

Glossary of individuals, organizations and tactics

Individuals, organizations and tactics that appear more than once in the documents, or are the subject of a substantial part of a document, are listed below. Individuals who appear only once are identified wherever possible by a footnote on the relevant page.

Agitprop: Bolshevik jargon for agitation and propaganda; an Agitprop Department was established by the Comintern at its Fourth Congress to advise and supervise the work of its parties in this area.

Anderson, John (1893–1962): philosopher, arrived in Australia from Scotland in 1927 to teach at the University of Sydney. Though a libertarian, he at first sympathized with the CPA and wrote for their publications, but in 1932 he broke with the Party, accusing it of being bureaucratic and afraid of spontaneity; from 1933 to 1936 he supported Trotsky's views but finally could not agree that the USSR remained a 'workers' state', as Trotsky insisted until his death.

Anglo-American Secretariat: organizational unit of the Comintern that supervised Communist parties in the USA, Britain, and the British Dominions (Australia, Canada and New Zealand). Communists in British colonies came under a different Comintern Secretariat. This Secretariat (sometimes 'Bureau') was formed in mid-1922.

Artem: see Sergeev.

Australian Socialist Party: host of the founding conference of the CPA in October 1920. In 1919, the ASP had declared allegiance to the Comintern, but its affiliation was derailed by Petr Simonov. The ASP had focused on Marxist propaganda and opposed participating in the ALP; it had close links with Russian émigrés in Brisbane and with Moscow. The ASP remained an important current within the early Party, but was outmanoeuvred in the struggles over policy and assets that accompanied the attempts to unite the CPA.

Baker, Clarence Wilbur (Carl): founding member of the CPA. Baker was an American by birth, and had been a leading member of the reformist VSP.

Baracchi, Guido (1887–1975): an Australian left-wing intellectual of Italian descent who was close to the CPA, if not always a member, during the period covered by this book. Baracchi was a member of the IWW, was jailed for opposition to conscription in 1918, and attended the CPA's foundation conference in 1920. He made a number of trips to the USSR, but advocated liquidating the CPA in the mid-1920s as a means of breaking out of its isolation; he was consequently expelled in 1925, went to the Soviet Union in the early 1930s with Betty Rowland, rejoined the Party in 1935, and was finally expelled in 1940 over differences with the CPA line on the war. He was subsequently associated with the Australian Trotskyists.

Barker, Tom (1887–1970): British radical and IWW activist in New Zealand and Australia. Barker was editor of the IWW's newspaper, *Direct Action*, and was briefly imprisoned during 1916 on account of charges laid against the IWW. With other IWW members, he was deported from Australia to Chile in 1918. He reached London in 1920. He later spent much time in the USSR, but ended his working life as a town councillor, and at one time Lord Mayor, of St Pancras in London (Fry 1965).

Berzin, Jan Antonovich (1881–1938): secretary of the ECCI in 1919 and later Soviet representative in Britain. He would be executed in the same week as Zuzenko for membership of a 'terrorist organization'.

Billet, J.: see Docker.

Blake, John David (Jack, 1909–2000; pseudonym of Alfred Airey): joined the CPA in 1925, attended the Lenin School in Moscow for two years in the early 1930s, and became a member of the CPA's Central Committee in 1935. He sometimes used the pseudonym 'A. London'. Blake was elected to the Party's National Secretariat in 1951, but was removed in 1954 after being charged with 'factionalism', and thereafter held no paid or leadership position in the Party.

Bolshevik Party: informal name of the majority section of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party that split at its second congress in July–August 1903 into 'Bolsheviks' and 'Mensheviks'; the Bolsheviks were led by Lenin. The party was later called the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), and finally the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Brookfield, Percy (1878–1921): worker radical; elected as a Labor member for the NSW Legislative Assembly during the First World War, but left the ALP and became an independent socialist parliamentarian representing Broken Hill. He campaigned for the freedom of the 12 IWW members convicted of sedition and arson. Brookfield was killed in March 1921 trying to disarm a crazed gunman.

Bukharin, Nikolai (1888–1938; sometimes 'Bucharin'): prominent Old Bolshevik, and considered as a potential successor to Lenin as leader of the party, Bukharin was president of the Comintern from 1926 to 1929, and leader of the Right Opposition in the late 1920s until he capitulated to Stalin; he was tried and executed in the third Moscow trial of 1938.

Class against Class: a doctrine arising out of the 'Third Period' of capitalist crisis as analysed by the Comintern and adopted as policy in 1928. The doctrine predicted an intensification of the class struggle and directed communists to take the lead in exposing and attacking especially the reformist leaders of the working class in political parties or trades unions, now dubbed 'social fascists'; it was a strategic disaster because the confrontational style it embodied isolated communists from workers during the worst period of the Great Depression.

Considine, Michael Patrick (1885–1959; ‘Mick’): a union militant and politician, Considine was President of the Amalgamated Miners’ Association during the First World War and in 1917 became the ALP member for the Federal seat of Barrier. Generally supportive of the Russian communist cause, he had taken the unusual step of representing Soviet Russia as ‘acting consul’ while Simonov was in prison in 1919. He resigned from the ALP in 1920. He stood as a candidate for the ‘Industrial Socialist Labor Party’ in 1922, but lost the election and later rejoined the ALP in 1926.

Cram, Robert George (b1906): a carpenter who joined the CPA in 1926, Cram returned to his home city of Newcastle as a Party organizer, but resigned from his Party position in 1939 to get paid work.

Denford, Henry Leigh: active in the IWW and the ASP, Denford became financial secretary and editor of the *Workers’ Weekly* late in 1923. At one time General Secretary of the CPA, he left the Party and joined the ALP in late 1925.

Dimitrov, Georgi (1882–1949): a Bulgarian Communist who was tried in 1933 for participating in the burning of the German Reichstag. Dimitrov was acquitted and moved to Moscow where he became executive secretary of the Comintern from 1934 to 1943. He was the chief proponent of the Comintern’s popular front policy adopted in 1935.

Dixon, Richard (1905–76; ‘Dick’; pseudonym of Clifton Reginald Walker, also known as Frank Emery): a communist from Lithgow on the NSW coalfields, Dixon was a member of the CPA’s Central Committee from 1929. He underwent party training in Moscow in 1931–33, was afterwards a member of the Party’s CC, and became CPA representative to the ECCI in 1937.

Docker, Edward G. (Ted): an early member of the CPA, Docker became a member of the CEC in 1930 and an enthusiastic supporter of the new leadership of Moxon. He attended the International Lenin School in 1935.

Earsman, William Paisley (1884–1965; ‘Bill’): a Scottish immigrant to Australia who left Edinburgh in 1910, he was an executive member of the VSP. He moved from Melbourne to Sydney in 1919, and collaborated with Jock Garden. He was a founding member of the CPA and was elected its first secretary. Earsman attended the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921 and won the confidence of Trotsky while in Moscow; he returned briefly to Australia, but returned to Russia for the Fourth Congress, was refused re-entry into Australia and, after some travels in Europe on Comintern and other business, settled in Scotland.

Everitt, Ray: theoretician of the ASP and editor of its weekly newspaper, *International Socialist*.

Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI): the most important directing body within the Comintern, which made binding decisions between Congresses, and to which national communist parties reported.

Freeman, Paul (1884?–1921; sometimes known as ‘Miller’): a militant worker whose nationality and birthplace are not known, Freeman was part of the IWW and became an enthusiastic supporter of the Bolshevik Revolution. He was deported from Australia in 1919 and made his way to Moscow. He returned to Australia to organize delegates to the Third Comintern Congress, at which he was an accredited ASP delegate. He was killed with Artem in the crash of an experimental train in Russia in July 1921.

Fried, Eugen (Clément): a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party since its foundation, Fried was one of its delegates to the Fifth Comintern Congress, and remained in Moscow the following year as a member of the Secretariat’s Organizational Bureau. Sent as a Comintern emissary to France from 1931–39, he initiated the phrase ‘Popular Front’ in 1934, and helped turn the Communist Party of France into a party with substantial membership and influence. The ‘Popular Front’ was made policy by the Comintern’s Seventh Congress in 1935 for all its parties.

Garden, John Smith (1882–1968; ‘Jock’): born in Scotland and came to Australia in 1904, Garden was secretary of the NSW Labor Council from 1918, leading a group known as the ‘Trades Hall Reds’; he was a founding member of the CPA, became a member of the ECCI at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922, and from 1923 was a leader of the CPA. He left the Party with his supporters in 1926, but was formally expelled in December that year. He returned to the Party, as a CEC member, but was not re-elected as part of the ‘right-wing’ deviation in 1929; he was expelled for the last time in 1930.

Gibson, Ralph Seward (1906–1989): having joined the CPA in 1931 after turning down an offer of a university lectureship, Gibson’s organizational talents were put to good effect as a full-time Party worker when he was assigned to control the Friends of the Soviet Union.

GPU: acronym for the State Political Department, concerned with state security and espionage; formed from the Cheka in 1922, renamed and known by the acronym OGPU in 1924, it later became the NKVD, the MVD, and finally the KGB.

Higgins, E.M. (Esmonde): an Australian who joined the CPGB in the early 1920s, and the CPA when he returned to Australia in 1924; Higgins was editor of the CPA’s newspaper, *Workers’ Weekly*, from 1925–29, and was a delegate to the Comintern Congress in 1928. Considered unreliable because of his association with Jack Kavanagh, Higgins was removed from the CPA’s Central Committee in 1931, and left the Party in 1934.

Industrial Workers of the World: founded in Chicago in 1905, and reaching Australia in 1907, the IWW was an organization that promoted anarcho-syndicalism, and rejected political action to achieve socialism. IWW members (also known as 'Wobblies') believed that the key task was to build a mass industrial trade union movement that would begin to 'constitute the new society within the body of the old'; despite their apolitical stance, they were major distributors of Marx's ideas. In Australia the IWW was politically persecuted, perhaps because it represented the most serious socialist challenge to the state, especially after its opposition to conscription during the First World War. Banned in 1916, after 12 of its members were tried for treason, the IWW in Australia was effectively finished by 1920. (In 1920 an inquiry was held into the trial, and the imprisoned men were subsequently released.)

Jeffery, Norman: former Wobbly, and a founding member of the CPA, Jeffery was employed as a CPA organizer until 1926; he subsequently worked as a rural organizer of workers and took various positions in the Party organization.

Kavanagh, J.P. (1879–1964; 'Jack'): Irish-born, Canadian communist, and member of the Workers' Party of Canada. Chairman of the CPA from his arrival from Canada in 1925 (and candidate member of ECCI from 1928) until his expulsion in January 1931 for right-wing deviation, after attempting to have Australia exempted from the Comintern's 'social fascist' line towards social democratic parties (in this case, the ALP). He served two years from September 1931 on probation but was never allowed to return to full membership status. Kavanagh supported many of Trotsky's views and was associated with the Australian Trotskyists. He had a reputation as an impressive orator.

Kuusinen, Ottomar W. (1881–1946): a founding member of the Finnish Communist Party who moved to Moscow after the collapse of the Finnish revolution in April 1918, Kuusinen became a bureaucrat in the Comintern.

Laidler, Thomas Percival (1884–1958; 'Percy'): a member of the VSP and impressive orator, Laidler left the Party after 1909 and espoused a syndicalist view similar to the IWW's, a group he supported but apparently did not join. He chaired the inaugural meeting of the CPA's Melbourne branch in 1921, but it soon collapsed. He thereafter continued his activity in the workers' and socialist movements, supporting communism and the Soviet Union, but not rejoining the CPA.

Lenin, V.I. (1870–1924; pseudonym of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov): founder of the Bolshevik party, and its preeminent theoretician and leader; Lenin saw the opportunity to take power in Russia in October 1917, and was determined thereafter to retain and extend Bolshevik power, despite his growing concerns about the isolation of Soviet Russia and creeping bureaucratization of the state and ruling party.

Lozovsky, Solomon Abramovich (1878–1952): senior Comintern official, RILU General Secretary, 1921–37, and chief instigator of the Pan-Pacific Trades Union Secretariat. In the late 1930s, he was a member of the CC of the CPSU, and in 1945 was Deputy Chief of the Soviet Information Bureau of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. He was shot during Stalin’s last anti-semitic campaign.

Martens, Ludwig: a German citizen resident in America, Martens was appointed the first official Soviet government representative to the USA, but gained no official US recognition. Using his business background, he proceeded to arrange contracts with American firms, ignoring the American embargo and non-recognition of the Soviets. He was deported from the USA in January 1921.

Marty, André (1886–1956): a member of the French Communist Party’s Politburo from 1931, Marty represented that Party to the ECCI from 1932; he was commander of the International Brigades in Spain, 1936–38, and a member of the ECCI Presidium and Secretariat from 1935–43; he was ousted from the French Party in 1953.

Mason, S. (pseudonym of Stephen Purdy): CPA CC member and the CPA’s representative to the ECCI in the 1930s.

Miles, John Bramwell (1888–1969): emigrated from Scotland to Brisbane in 1913, and joined the CPA soon after its foundation; Miles was part of the group that ousted Kavanagh from the Party leadership in the late 1920s. He was secretary of the Party from 1931.

Miller: see Freeman.

Minority Movement: sometimes known as the ‘Militant Minority Movement’, a communist grouping inside the trades unions to challenge reformist leaderships.

Montefiore, D.B. (Dora, 1851–1934): British communist, well known as a former suffragette, who from January 1921 was an executive member of the CPGB. She visited Australia from late 1922 on a personal matter, and left in October 1923, but was under police surveillance during this time; she represented the CPA at the Comintern’s Fourth Congress in mid-1924.

Moore, Herbert (1889–1957; party name of Harry Wicks): an American who took part in the founding conference of the CPUSA in September 1919, Wicks was cleared of spying charges in 1923, and became a delegate to the Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928. He was a North American representative to the Profintern in Moscow in 1928–29 who came to Australia on a Comintern mission in 1930–31 to introduce Bolshevik organizational methods; was expelled from the CPUSA in 1937 on the grounds that he was once (and might still be) a police informer. His FBI file indicates that he was an informer for the Chicago police in 1918, but there is information that he continued as an undercover agent throughout his period as a communist (Macintyre 1998, 171).

Moxon, Herbert: an organizer for the CPA in Queensland in the 1920s, a member of the Party's CC, and a key player in the dramatic change of Party leadership in 1929. Moxon became Party secretary at the Ninth Conference, and proceeded to implement the Third Period line and expel a number of former leaders; he was relieved of his duties by Moore at the end of 1930, and was ultimately expelled early in 1932.

Murphy, John T. (1888–1966): elected to the CC of the CPGB in 1921, Murphy was a member of the ICC in 1924, and became a member of the Presidium of the ECCI in 1926. He was afterwards nominated the Comintern representative on the directorate of the Lenin School, and remained there until late 1929. He broke with communism in 1932.

Naumann, R: member of the Secretariat of the Comintern in the late 1930s.

One Big Union: the objective of the IWW in organizing the working class and overcoming the stultifying effects of capitalism on the mentality of that class. The IWW rejected parliamentarism, but also the craft unionism of the nineteenth century, which it saw as dividing the working class. Instead, it advocated the formation of One Big Union of 'all workers, regardless of sex, creed, or color, [that] will be able to attain the solidarity which alone can abolish wage-slavery and usher in the new society' (cited Burgmann 1995, 50).

One Big Union Propaganda League: formed by 'Wobblies' in 1918 after the IWW was declared an unlawful association in Australia in December 1916.

Pankhurst, Sylvia (1882–1960): the second daughter of the champion of women's suffrage, Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928), E. Sylvia Pankhurst was active in the Women's Social and Political Union and in the British Labour Party. She endured prison after being convicted of sedition. She supported the Bolshevik Revolution, writing a sympathetic account of her visit to Soviet Russia (Pankhurst 1921) and later supported Spanish republicans in the Civil War and helped Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany.

Pan-Pacific Trades Union Secretariat: organization established in 1927 and based in Shanghai, coordinating trade unions in countries that bordered the Pacific Ocean. The Australian Council of Trade Unions affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, and relations with the Secretariat were conducted by two communists, Jack Ryan and Jock Garden. ACTU affiliation ceased when Ryan was prevented in 1930 by the CPA from putting the case for continued affiliation. The organization was largely inactive after 1932.

Payne, Tom; an anti-conscriptionist during the First World War, Payne was a worker socialist who joined the new CPA and became one of its delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in December 1922, he stood as a CPA candidate in the NSW state elections of 1925 but was expelled from the Party late in 1925.

He rejoined the CPA in 1932. In 1970 he published his account of meeting Lenin in 1922.

Pepper, John (1886–1937; pseudonym of Jozsef Pogány): a Hungarian communist who escaped the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 and became a Comintern official; during most of the 1920s he served as Moscow’s emissary to the CPUSA. He was attacked at the Sixth Congress by Besso Lominadze, and soon after fell out of favour.

Piatnitsky, Osip (1882–1939): Comintern official, elected to the ECCI in 1924, and headed the Comintern’s International Liaison Department (OMS) in the 1920s. He headed the Comintern’s Organizational Bureau from about 1927, receiving reports from national communist parties, and was thus a key figure in the Comintern bureaucracy. He fell victim to Stalin’s purges, and died in prison in 1939.

Piddington, Albert Bathurst (1862–1945): lawyer and member of the pre-Federation NSW Legislative Assembly (1895–98), Piddington was best known for his contributions to industrial law and his support for a decent basic wage for workers. He was President of the Industrial Relations Commission from 1926–32.

Pollitt, Harry (1890–1960): founding member of the CPGB, member of the ECCI 1924–43, and General Secretary of the CPGB 1929–39 and 1941–56.

Popular Front: a tactic adopted by communists from the mid-1930s to try to resist fascism, it sanctioned alliances between the communist parties and parties representing other (‘progressive’) classes in popular campaigns, elections and even governments in democratic states. It attempted to use patriotism for the progressive, anti-fascist cause, defended liberal democracy against fascist dictatorship, and succeeded in winning a number of artists and intellectuals to communism, if only for a time. The Popular Front tactic was abandoned with the advent of the Second World War.

Profintern: see RILU.

Prichard, Katharine Susannah (1883–1969): highly regarded Australian novelist, known especially for her ‘Goldfields Trilogy’, Prichard was a member of the CPA from 1920 and a supporter of the Soviet Union until her death; she married Victoria Cross recipient Captain Hugo Throssell.

Quinton, Jim: formerly a Wobbly, Quinton joined the CPA in its early, divided, phase; he was imprisoned in 1921 in England on his way to the Third Comintern Congress. By the 1930s, Quinton had joined the ALP, but remained an advocate for free speech for communists.

Radek, Karl (1885–1939): one of the Comintern’s leading propagandists in Lenin’s time, Radek was subsequently a member of the (Trotskyist) Left

Opposition until Trotsky's expulsion from the USSR in 1929. He renounced his oppositionist views and was allowed to rejoin the RCP; he was convicted in the 1937 Moscow purge trial.

Reardon, Arthur: worker-intellectual; secretary of the ASP and founding member of the CPA; Reardon was involved in the early manoeuvres over the direction of the Party, but was effectively left behind by the July 1922 Unity Conference of Australian communists.

Reardon, Marcia: wife of Arthur and a founding member of the CPA; she was known as a forceful speaker and writer in the anti-capitalist cause.

Reed, John (1887–1920): poet, journalist, author and radical activist, Reed was a Harvard-educated American who became an eyewitness to the Bolshevik Revolution (recorded in his *Ten Days that Shook the World* (1919)). He subsequently helped to found the CPUSA, was indicted for treason and escaped to Russia where he died of typhus; he is buried beside the Kremlin wall.

RILU (Red International of Labour Unions; also RTUI; Russian acronym MOPR): an international association of communist-led trade unions, established by the Comintern in July 1920 as a rival to the (reformist) International Federation of Trade Unions; RILU had its founding conference in 1921, but had little activity after 1937, apart from making a short-lived organizational alliance with the reformists in 1945.

Robson, Robert William (1897–?): founding member of the CPGB (later London district organizer 1927–33 and head of the Organisation Department during the 1930s and '40s) who briefly visited Australia in late 1927 on behalf of the Comintern, despite his (British) passport having been declared invalid in 1925 for travel within the British Empire.

Ross, Lloyd (1901–1987): son of veteran socialist, Bob Ross, and brother of fellow communist, Edgar Ross, Lloyd Ross was a Melbourne University History graduate who joined the CPA in the mid-1930s. He was elected in 1935 as NSW secretary of the Australian Railways Union. He was expelled from the CPA in September 1940 for supporting the ('inter-imperialist') war against Hitler.

Ryan, Jack: CPA leader and member of Party's CEC until the Ninth Conference in 1929, as well as Australian organizer of RILU's Pan-Pacific Trades Union Secretariat; he was expelled from the Party in 1930 for 'defying CEC instructions'. Ryan was subsequently a Research Officer of the NSW Trades and Labour Council, and prominent in the Australian trade union movement.

Sergeev, Fedor Andreevich (1883–1921; sometimes Sergeeff or Sergaeff; also 'Artem' and 'Big Tom'): Russian revolutionary who was exiled to Siberia but escaped and travelled to Australia in 1911. Artem established the Russian Workers' Association in Brisbane, as well as the first Russian newspaper in Australia. He returned to Russia in May 1917 and became a member of the

Bolshevik Party's CC. He was killed with Freeman and others in the crash of a propeller-driven locomotive between Tula and Moscow in July 1921.

Sharkey, Lawrence Louis (1898–1967; 'Lance'): leading member of the CPA from 1927 onwards; in the late 1920s he was part of a group that received Comintern support to remove Kavanagh and implement the 'social fascist' line towards the ALP; first visited the USSR as a delegate to the Fifth Comintern Congress in 1924. Sharkey became the chairman of the CC of the CPA from 1931, and a candidate member of the ECCI in 1935. He was jailed in 1949 for sedition.

Simonov, Petr (1883–?; sometimes 'Peter Simonoff'): Russian émigré in Australia at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution. He was jailed in Australia for addressing public meetings in support of the Revolution, but released in July 1919. Simonov was appointed Soviet consul in Australia, but the Australian government would not accept his credentials; he left for Russia in September 1921, but fell from favour in Moscow.

Simpson, John ('Jack'): a CPA leader from 1934 (when he was elected to the Central Committee), Simpson was a New Zealander who had fought in the First World War, including at Gallipoli. He was sent by the Party from Sydney to Perth in June 1940, after the leaders of the Western Australian branch had been arrested, but he was also arrested.

Small Bureau: precursor of the Presidium of the ECCI.

Stalin, Joseph (1878–1953; pseudonym of J.V. Dzhugashvili): early member of the Bolshevik party and eventual leader of the Soviet Union until his death, Stalin used his organizational skills to control the Russian Communist Party and to outmanoeuvre and ultimately destroy rival Bolshevik leaders Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, and then used the state and intelligence apparatuses to hold the Party and the country in thrall to a virtual reign of terror.

Stewart, Bob (1877–?): founding member of the CPGB in 1921, and the Party's Scottish organizer from 1922, in 1924 he was appointed British representative to ECCI, and was elected to the Comintern's Presidium at the Fifth Congress the same year. He remained a member of the CPGB's Executive Committee until 1936. From the late 1920s, he seems to have been involved in substantial covert activity—in Ireland and Germany, in particular—on behalf of the CPGB and the Comintern. His activities and conversations were monitored closely by MI5, Britain's Security Service, a surveillance undermined by the fact that Stewart knew of it.

Tolmachev, G.F. (1886–1937; sometimes 'Piddubny' or 'Poddubny'): a schoolteacher, journalist and agitator from the Kharkov region. Joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1905. Exiled to Siberia in 1909. Escaped and travelled via Manchuria to Australia, where he lived from 1913 to 1917, mostly in Queensland. Contributed occasionally to the Brisbane newspaper *Rabochaia*

zhizn (*Worker's Life*). Active in Ukrainian revolutionary politics from his return in 1917. From 1919 to 1926 represented the Ukrainian government and later the CP in Vienna. In Kharkov from 1926 he held posts in the ministry of education and as an editor. He was executed in October 1937 for 'bourgeois nationalism'.

Trotsky, Leon (1879–1940; pseudonym of Lev Bronstein): Russian communist who joined the Bolsheviks shortly before the October Revolution and was instrumental in the Bolshevik coup and in defence of the Soviet state through the organization of the Red Army. Expelled from the RCP in 1927 and finally exiled from the Soviet Union, he spent the following years hounded from one country to another (Turkey, France, Norway and then Mexico) criticizing the Soviet leadership and finally forming a 'Fourth International' of Trotskyist communist parties in September 1938. He was assassinated in Mexico by a Soviet agent.

United Front: tactic advocated by the Comintern from 1921, whereby communist parties should form alliances with ('reformist') working class organizations for particular campaigns, but would remain free to criticize the non-communist leaderships of such organizations. It was hoped in this way to connect with the working class and to raise its class consciousness. When rebuffed, communists advocated the 'united front from below', attempting to bypass reformist leaders.

Walsh, Tom (1871–1943): early leader of the Australian communists, and of the Seamen's Union, Walsh was the husband of Adela Pankhurst, a daughter of Emmeline (and sister of Sylvia) and a longstanding Australian socialist. Both had been members of the VSP, and attended the foundation meeting of the CPA in 1920. Walsh was a member of the 'Sussex Street' party during the period before unity in 1922. Though he left the Communist Party, Walsh attempted nevertheless to escalate a number of union disputes to embarrass Labor Party governments (in Western Australia, for example), and expose them as supporters of capitalism.

Wright, Tom (1902–81): secretary of the CPA 1925–29, Wright at first opposed the Comintern's Third Period line but was persuaded by self-criticism in 1930. He remained a communist and became secretary of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union in 1936, eventually leaving the Party in the early 1970s.

Zinoviev, Grigory (1883–1936; pseudonym of Radomyslsky): Bolshevik leader, and first President of the Comintern. In the mid-1920s he joined with the Trotskyist Opposition in the RCP, but was defeated by Stalin, recanted and continued to enjoy the privileges of leadership, and was ultimately tried and executed in Stalin's purges of 1936–38.

Zuzenko, Aleksandr Mikhailovich (1884–1938; sometimes 'Soosenko', 'Susenko', 'Nargen', 'Mamin' or 'Matulichenko'): Russian revolutionary who arrived in Australia in 1911 and was deported in April 1919 for his political

activities, especially his leadership of the Red Flag demonstration of 23 March 1919 in Brisbane. Zuzenko then abandoned his revolutionary anarchism for the iron discipline of Bolshevism; he returned to Australia in July 1922 as an agent of the Comintern, and was deported again in September. He was subsequently a captain of Soviet merchant ships, but was charged in 1938 with espionage and executed as a 'British spy'.