

# DIRECT ACTION

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## AGAINST REPRESSION: Bolivia, Spain, South Africa

**ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:** The Atlantean Dispute,  
Towards a Black Political Party, Cameron &  
the Penal Powers, Has Chile Gone Socialist?  
Bangladesh— Programme of the N.L.F.,  
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# SYDNEY BUS STRIKE

COL MAYNARD

The long, drawn-out dispute between Sydney government bus employees and the N.S.W. government, has in the last two weeks, been brought to a head. Not only has a direct confrontation between the government Bus Employees Union and the State government developed but the extension of the struggle to other sectors of the transport industry is also threatened. Railway workers, for instance, have already held mass meetings at which they overwhelmingly pledged support to the bus workers and indicated their willingness to engage in strike activity if necessary.

This round in the dispute started when the government announced that it would again roster drivers to drive double-deck Atlantean buses without conductors, beginning November 22nd. Shortly after this announcement was made, drivers and conductors at Page-wood depot called for a mass meeting to decide whether or not they would refuse to drive the buses under the conditions dictated by the government. The result was overwhelmingly in favour of refusing to drive without a conductor. This decision was quickly backed up by the other depots in the Sydney area. The union executive met and decided to endorse the rank and file decision. When Nov. 22nd came, the drivers that were rostered on the Atlanteans refused to drive them without a conductor. Since then over 300 drivers have been suspended and many sacked for refusing to operate the Atlanteans single-handed.

The main issue of the strike as expressed by the drivers themselves, is that double deck Atlanteans are unsafe to drive without the assistance of a conductor. This issue has two important aspects, firstly, the condition of public transport in capitalist society and secondly the right of workers to control their own job situation.

The state of the public transport system in Australia has been deliberately allowed to deteriorate over the past years while at the same time fares have been drastically increased out of proportion to the value that one gets out of the uncomfortable and infrequent bus and train services that exist. When Askin raised the fares on the N.S.W. public transport system earlier

this year, he was quoted as saying in reference to an angry public, "let them walk". One is tempted to compare this with what was said by Marie Antoinette and what the French public did with her, but passing up that opportunity, it is easy to see without too much deep thought, that what Mr. Askin really had on his mind was "let them drive!". The Automobile industry and its associated industries, particularly steel, rubber and petroleum, occupy the forefront of Australian industrial interests and between them rake in a very large proportion of the profits made by companies operating in Australia. It is completely against the interests, of these companies and their representation in the NSW legislature to develop a cheap, efficient and comfortable public transport system. What they want and what they've been able to achieve so far is to force this society to an almost complete dependence on polluting, unsafe automobiles as a means of mass transportation. While Mr. Morris, the NSW Minister for Motor Transport, piously talks of road safety and the death toll on the roads (he never mentions the untold

effects of carbon-monoxide pollution) which the policies of his government have helped to create, his colleagues Askin and Berry plan to make the operating of government buses into what the men and women who do the operating describe as unsafe. When a capitalist government is so blatantly hypocritical about the lives, safety and convenience of the public, all workers, and particularly those in the industry or service concerned, should make it their business to bring the facts to the centre of attention and fight against such policies of the employers and their government.

The second aspect of this particular struggle is the right of all workers to have fundamental control over their job situation. That is, real control by the rank and file workers of such things as safety, right of hire and fire, production and so on, not the "workers participation committees" that have been set up in the more sophisticated European factories, where workers endorse what the bosses have already decided. This type of demand, which the bus drivers have only as yet raised in embryo, is one which can be developed and one which can mobilize large sectors of the working class behind it, making a direct attack on the "natural rights" that the employers believe they have, of commanding men and machines at their will and making decisions guided not by concern of what is best for the majority of the population but by what will make the largest profit.

The attempts of some in the workers movement to explain away the bus dispute as merely "the right of all workers to a job" misses the point of the struggle and passes up the opportunity to help develop the demands of the bus workers to a much higher level politically. Of course unemployment is a thing that should be fought, but it can only be effectively fought by drawing all workers together whether presently employed or not, male or female, married or single, and demanding a reduction in the work week, without reduction in pay, to share what work is available amongst everybody who wants it. But to tell bus workers that their main struggle is merely in defence of their right to work at a time when they are not faced with retrenchments, and at a time when they are instead raising such questions as public safety and workers control is to be misleading to say the least.

In the meantime bus workers in Sydney and Newcastle have held a 24 hour strike on Monday November 30. At a mass meeting the same day at Redfern Oval in Sydney the drivers voted 3440 to 12 to go back to work for one day so as to present the demand to the Arbitration court that all those discussed or suspended be reinstated with full gratuity rights and privileges. This was rejected by the government and again the bus workers struck on Wednesday December 1, this time indefinitely. Whatever the outcome of this strike, whether the drivers win their case or not, the fight will certainly be worth it. The rank and file bus workers have attained a new militancy that will be hard to put down, a militancy and determination that is sure to affect the working class generally. In their fight there lies the basis for developing the demands put forward into ones that can make a direct attack against the capitalists and the way they operate this society. All that is needed is for the bus workers to find themselves a leadership that is able and willing to carry this struggle forward.



## TRAMWAYS STRIKE

The recent successful strike by tramway workers in Melbourne was distinguished by the militancy, effectiveness and determination of the strikers.

It started out as a solidarity strike, against the unjust dismissal of tram driver Frank Mevel. This dismissal was supposedly due to Mevel committing his first breach of the disciplinary code, but in reality it was a pretext which the Tramway Board had used to have him dismissed. Their motive was that Mevel was always known to be a militant unionist. Also they were eager to divert a current struggle for better conditions: namely the log of claims which was before the Board.

As soon as Mevel was dismissed on Monday Nov. 8 the Preston Depot went out on strike. This snowballed and Melbourne's tram and buses came to a halt the following day. The first strike

## Worldwide Antiwar Action

"End the war! End the wage freeze!" was a prominent slogan on the streets of seventeen U.S. cities November 6, as tens of thousands demonstrated to demand the immediate withdrawal of all American forces from Indochina.

Demonstrations were a culmination of an autumn antiwar campaign launched by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) in July. Despite a lack of media coverage and the illusions created by Nixon's planned trip to Peking, in the course of the campaign NPAC obtained an unprecedented number of endorsements from trade unions and union officials, thus laying the basis for future massive involvement of the working class in the organized antiwar movement.

New York and San Francisco witnessed the largest demonstrations, 30,000 and 50,000 respectively. The U.S. antiwar campaign coincided with similar actions in other parts of the

## TEACHERS DEMONSTRATE

About 200 teachers, students, parents and others demonstrated on the steps of Parliament House in Melbourne on Wednesday Nov. 24th in protest against the appalling conditions that inner suburban high schools are forced to put up with. The demonstration was organized by the inner suburban group of the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association, and after speeches on the steps, a delegation visited Thompson, the Minister for Education, while others lobbied their local members.

Although the conditions in Victorian schools as a whole are completely inadequate, the crisis is particularly acute for inner suburban schools. Shortage of qualified teachers, overcrowding, portable and makeshift classrooms, teaching aids and facilities that are insufficient, or more usually totally lacking - all point to a pretty dismal future for the education of children unfortunate enough to live in these areas.

It can hardly be a coincidence that the children in these schools are in the main the children of workers and migrants. The usual pathetic excuse of "no money" from the Government looks rather weak, however, when compared with the amount of money they are willing to ladle out to private schools.

Further demonstrations and other actions are necessary to publicise the pitiful

meeting, on Mon. 8th Nov., voted overwhelmingly for Mevels immediate reinstatement. Commissioner Lytelle backed down and imposed a five day suspension on Mevel. This was however rejected by the Tramway Board. After that meeting had finished 250 militants marched from Unity Hall and occupied the Board's Building. By Friday, when another strike meeting took place in the Fitzroy Town Hall the non-traffic section joined the strike and all voted to stay-out indefinitely. That meeting also decided to fuse the two issues, (that is Mevel and the log of claims), into one.

By Monday Mevel had been reinstated and some demands concerning the log of claims were met, but pretty watered down. At the Monday meeting workers also decided that through their union they would oppose the disciplinary procedure and demanded to have them changed.

The cross-examining of many of these witnesses was humiliating to say the least. Questions concerning the details of their personal lives and feelings were asked, and throughout the trial they were made to feel guilty of committing a crime of great magnitude in attempting to terminate their pregnancies.

Much time was devoted during the trial to haggling over the point at which one could say that a pregnancy was endangering a woman's physical and mental health, at which stage a foetus became a personality, and in what circumstances abortions could be considered "lawful", citing the Bourne and Davidson cases as examples from the past.

However, the realities of this whole question, described by Jim Staples defending Mr. & Mrs. Colbourne (the operators of the Heatherbrae Clinic) make such debate trivial and irrelevant.

Staples pointed out that it is estimated that approximately 50,000-90,000 illegal abortions are performed annually. The social realities are that women will continue to seek abortions, regardless of their illegality, and the closing down of such clinics as Heatherbrae, where women are at least guaranteed of a safe if expensive termination, will only mean that women will resort to "backyard" abortionists as their only alternative.

The situation at present works against poorer women who cannot afford to pay the exorbitant costs of illegal but safe "medical" abortions, or take a trip overseas.

The backward and short-sighted policies of the government in refusing to face this situation means that hundreds of women die or are mutilated from illegal abortions every year, and thousands of women bear children they neither want nor can adequately support.

Such legal cases as this one can set useful precedents and make valuable loopholes in the law, but until women begin to organize, and demand the right to safe, legal abortions, no great headway will be made in resolving the present situation. Abortions will still cost women exorbitant sums of money, facilities will still be inadequate for the needs of all women, and there will still be endless prerequisites and conditions to fulfil before being able to procure an abortion.

The right to choose to have a child or

Australians in their own juice

# ABORTION CAMPAIGN

## LEGAL VICTORY

On October 28th three Sydney doctors were acquitted on all charges of having unlawfully procured abortions for a number of Sydney women.

The case was unique in that it revolved around the question of whether such operations were "unlawful" in the terms of Section 83 of the Crimes' Act (1900) as amended, which states "Whosoever . . . unlawfully uses any instrument . . . with intent in any such case to procure her (any woman) miscarriage shall be liable to penal servitude for ten years."

The defence did not deny that abortions had taken place at the Heatherbrae Clinic at Bondi, and claimed that these operations had taken place under hygienic conditions and were performed by skilled medical practitioners and that, as such, were quite "lawful".

During the course of the trial the crown called a total of sixty three witnesses which included sixteen women alleged to have been operated upon at the clinic. These women, when taken into custody, were questioned about the circumstances of this attendance at the Clinic and information about the doctors who had operated on them and were falsely led to believe that they would be charged, and that co-operation with the police in providing evidence would mean a dropping of any charges, and so forth.

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The right to choose to have a child or

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not is every womens right. Safe, free and readily available contraceptives are every womans right as well as safe abortions, if contraceptive methods fail. The struggle will continue for these basic rights.

## Australian Actions

In solidarity with the international call for Abortion Law Reform demonstrations actions were held in Sydney and Melbourne on November 20th.

In Melbourne the demonstration was organized by the Womens Liberation co-ordinating committee and attracted over 400 people who staged street theatre, carried banners and distributed leaflets expressing the demands of the demonstration. This all contributed to attracting the attention of the city crowds to the abortion issue. The emphasis was placed on the right of women to control their own bodies and that it is women not the church or the state who have the right to decide whether or not they want children.

Sydney's 250 marchers, the majority of whom were women, were led by a float carrying two 'pregnant' men with paper mache heads characterizing Mr. Askin and a member of the clergy. The marchers moved through the city to Hyde Park where a Public Meeting was held with Mr. George Peterson M.L.A., and Miss Honour Blackman speaking in favour of abortion.

Law Reform and the availability of safe contraception, were slogans for the Sydney demonstration.

The attainment of these demands will play a crucial role in the liberation of all women and the success of this demonstration is indicative of the strength of the Womens Liberation Movement and bods well for future activities in 1972.



## U.S. Actions

More than 6,000 people, mostly women turned out for two major demonstrations demanding the repeal of all antiabortion laws, end to forced sterilizations and the repeal of restrictive contraception laws, in Washington and San Francisco on November, 20th.

The Campaign to build this demonstration had been initiated in July when WONAAC (Women's National Abortion Action Coalition) was set up. Women from all over the country travelled to the marches in the two cities.

In Washington the rally was held on the front steps of the Capitol and the 3,000 or more women who attended heard a number of speakers including Dr. Barbara Roberts, an initiator of the "Women versus Connecticut" class-action suit challenging the constitutionality of the state's restrictive abortion law, Joyce Brown, international representative of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees from Atlanta, Georgia and many other women speakers.

Shirley Wheeler, the twenty three year old Florida woman convicted of manslaughter for having an abortion is the first woman in US history to be convicted and sentenced (to two years probation). She told the crowd the state of Florida and not she, was the criminal. She was given a standing ovation. Linda Jenness 1972 presidential candidate for the Socialist Workers

Party in speaking to the rally said, "This march is just the first step. There are thousands here and in San Francisco. But think of the one out of four (the estimated percentage of US women who have had illegal abortions) who are at home, but who know we are right and solidarize with this march. Think of the millions trapped by fears and prejudices who are whispering to themselves 'Right On Sisters.'"

"That whisper will become a roar and these thousands will become hundreds of thousands, because this March is proving that women CAN organize, that we CAN fight and that we CAN UNITE."

About the same number of women attended the rally in San Francisco where speakers included representatives from the National organization of Women, Chulita Davis, a Chicana student leader, Mirra Vidal representing the Linda Jenness presidential campaign and others. Barred from the city hall steps, the rally was held in the Civic Centre.



## MARCH ACTION CAMPAIGN FOR THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN

A campaign has been initiated in Sydney to build a mass demonstration of women around women's liberation demands for March 11th next year.

The set of six demands have been agreed upon for the central aims and demands of the demonstration. These are:

1. The right to work.
2. Equal pay-one rate for the job.

Women demand:

3. Equal opportunities for work and education.
4. Free child care and pre-school facilities.
5. Free, safe contraceptives.
6. Safe legal abortion on request.

The campaign will solicit sponsorship and donations from individual supporters and finance for the campaign. (Individual sponsorship will be \$1) Badges and stickers will be produced for sale in order to raise money.

ABOVE TOP THREE: Sydney demonstration.

ABOVE BOTTOM TWO: Melbourne demonstration.

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# THE PENAL POWERS

## SHACKLING THE UNIONS FROM CHIFLEY TO CAMERON

Far more regulated and subjected to the provisions of law than any other advanced industrial society, the Australian compulsory arbitration system has, since its inception in 1904, been saddled with a plethora of restraints and sanctions, popularly known as penal provisions. Initially, the legal guarantees to trade union existence and relatively "generous" rights to organise in the fledgling years of the movement, compensated somewhat for the savage penalties written into awards for non-compliance by errant unionists. With its legal position assured, the trade union movement steadily grew in the early decades of this century checked only by the great transport strike of 1917.

Nevertheless, it took only a crisis in capitalism to show in sharp relief the true class basis of the arbitration system. What had been regarded as a golden age of legal recognition and concomitant union growth came to be seen as a compact whereby the bourgeoisie allowed unions the right to exist but in return, effectively regulated their wages and conditions of work through the medium of so-called independent tribunals. Workers who had contrasted their own security of recognition and organisation with the bloody reprisals suffered by their comrades in North America and elsewhere, realised they had truly paid a price. For with the Depression, wages and conditions which had the force of "law", came to mean nothing. Cut rates, short time, dismissal, the bread lines, the inexorable sequence in a man's working life made a mockery of the independence of the judiciary.

Consequently as Western society struggled out of the Depression and world war, a new restiveness and militancy gripped the workers of many countries. "Never again" was the cry as workers remembered the misery of the thirties and the black boot of fascism.

In Australia this mood reflected itself in the tremendous growth of power and influence of the Communist Party, their near takeover of the ACTU in 1945, the election of a Chifley Labor government in 1946 committed to post-war reconstruction, price control and a regulated employment market, and the election of Labor governments in all States except South Australia.

But more important than all of these, the failure of capitalism to deliver the goods in the midst of continuing shortages while Labor leaders dodged the issue of nationalisation, saw a new rise in combativity on the part of workers, ready to take direct action to achieve social justice so that accounts of 15 years of privation could be settled.

Regrettably, the Chifley government, like all social democratic governments, came to see itself as a balance of various competing interests rather than the political expression of the Australian working class. This manifested itself in two distinct ways: firstly, Chifley endeavoured to divert workers' struggles into the field of arbitration where independent experts could make "just and equitable" decisions in the overall "national interest" - and at the same time strengthened the penal provisions of the Arbitration Act to ensure compliance; and secondly, it created in the minds of the leaders of the Communist Party an illusion that the ALP had become estranged from its rank and file, thus impelling them to make a bid for power in 1949. The Coal Strike and its savage destruction by "respectable" Labor leaders underwrote the rising tide of

reaction and swept Chifley into the rubbish heap of history.

Through the 1950's the cultural hegemony of reaction increased as the ALP succumbed to an extreme right take-over in NSW, Victoria and Queensland, as anti-communism became the commonly accepted norm of criticism and as the Korean war boom finally produced the material goods which workers had craved for over 20 years. Just as important, the Arbitration Act with its heavy \$1,000 a day fines and bans clauses became a persuasive argument against industrial action, particularly as the boom in the economy itself created the increase in the standard of living that workers required. Little else was required of union leaders than to appear in court, file the claim and bring home the bacon.

Alas it was all a dream; the "end of ideology" was an illusion, for that ideology presupposed that classes no longer existed and all interests were held in common. The Mt. Isa strike settled all that talk.

A continuing series of miserable National Wage decisions, the adoption of the total wage, the long term effects of the abolition of quarterly cost of living adjustments, the rural depression - all of these trends led to a general falling off in workers' purchasing power, compounded by the various arbitration bodies taking more notice of the economic arguments of the bourgeoisie and making decisions accordingly.

By the mid sixties, the worker had come to realise that his skill could get no recognition from the established tribunals. More and more it became imperative for workers to maintain their standard of living in the face of rising prices, by avoiding arbitration and serving notice directly on employers. While the bourgeoisie as a class has interests which necessitate a general wages and incomes policy, individual employers are motivated by more basic urges, and are often prepared to buy scarce labour at higher prices to achieve a temporary advantage against competition.

The result was a new tide of direct action and militancy in those areas such as the metal and building industries, where skill is at a premium, and a tapering off in the transport industries, whose casual nature of employment had long been a cause of continuing unrest. Thus the AEU and the BWIU assumed a greater importance industrially, and the maritime unions declined relatively.

With highly skilled unions able to exert tremendous labour market pressure on employers, over award payments became increasingly prevalent and the Commonwealth Government's economic policies, exerted through the Arbitration Commission, became meaningless.

The new militancy first achieved national attention in 1967 when a number of prominent right wingers were swept from the ACTU Executive at the Melbourne Congress. Also in that year, the Arbitration Commission made a valiant effort to save its premier wage fixing position by declaring that the \$7.40 granted to metal tradesmen in the MT work value case would be absorbed in over award payments. A massive campaign of rolling strikes, organised by left wingers over the objections of right wing union leaders, saw the Commission, the Government, employers and the Labor right wing, utterly defeated.

The death knell of the arbitration system was sounded when the BWIU obtained the metal trades work value increases as a metal ton.

The system was now completely discredited as a fair means of ensuring wage justice in the community. Its power to enforce its decisions was obviously next on the agenda and the Clarrie O'Shea affair finally sealed its fate.

With the wage fixing machinery in this country in total wreckage, there were many anxious people - employers concerned to control costs, judges concerned to regain their authority and prestige, right wing

union leaders no longer sure that the courts would control their members, the government worried about "national" economic policy and last, but by no means least in importance, Whitlam & Co. worried that union militancy may offend uncommitted voters.

As the world wide crisis in capitalism deepened, with the economies of major industrial countries in recession, with the international financial and trade structure virtually repudiated, conservatives around the world commenced a major offensive to keep down the workers and so keep costs under control and economies "stable". Approaches varied from outright repression to sophisticated prices and incomes policies and industrial relations charters, designed to integrate the union hierarchies into a corporate state working within an accepted framework of behaviour.

Obviously, the latter offers a better hope for the future to the harassed Employers Federation executive than the insane antics of a Bjelke-Petersen or Askin.

Against this background we must see the shadowy manoeuvrings of our friend Whitlam and his appendage Cameron. Sophisticated employers recognise that at a time of capitalist weakness and working class assertiveness, a Labor government is essential to introduce the various controls on economic life fundamental to a renewed business upswing.

Quite clearly the over award payments have to become subject to greater regulation and a qualifiable aspect of national economic policy. To the bourgeoisie they cannot become part of a vicious circle where unions play one employer off against another, continually increasing their costs.

A good social democrat and Labor statesman, Clyde Cameron, considered that as Labor's spokesman on industrial affairs it was incumbent upon him to devise a solution to the problem of integrating direct bargaining into the mainstream of national life. As an ambitious politician he wanted to be Minister for Labour and National Service not a victim of an industrial law and order campaign. Labor always acts responsibly!

Therefore the ALP Industrial Relations Policy Committee (Cameron, plus Ducker, Egerton, Gietzelt, R. D. Williams, Hawke and Sweeney), met far from the madding crowd this year and drew up a series of proposals concerning voluntary, enforceable industrial agreements, the details of which were kept from some of the best industrial lawyers in the country. What rank and file?

However all statesmen have to make a

plash and the Financial Review reported a pretty fair summary of the Industrial Committee's report to the Launceston ALP Conference. The essence was that penalties against breaches of an award were to be abolished in line with the 1969 ACTU Congress resolution, but agreements were to be subject to a penalty of \$500 for breach, the amount to be recoverable at suit in civil proceedings.

When this hit the fan at Launceston hell broke loose. Penal provisions in any form were contrary to ALP and ACTU policy, it was said, the ACTU always honoured its agreements and expected unions to do so; there was provision for the cancellation of unworkable agreements, their replacement by a new agreement, arbitrated decision or a return to award conditions previously operating. Apparently, in the face of heavy opposition, Cameron gracefully conceded.

Poor Clyde, the world does not stand still not even for an embryonic Minister for Labour and National Service. The Sydney train guard strikes and the Water Board strike, the secret ballots legislation, prosecutions under the Summary Offences Act and the essential services legislation once again raised the horrendous spectre before his eyes of his prize being wrested from his bosom by an unscrupulous law order campaign. Something had to be done to assure the bourgeoisie that he would keep 'em down and build a workable system of harmonious industrial relations.

At the end of September the first runnings of \$20 fines on individual unions violating agreements, were heard from Brisbane. A week later, Clyde featured with the new, improved, polyunsaturated Fluffy Gough in the second of Labor's term Specials and announced blandly, yes, its true, \$20 is on.

Fortunately Federal Caucus panicked and declared its complete opposition to any form of legal sanction on unions and unions. Whitlam and Cameron somewhat less than gracefully, conceded the point. The issue was closed again.

We reckoned without Clyde, whose persistence if nothing else, is commendable. In reply to a resolution carried by the ALP branch at Otley, a suburb of Sydney, Cameron replied with a six page letter of tendentious legal contortions which proved that the Federal Conference wanted sanctions in agreements against individual workers, the worker who "persistently disregarded safety rules or who scabbed on his mates by knowingly working at less than award rates, by perhaps working for two or three hours before clocking on at a weekend".

Cameron's madness in putting forward such inanities would be the object of considerable derision were it not for the fact that the bourgeoisie and the union bureaucrats are increasingly concerned about the activities of job militants and shop stewards. Quite clearly individual unionists cannot break agreements but such sanctions could be used to smash job organisation, with the willing compliance of union bureaucrats.

The result of all this would be to remove industrial relations from the arena of a class struggle for survival and power, to a rarified atmosphere where technocrats of good will can agree among themselves as to the best interests of the country, without having to call in a bewigged fossil to decide. And if the workers play up, there is a little surprise in store for them.

Fortunately union militants and revolutionary socialists saw through this strategy and documents circulated by Jack Heffeman of the Sheet Metal Workers, and Sylvia Hale of the Otley branch of the ALP, with pressure from the rank and file, forced the ACTU to interpose and declare its total opposition to any form of sanctions in agreements, either arbitrarily or voluntarily inserted.

Clyde agreed that this is what he wanted all along. With the Federal Executive due to meet in December in Townsville his next moves will be awaited with considerable interest, particularly as Employers Federation representatives are getting anxious about "moderate and right wing" Labor and union leaders not being able to come up with a programme which will control the present unrest.

# THE CHINA PUZZLE

On November 15 United Nations delegates from the Peoples' Republic of China took their seats in the General Assembly for the first time and chief delegate Chiao Kuan-Hua made his opening address to the assembly.

Much of his remarks contained blatant deception and omission regarding China's real role in world politics, these remarks themselves often containing the basis of what principled revolutionary socialists would like to see China doing in regard to world struggles. He stressed the fact that the revolutionary tide is on the rise around the world and that the people of China stand foursquare on the side of those struggling for independence, self-determination and revolution. Carefully listing the various liberation struggles his government supports, Chiao talked about Indochina, Korea, Palestine, plus many African liberation struggles; but he significantly omitted any mention of the liberation struggle of Bangla Desh. Nor was there any mention of the struggles against the dictatorships in Ethiopia, the Sudan or Iran - to name but a few worthy contenders for mention.

The unfortunate fact is that China's admission to the UN is somewhat of a two-edged sword. Although that admission itself is an outward blow to the strength of imperialism in general, China's actions within the UN as elsewhere are determined by the immediate interests of the Chinese bureaucracy. This often leads China to play a counter-revolutionary role in national liberation struggles, a role which in the past has sometimes been decisive in the defeat of revolutionary forces.

This is not to say that there is anything wrong in principle to China establishing diplomatic ties with even the most reactionary regimes, provided that the prime motivation is the efficient extension of world revolution. In the case of China this is a rare motivation.

The dangerous side of China's actual presence in the UN is that it lends a certain "left" prestige and cover to the organisation, making it easier for the UN to play its counter-revolutionary role. These operations, euphemistically called "peace-keeping" missions, are invariably directed against liberation forces.

Meanwhile current speculation is widespread as to the nature of the power struggle within the Chinese bureaucracy. The theories on this struggle are as numerous as the sources from which they come. It is becoming quite clear however, that Vice Chairman Lin Piao has been suffering from at least a marked decline in popularity in the ruling circles.

It may be worth mentioning and quoting some of the reports and speculation regarding Lin's status in order to gain some idea of the turn of events within the bureaucracy.

In the November 10 *Washington Post*, Stanley Kamow gave a more detailed account of the attacks on Lin that are said to be occurring:

"Unimpeachable informants report... that Communist Party officials inside China are currently being told that Lin and his comrades plotted to assassinate Mao on three different occasions. There is no proof that this allegation is true.

"Lin is also being accused in internal Communist documents as having been the head of the so-called 'May 16th Detachment', a movement of radical extremists that emerged during the summer of 1967 and was later banned.

"Communist cadres are being told as well that Lin tried to escape to the Soviet Union aboard the Chinese aircraft that mysteriously crashed about 100 miles inside Mongolia on the night of September 12."

Agence France-Presse, in a November 9 despatch, described an article in the Communist party theoretical journal *Hung Chi* (Red Flag) that attacked unnamed 'franking leaders' of the party for hatching 'criminal plots'.

Further evidence indicating Lin's fall accumulated rapidly. The November 8 issue of *Newsweek* reported:

"For some years, the toast at Communist gatherings (in Peking) has been: 'Long live Chairman Mao and his close comrade in arms, Vice Chairman Lin Piao'. Now, Lin is no longer being honoured. And when Haile Selassie of Ethiopia proposed a toast to Mao and Lin at a recent Peking banquet, Communist officials neatly edited all mention of the Defence Minister from the transcript of the Emperor's remarks".

Kamow added in his *Washington Post* article that foreign embassies in Peking had been specifically requested to omit Lin's name at diplomatic gatherings. At the United Nations on November 15 it was observed that in speeches welcoming the newly arrived Chinese delegation, representatives of the workers' states and underdeveloped countries that have close diplomatic ties with China, carefully refrained from mentioning Lin while expressing greetings to Mao and to Chou En-lai.

Earlier, Reuters and other sources had reported that during the first week of November, the "little red book" of Mao's quotations had disappeared from bookstores in Peking. The book contains a preface by Lin.

A more subtle attack on Lin was seen in a lengthy article that appeared in the November issue of *Hung Chi*, which was reprinted in the November 8 weekly English language edition of *Hsinhua*.

Ostensibly an attack on "Liu Shao-chi's reactionary theory of human nature", the article accuses Liu of having "denied that the masses have boundless creative power, and advocated the idealist conception that heroes decide everything". Liu, according to the article, believed in the historical role of a "superman" or "prophet".

*Hung Chi* attributed these theories not only to Liu, but also to "other political swindlers" and named:

"But when the theory of human nature has gone bankrupt theoretically, this does not mean that it disappears from actual life. So long as classes and class struggle exist, the theory of human nature will be resurrected in a new guise and continue to poison people".

Ironically, the *Hung Chi* polemic appeared to be an attack on Lin for his sycophantic praise of Mao. During the "cultural revolution" for example, Lin was the author of such remarks as "Chairman Mao is the great genius of the present era", and "Mao Tseung Thought has not grown spontaneously from among the working people. It is rather the result of Chairman Mao's inheriting and developing Marxism-Leninism with genius on the basis of his great revolutionary practice". Such quotations from Vice Chairman Lin Piao are well known in China.

In line with the bureaucratic nature of China's politics and the Mao clique's control over public media, no first hand or objective account of events can be expected. One of the more striking ironies of the struggle, however, is the contrast between Mao's own nationalist centred foreign policy combined with his general sabotage of world revolutionary movements, and polemics which appear to be arising against the actions of Lin Piao.



# Langer Freed

The attempt by the police and bourgeois courts to frame Albert Langer ground to its inevitable farcical conclusion recently. After having served 5 1/2 weeks of an 18 month gaol sentence imposed by a lower court, Langer successfully appealed to the Supreme Court against his conviction.

Langer was originally gaoled for attempting to incite the crowd at the May Day rally to assault the well known police provocateur Bill Larkins. It was obvious from the beginning that the charges against Langer were completely fabricated and the pitiful attempts by the prosecution to build a case against Langer merely served to expose the traditional police tactics of lying, fabricating evidence and destroying evidence which contradicts their own.

Despite the fact that Langer was initially convicted by the corrupt bourgeois legal system, the attempts to organise an extra-legal campaign to free Langer were pitiful. Two rallies, called unilaterally by the Worker Student Alliance and their so-called United Front Against Fascism, were attended by about 400 and 150 people respectively.

Other than this, and the inevitable small

demonstration at the courthouse, no attempt of any significance was made to organise a large free Langer campaign. (The CPA claims cynically to have initiated "national campaigning" around the issue. However, their main object in doing this seems to have been to embarrass the leaders of the Maoist led unions, not to seriously initiate a broad campaign against political repression).

The WSA claims to have initiated a broadly representative United Front Against Fascism, but these claims look somewhat lame when it is considered that most of the speakers at the two rallies which were held were Maoists, and that SYA, which had expressed interest (in the pages of *Direct Action*) in participating actively in a campaign to free Langer, heard only indirectly of the two rallies a few days before they were held.

The sectarianism of the WSA over this issue made Langer's reliance on bourgeois legalism essential to secure his release, and served to minimise the embarrassment which the bourgeoisie experienced at the exposure of the corrupt nature of their legal system.



4 Posters from France May 1968. Left: We are the power, Right: Don't be exploited.

### PRISONS REFORM ASSOCIATION:

Melbourne Forum, Lower Town Hall, Wednesday, 15th December, 8 pm

# TOWARDS A BLACK PARTY

## AN OPEN LETTER BY BOBBI SYKES

Dear Friends,

The black struggle for liberation goes on all over the world, wherever black people live. In all countries, our people are at the bottom of the economic ladder, last to be employed, last to be fed. Here in Australia, we feel our problems to be separate from all other black problems, but that is not so. We tend to see only our day by day problems, not enough food for the kids, not enough money for the rent, and we often over-look or fail to recognize the real reason for all these problems.

One of the major reasons for the poor condition of our people is insufficient money. The problem - how to get more and where should it come from? We can all see the vicious circle, not enough money to send the kids to school so that they can become educated and take better paying jobs. Instead, with inferior education, they are forced to take low-paying jobs, and they in turn won't have enough money to send their kids to school, and their kids will also have to take low-paying jobs, and so it goes on. (We will disregard the discrimination amongst employers of the better-paying jobs for the time being.)

But, let's face it, even with some of the 'better paying' jobs, the wages are not enough to ensure that the family will be well fed, well housed, and well dressed. Education alone is not enough to really ensure our families against hard-ship. While this society allows some people to grow so wealthy that they don't know what to do with their money, and yet others to be so poor that they die of starvation, this society is not being properly run.

Does it concern us - and can we do anything about it? At the very top of the system that runs this society, we have what we call 'Politicians'. These politicians are people who rely very heavily on our support or our apathy to allow them to stay where they are - at the top of the system. If we were to examine very closely the motives of all these politicians and decide who we thought was doing a bad job, and then make every attempt to have them removed, so that a better person could take his place, we would be doing something constructive about all our day to day problems. Most of the people who are at the top of the system today have already proved that they are not the least interested in whether we starve, or whether our kids die, and for this reason they do not deserve to be where they are. And we are instrumental in allowing those uncaring people to remain where they are. We, by not recognizing them for what they are, by not doing all we can to have them removed, are actually allowing and assisting them to keep our Black people oppressed.

The sooner we realize that ALL our problems, from Land Rights, poor education, employment discrimination, to death from malnutrition or starvation, have a political basis, and we begin to deal with our problems at the roots, the sooner our people will have peace and a better life. The struggle for Black Liberation is not just a struggle, it is a fight - and the fight is political. The arena is the political sphere, and we must, to survive, familiarize our-selves with it.

The point which I am trying to make is perhaps clearly summed up with these quotes, written by Angela Davis, in jail in America, and published by Ebony (July 1971).

"I am convinced that the centuries-old sufferings of Black people cannot be alleviated under the present social arrangement. Capitalism is based on the ownership of gigantic economic apparatus, on which the life of the nation depends, by a small minority of privileged men".

Professor (Angela) Davis could have been talking about conditions in Australia when she wrote those words. She further comments:

"Their wealth has been created by millions of working people who have never received the full value of their work."

"The economic system, and thus the society, functions in accordance with the irrational drive for profit. The masses of people, through their work, are mere tools for the realization of profits which are swallowed up by that circle of corporations. This is what exploitation is all about: When people work, they take home in wages far less than the value of what they have actually produced."

"For Black people, this exploitation has always been more intense, more devastating, more deadly. We have always been compelled to take the most ignoble and lowest-paying jobs. And the capitalists have fostered racism among the masses of white people in order better to exploit us. Their exploitation of white workers is also thereby facilitated, for white workers, in their racist posture, ignore their real enemies."

The economic situation Prof. Davis writes about is a replica of our own, and the conditions which the Black people in her country live under are essentially the same as our own. They suffer the same starvation, deprivation, discrimination as we do, and they are Black people as we are. And at the top of the political system in her country, the people are all white, also, and supporters of and supported by capitalism.

(Prof. Davis, has been called 'a self-confessed Communist', a phrase I am loathe to use, as 'self-confessed' is a distortion, and implies that even she thinks that to be a Communist is to be something not quite nice. Prof. Davis proudly claims to be a Communist, and while I am not prepared to debate the reasons for her political stance here in any great detail, it cannot be denied that she speaks not only of the Black people in her country, but of Black people in Australia and elsewhere all over the world)

At the 'Action Conference on Racism' to be held on January 28th to February 3rd, 1972 in Brisbane, Qld., I am proposing - that the Black people in this country give thought to setting up a political party - a national Black party, with representatives from all states. To be successful, I will need to have the support of the Black people who are able to attend, and therefore I ask that those people who plan to be present give a great deal of thought to the question before they arrive at the Conference.

I do not envisage at this stage that we will be able to run a successful candidate in the near future, but a Party has more functions than to just run candidates in elections. If the Black people can form a political base, we will be in a much stronger position when trying to solve problems which affect Black people nationally. Secure in the knowledge that

they have seven-State's support, each State will be better able to tackle their State-problems. Working together on each issue, we should be able to effect some policy changes. For example, if all States supported the Queensland Act Confrontation Committee in their attempt to have the discriminatory legislation removed in that State, and campaigned to that end in their own areas, the chances of success would be multiplied many times over. That each State, at present, is dealing mainly with their own local issues is weakening their own efforts.

If we are able, through the party, to educate our people in the power of the vote, we will have a valuable weapon in our hands. In many areas where our Black people are concentrated, we could use our vote in that area to assist someone we knew we could rely on to gain office. We could start thinking about running our own candidate in those areas, once we knew we had the supporting vote of the Black people there. We badly need representation in the Government, people we have elected to represent us, and not puppets of the capitalists. It is only in this way that our voices can be heard where it counts.

How can we educate our people? Before Captain Cook arrived here, there was government. There was a Social System, and there was Local Government. Under the government by the Tribal Elders, no one person or family went hungry. When there was food, there was food for all. When there was famine, there was famine for all. Under the system of Government which we now have, there is food for some, and famine for many. It is not difficult for us, the many who suffer the long famine, to see which government system is really in the interest of the people. Any system which allows some people in the community to starve while others in that same community amass wealth too great to imagine is not in the best interests of the community as a whole.

Our people have already felt the effects of the present system. Perhaps they don't see why things are as they are - nor that there are alternatives which they themselves can effect. But I do not foresee any difficulty in pointing out to them that the way they lived pre-Cook was the right way. And with the desperation of the situation, I do not think that our people will see the way in which change can be wrought, and not strive to go that way.

The legends of Aboriginal people already have many parallels in this society. The big fish which swallows the small fish - big business swallowing little business - capitalism feeding off small people. The Aborigines who carry the legends already know about this government system. Perhaps the words confuse, capitalism, socialism, communism, democracy, long white-man words to confuse the un-educated, and then to ensure the safety of the system, make sure the Black people remain un-educated so that they will not rise up and strike back at the injustice.

But the era of the un-educated black is almost at an end. In America, the Black man is rejecting capitalism. He is denouncing those of his own who are striving to be black capitalists. A white man who makes money from the suffering of black people is intolerable, but a

black man who makes money from the suffering of his own people is not fit to live. We, in Australia, can surely learn the lesson from our brothers abroad without first having to travel this painful road.

A Black party, as I see it, would have many functions. To educate our own Black people politically, which, as illustrated above would not be difficult, and to become involved in all issues which affect Black people. Besides the Land Rights, the discriminatory legislation, and the other problems with which our people are plagued, it would be necessary in the future to lead our struggle to such organization already formed in their battles for Social Service Justice (we also have many aged-pensioners and un-employed in our ranks who are being slowly starved by inadequate pensions and Unemployment relief), more realistic assistance for un-married mothers (C.H.U.M.s - Care and Help for Un-married Mothers - we have some of them, too), Free Political Prisoners - a great many, if not all Blacks in prisons are there because they were the 'Have-nots' who stole from the 'Have's', or victims of capitalism.

Australia is fast becoming a country of which no person in his right mind could be proud. The Government no longer represents the people. The Government allows foreign companies to rape the country of her wealth, minerals, oil, land-scape. The death-toll sounds for many of our black babies, and the Government ignores the cries of the distraught parents. How long can we sit back and watch this country that we love so much go so swiftly on the road to ruin? Everything that happens in this country affects us.

Many of the Black leaders in our communities have already seen the nature of our fight. Some do not agree on details, where the base should be, what the party should be - but all are in agreement that the fight is political. Bruce McGuinness, Melbourne, (A.A.L. and N.T.C.) is striving to get some form of political education to the people. Evelyn Scott, Townsville, (F.C.A.A.T.S.I.) has several times voiced her opinion on the matter. "The need to have representation for our people in Government is obvious. We need to organize amongst ourselves, to form a party, and the time is now."

Mrs. Merle Jackomos and other women from the National Council of Aboriginal Women: We need to think how to get political education for our-selves and the sooner we begin, the better it will be for us.

Mrs. Faith Bandler, (Gen. Sec. of F.C.A.A.T.S.I.), "I believe there is a need for a Black party. All must see this whole struggle as a political struggle. The very basis of all our work must be political and should be tackled as such. The existing white parties are too self-centred and complicated. The need to bring forward the tremendous problems black Australians are faced with is far too much for a party to handle as a side line."

Black people in this country have sat quietly for two hundred years. Yet things are little better than they were 50 years ago, and infinitely worse than they were 250 years ago. The time to move is now. The task to be tackled is gigantic, but the time to start is now. Procrastination is criminal. When each passing year adds hundreds of infants' deaths to our

untold agony is suffered by many of our people, those who see the problem and do not act are as guilty as those who cause the conditions to prevail.

Black Liberation can only be accomplished by Black people, from within, with self-denial, with effort, and, if necessary, with blood. A United Front must be maintained at all cost, even if that cost is life, because to give life for a cause is better than to give infants' lives for capitalists greed. The common enemy is not white, the common enemy is GREED - and we must stamp it out wherever it rears its head, - whether in our own people, or in those who govern us. The responsibility lies with those who have had the opportunity to see the problem, with those who have had the opportunity to learn, to obtain education. Those who have not had these opportunities are entitled to share with us the benefit we have gained, because only by their suffering have these opportunities been opened to us.

The January Conference, and the formation of the proposed Black party, could be the beginning of a new way of life, could be the beginning of the end of suffering, could be the beginning of a decent life for our people. It could also be a big flop. The decision lies with you.



## Cops Attack Koorie Demo

Nine people were arrested in Brisbane on Tuesday, November 23 at a demonstration staged by Queensland koories outside the office of the Director of the Queensland Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Act.

The Act has recently come under a renewed barrage of criticism because of its openly repressive and racist nature. The nature of the Act was again revealed on the weekend before the demonstration when an aborigine who was "assisted" under the Act, was picked up for questioning.

He was held without access to anybody who might have known what his even limited legal rights were. The police got him to sign a statement which led to his arrest on a murder charge.

Other blacks who found out what had happened said that the Director of the Act, Mr. Killoran, should have seen that the detained man's rights were protected from violation by the police because the

An active campaign calling upon the Western Australian government to free Lionel Brockman has been launched in Melbourne. Activities so far have included distributing leaflets outside the Western Australian Tourist Bureau and a rally in the City Square. Badges have been produced and money is being collected for use in the campaign.

The rally in the City Square was attended by about 100 people and included two street theatre skits pointing out the extent of racist discrimination against black Australians and culminating with the burning-in effigy of the Labor Premier of Western Australia, Tonkin. Speakers at the rally pointed out the fact that Lionel Brockman, a black man with ten children, was thrown out of work by a rural depression and was driven to steal by the necessity to feed his children. No attempt was made to defend the acts of stealing but it was pointed out very firmly that in this



## Defend Lionel Brockman!

man came under his jurisdiction. The koories received no co-operation from Killoran.

They then went to the anti-racist conference in Southport, and told what had happened. A demonstration was then organised.

The demonstrators went to see the Director at his office in George Street but found the doors locked and police on the scene. When the demonstrators tried to force the doors open, the police attacked. Fighting broke out and the cops called reinforcements.

Several koories were arrested, including Denis Walker former Chairman of the National Tribal Council. In reporting the event, the bourgeois press featured arch racist Queensland Premier Bjelke-Petersen's pious utterances about "violence" (by the blacks of course), which effectively obscured the issue of the repressive Act itself.

ABOVE: Demonstration demanding the release of Lionel Brockman in Melbourne.

society (supposedly one of the most affluent in the world) no man should be forced to steal in order to save his family from starvation.

It was also pointed out that the State of Western Australia made no attempt to alleviate the plight of the Brockman family, in fact the family's plight was worsened when Brockman was thrown into gaol for petty theft.

The rest of Brockman's story is well known; he escaped from gaol, and in the manhunt which followed, the police spend \$50,000 trying to catch a petty thief. (Would the police have spent such an amount in order to recapture a white petty thief?). At one stage it appeared that the police were setting Brockman up for a shooting, as their public relations releases constantly emphasised the fact that Brockman was carrying a .22 rifle (which he used to shoot kangaroos). In fact the police did shoot at Brockman's family and probably the only thing which saved Brockman from being shot was the fact that the bourgeois press saw fit to sensationalise the issue, and too much adverse public reaction would have resulted if Brockman had been shot.

However, for every Lionel Brockman case which the press chooses to sen-

sationalise, there are 100 others which pass unnoticed every day. Gaols all over Australia contain numbers of black people out of all proportion to the percentage which they make up of the population. This explains the rising militancy of the black Australian community and its most recent manifestation, the militant black demonstration in Brisbane. There will be more Brisbane's in the near future despite press outcries against "black violence", unless all discrimination against black people is ended immediately, unless black people are granted the right to work, the right to educational equality, the right to proper housing, in short, the right to live on equal terms with the rest of the population.

Write to the Western Australian Premier protesting against the victimization of Lionel Brockman for attempting to feed his family.

Send protests (and donations) to:  
"The Brockman Defence Campaign,"  
P.O. Box 83,  
Chadstone Centre,  
MELBOURNE, VICTORIA.

or direct to Premier Tonkin,  
Parliament House,  
PERTH, W.A.

## Action Conference on Racism & Education

JAN. 28-FEB. 2.  
University of Queensland,  
Student Union.  
Contact: Dan O'Neill, 22 St. Lucia Rd,  
St. Lucia, Brisbane, 4067, Ph. 713976  
or Tony Lawson, 3297666, Melbourne.

## TAMMUR TOUR

Mataungan Association Patron Oscar Tammur who was jailed recently by the Administration in New Guinea will be arriving in Australia on December 2 on a fund raising visit to help finance the Mataungan Association in its court cases over the murder of Commissioner Emmanuel in August this year.

MELBOURNE MEETING  
Tuesday December 7, 8pm.  
Assembly Hall, 156 Collins St.,  
SYDNEY MEETING  
Friday December 10, 8pm.  
Trades Hall, Goulburn St.,

## IRISH ACTION

A very successful Forum on Ireland was held in Melbourne on Sunday 14th Nov. Sponsored by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (Melbourne) it was attended by more than 100 people.

The theme of the forum was to explain and protest at the repressive Special Powers Act which allows arrest without trial and indefinite internment. At the moment hundreds of militants are being held in concentration camps at Long Kesh and elsewhere in Northern Ireland. Speakers stressed the need to put pressure onto the Faulkner and Heath governments in order to force them to end their repressive measures. A campaign to boycott all goods made in Britain was announced.

Speakers also stressed the need for solidarity with the nationalist Catholic minority of Northern Ireland in its fight against British troops and sectarian mobs. A representative of the Official I.R.A. spoke of the Republican movement's objective of a united socialist Ireland, and its work in defence of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland, as well as its activities in developing mass actions around popular demands in all of Ireland. The panel of 10 included two speakers from Socialist Youth Alliance.

Following on this meeting, a demonstration was held on Saturday Nov. 27th to protest the Special Powers Act and to call for the withdrawal of all British troops from Northern Ireland. Up to 100 people rallied in the City Square after a march for the Treasury Gardens, and then went on to the British High Commission. Many leaflets were distributed and speakers explained the situation in Northern Ireland to city crowds. Placards called for "Murderers out of Ireland" and "Defeat the Special Act."

## P.A.S.C. ACTION

A demonstration against the visiting Israeli soccer team took place in Melbourne on Nov. 21st. Called by the Palestinian Australian Solidarity Committee, it started with a rally in City Square and marched to Olympic Park, where leaflets were distributed and further speeches made.

An unfortunate feature of the City Square Rally was the presence of half a dozen members of the Greater Syria Party with their banner. They are a semi-fascist organization, and have nothing in common with the P.A.S.C. on any of the participating groups. They were asked to leave the demonstration, which they eventually did and it proceeded without further incident.

## P.A.Y.O. Meeting

On November 7th in Melbourne the Progressive Arab Youth Organization opened its new headquarters at 260 Russell St. with a meeting and film showing. Nearly 100 people saw a film on the situation in the Gaza strip and listened to speakers from the Arab community as well as speakers from S.Y.A., W.S.A. and the C.P.A. organizations involved in the Palestinian-Australian Solidarity Committee.

This was the first public activity for the newly formed Progressive Arab Youth Organization, which has adopted the same political position on Palestine as the P.A.S.C., ie.

1. Solidarity with the Palestinian revolution
2. Palestine for the Palestinians, regardless of race or religion.
3. Opposition to Zionism, Arab Reaction & Imperialism in all its forms.
4. Support for liberation movements in other parts of the world.

## Student conference

CONFERENCE ON UNIVERSITY STRUGGLE & CHANGE, DEC. 11-12. SYDNEY UNIVERSITY, CARSLAW LECTURE THEATRE 12. INFORMATION: BOX 68, THE UNION, UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY, 2006. or RING LYN REGAN ON 6606440.



Darwin blacks squat in front of peakhour traffic in support of land rights for the Larrakia tribe.

The following article has been condensed from an article by PETER CAMEJO that appeared in *The Militant*, the paper of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

Was the Sept. 4, 1970 victory of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity coalition in the Chilean elections for socialism? Did it at least set into motion an evolution toward socialism? Does the Popular Unity government represent the interests of the workers and peasants of Chile? Many radicals would answer these questions with an unhesitating "yes". From some accounts in the major press, one might wonder if a socialist revolution had already taken place in Chile. What are the facts?

#### Important reforms

Since his elections, Allende has implemented a number of reforms, some of them significant. Probably the most important was the general pay increase averaging approximately 35 percent. Some very poorly paid workers received even more.

Soon after his election, Allende announced his plans for nationalization of copper mines and a few other corporations. The land reforms initiated by the previous government prior to Allende's election have been speeded up and a special riot police unit of 2,000 was disbanded and its men sent into other units of the Chilean national police (Carabineros Corps).

Political prisoners - most of whom were young revolutionaries who had engaged in expropriation of banks and other armed actions - were set free. In return, they called for a moratorium on such actions.

Allende established diplomatic ties with Cuba, China and East Germany. The reforms the Allende government has implemented are a direct product of mass pressure generated by the struggles of the workers and peasants of Chile. They have brought him increased popularity, which was reflected in the municipal elections last April in which the Popular Unity coalition, received more votes than all of its opponents combined.

Can these and other proposed reforms be taken as a sign that Chile is moving toward socialism?

To answer this question, we should look at how Allende became president of Chile, what the Popular Unity is, exactly what his reforms are, and how they are being implemented.

#### What is Popular Unity?

"The program of the Popular Unity is not a Communist program," declared Allende last October, "nor is it a Socialist program, nor a Radical program, nor the program of the MAPU (Movement of United People's Action), or the API (Independent Popular Action). It is the convergence of opinion." In other words, it is a program that is acceptable to all the parties involved. And the Popular Unity coalition is a familiar combination of bourgeois and working-class political parties.

But foremost amongst the bourgeois parties participating in the Popular Unity coalition is the Radical Party which has come to realize that the radicalization occurring was not only the deepest yet, but that it was considerably broadening the electoral base of the Socialist and Communist Party.

To achieve a popular front it was willing to placate the powerful left forces developing within the S.P. (as a result of the radicalization) by supporting the nomination of Allende for Presidency.

And so the Radical Party "betrayers" of yesterday, who only six years earlier had been in a political alliance with the extreme right wing, joined in the formation of a popular front coalition. They received a warm welcome. "We hope that the new situation will allow (the Radicals) to win back some of the strength which made them the top Chilean formation for a long time", purred the leading CP senator Volodia Teitelboim following the elections.

#### The Election

Allende's victory on Sept. 4, 1970, was made possible by several factors. Amongst these was the decline of the

Christian Democratic Party (C.D.P.) in the 6 years since it won the election in 1969; and the split in the bourgeois forces reflected by the Candidacies of Tomie of the CDP on a left reform programme and Alessandri of the National Party campaigning on the danger of a Communist takeover.

The final vote was 1,075,616 for Allende, 1,036,278 for Alessandri, and 824,849 for Tomie. Since no candidate received more than 50 percent of the vote, the outcome of the election was referred to a joint session of the House and Senate for a decision on Oct. 24.

#### Wheeling and dealing

The Tomie-led CDP agreed to make Allende president if he, along with the rest of Popular Unity, would accept certain constitutional amendments to strengthen capitalist institutions (referred to by the CDP as "reinforcing democracy"). These amendments would limit the authority of the president while increasing the independence from Congress and the executive of certain bourgeois institutions; they constituted a kind of blackmail.

On Sept. 30, Allende released a seven-page statement in which he indignantly refused to accept the CDP proposal.

The CDP's purpose was not to extract a promise from Allende that he would maintain capitalism; of that they had no fear.

No, the CDP has another purpose in mind: to take advantage of the situation created by the closeness of the election to improve its own position in coming battles between the ruling class and the masses by alternating some of the rules of the game. The CDP stuck to its demands in spite of declarations by the CP and Allende that they would not capitulate.

In less than two weeks Allende capitulated. The agreement was signed and Allende's election to the presidency assured with the support not only of the CDP, but even of Alessandri, who said, "My best wishes for success go to the next president of Chile, whose long and proven democratic convictions, reflected in attitudes of constant respect for the constitution and the laws, are well-known."

The majority of the Chilean ruling class would have preferred Alessandri or Tomie as president. The masses, however, could not be persuaded to go along with the ruling class first choice, and so an alternative had to be accepted, one that would be able to co-opt the electorate's desire for change by granting reforms without exceeding the boundaries of capitalist property relations. This alternative was Allende.

Nevertheless, Allende and his government represents a very left-wing version of such a reformist regime. This is true because of the general radicalization among the masses and the economic instability that plagues Latin America. To be sure, the ruling classes in Chile and the United States do fear that under Allende the masses may become uncontrollable; they are afraid that the masses, believing that Allende represents them, may grow more daring in both their demands and their actions. At the same time, however, Allende wants the ruling class that unless it accepts him, the masses will certainly revolt. It is precisely this misguided faith which the masses have in him that makes Allende useful to the ruling class in its efforts to contain those masses.

#### Allende's inauguration

In return for the bourgeoisie's endorsement, Allende set up a cabinet in which the majority (eight out of 15) of the members come from the bourgeois parties in the Popular Unity coalition, in spite of the fact that these parties accounted for only a small fraction of the Popular Unity vote. Of the remaining seven cabinet ministers, three are Communists and four Socialists.

Allende began his inauguration with a speech calling for "work and sacrifice" from the masses. He pledged before Congress to "keep and obey the constitution." Of Chile's youth, Allende said "A rebellious student in the past, I will not criticize their impatience, but it is my duty to ask them to think calmly."

The inauguration ceremonies included a visit to church, where Allende was greeted by a Cardinal and a choir sang Hallelujahs.

So with the blessing of the church, the army and the outgoing president Frei Allende took office and promised to lead

Chile to socialism by obeying the constitution based on capitalist private property, the army and police.

How has Allende's law-and-order road to socialism been working out? Let us look at the program of the Popular Unity coalition and see how it is being applied in reality.

Despite the leftist tone of its introduction and its vague references to socialism, this program in no way challenges the continued existence of capitalism. It challenges neither the armed defenders of capitalism, the army and police, nor the sacred bourgeois right of private property. It aims to improve the infrastructure of Chile's capitalist economy by helping private business while not eliminating foreign investment.

#### Nationalization of the mines

The nationalization of the mines - copper in particular - is an important part of the Popular Unity program, and it will represent a victory for the Chilean masses. Still, nationalization in and of itself does not mean that capitalism is being eliminated. (Bolivia nationalized its mines almost 20 years ago, yet capitalism remains in power and the masses are as exploited as ever.)

Allende's plan for nationalization is to buy the mines from the United States. This policy was actually begun under the previous Christian Democratic regime of Eduardo Frei, which has already bought 51 percent of the major mines by the time Allende was voted into office.

Allende has similar plans for the banks and large estates.

Why do the representatives of Chilean capitalism approve Allende's plans for nationalization? The main reason is their fear of the masses, their fear of a revolution that would actually make fundamental changes in the social structure. They see the wisdom of nationalizing copper with full compensation and hoping the masses will think they have achieved socialism. Meanwhile, the masses will be forced to extract millions of dollars each year from their pitiful wages and send it off to U.S. millionaires. And who is to oversee the flow of this wealth to the United States? The "socialist" government of Allende, of course.

The imperialists go along with the nationalizations for several reasons. First, while it is true that the nationalizations cut into the profits (sometimes up to 27 percent) they were making until recently on their mine holdings, they will still continue to make money on their investments for at least another 20 years.

Second, they realize that any attempt to block nationalization by force could provoke a revolutionary situation which in turn could lead to the loss of the mines without any compensation at all. And third, the bourgeoisie state apparatus, including the police, remains intact and could thus be called upon at some time in the future to help reverse the present left-wing trend.

Moreover, present imperialist investments in Latin America are switching from mining, petroleum and other raw materials to non mining industries, such as manufacturing. These Allende is not threatening to nationalize.

#### Land Reform

Allende is also promising to pay with interest for the land reform. The law under which Allende is operating is the same one passed by the previous, openly pro-imperialist, Frei government.

Because of foot-dragging by both Frei and Allende, peasants throughout the country - including the 250,000 strong Mapuche Indians in the south - are simply taking over the land. If Allende were to attempt to prevent the takeovers by force, his popularity would plummet and his government might face peasant uprisings or a revolutionary situation. Instead, his government is quick to assure the landowners that they will be paid for their land.

This may not be easy however, the pressure for a faster pace towards socialism is the keenest difficulty Allende faces. It is this pressure which is most dramatically reflected in the occupation of land and building sites.

In the past, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party associated themselves with similar efforts by the masses to alleviate their oppression. Now that they are part of the bourgeois government,

# CHILE



## Is Allende's government on the road to socialism?



"We shall never make parliamentarism appear. About this there should not be the slightest doubt. It is the essential principle of Chilean democracy."



"Permit me, on this solemn occasion to voice our people's thanks to the forces and to the Carabineros Corps which abide by the Constitution and the rule of law."

however, they are singing a different tune.

On Feb. 13, 1971 Allende announced special legislation to punish land invasion instigators. And recently force has begun to be used to remove peasants from occupied lands.

#### Army and Police

The army and police formed to protest and maintain the privileges of the capitalist ruling class, are not only to remain intact but workers and peasants who correctly suspect that these forces may soon be used against them again will be forbidden to arm themselves.

Allende by refusing to arm the masses and by supporting the army and police, assures the capitalist ruling class that so long as he is president, the workers and peasants will not run Chile. Revolution is not part of his programme.

#### Foreign Policy

Allende has declared his intention to maintain relations with all countries. This represents a victory for the Chilean masses because it means the establishment of relations with countries like Cuba and China.

A closer look at Allende's foreign policy will indicate that rather than being anti-imperialist, it is actually a sophisticated cover-up for imperialism.

"Our international policy is based, as it was yesterday, on respect for international commitments freely assumed, self-determination and non-intervention." Allende is quoted as saying in the winter issue of *New World Review*.

What is the truth behind all this piety?

The "international commitments" Allende referred to include the \$2-billion to the United States "freely assumed" by Chile's rich, but to be paid for by Chile's poor.

Allende talks about a policy of opposing imperialist intervention into the affairs of other nations, and the Popular Unity program even contains a passing sentence calling for "active solidarity" with Vietnam. As president, however, Allende has neither condemned U.S. aggression in Indochina nor done anything to aid the Vietnamese.

Not only does he remain silent in the face of imperialist aggression in Vietnam, but he even tries to play down its interventionist role in Latin America. Asked if he thought the U.S. government would conspire with business interests against Chile, he said, "I simply cannot imagine that the U.S. government would make common cause with private enterprise on an issue like this and frame policy accordingly. Unfortunately, history does teach that on occasion in the past this has been the case."

#### Wages and work

In 1966, Castro insisted that "a government can ask the workers to make sacrifices when a revolution has been made in the social structure to the benefit of the workers; but no government can tell the workers to make sacrifices for the benefit of the bourgeoisie, for the benefit of the rich. No government can tell the workers not to demand salary increases in order to develop an industry as the private property of the capitalists."

The Allende government has chosen not to follow this admonition.

With its endless financial obligations to imperialism and the local rich, and in the face of the anarchy of capitalist production and the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the popular front in Chile will find itself compelled to call upon the masses to make further sacrifices to keep the economy above water. The continued hardship on the masses can only lead to disillusionment and demoralization once it becomes clear that their situation remains the same or even becomes more difficult while the millionaires continue to drive luxury cars and find their wealth and privilege untouched.

The capitalist ruling class can, of course, be expected to take advantage of the failures of its own system to campaign against the alleged failures of socialism. This will intertwine with the demagoguery of the government and the reformist parties as they call upon the masses to make even

greater sacrifices for "socialist" Chile.

#### Parliamentary democracy?

The Popular Unity program also provides for a structural change in the parliamentary system.

Rather than content itself with reforms of the bourgeois parliamentary system, the Allende government should have initiated popular forms of dual power in opposition to the bourgeois structure. It could have begun this process with the Popular Unity committees that were organized among the workers, peasants, and the poor in general during the election campaign last fall. These committees functioned in neighbourhoods, factories, and on the land throughout the entire country. Unfortunately, however, following the ratification of the electoral victory on Oct. 24 last year, the Communist and Socialist parties allowed the Popular Unity committees to be demobilized.

#### Popular front vs. united front

The kind of popular front represented by the Allende government and the Popular Unity coalition is nothing new. It has been tried before--and with disastrous results. What is a popular front? What are its limitations? And what are the implications of the class-collaborationist policy upon which it is based?

The concept of a popular front (or people's front) was developed to its current polished form by the Communist parties during the 1930s. Their claim at that time was that the popular front was a continuation under new conditions of the original policy of the united front advocated by Lenin and the Communist International in the early 1920s. In reality, however, it was the exact opposite.

The concept of a united front is to bring together working-class organisations and other organisations representing oppressed social layers on the basis of common agreement on specific issues and above all to engage in united actions against the ruling class. The united front tactic is an effective tool for bringing to bear the maximum strength of the oppressed against the ruling class. It is founded on uncompromising independence from and opposition to the ruling class. Its main purpose is to prevent sectarianism, or isolation of the politically advanced workers from the more conservative workers who could be won over in struggle.

Popular fronts by their very nature are incapable of responding to the needs of the masses. The solution to the pressing problems of poverty lies in the abolition of capitalism.

A socialist revolution in Chile would begin, like the Cuban revolution, by disarming the army and police and creating armed units of the working class and peasantry to defend their interests. Foreign as well as national corporations would be nationalized without compensation. Democratic control over Chilean political, economic and social life would develop through worker and peasant committees.

A popular front government will be unable to see to it that such anticapitalist transformations take place, for it is characterized by the fact that it prevents the working class from struggling for a government of workers and peasants that could abolish capitalism and carry out a socialist transformation of society. The essence of a P.F. is determined not by the relative weight of the various parties involved or the size of the bourgeois component of the coalition, but by the fact that the working class is kept corralled within limits acceptable to the bourgeoisie, or a section of the bourgeoisie.

#### Other popular fronts

Perhaps the best-known "people's" government in recent history was the Sukharno regime in Indonesia. There, as in Chile today, the Communist Party called for a worker-peasant-national bourgeois alliance. The Indonesian CP even went along with the concept that the Sukharno regime represented a peculiar but necessary blend of nationalism, Islam and socialism. (This has a familiar ring today in the Chilean CP's assertion that "the three great ideological currents will work together: the Marxists, the Christians and the Masonic Laity.")

Even Communist parties do not speak any more about the "peaceful" road to socialism that was followed by the "people's" government in Indonesia. When the bourgeoisie turned on its working-class and peasant "allies" the massacre that ensued left up to a million worker and peasant militants dead and the third largest Communist Party

in the world (with 3,000,000 members and 20,000,000 sympathizers) decimated. None of this would have happened had it not been for the fact that the Communist Party assured the masses that they could trust the armed forces and that to arm themselves would be a provocation.

#### Peaceful road to socialism

No ruling class in history has ever relinquished its rule without putting up a fight. The revolutionary forces have had to physically disarm the state apparatus and repressive forces of the ruling class they wished to replace. In light of the lessons of history, to advocate a "peaceful" road to socialism is the same as not advocating revolution.

Nevertheless, the Chilean Communist Party (not to mention the American and Soviet parties) deliberately promotes the illusion that a peaceful road to revolution is possible and that one is now being travelled in Chile.

To spread such illusions is not only absurd but dangerous. The Chilean bourgeoisie did not create its army and its police in order to allow pieces of paper in a ballot box to abolish its wealth, privilege and power. This notion that a ruling class can be defeated by ballot enough pieces of paper into a ballot box represents a rejection of the Marxist view of the state and of bourgeois society. Marxism holds that every state apparatus reflects the interests of the ruling class and that the state apparatus of the ruling class cannot be used to serve the needs of an oppressed class. In Chile and other capitalist societies, this means that the working class must replace that apparatus with one of its own.

#### The revolutionary left

Although it is likely, it is not certain that with Allende the Chilean masses will once again be disoriented, demoralized, and demobilized by a popular front government. The objective conditions in Latin America today are very different from what they were during previous popular front governments during the thirties and forties. The "leftism" of the Allende popular front is itself a by-product of the new conditions.

Once again a left wing is developing within the Socialist Party. This time it is under the impact of the Cuban revolution, which has convinced many young people that a socialist revolution is possible and that armed struggle is necessary to achieve it. In such a context, it cannot be ruled out that a revolutionary alternative could develop out of an intensification of the contradictions within the Popular Unity coalition.

Unfortunately, the revolutionary left is largely confused. The victory of Allende left the MIR and other ultra left groups disoriented, the former actually giving critical support to Allende.

The Revolutionary left lacks a political analysis of popular frontism and its critical support of Allende has tended to diminish the possibility of a revolutionary party developing out of the sharpening class struggle in Chile.

In Chile it is only the Trotskyists, both as an independent current and within the ranks of the Socialist Party, who are helping to bring clarity into this confusion. On the eve of last September's election, the Chilean Trotskyists wrote: "If Salvador Allende wins, we will see the formation of a worker-bourgeois coalition government which, under cover of party politics, will block authentic mass participation in the administration of the country and will defend the capitalist structure."

"The arming of the proletariat is the essential condition for further advance of the struggle and for the victory of the revolution...."

"The reformist parties refuse to accept the task of arming the people and put all their energy into preventing them from taking up arms. Their refusal to carry out such an urgent task vividly reveals their rejections of revolution."

"The revolutionary vanguard, which has already taken the initiative in this work will have to raise the level of its activity and extend it, offering the mass movement all its experience and knowledge. By its determination, it will have to carry this process through to its conclusion."

This, not the popular frontism of the Allende government, points the way for the Chilean masses.

# THE POLLUTION CRISIS

## HOW CAN WE SAVE OUR ENVIRONMENT?

This article has been condensed from an article entitled 'Nixon's "Solution" to the Pollution Crisis' by Ronald Reosti that appeared in *International Socialist Review*, a Marxist theoretical journal published by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States.

Although most examples cited refer to the U.S., readers will see that they are immediately relevant to Australia. The responsibility of industry for the problem in Australia has been clearly met by Don Whittington in "The Effluent Society" (which will be reviewed in our next issue). The attempt to blame individuals for pollution is quite blatantly portrayed by the official poster (see photo) put out by the N.S.W. government. But the analysis and warnings of Reosti and the solution he offers must be heeded by us in Australia now!

Dr. John H. Ryther of the Woods Hole Institute in a telephone interview published in the October 4, 1970, *New York Times*, warned that domestic waste "is being discharged at a fearful rate from urban areas into conveniently close marine dumping grounds." This, he said, is "leading in extreme cases to the gradual but certain death of commercially useful marine animals, and leaving the waters undesirable if not repugnant."

Another observer has charged that the extermination of marine life is far from gradual. Oceanographer and filmmaker Jacques Yves Cousteau, after completing a three-and-a-half-year, round-the-world cruise in September 1970, reported, "Pollution has become so extensive that we estimate that 40 percent of marine life has disappeared."

The buildup of noxious chemicals in city air has already led to major disasters when compounded by an atmospheric inversion that prevented them from dispersing. Accepted estimates put the death toll in the 1952 London inversion at 3,500-4,000. Some 168 persons died in the 1966 Los Angeles "Thanksgiving Day Disaster."

### Poisoning the biosphere.

All life on this planet exists and reproduces itself in a narrow belt known as the biosphere. The hospitable portions of the earth are relatively small. For all practical purposes the biosphere is limited to the first few millimeters of topsoil; the upper waters of lakes, oceans, and rivers; and open land surfaces that receive enough but not too much direct sunlight. Within the biosphere, life is sustained through a series of delicately balanced "ecosystems," characterized by definite relationships between living organisms and their chemical and mineral environment. Thus a pond in New England is an ecosystem defined by the relationship between the fish and plant life on one side

and the chemical or other nonliving elements present. If the "automatic" regulators, evolved over millions of years, are thrown off by the artificial introduction of some new component, the whole system can be rapidly destroyed. For example, if nitrates are dumped into the pond, algae will flourish, eventually depleting the supply of oxygen dissolved in the water. When a critical point is reached in this process, all fish will die for lack of oxygen.

Each of the innumerable interdependent ecosystems reproduced the conditions for its continued existence through a series of cycles: energy from the sun is absorbed by photosynthesizing plants, which in turn break down atmospheric carbon dioxide and water to form organic compounds and free oxygen. The very air we breathe is an organic, not a "natural" chemical product. Before the beginnings of life on earth there was no oxygen in the planet's atmosphere. The 21 percent of our air that is today composed of oxygen was produced by the release of gaseous oxygen from sea water by primitive ocean dwelling plankton-like organisms some two billion years ago. Any threat to the continued existence of phytoplankton in the sea and of a certain volume of green plants on land threatens the continuity of the oxygen cycle on which we depend for breathable air. Similar essential cycles involve water vapor, carbon, nitrogen, certain rare minerals such as phosphorus, etc.

The great danger for humanity lies in the fact that technology has outstripped our social system. Through the large-scale burning of fossil fuels - coal, oil, and gasoline - measurable changes are being introduced in several of the basic life-sustaining cycles of the biosphere. But in the absence of a worldwide planned socialist economy, there is no way to regulate these potentially disastrous changes.

Combustion of fossil fuels releases a number of pollutants into the atmosphere: carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide, sulphur oxides, hydrocarbons, nitrogen oxides, and solid particles, in that order. Carbon dioxide is the least overtly harmful, but the great volume of its increase may be perilous. In the last century the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere has risen from about 290 parts per million to 320. It is expected to increase another 18 percent by the year 2000. Scientists cannot now estimate what effects changes of this scope will have, but they are fairly certain that there are no "natural" ecological mechanisms that can neutralize them. Professors Preston Cloud and Aharon Gibor of the University of Santa Barbara, writing in the September 1970 issue of *Scientific American* (devoted entirely to the biosphere), provided this warning:

In addition to inhaling oxygen and exhaling carbon dioxide as a well-behaved animal does, man decreases the oxygen level and increases the carbon dioxide level by burning fossil fuels and paving formerly green land. He is also engaged in a vast but unplanned experiment to see what effects oil spills and an array of pesticides will have on the world's phytoplankton. The increase in the albedo, or reflectivity, of the earth as a result of covering its waters with a molecule-thick film of oil could also affect plant growth by lowering the temperature and in other unforeseen ways.

The increase in carbon dioxide is expected to change the reflective properties of the atmosphere, but scientists are uncertain whether this will mean that less of the sun's radiation will get through (resulting in drastic cooling of the earth) or if the atmosphere would retain more of the heat radiated back into space from the ground at night (this could raise temperatures enough to melt the polar ice caps and flood the world's coastal cities).

One prominent scientist, Dr. S.I. Rasool of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and Columbia University, warns that atmospheric changes induced by other by-products of industrial burning, particularly sulphur dioxide, are

even more threatening. "In the next 50 years," Rasool was quoted as saying by the July 9 *Washington Post*, "the fine dust man constantly puts into the atmosphere by fossil fuel-burning could screen out so much sunlight that the earth's average temperature could drop by six degrees. 'If sustained over several years' - 'five to ten,' he (Rasool) estimated - 'such a temperature decrease could be sufficient to trigger an ice age!'" The usually staid *Scientific American* issued a similar warning in Professor G. Evelyn Hutchinson's introduction to the special issue on the biosphere cited above:

"... it is evident that the biosphere could remain habitable for a very long time, many times the estimated length of the history of the genus *Homo*, which might be two million years old... Many people, however, are concluding on the basis of mounting and reasonable objective evidence that the length of life of the biosphere as an inhabitable region for organisms is to be measured in decades rather than in hundreds of millions of years. This is entirely the fault of our own species. It would seem not unlikely that we are approaching a crisis that is comparable to the one that occurred when free oxygen began to accumulate in the atmosphere."

### Population, technology, and pollution.

One glib explanation for the rise in pollution is that there are too many people. This has a certain subjective appeal to apologists for the status quo, inasmuch as it shifts the blame from industrial polluters to the people as a whole, and places environmental destruction in the category of inevitable catastrophes like earthquakes and hurricanes about which nothing can directly be done. Is there any evidence for this view?

Professor Paul Erlich, the author of *Population Bomb* and a leading advocate of the "too many people" thesis, has proposed the following formula for determining the level of pollution: population size multiplied by per capita consumption, multiplied by environmental impact per unit of consumption. An important article in the April issue of *Environment* magazine disputed the conclusions drawn by Erlich. Dr. Barry Commoner, director of the Centre for the Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University in St. Louis, Michael Cori, executive secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science's Committee on Environmental Alterations, and Paul Stamler, a researcher for the committee, in a summary of their study of the precise origins of pollution, found that population was not a major factor in this equation.

Between 1946 and 1968 population increased 48 percent. During the same period Gross National Product rose 59 percent. But at the same time various measurable pollution levels rose anywhere from 200 to 1,000 percent, according to Commoner, Cori, and Stamler.

They showed a direct correlation between pollution and a small number of specific industries and chemical processes. In the period studied, consumption of plastics increased 1,024 percent; use of mercury in industry, 2,150 percent; consumption of synthetic organic chemicals, 495 percent; use of nitrogen fertilizer, 534 percent; detergents, 300 percent; and electric power, 276 percent.

The three scientists wrote:

"The predominant factor in our industrial society's increased environmental degradation is neither population nor affluence, but the increasing environmental impact per unit of production due to technological changes... Thus, in seeking public policies to alleviate environmental degradation, it must be recognized that a stable population with stable consumption patterns would still face increasing environmental problems if the environmental impact of production continues to increase. Hence, social choices with regard to productive technology are inescapable in resolving the environmental crisis."

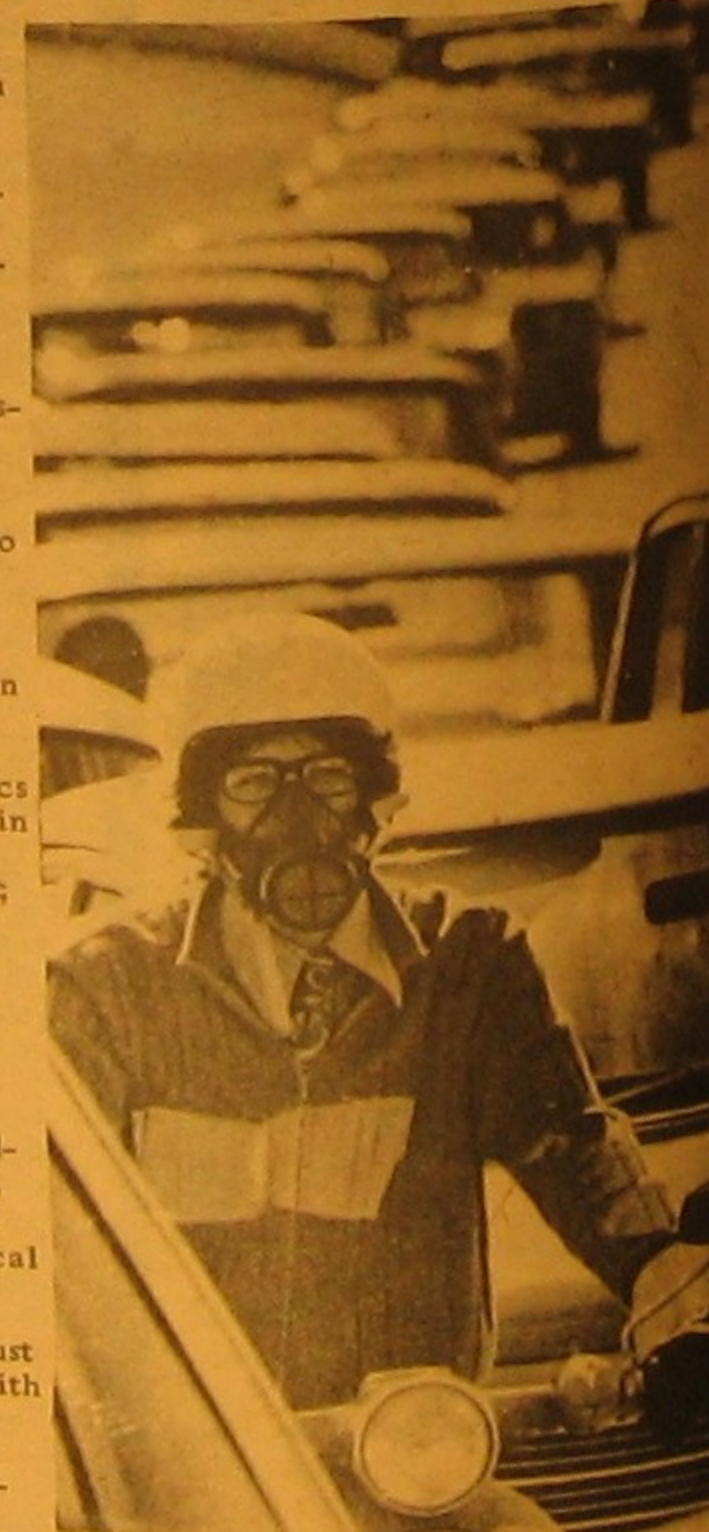
There are those who urge a return to a primitive pastoral economy, the abandonment of technology, as the only escape from the chemical Frankensteins of modern industry. Such a solution is, of course, untenable. It would mean the destruction of possible millions of human lives under the conditions of complex interdependency of advanced industrial society. There is no reason to believe that technology cannot be controlled for the benefit of our species, despite assurances to the contrary by the present owners of industry for whom such control would mean their dispossession. The use of technology is determined by society. It is the social system which decides whether or not to use nuclear power and for what purpose. And it is the social system that decides whether to allocate the resources to solve the problems posed by the side effects of industrial production. To endow machines with a life of their own, independent of the people who use them, is to succumb to fatalism and mysticism.

### How can the environment be saved?

Nixon claims to see no contradiction between the continued private ownership of industry - capitalism - and his professed aim of halting environmental degradation. As he puts it, "our goal must be to harness the powerful mechanisms of the marketplace... to encourage improvement in the quality of life."

Unfortunately for this thesis, it is precisely the "powerful mechanisms of the marketplace" that are destroying the quality of life. Nixon himself as the political representative of the capitalist class acts as a conscious instrument of the market place. Take for example, auto exhaust, Nixon's pet project in eliminating air pollution. It is clear that well-planned, electrically operated, urban mass transit systems would not only eliminate much auto exhaust, but would cost the society as a whole less and would be more efficient than the present proliferation of individual cars. But what good for General Motors is selling cars, not subway and monorail systems. With all the "good will" in the world, GM's corporate stockholders cannot be expected to preside over the liquidation of their financial empire for the benefit of society as a whole.

### Corporations find it cheaper (an economy)



ic stimulus) to defile our air and water with industrial wastes than to pay the price of prevention of safe disposal. What is needed is a drastic overhaul of the industrial process going far beyond any of the stopgap measures even contemplated by the captains of industry and their government. The Committee on Pollution of the National Academy of Sciences, which warns that industrial air pollution threatens human life on this planet, has advised a ban on the internal combustion engine, drastic revision of urban water systems, and a complete transformation of city waste-removal. These, the committee says, are only the first steps that must be taken to save the environment.

Controls must be placed on the use of nitrate fertilizer, and on the growing use of sulphur and mercury in various branches of industry. There are dozens of other substances that must be taken out of use or rigidly controlled, ranging from phosphate detergents, to DDT and other pesticides.

There are two key obstacles to such a drastic reorganization of production, both of them inherent in the capitalist system. The first is the unavailability of funds on the necessary scale; the second the unplanned character of capitalist production as a whole which precludes any genuine social planning of the kind needed to tackle a job of this size. The costs of really fighting pollution are enormous. I have cited the *New York Times*' estimate that it would cost more than \$100 billion to eliminate water pollution alone. Washington has spent perhaps double that amount on the war in Vietnam, but it has never shown the slightest disposition to allocate the same kind of resources for social needs rather than imperialist wars.

But money alone, even if it were available, will not solve the problem. This requires overall industrial planning, including the ability to set limits to production of certain items, and to sue social capital to subsidize branches of industry that would have to, of necessity, produce permanently at a loss given the costs of antipollution measures. Such planning would have to be international as well as national, for environmental despoliation is not peculiar to any country. For the capitalists this may appear to be an argument for the inevitable extermination of the human race, since their system is organically incapable of profit in production. The opposite is the case. It is the most persuasive argument for the abolition of a system in which the wealth and power of the few is maintained only at the cost of a growing threat to the health and even the lives of the many.

Despite government and corporate efforts to coordinate production plans and to regulate economic activity, each company in the last analysis produces blindly for an unknown market, and cutthroat competition and cost-cutting remains the rule at every down turn in the economic cycle. We need only look at Nixon's virtual declaration of an international trade war in August to see how empty is all talk of genuine planning on the international scale. The same is no less true on the domestic front, as further deepening of the business of monetary crisis will reveal only too clearly. The first thing to be jettisoned by the harried corporate managers will be long-range social projects such as pollution control which threaten their ability to stay afloat right here and now.

This is not to say that concessions cannot be won short of a real solution to the pollution problem. The allocation of social resources under capitalism is in large part decided by the relationship of forces between the ruling class and mass movements for social change. Militant mass actions on the pattern of the antiwar and women's liberation movements can win important partial victories.

The ultimate solution to the ecology crisis, however, is evident now. If we wish to have an environment which can sustain life, we must wrest profit out of the hands of those who put plant before survival. The industrial plant that has been created by the labor of the working class must be taken over by the workers themselves in the framework of a revolutionary transformation of society. The new society we must create will be rationally and democratically planned with the active political participation of the great mass of people, to serve the needs of the human species and the environment we live in. That society is called socialism.

# LETTERS

## ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT REPLY

I am writing to comment on the extraordinary attack on the anti-apartheid movement and the stop-the-tours campaign contained in the article by Chris Graham (Anti-Racist Action) in November 1971 issue of your newspaper.

First a few facts that Chris Graham must even grudgingly admit.

The anti-tour campaign did win. Chris Graham accuses the CPA of "exaggerating" that success. Well, the cricket tour was cancelled quite clearly because of the fear of strong, multi-thousand militant demonstrations. This is one of the first times that such a clear-cut victory has been won by an action-oriented mass movement over the Establishment for many years.

The Moratorium did win a partial victory although nowhere as clear-cut, when the troops were withdrawn.

On the contrary SYA underestimates and plays down, almost out of our grasp the victory won this year in the stop-the-tours campaign.

Chris Graham states that "mass action and noisy disruption alone would have stopped the tour". A nice assertion, but the facts, for those who were deeply involved are clearly the opposite. The massive mobilisation of police, which made Rugby difficult and would have made cricket impossible was due not to the "Noisy disruption" but to the physical attempts to get on the field and stop the game.

As for Chris's "myth 2" - I can assure him that those who have been penalized by the courts for their action will not

be deterred from future action: we are not so light in our beliefs or our determination to fight injustice.

This does, however apparently, reflect the timidity inside the SYA itself.

The myth 3 of Chris Graham is based on simple ignorance, resulting from the fact that he and none of the SYA were ever present at AAM planning meetings. (Exclude one SYA comrade at Sydney University from this.) The AAM never "mistakenly thought that Hawke's boycott call would mobilise workers, and failed to follow this up by recruiting rank and file workers."

"This", Chris gratuitously adds, "is due to their inability to build a mass movement."

The AAM from the very beginning sought always to involve the rank and file, called on unions to hold rank and file discussions on the ACTU call, and offered a panel of speakers which went out to as many jobs as we could get to address. It is a gratuitous insult to write as Chris Graham did, and I hope he will withdraw that statement.

Lastly, the whole allegation about "multi-issue demonstrations being hard-core demonstrations."

Firstly, I and my CPA comrades never proposed a joint movement, but always spoke of December 10 being a joint demonstration, mainly because of the weakness, not of the weakness of the anti-war movement at the present time.

An attempt has been made to get this idea off the ground, but we dropped it because the SYA insisted that two demonstrations, in a week of one another, were practical.

I will conclude by saying that such unwarranted attacks, based on ignorance and lack of involvement in the anti-tour campaign only makes more difficult the construction of "mass movements" around aborigines and Papua-New Guinea, in which the militants who emerged and acted in the anti-tour campaign must form a real and vital ingredient.

The sectarian and "sour grapes" attitude reflected in Chris Graham's article can only make the S.Y.A. participation more difficult, too. Denis Freney. 27.10.71

Letters are welcome but please keep them below 400 words. We reserve the right to abridge any letters longer than this.

I enclose a cheque for \$11, being a subscription to Direct Action for 6 issues, and \$10 for Direct Action Fund Drive.

Yours sincerely,  
G.A.  
Chatswood, N.S.W.

## SOCCKER TOUR

A leaflet is being circulated in Melbourne calling for a demonstration against the visiting Israeli soccer team on November 21st 1971.

The leaflet suggests that the Israeli soccer team has been selected in the same way as the South African Springbok Rugby and Cricket teams - on a racial basis. This is not so - 8 of the 16 soccer members are of Sephardi (Oriental Jew) origin. These include, among others, Shlomo Ninio, Menachem Sello, Yehuda Shariharbani and Jacob Halifa.

Further the leaflet purports that the Israeli and South Africa are in cahoots to contain Black Africa. Israel whether through self interest or altruism, has consistently given aid, military and economic, to Black African nations, even to those who have not supported her in the UN, eg. Tanzania and Zambia, who are the leaders of the fight against South African and Rhodesian racism.

In the same vein, the leaflet writers (annonymously) attempt to use the support of the Australian people for Draft Resistance to arouse sympathy for a mythical draft resistance movement in Israel.

The facts are whether we like it or not, that there are virtually no resistors in Israel. Of the four DR's reported in our press two have since joined the army, and no further action has been taken against the other two.

Further more, the leaflet infers that the Israeli "Black Panther" Movement can be identified with its U.S. namesake. While it is true that there are certain economic problems facing Oriental Jews, the Israeli "Black Panthers" remain the ardent supporters of the most reactionary elements in Israel - Menachem Begin and Moshe Dayan. The leaflet calls for support of this movement because it falsely suggests that these Black Panthers, together with Arab workers are going to rise up in arms against the Zionist Establishment. Not only is this naive but contrary to the facts - they are openly anti-Arab, supporting the chauvinistic right wing in Israel.

While there are many things for which the Israeli Government can be criticized, bringing out a leaflet intentionally falsifying the facts can only confuse those who are anti-racist and who desire peace between Arab and Jew. Not only does this NOT weaken the reactionary Israel circles, but adds fuel to their arguments against the Left.

We, as a group of Jews concerned with Peace, and settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, feel it is our duty to make the facts known to all progressive thinking people.

Jonno Morris  
For Radical Jewish Group

## REPLY

Jonno Morris states that eight out of the sixteen soccer team members were oriental Jews. He thus concludes that

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Anti-apartheid demonstration at Sydney Cricket Ground

# BANGLADESH: PROJECTED PROGRAMME FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

WE REPRINT THIS MANIFESTO FOR THE INFORMATION OF OUR READERS. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IT IS NOT A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME AND S.Y.A. REGARDS THIS AS A WEAKNESS. HOWEVER THIS DOES NOT AFFECT OUR POSITION OF UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE.

Pursuant to the recent historic call and the directive of Maulana Bhasani, the leader of the oppressed people, to unitedly carry forward the liberation struggle, the representatives of the National Awami Party (under the leadership of Maulana Bhasani), Communist Revolutionaries' East Bengal Coordination Committee, the Communist Party of East Bengal (under the leadership of Deben Sikdar), the Shramik Krishak Karmee Sangha, the Communist Party of Bangladesh (Hatiar), the Purba Bangla Krishak Samity, the Purba Bangla Shramik Federation, Bangladesh Shramik Federation, (East Pakistan Shramik Federation), and the East Bengal Revolutionary Students' Union and other political and mass organisations met in a conference and formed the "Bangladesh National Liberation Struggle Coordination Committee", and having unanimously adopted the following declaration, place it before the people of Bangladesh.

## CALL FOR FORMATION OF NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

In the context of the present situation in Bangladesh we feel that the people of Bangladesh should unitedly march on to struggle. It is the sacred duty of every political party and group, mass organisation, class organisation and individual citizen, to unitedly participate in the liberation struggle maintaining cohesion and understanding between themselves, and with a vow to free the motherland from bondage. For this is the struggle of the whole nation, of the entire people. It is impossible to come out victorious in a fight against the marauding armed forces well-equipped with modern weapons, without the participation of the entire people. It is from this basic realisation that Maulana Bhasani, the leader of the oppressed people, gave his call and directive in pursuance of which representatives of several political parties, groups individuals, mass organisations and class organisations assembled together on 1st June, 1971 and formed Bangladesh National Liberation Struggle Coordination Committee. The immediate objective of this Coordination Committee is to take the liberation struggle forward to success on the basis of a definite programme and line of action keeping close contact and maintaining full coordination with Bangladesh Government and all the forces engaged in the liberation struggle. We believe that a well-knit and united national liberation front formed through the cooperation of all parties, opinions and individuals is necessary for the success of the national liberation struggle of Bangladesh. It is for this reason that we, on behalf of this coordination committee, appeal to all freedom-loving political parties including the Awami League, groups, mass organisations class-based organisations and patriotic individuals to form such a National Liberation Front.

## ULTIMATE AIM AND OBJECTIVE.

The ultimate aim and objective of this Coordination Committee is to free Bangladesh from the clutches of the marauding bandits and to establish on its soil a free, happy, decent, democratic social system-anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly capital in character - where peasants will be really free from the centuries-old exploitation and oppression of the landlords and owners, where his rights over land will be established; where the worker will have the guarantee to live like a human being along with his wife, sons, daughters and other members of his family; where the curse of unemployment will not be there; where the student will have a universal, democratic system of education based on science where for the intellectual there will be the fullest opportunity to develop his creative genius; where every citizen will have complete independence in political, cultural and religious matters. In this society will be established the freedom and dignity of women. Under this system taking recourse to advanced agricultural methods and development of industry, a self-reliant economy and prosperous country will be built. In short, for the entire people there will be a minimum guarantee of food, clothing, housing, education, medical facilities, and other basic needs of life. This will be a Bangladesh for the workers, peasants, toiling people, middle-classes and the patriotic section of the bourgeois-a people's Bangladesh.

## IMMEDIATE TASKS

The immediate tasks of the Coordination Committee in the course of achieving the objectives mentioned before, would be to resist and annihilate the Pakistani marauding forces. This task of ours is great and arduous. Whereas the marauder forces are militarily strong and the people on the other hand do not possess arms, the Coordination Committee believes that it would be necessary to advance through a protracted process by employing guerrilla tactics of war--of consolidating our own strength while gradually weakening the enemy. On the other hand, the Coordination Committee is firmly convinced that the people are sure to be victorious in this war because the marauding forces are alien, barbarous and numerically insignificant in comparison to the 75 million people of Bangladesh. This Coordination Committee further believes that the success of a war depends upon the fullest utilisation of the strength and resources of the whole people. This liberation struggle, too, will have to be waged depending on the people's own strength and not by depending on any foreign power. We shall have to embark on guerrilla war keeping in view the objective of organising a people's army from amongst the people. Peasants who form the majority of the people will be the mainstay of the people's army. The overhauled and vast countryside of Bangladesh will be the operating base for armed guerrilla warfare.

This guerrilla war will be conducted in close contact and coordination with the Mukti Foj (Liberation Force) of Bangladesh.

Therefore the Coordination Committee places the following tasks of the present stage of the national liberation struggle for its fulfilment before the people.

1. In every village of Bangladesh an all-party People's Liberation Council with the representative participation of various sections of the people should be formed which would take over political, social, administrative and all other responsibilities of villages, organise and direct Village Protection Forces and administer justice through constitution of People's Courts.
2. All payment of taxes and repayment of loans and interest to the Military Administration of Pakistan should be completely stopped.
3. Foodgrains hoarded in excess of actual need for making excess profits would be confiscated by the People's Liberation Council of the village for sale among the poor people.
4. People's Liberation Councils of the villages would completely put an end to the oppression of the usury system affecting the poor people of the villages.
5. (a) People's Liberation Councils of the villages will severely punish those cooperating with, siding or acting as agents of the Pakistani ruling clique in any way and will confiscate all their properties and distribute them among the poor and landless peasants. (b) In mutual understanding with landlords (jotedars) who support the National Liberation Struggle, measures will be taken in order to ease the former exploitation by the landlord over the poor and landless peasants and agricultural labourers.
6. People's Liberation Councils of the villages will look after all the properties of those citizens of Bangladesh who were compelled to leave the country.
7. A self-reliant, self-sufficient economy will have to be built up in the rural areas through proper arrangements for distribution, sale and development of cottage industries on the basis of "mutual aid and mutual cooperation".
8. In the sphere of education and culture, national image will be imbued to the complete exclusion of the current modes of education and influence of corrupt culture.
9. (a) Small guerrilla squads should be organised in the villages with peasants, workers, students and other militant

youths to liquidate isolated enemies and are shedding their armoury with arms snatched from the enemy as and when its scope and opportunity arises.

(b) All communications and supply lines should be damaged and disrupted in order to make it difficult for the marauding forces to have free movement, to secure supply of arms and ammunitions, and collect and distribute stores and provisions and make it impossible for them to continue administration and exploitation unhindered.

(c) In order to gain the confidence and love of the people, guerrillas should respect the people, help the people and protect the people.

(d) Side by side with the discharge of their military responsibilities, guerrilla squads should carry on political propaganda campaigns among the people in support of national liberation struggle.

(e) Those people willingly rendering help to or cooperating with the Pakistan Government and the Pakistani forces or their agents in any way-politically, economically or militarily-should be treated as national enemies, and after thorough investigation they should either be liquidated or punished in any other manner on the basis of collective decision.

10. Stringent measures should be taken against those who carry on campaigns, overtly or covertly to undermine the morale of the people.

11. Sternest measures should be taken through People's Liberation Councils of the villages to punish those engaged in dacoity, hooliganism and other anti-social activities taking advantage of the plight of the people.

12. Severe punishment should be meted out to those who indulge in any communal activities, provocations or propaganda in order to divide and disrupt the liberation struggle.

13. In towns and urban areas guerrilla activities based on "hit-and-run" tactics should be carried on to disrupt the enemy and keep them constantly engaged in the spell of disturbance.

14. Connections with the administrative and all other systems of the military rulers should be severed by all sections of the people.

15. This Coordination Committee gives the clarion call to the working class of Bangladesh to follow up their tradition of struggle and continue the present deadlock in the economy now under the control of the ruling clique.

## OUR DECLARATION

In this situation, beset in a juncture of life and death, inspired by our conscience to do our duties to our motherland and the people, Bangladesh National Liberation Struggle Coordination Committee places the following declaration with conviction before the people of Bangladesh as also to all freedom-loving people of the world:

\* This Coordination Committee declares its firm resolve to establish an "Independent, Sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh" resisting and defeating the planned campaign of looting, arson, rape of women and forcing out the citizens en masse from Bangladesh, carried out by the marauders of the fascist military junta of Pakistan, who are the lackeys of imperialism, feudalism and monopoly and big capitalists.

\* This Coordination Committee takes the solemn pledge to unitedly carry forward to success the armed national liberation struggle now going on in Bangladesh and declares its oneness with those who are participating in this national liberation struggle with unfathomable courage and sacrifice and send them its warm revolutionary greetings.

\* This Coordination Committee takes the vow to defeat all internal and foreign conspiracies aimed at compromise and clearly declares that this struggle shall not cease till the marauding forces are wiped out from the soil of Bangladesh,

The people of Bangladesh have shed and are shedding their blood for every inch of land and for real national freedom and they shall continue to do so in the future, too.

\* This Coordination Committee pays its deep respect to those who have been martyred and expresses sympathy for those who have been humiliated, tortured and lost their dear ones and all belonging in the national liberation struggle of Bangladesh. This Committee declares its resolve for carrying on the struggle to securely rehabilitate in an atmosphere of freedom and independence those people who were forced to leave the country after having had to suffer tremendous torture.

\* This Coordination Committee sends its revolutionary greetings to the workers, peasants, students, youth of Bangladesh, the members of the Bengal Regiment, E.P.R., Police, Ansars, Mujahids and all those volunteers who, inspired by patriotism have been taking part in the national liberation struggle.

\* This Coordination Committee expresses its heartfelt gratitude to the Indian people, particularly the people of West Bengal, Tripura, Assam and Meghalaya for the help and cooperation they extended to the national liberation struggle and to the homeless evacuees of Bangladesh.

\* This coordination Committee calls upon the Sindi, Baluchi, Pathan and Punjabi people, especially to their workers, peasants and the toiling masses, to build up a strong mass movement against genocide committed by the fascist military junta of Pakistan in Bangladesh and in support of the liberation struggle of Bangladesh.

\* This Coordination Committee appeals to all freedom-loving people, all democratic and Socialist States of the world, to extend all-out help to the national liberation struggle of Bangladesh. We have inexhaustible human resources; all we need are weapons, money, provisions, medical supplies and moral support.

\* This Coordination Committee declares its decision to carry on unitedly the national liberation struggle forward to success by maintaining contact and coordination with the Government of Bangladesh and all the forces engaged in the National Liberation Struggle.

\* This Coordination Committee sends its clarion call to all political parties including the Awami League, class and mass organisations as well as to all patriotic people of Bangladesh irrespective of their religion, creed, language and community to unitedly fight and uproot the ruling clique of Pakistan from the soil of Bangladesh through a people's war by forming a "NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT". This Committee is firmly convinced that the National Liberation struggle being the struggle of the entire people can only be taken forward to a final decisive victory by a well-consolidated and united National Liberation Front capable of fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of the entire people.

## FIGHTING PEOPLE OF BANGLA DESH:

A death-defying war - the war of independence - is going on in the whole of Bangladesh. We have all become part of this death-defying war to do away with the insults suffered by a humiliated people, to free the subject motherland from bondage. There is no respite, no stopping of this war till Bangladesh is independent. Come, let us pounce with arms upon the bandits who have killed our fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, who have defiled the chastity of our mothers and sisters; let us turn to the enemies with burning revenge and hatred and decimate them to take revenge for our blood. Ours is a just war, our victory is inevitable. The defeat of the marauding Pakistani forces is inescapable. Independence is sure to dawn on Bangladesh.

LONG LIVE THE INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH!

LONG LIVE PEOPLE'S ARMED REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!

-Bangladesh National Liberation Struggle Coordination Committee, June 1, 1971.

# MUKTI BAHINI GAINS

"There seems little doubt now that the Indian army has launched a series of what can only be described as offensive operations at key parts along the 1300 mile East Palestine frontier," reported Simon Dring for the Australian Times, Nov. 30.

What are the origins of this limited invasion; what effects will it have on the struggle for self determination of the peoples of Bangladesh; and how should a solidarity campaign in Australia react? These are some of the questions that are being sharply posed by the latest developments in Bangladesh.

"The Indian government has found itself confronted with a Palestine problem," similar to that of Jordan's King Hussein: the presence on its territory of a large number of refugees deprived of their homeland and waging an armed struggle to recover it.

But the difference between the two situations makes Gandhi's position even more precarious than that of Hussein.

The Nov. 18 Christian Science Monitor reported that Bengali nationalism has begun to spread within the Indian province of West Bengal, where nearly all the refugees from East Bengal live.

This political threat to Gandhi, combined with the problem of feeding the refugees, has prompted the government to undertake military action to find a way of removing the insurgent Bengalis from Indian territory.

But up till now fear that a revolutionary war would engulf the entire subcontinent had thus far persuaded both New Delhi and Islamabad to hesitate at full scale war... The unwillingness of both capitals to allow their various nationalities to exercise the right of self determination had acted as a break.

Why has India decided to act now? The answer lies in developments in Bangladesh itself.

In March, 1971 the Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces) was a very loose gathering issuing from the disemission of the loyalist Awami troops and police units. It consisted of a nucleus of some 15,000 police and troops, with a fringe of 30,000 peasants. (See DA No. 11 P.11)

## Contribute to the Mukti Bahini

The Mukti Bahini is fighting for the liberation of Bangla Desh from West Pakistani military oppression. Give to the Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee's collection for the Mukti Bahini. Join the Melbourne B.D.S.C. Application fees \$1 for individuals, \$5 for students, \$5 organizations. All donations etc. to P.O. Box 87 Carlton, VIC. 3053.

## Letters continued

racial discrimination does not apply here. Firstly, there were no Arabs in the team, and secondly, discrimination against Oriental Jews is social and economic, rather than legal as is the case in South Africa. It is interesting to note that the Radical Jewish Group doesn't mention the exclusion of Palestinian Arabs. They comprise approximately 20% of the country's population and a much larger proportion if the occupied territories are included. One can only conclude that even Mr. Morris and his friends wouldn't deny official Zionist discrimination against Arabs which affected the selection of the team.

We agree that economic and social discrimination of the type suffered by Oriental Jews in Israel does not necessarily express itself in selection of sporting terms (witness the disproportionate number of Black sportsmen in US team). But the social qualification to become a good soccer player is fairly low and thus the

Initially it was poorly armed and organized and seemed destined for oblivion. Yet basing itself upon the desires of the peoples of Bangladesh and expressing these longings in action, the Mukti Bahini has proved more than a match for the Yahga's butchers.

In July the publishing of a provisional programme of the NLF of Bangladesh (printed above) showed that the Bahini was a revolutionary force struggling for the right of self determination for Bangladesh.

The New York Times claimed that the Mukti Bahini was gaining support and recapturing some territory: "To these areas, the villages are returning. The Mukti Bahini are here, so we are here. We are safe now!" said one farmer. "Morale amongst the guerilla was high and resistance seemed to be firmly implanted in widespread sections of East Bengal."

As the atrocities of Yahya's marauders continued, refugees continued to pour into India (at a rate of about 20,000 per day in early November) and it has been estimated that at least 30% of the population of nearly all towns in East Bengal are missing.

Naturally the bitterness of the peoples of Bangladesh stiffened and began to turn into active hostility. Guerrilla activity was stepped up rapidly and Yahya was unable to crush the movement, which was strong enough to organize successful and continuous attacks on Dacca's power station and ships in the part of Chittagong. The razzakas, a paramilitary civilian force composed of West Pakistanis and right wing Bengali collaboration were being armed only with singleshot rifles for fear that automatic arms would fall into the hands of the Mukti Bahini.

The extent to which the Mukti Bahini had developed and organized was revealed in the Nov. 6 which estimates that the Mukti Bahini controlled at least 1/4 of East Bengal and now claimed a force of some 100,000. Even in the heart of occupied territory Pakistani control was tenuous.

The same newspaper carried a story on Nov. 13 "One gets that impression that the group Mukti Bahini, generally regarded as loose and undisciplined, is now fairly well organized along the lines of



Israeli soccer team contained a large number of oriental Jews. The discrimination against the Sephardim is nevertheless quite real. A recent example was the visiting Israeli Dance Company: Only one (1) of its members was an Oriental Jew. The dance company came from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Very few Oriental Jews reach the University compared with European Jews. Actually, the University itself discriminates against oriental Jews. Every six months it sacks its entire cleaning staff 99% of whom are oriental Jews and then immediately re-hires them again. The reason? This practice stops these employees from becoming permanent. Thus, the University does not have to offer free tuition to their children. Similar social discrimination is repeated throughout the length and breadth of Israeli life.

While it is true that some Sephardim (not all, as Mr. Morris alleges) support right wing reactionaries like Dayan or Begin over their cause is derived from our recognition of their oppression. Furthermore the inability of people like

Dayan or Begin to solve the Oriental Jews problems is going to make them challenge the whole nature of the Zionist state which is the root cause of their oppression.

Israel's relations with Black Africa are less widely known. Foreign aid has been an instrument of imperialism for a long time. In Israel's case it is even more blatant for several reasons. (a) Israel is a net receiver of aid herself. Thus quite a few of the "aid" projects are "third party arrangement with Israel playing the role of the middle man for the US. (b) Israel's military aid has been directed in counter revolutionary directions, the classical cases being training of paratroopers for the reactionary Mobutu, President of Zaire (Congo) and the role Israel played in the overthrow of President Obotwe of Uganda. (c) Israel has never hidden its very friendly relations with South Africa.

For a thorough analysis of Israel's relations with Africa see: "David and Goliath Collaborate in Africa" ISRACA information bulletin No. 3)

the Indian and Pakistani armies.

The Mukti Bahini is divided into two sections, each responsible for activity in a specific region of East Bengal."

"When travelling with guerrilla agents in Dacca and elsewhere, an elaborate system of signals and clandestine arrangements smoothed the way past any potential military obstacle. Seemingly the entire population other than the West Pakistani troops are in on the conspiracy.

Communication between guerrillas is said to be very "rapid and reliable."

One guerrilla demonstrated the Mukti Bahini fight to the end regardless of whatever compromises might be worked out behind the backs of the Bengalis. "As far as we are concerned" he said "Sheik Mujib is dead. Once he fell into the hands of the enemy he died as leader of the Bengali independence. If he were released as a result of some deal with the Islamabad government, he would want us to kill him, and we would kill him!"

Railways, mines and communication networks have been paralysed by the guerrillas. But perhaps the most significant achievement of the liberation fighters has been their success in eliminating the razzakas as an effective instrument of Yahya's terror. This irregular force was largely responsible for driving several million Hindu Bengalis out of East Bengal. A Mukti Bahini spokesman has described them as a demoralized group - hundreds have surrendered to guerrillas and joined the revolutionary forces.

Those that remain serve a dual function. First, they take the pressure off the Mukti Bahini, since Yahya doesn't invade where they operate. And secondly the remnants of the razzakas give military information to the guerrillas.

Added to these problems Yahya faces the troubles following from the economic crisis triggered off by the war. Workers are continually going on strike and at present it seems that Yahya "cannot sustain the military, economic and social costs of trying to put down virtually the entire population. But just as Yahya is not willing to concede, defeat yet, so the Bengalis who have suffered hundreds of thousands of casualties are not likely to be amenable to exchange Pakistani dominance for India tutelage.

Speakers on the present political situation and the origins of the conflict in Bangla Desh.

As for Mr. Morris' reference to Israeli dra resistance. Of the four cases mentioned the press Mr. Morris glibly states that two are now in the army. Very true. One of them Reuven Lassman was only recently picked up by the cops and after three wee interment in a military pris on joined (7 the army.

Of the other two Giyora Neuman was call up in November and jailed that month. Before this he had sent a letter to ISRACA (Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad) saying he would hold out even while in jail. Lets hope he can. (Miss) Irith Yacoby is still at large though she was recently savagely beaten by cops for her participation in demonstration against oppression of Oriental Jews. Only her bravery which inspires all oppressed peop prevents her arrest.

By the way Mr. Morris it would be nice to hear from you on how one should criticize the Israeli government and just what your programme for PEACE is.

India's policy is aiming at establishing a "friendly and independent East Pakistan" with a government that will no doubt divert struggle from reaching the climax of a united East and West Bengal.

The critical nature of the struggle with respect to bourgeois "status quo" can be seen from the concern with which both the Imperialist and Stalinist powers are following the situation. China and U.S. have both indicated "support" for Pakistan while the Soviet Union has of late been applying arms to India. Any solidarity movement in Australia must look behind the military-diplomatic machinations of the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China, India and Pakistan and find in the continuing struggle of the Beng people for self determination, the formula and tactics to be employed in promoting the success of that struggle.

## Sydney Committee Formed

The first meeting of the Sydney Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee was held at Sydney University on Friday, November 12. The meeting adopted the AICD proposed set of aims in spite of warnings by S.Y.A. comrades that the aspirations and aims of Bangla Desh could no longer be seen in terms of simply supporting the Awami League. S.Y.A. called for solidarity with the National Liberation forces as an essential part of any campaign.

Unfortunately no clear perspectives for mass action were adopted and the form of the Committee (separate autonomous committees not immediately responsible to the whole) will take any coordinated activity more difficult. But with events moving so fast reality should intervene and allow a strong campaign to be mounted in defence of Bangla Desh.

## Melbourne Bangladesh Rallies

Every Friday at the city square at 4p.m. Collection taken up for the Mukti Bahini

Speakers on the present political situation and the origins of the conflict in Bangla Desh.

# For a Socialist Spain!

A new generation of Spanish workers, no longer weighed down by the conscious betrayals of the Russian Stalinists and the defeat of 1936-1937 are rising with increasing militancy and political understanding.

Prior to 1970 an uneasy equilibrium of forces was in existence. The traditional conservative elements were too weak to halt the evolving and in general non-revolutionary movement of the working class but too strong to fall prey to inner decay. The mass movement was too strong to be suppressed, but too weak to overthrow the dictatorship spontaneously without effective revolutionary organization.

This evolutionary process has been weakening the traditional reactionary forces while reinforcing the working class. It has received stimuli from the spasmodic and abrupt explosions especially the strikes of 1962, the most important Spain has seen since the Civil War.

This evolutionary development of recent years has undoubtedly delayed the revolution. Economic growth has created a margin, however narrow, for improving the standard of living. But, above all, this development has fostered illusions about a more or less irreversible "liberalization" of the regime, illusions which only experience, that is time, could wipe out. But this same evolutionary development has also prepared the ground for a revolution that will be more deep going and thorough than that of the Civil War. The revolution will cut the more deeply insofar as this evolutionary "solution", more and more directly counterposing the two great antagonistic social forces emerging from the transformation of old Spain --- the big bourgeoisie on one side and the proletariat on the other.

1970 witnessed the turning point in forces, for the largest mass political strikes since 1936 have sent the regime into deeper crisis. For the first time since 1936 the urban petty bourgeoisie has lined up in mass on the side of the proletariat.

In mid-May "elections" were held for workers' delegates to be seated in the corporatist - fascist "trade unions" --- unions are rigidly controlled by the Franco regime.

The effort over the last ten years by certain anti-Franco groups to operate inside these unions has been neutralized by the counter-thrust of repression by the fascist police. After allowing the protest movements to move into legal channels, police always managed to arrest the oppositionist worker activists when they figured that the time was ripe, thereby periodically wiping out entire networks of workers' organizations.

Drawing lessons from these developments, and taking advantage of a clearly changed relationship of forces within the working class between the vanguard groups and the reformist tendencies, most of the extreme left wing organizations called for a boycott of this year's official Francoist propaganda both sought to attract the biggest possible election turnout, the CP in hope of electing opposition delegates, the Francoists as a way of bolstering support for pro-government candidates.

The results proved a remarkable victory for the boycott representing a defeat for

Francoism and revealing the growing politicization of the Spanish working class. It was this politicization that came again to the surface with the strikes in defense of the Basque political prisoners at the beginning of this year.

In the Basque country, even the Francoist press had to report "50 percent abstaining". The real picture is quite different. In the main Basque industrial centre, Bilbao, average abstentions topped 70 percent, with the key factories reaching the following totals: 80% at Naval (shipyards), 80% at Altos Hornos (smelting), over 80% at Firestone and General Electric. In Madrid over half the workers at the two biggest factories, Pegoso (autos) and Standard Electric, boycotted the elections, despite strong government pressure and the fact that these are CP strongholds.

In Catalonia, and especially in Barcelona and its industrial suburbs, abstentions surpassed 77% in some instances (ie: 70% at Harry Walker, 100% at Factory No 5 of SEAT (Fiat), 100% at Telefonica, 90% at Indo, 80% at Faema, and so forth.)

In many towns "boycott committees" were set up in the shops, forming a united front of representatives from most far left groups. Comrades from the Trotskyist Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR -- Revolutionary Communist League, formerly called the "Comunismo" group) took part in these committees. They also called on these groups to organize street demonstrations during election week urging a boycott thereby encouraging the workers by showing that the fascist no longer controlled the streets.

Although several groups responded favourably to this call, the LCR comrades were almost alone in taking to the streets on May 18. Yet they were amazingly successful. They carried off demonstrations of 500 and 100 in Bilbao --- spirited demonstrations under red banners, guarded by self defence squads who managed to keep all demonstrators from being arrested. To have mobilized more than 1,000 revolutionaries in the streets while operating as a clandestine movement signifies a remarkable accomplishment.

On September, 13 in Madrid 20,000 construction workers struck responding to a call from several underground trade union organizations. The strike began in the morning and at that time involved 12,000 workers. During the afternoon when it became known that police had killed a worker who was distributing strike leaflets the number of strikers swelled to 20,000. This was the second worker militant shot by police in one week.

On September 8 a youth was shot in the leg while distributing leaflets calling on workers to strike for a daily wage of 400 pesetas (US \$6), a forty five hour week, and one month vacation. Some of the leaflets were signed by the underground workers' committees and other by the socialist General Union of Workers.

The crisis of our epoch includes that of Spain, the necessity for a revolutionary leadership to give the stirring Spanish masses revolutionary expression, to faithfully uphold their will and guide Spain to a socialist victory.



## IRISH TROTSKYIST MURDERED IN DUBLIN

Peter Graham, a well-known figure among the Irish young left, was shot to death October 25 in his apartment in Dublin. His comrades among the Young Socialists, a broad radical grouping, could offer no definite opinions about who the killer or killers might be. The twenty-four-year-old revolutionist was believed to have no personal enemies. All sections of the left deplored his tragic death.

Graham's funeral October 30 was attended by a considerable number of radical youth, including Bernadette Devlin, member of parliament for mid-Tyrone. Tariq Ali, a leader of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International, gave the oration.

We reprint below the statement of the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group on the assassination of Comrade Graham.

The Fourth International has suffered a severe blow with the assassination of PETER GRAHAM. The Fourth International has suffered its first death in the current stage of the Irish Revolution; the Irish working class has suffered yet another loss in its long history of struggle against British rule.

Comrade Graham had a long period of political activity behind him in Ireland. Starting as a member of the Connolly Youth movement he rapidly evolved towards Trotskyism, becoming a member of the Irish Workers Group and a founder member of the League for a Workers' Republic and the Young Socialists. During a period of stay in Britain comrade Graham joined the Fourth International and played the fullest role in the development of its British section. His work in the journalistic and technical production of the newspaper "The Red Mole", in particular will be remembered by all comrades of the International Marxist Group. Comrade Graham's contributions to the analysis of the Irish Revolution were of inestimable help in arming the I.M.G. against the pressures of British chauvinistic attitudes to Ireland, and in consequence, in aiding the organisation in its activities in solidarity with the Irish

## South African Witch-hunt Trials

Testimony in two S.A. political trials has exposed the regime as an organizer

of frame ups, practitioner of torture and murderer of prisoners.

The very Reverend Gonville French-Beytagh, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, was found guilty on November 1 of four counts of violation of the terrorism Act. He was sentenced to five years in jail and released on \$14,000 bail pending appeal. The dean was acquitted of 6 of the 10 counts against him which shows the flimsiness of the prosecution case. In passing sentence, the Chief Justice of the Transvaal, petrus Allie, conceded that there was no evidence that French-Beytagh had assisted any plans to commit specific acts of sabotage, but said that he had encouraged people to "contravene the laws of the country, thereby supporting violent revolution."

The actual charges the Dean was found guilty of were:

\*possession of pamphlets belonging to the banned African National Congress (ANC), the S.A. Communist party (CPSA) and other illegal organizations.

\*encouraging "violence and all that" - in the words of the judge - at a meeting.

of the S.A. Black Sash, a liberal women's group.

\*incitement of agent provocateur Louis Henry Jordaan to take part in a violent uprising against the state.

\*distributing money to the families of political prisoners on behalf of the illegal Aid and Defense Fund.

The first and third charges were shown to be fraudulent during the trial, and no evidence was introduced to support the second. But apparently the government considered that it could not afford to sentence a man to 5 years in prison simply on the charge of distributing charity.

The dean was found innocent of the major charges against him - that he formed a secret organisation, participated in a decision taken by overseas branches of the ANC and CPSA to give aid to revolutionists in Mozambique, prepared literature propagating the need for violent revolution and advocated the need for sabotage at the Black Sash meeting. Also that he had advocated violent revolution at a meeting at the South African Council of Churches.

The fate of prisoners in S.A. was revealed August 16 when the trial of 13 members of the Unity Movement opened in Pietermaritzburg. Twelve of the accused submitted affidavits stating that they had been tortured by the secret police. Mthayeni Cutshela who was arrested in Dec. 1970 and originally named in the same indictment, was tortured to death by the secret police. His son has said that Cutshela was brought back to his village in a coffin last February. Other prisoners report that he died under electric shock torture.

The 13 prisoners are charged with seeking to overthrow the government by force of arms, collecting money to send people abroad for military training, and inciting at least 32 persons to undergo military training. They were seized by police in nationwide raids conducted by the Vorster regime last February, 10.

Some of the arrests have been carried out under the Terrorism Act, others under Proclamation R 400 which decrees a permanent state of emergency in the Transkei, one of S.A.'s Bantustans. Under the terms of the proclamation any person considered likely to commit an offense can be indefinitely detained without trial.

Despite the vicious repression in the country, Black resistance to apartheid rule continues. The trial of the Unity Movement members is one stage in a long series of persecutions of revolutionists. But with the French-Beytagh trial, South Africa's rulers have demonstrated that they cannot liquidate revolutionary activity, they can only try to condemn the families of political prisoners to starvation.

Demonstration at South African embassy in London protested the trial of the Dean of Johannesburg & trial of 13 in Pietermaritzburg.



DIRECT ACTION DECEMBER 1971

# BOLIVIA: OUR ROLE IN BATTLING AGAINST THE MILITARY COUP

(The following excerpts from a letter by Hugo Gonzalez M. appeared in the Oct. 16 issue of Rouge, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, published in Paris. Gonzalez is the general secretary of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International.)

(...) The fascist coup d'etat, which we have consistently denounced, was directed more against the revolutionary masses and their vanguard than against Torres and his regime. Once again the army has made a sharp turn, abandoning reformism in favour of pure and simple armed violence aimed at checking the revolutionary process. This time, on the basis of previous experiences, the army obtained the prior consent of the two bourgeois parties: the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario - Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) and the ultraright FSB (Falange Socialista Boliviana - Bolivian Socialist Phalanx). The army, not these parties, is in control.

It is interesting to note how the different sectors of the bourgeoisie mobilized in support of the coup. The Brazilian, Argentinian, and Paraguayan armed forces all intervened. Troops from these countries crossed the Bolivian border, ready to partition the country and declare an autonomous region in eastern Bolivia (the departments of Beni, Santa Cruz, and Tarija) if the Bolivian army proved incapable of handling the situation in the Altiplano.

The centers of violent struggle were La Paz and Santa Cruz. The rapid mobilization of the entire army, 30,000 troops with all their arms, was the factor determining the fate of the rest of the country.

In Santa Cruz the punitive actions carried out by the Rangers were savage. The number of dead and wounded is not known; on this, the regime has maintained silence. But a reasonable estimate would be more than 500 deaths among students, workers, and peasants. The repression was typically fascist. The chief of the Rangers, Colonel Selich, who is now minister of the interior, believes that the only good Communist is a dead Communist, and he adds that all those who don't agree with him are themselves Communists. In Santa Cruz people were massacred, shot, and are still being shot, for the "crime" of belonging to our party, to the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria - Movement of the Revolutionary Left), the pro-Chinese CP, or the ELN (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional - National Liberation Army).

A leader of the MIR told me that all the cadres of their Santa Cruz regional organization were executed. It seems that the fate of our regional leadership has been the same.

We have not been able to contact anyone in Santa Cruz, because the means of communication are under army control. Party commissions are engaged in reorganizing our ranks to continue our work in this region.

Prisoners and wounded are numbered by the hundreds. For all intents and purposes, Santa Cruz is in the hands of the most reactionary sectors of the army and the falangists.

In La Paz, when confronted by the coup, we did everything possible to contain the army by organizing the masses for war on the highest possible level. Our party was the armed motor force of the left and of the COB (Confederacion Obrera Boliviana - Bolivian Workers Federation).

The armchair socialists, who relied on Torres' army to overthrow the capitalist machine, the spontaneists, the inurrectionists of all stripes, saw their theories belied by the realities of war. The people took to the streets seeking arms, and we stood in the forefront.

We could not do otherwise at such a moment. The whole left came to fight at our side, and a de facto alliance was formed among the pro-Chinese, the comrades of the MIR, and the workers of the PRIN (Partido Revolucionario de Izquierda Nacionalista - Revolutionary Left Nationalist party). Later, small groups from the pro-Moscow CP and some students of Lora's little group arrived.

The struggle was fierce and heroic: more than 5,000 fighters - but 90 percent of them unarmed.

At the last moment as assault on an army depot captured 1,300 old Mauser rifles left over from the Chaco war (1928-35), some serviceable, others not. We fought with those and with whatever else we could find.

We tried to take the military fortress of Miraflores, which contained the biggest supplies of modern arms. The army defended this position with all the force at its disposal: planes, tanks, infantry, etc.

But war is not something that can be improvised. If the revolutionary army is lacking, it cannot be constructed solely by the heroism of the masses. The military apparatuses of political parties, of which ours was the most important, could not lead this type of struggle. Defeat was inevitable, but it was necessary to fight; and this we did, together with the workers, students, and peasants.

From Radio Illimani our party and the ELN directed the fighting and the mobilization.

The result of this military confrontation was approximately 400 deaths and a slightly smaller number wounded in the gorilla army. In the ranks of the people, there were 150 dead and 600 wounded. Subsequent reprisals are increasing the death toll, but the total remains unknown.

As soon as victorious fascism controlled the government, a ferocious repression was organized. The country's eight universities were occupied by the army; university autonomy was violated; courses were suspended until February 1972; professors and administrative personnel were discharged.

The University of Santa Cruz was assaulted by the Rangers. All students caught in the vicinity were raked with machine-gun fire. The University of La Paz was bombed by planes, attacked by cannon fire from tanks, and by bazookas. All this occurred after the fighting ended.

Hatred for the universities and all they stand for was well expressed by the fascists. The local offices of the COB, the Federation of Miners, and the Federation of Millworkers were sacked. The government organized ad hoc committees to bring the union organizations under the control of fascist agents.

The high schools and elementary schools are not functioning; classes are suspended. The government is afraid to allow students to meet and discuss. It is possible that schools will remain shut for the whole academic year.

Union leaders at all levels are being imprisoned.

There is a strong repression against the left in general, but the parties hounded to death are our own, the pro-Chinese CP, the MIR, and the ELN. In Santa Cruz the repressive forces have drawn up a complete list of all persons who, according to them, might have worked with us. It may be that these people have already been spotted and marked for death. It is the same for the comrades of the other groups.

In La Paz the army has put a price of several thousand dollars on the heads of the leaders of our party. The orders are to kill them, not take them prisoner.

As for the militants who have fallen into



Bolivian popular militia fought right-wing coup.

army hands, they are being sent to the forests, to the worst concentration camps, like Madidi.

The civilian groups of the MNR and the Falangists are taking part in the repression against us and the other groups favouring armed struggle. Because of this it is difficult to escape the repression. The civilian commandos, unlike the usual security forces, are familiar with political circles.

(...) At the moment there is an alliance between us, the pro-Chinese, the MIR and the ELN. The ascension to power of the fascists means the accentuation of all forms of combat. To direct this, we intend to form a command-front of the four organizations.

The party's situation is as follows:

In La Paz we had fifteen workers and peasants killed. Comrade Tomas Chambi, secretary of defense of the Bolivian Independent Federation of Peasants, was killed in combat. He had been imprisoned during the 1969 repression.

He commanded a detachment of peasants, all of whom fell in the fighting. Chambi died like a Trotskyist, thinking of his party and International. As if he had had a presentiment of his death, he carried a letter saying that he was proud to be a Trotskyist, that it was in the party that he developed as a revolutionist and made the decision to fight to the end. There was also a group of wounded. (...) some of whom were deported to Madidi (.....)

In Santa Cruz we suffered twenty deaths. Some escaped to the mountains.

In Oruro we had three taken prisoner; we still do not know their fate.

Our miners are continuing their work as union leaders. The army has not penetrated the mining zones, but it is preparing to do so. We are also preparing ourselves. The forms of struggle will be different. Our leaders have been condemned to death, and we must fight, both to save their lives and for the revolution.

Despite the attacks it has suffered, the party is still functioning. (...) There is a military and political leadership, united in the Executive Committee, which directs all activity on a national scale. We lost some stocks of arms, but during the struggle we captured some modern weapons.

We have decided to go forward, and I think that at present we are in a better position to do it than we have been in the past.

We experienced a numerical growth during the past period, leadership cadres have emerged, and much work is being done. The confidence accorded us by sectors of the vanguard is most gratifying. This is not to say that our situation is not difficult, but revolutionists cannot expect the bourgeoisie to smooth the way for them. It is necessary to fight, and we will fight. It is for this that we have been preparing ourselves up to now. (.....)

With warmest greetings, Hugo.



14 Guernica 1937 by Picasso.

ABOVE TOP: At the graveside of Peter Graham.



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# CONTACT S.Y.A.

NATIONAL: SYA, PO BOX 581 SYDNEY SOUTH, 2000.  
 OFFICE: SYDNEY: SYA, 3 UTHUR STREET, SURRY HILLS, 2010 Ph. 2112748.  
 MELBOURNE: SYA, 140 QUEENSBERRY STREET, CARLTON, 3053 Ph. 3473507.  
 ADELAIDE: SYA, 287 RUNDLE STREET, ADELAIDE, 5000 Ph. 234539  
 CANBERRA: SYA, PO BOX 9 MAWSON NORTH ACT., Ph. 486717 (Ian)  
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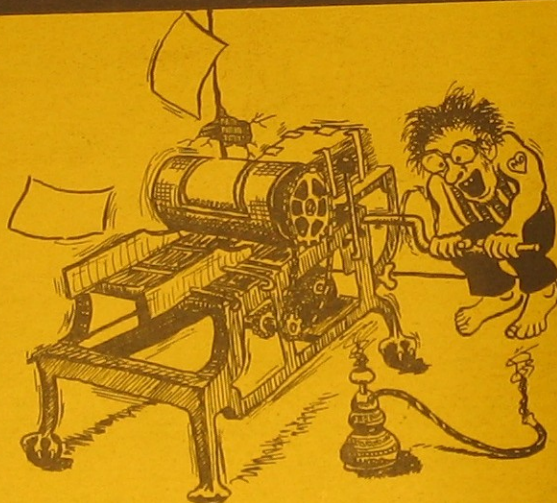
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