley in his reply, but was a member of the Board of Inquiry into the Coal Mining Industry.

Williams occupied that position before becoming President of the Federation for a period of a year—January, 1945, to January, 1946.

He received a fee of $\pm 5/5/$ - a day for each day of sitting and $\pm 2/2/$ - a day when absent from Wonthaggi on business connected with the Board. So, in all, Williams collected £1,183/19/8 from the Government for just one year. During that period he was an officer of the Miners' Federation with headquarters at Wonthaggi, and general Vice-President of the Federation. He was number 2 on the Communist Ticket in the Federation.

When Williams became President of the Miners' Federation, he quickly obtained a new home in Sydney, the Miners' Federation advancing him a loan of £300 from union funds. The home was a new one built by the Housing Commission of New South-Wales, for the McGirr Government.

Next he wanted a telephone. That also was provided by the Chifley Government immediately. Thousands of returned men had been waiting ever since the end of the war for a telephone. Williams obtained his without delay. He was given a line previously reserved for the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Priorities are easy when Communist union officials make the application. The Chifley Government co-operates all the way down the line. The excuse given was that it would help to maintain peace in the coal-mining industry.

Thornton

Prime Minister Chifley also furnished me with details of Government expenditure in connection with Thornton's trip abroad under Government sponsorship. It is only one of several trips abroad by Thornton. Others have been paid for from trade union funds—by the A.C.T.U. One as an alternative delegate to the World's Federation of Trades Unions was the responsibility of neither the Government nor the A.C.T.U.

Thornton went as the nominee of the Commonwealth Government to the Conference of the World Council of Trades Unions, scheduled to meet in London originally in June, 1944, according to Chifley's written reply.

Thornton travelled as far as the United States

by sea, but on arrival there found that the conference had been cancelled. The Government paid all expenses for travel to and from America, and his expenses there—in all— $\pounds 323$. On his return he brought back with him the latest Browder doctrine being expounded by the then Communist leader in America.

The World Council later held its conference in London, in February, 1945, and Thornton again went as representative of the Australian Government. The bill amounted to $\pounds 210/7/6$. For all other gatherings he received passports and credentials from the Chifley Government.

Marx House

Another classic example of Government assistance for the Communist Party was the assistance rendered by the Government to place the Communist Party on its feet after the ban was lifted in 1942.

First, the Communists proceeded to purchase a newspaper plant for themselves. They bought the "Newsletter," a racing newspaper, complete with plant, for approximately £20,000.

Whether they received compensation for plant seized by the order of the Menzies Government when the ban was imposed has never been disclosed. But the newly resurrected group had no difficulty over finance. The transaction was handled by one of the most conservative British-owned banks.

Although "Century" had been refused permission to exceed its newsprint quota and actually had to go out of circulation for a fortnight after it had exhausted its allotment one quarter, the Government waived all newsprint regulations to grant the Communists a special quota of newsprint for "Tribune." The Government-controlled Newsprint Pool was ordered to make supplies available to the Communist Party.

In addition, newsprint was provided for a re-

sumption of other printing—pamphlets, books, posters and other propaganda needs.

Within a short period, other licenses were granted, enabling the Communists to have their official organ in all capitals.

Then came the purchase of Marx House, in George Street, Sydney. The deal was approved by the Treasury, presided over by Mr. Chifley. Details of any capital issue or loan to handle this big property deal were never divulged.

As soon as the Communists obtained possession, they immediately started on a re-building programme.

At that time, established businesses were unable to get permits for essential repairs or alterations.

But the Communists were permitted to embark upon a big reconstruction programme. A new shopfront was built to provide show-cases for the current Communist literature on sale inside. Paint was used lavishly, although in short supply, with ordinary users restricted to a paltry £50 a year.

Offices for the Communist hierarchy were built, and tradesmen diverted from war jobs. Materials in short supply, including timber, were readily available to the Communists, and in short order the Communists had the most lavish premises of any political organisation in the Commonwealth—all achieved while the war was still in progress, with the assistance of the various Government Departments.

In reply to questions asked by the member for Moreton, Mr. Francis, the Minister for Information, Mr. Calwell, on June 4, 1947, supplied the following particulars regarding telephone lines installed in Marx House:

Question: How many telephones are installed in Marx House, Sydney?

Answer: Twelve exchange lines and twenty extension lines.

COMMUNISM IS TREASON

Question: What was the date of installation of each telephone? Answer: Exchange Lines: Six lines prior to 1943. 24th May, 1943. 22nd September, 1943. 20th December, 1943. 5th July, 1944. 17th July, 1944. 16th October, 1944. Extension Lines: Nine prior to 1943. 25th May, 1943 (one line). 21st September, 1943 (four lines). 13th March, 1943 (one line). 4th September, 1945 (three lines). 26th February, 1946 (two lines). Question: Do the telephones at Marx House include any silent lines; if so, how many? Answer: One silent line, in addition to two lines which are reserved for outward calls only and are not listed in the telephone directory for inward calls.

So, when the Communists took over Marx House, they were not only given the same number of telephone lines as had been connected in the premises previously, but also additional new lines as well.

How far the Chifley Government would go in its efforts to please the Communist Party is a matter of conjecture. All the facts I have cited are on record in "Hansard."

There is one inescapable conclusion. The Chifley Government has not only condoned Communism, it has aided and abetted it.

CHAPTER 8

CHALLENGE TO CHIFLEY

THE Communist problem in Australia can no longer be dismissed as a question of controver-

sial politics. It has become a matter of national security. Communism is not an abstract political ideology, embraced by starry-eyed idealists.

To-day it is a military code of warfare. It has a general staff in Australia. It is training young Australians to be traitors. It employs a gang of unscrupulous mercenaries. It has unlimited financial resources.

Communism is stirring up hatred against the English-speaking peoples in the Pacific. It is prepared to cut off our lines of communication with Britain. If its plans succeed in Malaya and India, our air communications will be severed. Australia will be isolated. Communism menaces our position in the Pacific.

The Chifley Government is fully aware of what has occurred in other countries. It knows the record in Canada. It knows what happened to Masaryk and other Democrats in Europe. It has followed the attempt to use the general strike weapon in both France and Italy as the prelude of civil war and the establishment of Communist dictatorships.

Above all, it knows that Communism is a treasonable doctrine. It has become an urgent problem of national defence. While I refuse to believe that war with Russia is inevitable and cannot be averted by statesman-like handling, realism compels me to consider what would happen in Australia if the Third World War does occur.

The Communist Programme for the overthrow of Democratic Government provides:

"Mass action includes strikes, a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations, and finally the General Strike conjointly with armed action against the State bourgoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to the rules of war. It presupposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting and undoubted devotion, and heroism on the part of the proletariat."

That is the objective towards which Marx House is aiming and for which it is planning. If there is war with Russia, the zero hour will be advanced. What almost occurred in Italy, in July, 1948, could happen in Australia.

The Communists have their flying columns. They have organised transport and recently had a trial demonstration when they had a mass Prices deputation to Canberra. They have paid particular attention to the armed services. They have even infiltrated the returned soldiers' organisations, capturing two metropolitan councils of the R.S.L. in New South Wales, before that body imposed a ban on Communists.

The attitude of the Chifley Government as defined by its leading members is as follows:

- 1. Prime Minister Chifley himself says that Communism is just another political philosophy and he sees no reason to interfere with a recognised political party.
- 2. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Dr. H. V. Evatt, says that there is no law against Communism in Australia, therefore it is perfectly lawful to be a Communist. He is against driving Communism underground.
- 3. Minister for Labor and Industry Holloway, who ranks third in the Government, said in the House that Communism is Christ-like in its ideals.
- 4. Minister for Information and Immigration Calwell told the Victorian A.L.P. Conference that those who opposed the Communists were suffering from a phobia.

In April, 1948, a vote of censure was moved against the Chifley Government arising from the Queensland Railway strike and the failure of the Government to deal with the Communists who were alleged to be giving their machinery a trial run.

In their replies, the spokesmen for the Chifley Government defended the right of the Communists for freedom of action and trotted out the hackneyed alibis.

Those alibis and the obvious replies to them were as follows:

- 1. Minority Rights: As a minority the Communists are entitled to be heard. But minorities are not allowed in Russia. If the Communists succeed in Australia, no majority or minority parties opposed to Communism would be allowed.
- 2. Communism is only an 'ism, to be tolerated like Socialism and Liberalism. That ignores the reality that Communism is founded on physical violence and treason. It means loyalty to a foreign power and betrayal of Australia.
- 3. Suppression would drive it underground. That is either a confession of futility or ignorance. Communism depends principally on dupes or fellow-travellers, who are not necessarily disloyal. Once it becomes illegal, it loses that support. It retains only those prepared to defy the law of the land.
- 4. Prime Minister Chifley's sentimental approach is that you must not persecute anyone. Only for the 1917 strike, he would not have become Prime Minister. That same argument could be applied to everyone who breaks the law. It would apply to murderers, thieves, as well as traitors. The gaols would be empty. Accept that argument and you stand aside while the Communists employ the same methods as they employed in Russia. Kerensky was weak, while Lenin and Trotsky were ruthless. Kerensky attempted appeasement. The Communists didn't.

5. Communism is founded on the doctrines of Christianity, and the brotherhood of man. That is a gross perversion. It ignores the history of the Communism dictatorship—the murder of Trotsky, Masaryk, and the millions of Kulaks liquidated by order of the Politbureau. The Devil can quote Holy Writ, but the facts remain.
6. The Government believes in freedom of speech and the Communists are entitled to express their views.

That is the strangest defence of all. While the Government is prepared to defend the right of the Communists to expound treasonable doctrine, the same Government goes to extreme lengths to prevent an elected member of Parliament from exposing the Communists and advancing a plan of action against them. I have been gagged consistently when attempting to expose the Communist traitors.

The Prime Minister, replying to the censure debate, said that the Opposition would not accept responsibility for proposing any definite plan of action.

Yet while the debate was in progress, I had circulated copies of an amendment I proposed to move providing for very definite Governmental action.

Before I was permitted to speak, the Government resorted to the gag, thereby preventing any discussion and the actual moving of the amendment.

I then placed the motion on the Notice Paper for the next Private Members' Day—the third Thursday on the month, when such are supposed to have precedence. On the day prior to that, the Prime Minister moved the suspension of Standing Orders to enable Government business to have precedence. At the time, the House had no urgent measures before it. But I was again gagged. The Government took that action whenever the motion was scheduled to be discussed, to see that it was shelved, without any opportunity given for it to be presented to Parliament. That is a Government that gives lip service to freedom of discussion. Freedom of speech is in order for the Communists, but not for me.

There is only one reason for the Government's strange actions. It is afraid to stand up to Communism. A Government that briefs Communists to act as its spokesmen at important international gatherings must be heavily indebted to the Communists indeed.

The session ended with the Government still using the gag against the motion. In September, 1948, a new session opened. On the Address in Reply, I moved the following addendum, substantially the same as the motion that had been gagged:—

"Because the Communist Party, as an agency of a foreign power, admits it owes no allegiance to the Commonwealth of Australia, and because its avowed objective is the overthrow of constitutional government in Australia, with force if necessary, this House is of the opinion that your advisers should be asked to take the following action to deal with the grave emergency rapidly developing within the nation to threaten its security:—

- (a) The Communist Party and its auxiliaries should be declared illegal organisations and necessary legislation should be submitted to this Parliament to deal with them as treasonable agencies;
- (b) No Communist should be employed by the Commonwealth in any position involving the security of this country;
- (c) The appointments of all Communists on Government boards and agencies should be terminated immediately;
- (d) All newspaper and newsprint licences of the Communist Party and its auxiliaries should be withdrawn, and the despatch of its publications through the Post Office should be prohibited;

- (e) All premises occupied by Communist organisations (including Marx House, Sydney) should be declared illegal premises and all telephone facilities should be withdrawn by the Postmaster-General;
- (f) Legislation based on the New South Wales Consorting Act should be introduced, making it illegal for members of the Communist Party to consort together;
- (g) That the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act should be amended to make it an offence for any registered trade union to pay any of its funds into any Communist Party organisation."

The resolution is self-explanatory. This time the Government couldn't gag the debate. It had to vote on the addendum.

Member after Member of the Government, from the Prime Minister down, rose to speak on the question. Those speeches could only be interpreted as a defence of Communism. The Prime Minister talked about 17,000 Europeans being in Malaya for the profit they could make out of it. But he failed to face up to his responsibility to do something about Communism in Australia.

The Chifley Government refused to deal with the Communist Party. It refused to strip it of its physical resources, its funds, its means of communication, its vehicles of propaganda and its places of assembly. It refused to withdraw Communists from key positions.

The Consorting Act has proved the most effective of all police instruments against crime and vice. Communism is both a crime against our present social order and a threat to our security. Those combating it should have at least the same powers as police dealing with any other form of organised crime. But the Chifley Government rejected that too.

The division took place on Thursday, Septem-

ber 9, 1948. Members had to take their places either for action against Communism, or for Communism. For once, the Government couldn't hide behind the gag. 'Every Member had to vote in accordance with his conscience.

Members who voted against the resolution were:

Mr. Barnard (Bass, Tas.), Mrs. Blackburn (Bourke, Vic.), Messrs. Brennan (Batman, Vic.), Burke (Perth, W.A.), Calwell (Melbourne, Vic.), Conelan (Griffiths, Q.), Daly (Martin, N.S.W.), Dedman (Corio, V.), Drakeford (Maribyrnong, V.), Fraser (Eden-Monaro, N.S.W.), Gaha (Denison, Tas.), Hadley (Lilley, Q.), Haylen (Parkes, N.S.W.), Holloway (Melbourne Ports, Vic.), Johnson (Kalgoorlie, W.A.), Langtry (Riverina, N.S.W.), Lawson (Brisbane, Q.), Lazzarini (Werriwa, N.S.W.), Lemmon (Forrest, W.A.), O'Connor (West Sydney, N.S.W.), Pollard (Ballarat, Vic.), Riordan (Kennedy, Q.), Scully (Gwydir, N.S.W.), Thompson (Hindmarsh, S.A.), Watkins (Newcastle, N.S.W.), Williams (Robertson, N.S.W.); *Tellers:* Fuller (Hume, N.S.W.), Sheehan (Cook, N.S.W.).

Labor Members absent were: Beazley (Fremantle, W.A.), Chambers (Adelaide, S.A.), Edmonds (Herbert, Q.), Evatt (Barton, N.S.W.), Falstein (Watson, N.S.W.), James (Hunter, N.S.W.), Mulcahy (Lang, N.S.W.), Rosevear (Dalley, N.S.W.), Russell (Grey, S.A.), Scullin (Yarra, Vic.), Sheehy (Boothby, S.A.), and Ward (East Sydney, N.S.W.).

Prime Minister Chifley was paired with Leader of the Opposition Menzies.

The resolution was defeated 29 to 20. The Communist Party had every reason to regard that vote as a victory. But the fight is still on. I believe that the future of Australia depends upon the total destruction of Communism in this Commonwealth.

There is one thing I want to stress upon the

Australian people. We are already engaged in war against a deadly enemy. It is an enemy within. That can be more dangerous than the enemy from beyond our shores. It is necessary to deal with that enemy, or it will destroy everything for which we have worked and everything for which we stand: Any Government that fails this country on this issue has no right to govern. Its failure is its own death warrant as a government. The call is for action. There can be no compromise between those who believe in everything that is Australian and those who serve a foreign power against Australia. Communism is treason.

