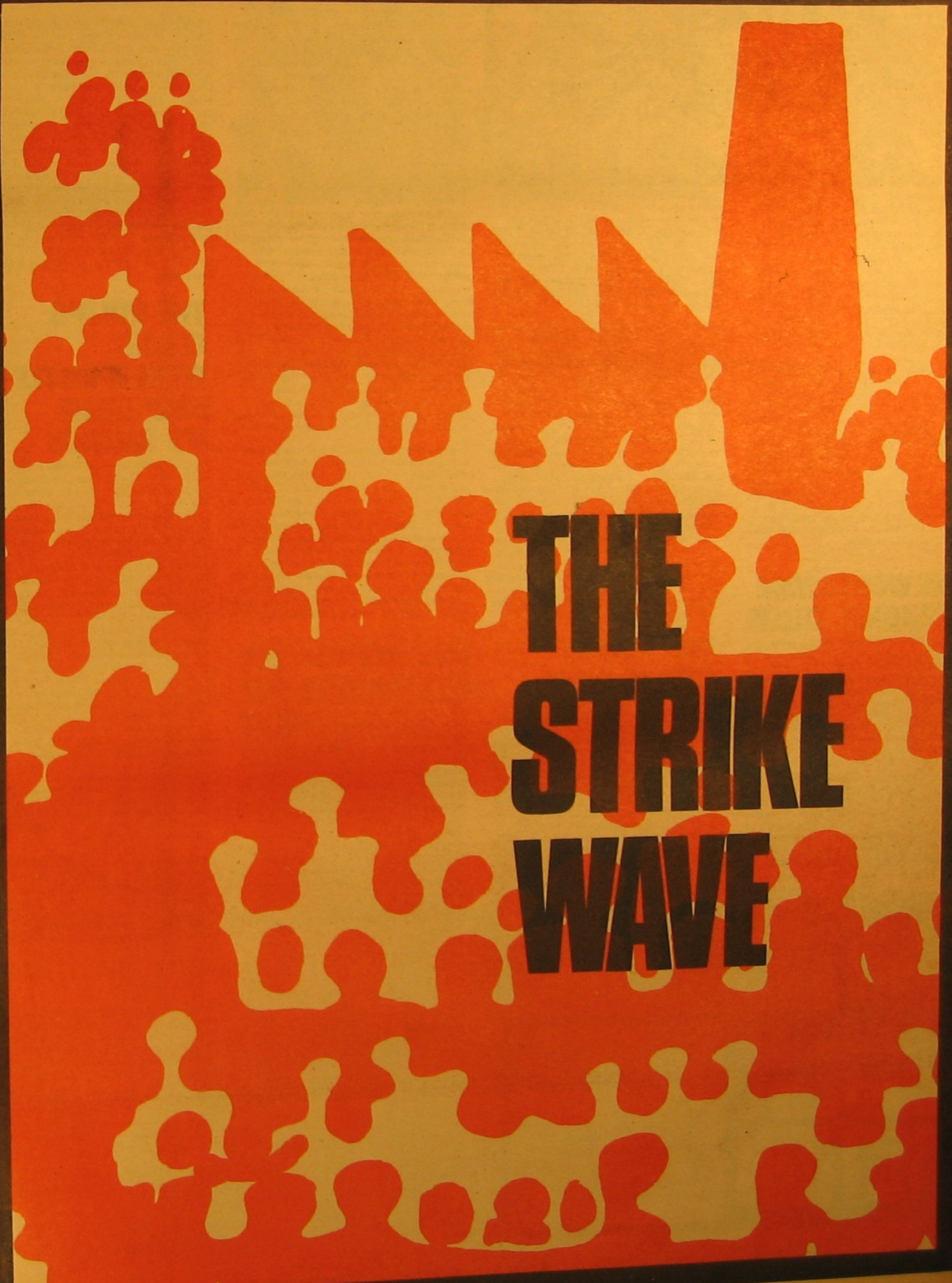


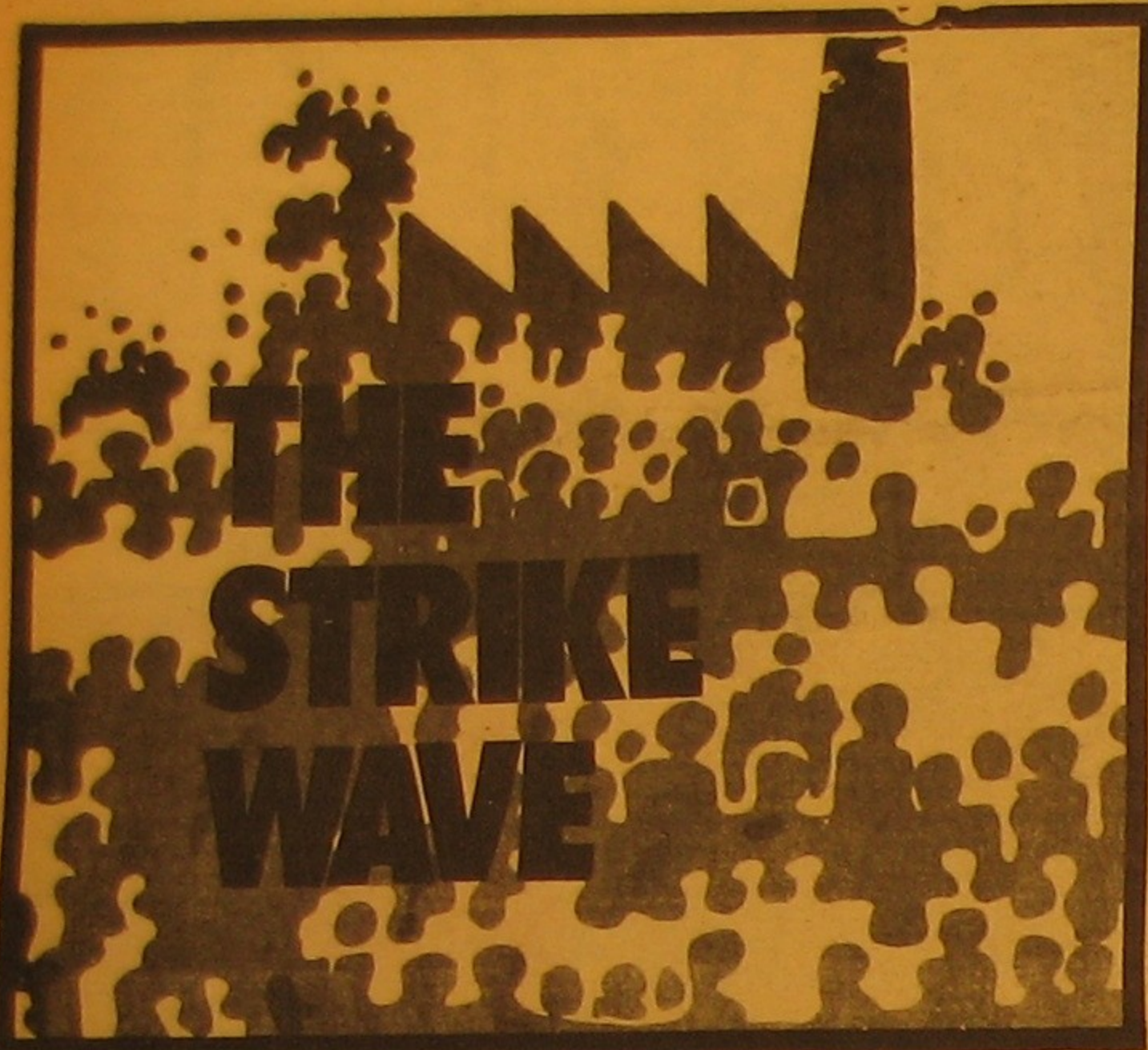
DIRECT ACTION

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THE STRIKE WAVE



The relationship between labour and capital and the role it plays in this society has, in the last couple of months been brought to the centre of attention in Australian political, social and economic life. The mass media daily tells us of some new strike where workers, defying their employers, the government, and quite often their own union officials, are holding "the public to ransom" and creating a situation where the press is forced to ask: "Who is running the country; the government or the unions?"

But it cannot be said that the rising militancy is merely a reflection of the activities of a small minority who are in isolation from the 'average worker', as the bourgeois press would have us believe. It is a genuine expression of the masses of Australian workers reacting to certain social and economic conditions imposed upon them by a system that puts profits above human needs. The recent upsurge in combativity of the Australian working class, something that has been building up over the past two years, cannot be abstracted from the worldwide economic and political situation.

THE WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC CRISIS

The last few years have seen a series of economic crises, so-called 'recessions' and 'credit squeezes', in the majority of the capitalist countries. These periodic crises in the imperialist economy, marked by galloping inflation, increasing unemployment and now a breakdown in international monetary exchange, are the start of a decisive downswing in the capitalist world economy, a downswing that threatens to develop into a generalized world depression. This follows a quarter of a century of industrial boom for world capitalism, a boom sustained by large armaments and other government expenditure (producing in the United States for instance, a deficit of 10.7 billion dollars in 1970) and barbaric plundering of the underdeveloped world by the imperialist powers.

However, with the higher costs of raw materials in the colonial world and the intensification of inter-imperialist competition, the US has taken economic measures against the rest of the capitalist world. Of particular concern to Australia is the effect that these measures will have on one of our largest trade customers, Japan, on the verge of a recession. The

Australian workers is based) has meant a continuous resort to strike action. During the early part of this period the working class was also attempting to receive some share of the unprecedented profits that came from the mining boom.

One 'wild-cat' strike that made front-page headlines and sparked off a furious reaction on the part of the employers, their news media, government and 'labour lieutenants' was the strike by guards on Sydney's electric passenger trains. On September 22 of this year, fifty guards at one suburban depot walked off the job demanding an extra \$1.60 per week that was granted to guards on goods trains in 1968: They were quickly joined by about 300 more depots throughout the Sydney metropolitan area. The strike effectively halted 90% of Sydney's train services for three days. The bureaucrats of the Australian Railways Union quickly disowned the strikers and sided with the Government and other right-wing forces in denouncing them. The strike itself was a genuine reflection of the feelings of the masses of workers in a time when there is a concerted attempt by the employers and their government to effectively freeze wages and bring the unions under their direct control. With this in mind the spontaneity and defiance of the strike should be applauded along with the strikers' initiative but the limitations of such a strike and this strike in particular, should be examined closely. Firstly, the failure of the rank and file militants to develop any vigorous alternative leadership in the face of the sell-out by the union officials. A real leadership could have given direction to the struggle and most importantly in this case, given the 'not-so-at-large' public some indication of what exactly was going on in the public transport system, what inflation actually is, what it means to the working man and woman and what part the guards demands had to do with all this. The only ones who were doing any talking during those three days were the bourgeoisie and their friends in the state offices of the ARU. The need for workers, particularly in the service industries, to carefully explain to the public what their position is and get them on side, should not be underestimated.

only course of action for the Australian ruling class to maintain its profit rate will be the same as that of its international big brothers- a direct attack on the living standards of the working class. (For a fuller analysis of the world economic crisis and its effects on Australia read "The Downfall of the Dollar" by Ernest Mandel and the "The Employers' Offensive" by Sol Salby (Direct Action No. 10)

With the economic boom experienced for the last twenty odd years, the capitalists in the advanced industrial countries have been able to 'buy off' to a large extent, their respective working classes, producing the quiescence and political inactivity of the workers that typified the fifties and early sixties. The changed political climate in the world, with the successes of the colonial revolution and the mass radicalization of people in the imperialist countries in defence of these revolutions, combined with the long period of comparative full employment and high standard of living, make a working class that isn't going to stand still when threatened with uncontrollable inflation, wage freezing and an unemployment rate that is judged in conservative quarters to put about 140 thousand out of work by early next year. And these figures do not take into account the hidden unemployment of women, for instance, who in this period won't bother looking for work.

THE RECENT STRIKE WAVE

Strikes in the last two years have left virtually no industry in Australia untouched. 1970 had, according to the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, just under two million work days lost through industrial actions, the largest volume of strikes for decades. The period had been marked by increasing militancy on the part of the rank and file unionists; a militancy that threatens to surpass any union officialdom that does not respond to it correctly. A dramatic indication of the willingness of the working class at present to engage in strike action is the increase in so-called 'wild-cat' strikes. This demonstrates the frustration at the compromising manoeuvres of many of the union 'leaderships' in the face of a vigorous attack on the part of the employers against the trade union movement and the constant erosion of the workers' standard of living through inflation.

Inflation added to the shortage of overtime (on which a high living standard of many

"For example, in the Atlantean dispute, the CPA sees the issue as one of safety, and the need for bus workers to have control of safety conditions on the job." (Struggle at UCS by Ken Cooper, Labour Press Oct. 7 p7) It's a pity that Labour Press see so little importance in the demand for workers' control. In the case of the Sydney bus drivers the whole question of the right of workers to control their job situation, particularly the aspect of safety, was central to the struggle and was an expression of the bus workers' needs. It was qualitatively a much more political demand to say, that of the purely economic demands put forward by the railway guards. It was one that could draw a lot of support from other sectors of the work force and public generally, as they are the ones who would have to travel in unsafe buses due to a system that puts profit rates above public safety.

Labour Press consciously ignores this extremely important aspect of the dispute and only sees it in terms of the right to a job. This (from the viewpoint of the bus workers) was not in question here as the total effect would have been to hire fewer workers than to fire existing ones. The bus workers were objecting to the intensification of labour and the resulting safety loss. However, the demand for the right to employment as a right that everyone should have achieves real political significance when coupled with a demand that the working week be reduced without loss of pay so that the existing work can be shared amongst everyone. Along with the demand for job control this is a formula around which workers can be mobilized in a united way, and which can gain mass sympathy and put the capitalists on the defensive.

THE RULING CLASS- WITH A LITTLE HELP FROM ITS FRIENDS

Immediately after the Sydney train strike, the Liberal Party, inflated with confidence in not only having crushed the strike but in also gaining the support of the right wing of the parliamentary Labor Party in doing so, introduced into the NSW Legislative Assembly (it has since been endorsed by the Liberal Parties of Victoria and Queensland) the "Industrial Arbitration (Amendment) Bill," the intent of which is to force unions into conducting a secret ballot of their members before any planned strike action, if so demanded by the employers, the government, the union officials or the unionists themselves. If strike action is taken without taking a ballot under such circumstances it will be deemed "illegal" and the union will be liable to heavy fines and possible deregistration. The NSW Chief Secretary, Mr. Willis, in debating the bill in State parliament, spoke of fines and jailing for individual unionists engaged in such action. This is apparently to cover the "unplanned" strike action not mentioned in the bill. This is a blatant attempt by the ruling class to completely undermine working class organization and rob it of its spontaneity, militancy and solidarity and its only weapon the strike.

The strike of the railway guards can be contrasted with that of building and construction workers in NSW and Victoria and government bus drivers in Sydney, in recent times. The degree of on-the-job organization and demands for basic job control by the workers, especially on the issue of safety, attained by builders' labourers' for instance, is inspirational for other sections of the working class. The action of builders' labourers' pickets in recent strikes in assuring that scabs did not work on sites declared black (and if they did their work was demolished by strikers) are highlights of the recent upsurge and should be followed by other sections of the working class in the period ahead. The militancy of the building workers has forced the leadership to a limited extent to be responsive to the rank and file demands. If it wasn't, with the high degree of job organization on the part of the rank and file, it would not take them very long to find one that was.

The leader of the state parliamentary Labor Party, Mr. Pat Hills, denouncing the railway strike said "I am most disturbed at the effects of these sudden, sporadic stoppages which have been occurring in the railways recently... I would appeal to the good sense of the men concerned because if stoppages of this kind continue the trade union movement could be prevented from fulfilling its true role."

This denunciation comes at a time when there is an acute crisis of political leadership amongst the bourgeoisie and when large sections of the bourgeoisie have decided that the next Federal government should be an ALP one. So what Hills sees as the "true role" of the unions at this stage is almost exclusively in parliamentary terms: how best can the labour movement fit in with the plans of the pro-ALP bourgeoisie and help the ALP into office.

Two of Hill's big brothers, Gough Whitlam, the leader of the Federal Opposition and Clyde Cameron, his shadow Minister for Labour, have put forward what they think the role of trade unions should be. They came out in the open on October 11 with their policy for attaining "Industrial

peace." Mr. Whitlam endorsed the much-heard-of "Cameron Proposals," which basically provide for the restructuring of the arbitration laws so that employers and employees can enter into negotiations and come to an agreement regarding wages and conditions that would be in force for a period of limited duration at the end of which new negotiations could take place. The whole ethic behind this is that both parties enter into such agreements "voluntarily" and therefore either party who breaks such an agreement would be justly fined.

The Cameron Proposals in their original form were rejected by the Federal Conference of the ALP meeting in Launceston. References to penalties for strikers were removed as a result of pressure from militant unions. Not being concerned about the conference decision, Cameron repeated his suggestions for penalties in an industrial relations conference in Brisbane early in October.

While launching their mid-term election campaign Whitlam and Cameron revived the proposals, advocating \$20 fines for individual unionists. This went against the conference decision and the federal parliamentary Labor Party and the unions immediately jumped on them.

This fightback by the left of the labour movement is a result of the real contradictions in the role that Whitlam sees for the labour movement. The attempt to stifle the militancy of the workers and to divert it into the traditional paths of electoralism, parliamentary negotiations and rotten compromises lead the workers to feel that they have lost control of their own organisations.

The workers feel that from instruments for defending the interests of the mass of working people, these bodies have been transformed into instruments exclusively for the defence of the bureaucratic apparatuses themselves.

Wild-cat strikes break out and by-pass the union leaderships and sharp differentiations appear within their ranks. The 'rebel' unions in Victoria to some extent reflect this process and threaten to develop into a non-compromising political force responding directly to the rank and file workers.

However, the bureaucratic union apparatuses cannot fail to be alert to this development which involves numerous dangers for them. The union bureaucrats are not servants of capitalism out of conviction or idealism. In order to defend their privileges and the positions they hold within the "democratic" bourgeois state, they must have leeway to blackmail the capitalists, which is the function of the power of their organizations and the ability to canalize the militancy of important working-class forces. When the union bureaucrats lose this power and ability, their usefulness in the eyes of the capitalists vanishes and concurrently their privileges are threatened.

Consequently, it was inevitable that the bureaucratic apparatuses themselves would be stirred to action by the new militancy. That the ultimate goal of their response was to regain control of a movement which threatened to slip out of their hands is unquestionable.

In this light we can see the election of Hawke to the Presidency of the A.C.T.U. and his experiments as an attempt to adapt to the combative spirit among workers. But this in turn increases the self-confidence of the working class



and makes retreats more difficult. After successful action over retail price maintenance it is hardly easy to agree to limitations on the strike weapon by which his success was achieved.

Thus, a new dialectical relation between a spontaneous or autonomous mass movement and the mass organizations under bureaucratic leadership is opening up. In its dynamics, this development is more favourable to the outbreak and widening of struggles than to the pure and simple bureaucratic suppression that prevailed before.

It leads to a polarization within the labour movement as forces line up opting for the Whitlamite capitulationist policies or the oppositional and defensive strategy of the Socialist Left of the ALP.

The outcome of the whole process will be determined by the ability of an effective alternative leadership to build a mass base and take the offensive around transitional demands that increasingly undermine the very foundations of the capitalist system. In this light the sort of offensive strategy around the demands for job control is obviously of primary importance.

THE FUTURE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR TRANSITIONAL DEMANDS

The late sixties and seventies (unlike the fifties when the cold war was at a peak and tracking down communists was a popular sport) have been times of radicalisation of large masses of people. It began with the youth and students who rose in the defence of the colonial revolution, particularly Vietnam, and spread to other sectors of the population. The present period is one when the ruling class is politically on the run. The inter-

once again, when their power is itself directly threatened, capitalists are ready to meet any immediate demand, knowing full well that they will be able to take back with one hand what they have given with the other, as long as they retain control of their state and economic power.

The only guarantee against the bourgeoisie being able to ride out the current wave of strikes, therefore, is represented by transitional demands, which, by nature, are inassimilable by the capitalist system. Such demands cannot be absorbed by capitalism because they prevent the "normal" functioning of the profit economy, because they challenge capitalist relations of production. From this standpoint, the demand for workers control more than ever assumes an exceptional importance. It is par excellence the transitional demand for the present phase.

The struggle for workers control has, moreover, the secondary effect of serving as an excellent school of self-organization for the workers. What is still only sporadic in times of strikes becomes, by means of this struggle, a more and more systematic reflex on the part of the workers-- collective organization right on the job.

THE COMING POLITICAL BATTLE

It is completely illusory to think that a class enemy, who has at his disposal a highly centralized state apparatus and a wealth of historical experience in manoeuvring will step aside at once or gradually withdraw without being beaten in a full-scale battle. Behind the pseudo revolutionary verbiage of some, we thus find the old reformist illusions about a gradual conquest of "the public power."

This all-out battle cannot be conceived solely as the culmination of co-ordinating and centralizing strikes. It is a revolutionary political battle.

Its objectives are to throw the enemy off balance, to dissipate his material, moral, and repressive resources, to mobilize all the exploited strata of the nation around the proletariat, to defeat the capitalists ideologically and morally before defeating them economically and politically. Its aim is to win the minds of the popular masses to the struggle for socialism.

All of these objectives are preconditions for a victorious revolutionary struggle to overthrow the bourgeois state. Without a strategic design of this sort and without its systematic, conscious, and organized application, no victory over capital in a highly industrialized country is possible. When we speak of building a revolutionary transitional program, it is such a strategic design that we have in mind.

Thus, building a revolutionary party, increasing the autonomy and spontaneity of the mass movement, heightening working-class combativity, and raising the level of consciousness of the proletariat are mutually enriching and interlocking forms of struggle.

There is no alternative to combining these forms except faith in improvisation and the unconscious, that is, faith in miracles. The Trotskyist movement prefers to work at building the revolutionary party (of which the present sections of the Fourth International will be only one of the foundation stones) rather than abandon itself to such an irrational and illusory faith.



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ANTI-RACIST ACTION

CHRIS GRAHAM

When analysing these actions it is essential that we use the term "anti-racist" carefully. For it is important that the emerging Aboriginal and Niugini campaigns are viewed differently than in the purely "anti-racist" light of the campaign against the Springbok tours. For while people may be initially sympathetic to the struggle because of anti-racist sentiments, the struggles themselves are more than anti-racist in character. The Aboriginal struggle is the struggle of an oppressed national minority and the Niugini struggle is directly against imperialist exploitation and for self-determination.

So the tendency that some sections of the left had to try to combine the campaign against the Springbok tours into a campaign against racism in general with everything from Niugini to police harassment of Redfern Aboriginals as the issues, is a serious mistake and could only have led to the limitation of these separate issues, both in their political development and in their mass expression.

Although the anti-apartheid movement succeeded in ending the cricket tour, the speed in which this occurred and spectacular events like the Queensland state of emergency, and the subsequent strikes and occupations led - or rather misled - tendencies such as the CPA to exaggerate the campaign's success. By counterposing reality to the CPA's myths expressed in *Tribune's* editorial of September 15, more rational perspectives can be arrived at:

Myth 1: That "the successful combination of mass action and 'advanced militant tactics'" stopped the cricket tour.
Reality: Mass action and noisy disruption alone would have stopped the tour. "Advanced militant tactics", i.e., smoke bombs, climbing fences and needless mass arrests were thus not only futile, but a hindrance to mass action.

Myth 2: That these tactics radicalised people.
Reality: The repressive penalties imposed on those concerned will deter them from demonstrating again. Witness the appeals in *Tribune* for money for Communist Party members arrested.

Myth 3: That the affinity groups effectively organised the campaign.
Reality: The demonstrations almost totally consisted of youth. The minimal worker participation was because the AAM mistakenly thought that Hawke's boycott call would mobilise workers, and failed to follow this up by recruiting rank and file workers. This was due to their inability to build a mass movement. By rejecting the perspective of centralised co-ordination of mass initiative to mobilise and express dissent coherently, the AAM's actions inevitably relied on spontaneist and individualist tactics which, apart from the resultant repression of those concerned, were counter-productive to building a mass movement. The bourgeois press was in fact the main organiser of the actions with their massive publicity.

Recognising this inability to build mass

actions, the CPA attempted to compensate by advocating a combined anti-war/anti-racist action on December 10, to get a sizeable demonstration. This entirely contradicts their valid claim that racism is a potent issue and is thus a tacit admission of the affinity groups' inability to build separate mass movements around Niugini and aboriginals.

Now racism is certainly part of the ideology of imperialism but this alone does not justify an amalgam with anti-war demands because this presupposes an already present level of consciousness which is aware of the need to act around all of the issues involved, and that sees that the issues are linked and can be combatted collectively. This will automatically limit the potential size of the movement. But apart from this, it is wrong to see the link as simply racism: it is capitalism itself that causes wars, racism and exploitation.

So the CPA's advocacy of a demonstration on December 3 around the apartheid, Niugini and aboriginal issues, would also be disastrous. The CPA fails to realise that multi-issue demonstrations are essentially hard core demonstrations. Moreover, the necessity to build mass movements around aboriginals and Niugini cannot be compromised. Linking them with the anti-war movement would be doing both movements a great disservice.

To help end the oppression of aboriginals and the Niugini people, we must build mass movements around separate issues with specific demands. Aboriginals and Niugini are two such issues, so I shall consider them separately.

NIUGINI

Firstly, Niugini as already pointed out, is a struggle against imperialist domination. The struggle must therefore take extra-parliamentary forms as neither the Liberal nor Labor parties wish to end exploitation in Niugini.

Secondly, the Niugini people themselves must have the right to determine their own future. The demand for self-determination should be popularised by the movement here. A consistent struggle against imperialism will lead to socialist solutions and this is the logic of the struggle in Niugini.

Niugini is Australia's Vietnam. Territorially, it is a buffer state between Australia and Asia. Economically, it provides cash crops, cheap labour, attraction to foreign capital and an outlet for Australian capitalism to expand. Out of 18 million acres of arable land, Niuginians own only 6,000. In cash crop production, Europeans control 73.5% of copra, 74% of cocoa, 54.5% of coffee, 99.4% of rubber, 30% of rice and 90% of peanuts.

To maintain this exploitation, Australia "westernises" Niuginian institutions to deprive the people of any sense of identity. The present Liberal regime flatly refuses independence, by force if necessary. The ALP however, advocates a more "advanced" form of imperialism, as distinct from colonialism. It advocates

political independence, but retains economic control, for a "united" Niugini would greatly facilitate trade and foreign investment.

Both a Liberal and a Labor government would send troops to Niugini if necessary. Perhaps the first target for such intervention would be the Mataungan Association.

The Mataungan Association

Formed in 1969 to protect Tolai interests on the Gazelle Peninsula from foreign control, the Association is an alternate administration to the colonialist "multi-racial" council, set up in 1967 to forcibly integrate the Tolai villagers into the Australian and Chinese town councils, thus depriving them of their land and their Tolai Cocoa Project. As a result, out of 47 village council wards in 1967, only 19 remain; the council has expropriated 40% of Tolai land and has allowed foreign capital to take over the Tolai Cocoa Project, ignoring Tolai demands for a referendum.

This necessitated direct action. In 1969 the Tolais organised a demonstration of 6,000 people. It boycotted the 1969 council elections so that out of 33,688 voters, only 6,720 voted. In May of this year, it occupied the Tolai Cocoa Project after being refused \$625,000 compensation. Colonialism has a big stake in the Project; its 27 fermentaries are worth \$900,000 each and can be sold to the highest colonialist bidder.

The formation of the Mataungan Local Government Council to combat Australian "interests" in New Britain, is an effort to bring the struggle for liberation against an exploitative class to a head, through the formation of a political party that will directly oppose the administrative apparatus - the Gazelle Local Government Council.

The present struggle by the Mataungan Association, Mataungan supporters and the Mataungan Council is the struggle of the Gazelle people against the system that supports exploitation and oppression, conducted through the individual, against the major interests of the masses.

The Gazelle Council perpetuates all that follows in the capitalist wake - inequality, unemployment, poverty, low wages, inadequate facilities, low living standards and police repression.

The Mataungan Council is a step towards economic and political equality for the Tolai people. It will operate in direct opposition to the legally constituted Gazelle Council as a "private local government council", and will continue to do so until eventual self-government or independence. Although it has no legal power under the Local Government Ordinance, it has the support of the Tolai people and is expected to contest the House of Assembly elections in 1972.

Beniona To Lulupa of Davaon village in the Kokopo sub-district, emerged as the first president of the Mataungan Council. He stated: "This is the period when we will make our own laws - and good laws

they will be - for our own people.

"My role is to lead the Tolai people in their struggle against the Australian Government so as to get what we want with eventual self-government".

To Lulupa, a member of the Mataungan Executive, won the presidency from Peter To Urami and Joel To Gita. He has been a member of the Mataungan Association since 1969 because he realised that the Administration was not helping the people or raising their living standard in the villages.

The Council now faces many obstructions in its efforts to assist the Tolai people with various projects, such as building schools, improving health and raising the living standard.

The recent killing of Commissioner Emmanuel has been the pretext for even worse repression. Raids on Tolai villages, indiscriminate arrests of 20 people for murder, using shotguns on unarmed Tolai and finally seizing Mataungan files to show the extent to which colonialism will go to suppress peoples' right to self-determination.

The Mataungans retaliated by refusing to pay taxes or obey the council. This led to 200 of them being summarised and their leaders gaoled. However, the Tolais' determination not to give in, led to the release of those gaoled, including Oscar Tammur, a member of the House of Assembly and the Association's patron, when fines were paid anonymously.

Demonstrations in Australia

Two demonstrations, jointly organised by SYA and calling for solidarity with the Tolais and for immediate self-determination for Niugini, were held in Sydney and Melbourne recently. Forty people held a rally in Sydney, after which they marched to the GPO to send telegrams to the Mataungan Association and to the Administration in Niugini.

After the Sydney demonstration, a Free Papua New Guinea Committee was formed to explain the nature of Australian imperialism and the Niugini people's struggle for self-determination, and to build a mass movement in solidarity with their struggle. A newsletter will be issued shortly and a teach-in organised for December 5, with the hope of inviting Tolai leaders to speak.

In Melbourne, the Free Niugini Association organised about 80 people in a militant demonstration of solidarity with the Tolai leaders of the Mataungan Association. They marched via Conzinc Rio Tinto for a short rally there - to point out CRT's continued exploitation of the lands and people of Bougainville, then to the Department of External Territories, finally to the City Square for mass leafletting and a further rally.

This demonstration was the first successful activity by the Free Niugini coalition for some time. Established under the impetus of the Bougainville events of last year, until now only a handful of people participated both within the



coalition and in its rallies.

expiring lease in favour of Vestey's.

Hopefully, with this demonstration, the shallow base of the coalition can broaden itself - so that the next meeting will mean more participation from organisations and independents.

ABORIGINALS

Oppressed people must themselves struggle against their oppression. They cannot be freed by proxy. In the case of the aboriginals as an oppressed minority, this is so, and what can be done by white people in this country must take the form of solidarity activity, but cannot substitute for the struggle of the aboriginals themselves. We should support attempts to form independent political organisations of aboriginals to struggle around their own demands, such as the demand for land rights.

We can support these demands by building a mass movement to publicise them and to help force the government to agree to them.

On December 3, a "March Against Racism" will assemble at Chifley Square to demand:

1. Immediate recognition of all land rights claims to all aboriginal groups claiming traditional land, and full and immediate compensation to all aboriginals for land seized since 1788;
2. End police repression of Redfern aboriginals;
3. Immediate repeal of the Queensland Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders Act and all other discriminating laws regarding aboriginals.

Gurindji Land Rights

The Gurindji struggle at Wattie Creek is the cause celebre of land rights claims throughout Australia. They have resisted all attempts to make them return to Vestey's Wave Hill cattle station where they previously worked as stockmen for one fifth of white man's wages, and have established their own independent settlement. This year they set up a store which sells \$400 worth of goods a week, and in general have proved they can manage their own affairs in spite of the obstacles thrown in their way by Vestey's and the Liberal Government.

Vestey's is an international meat corporation with holdings in 20 countries. It owns the Blue Star shipping line, W. Angliss & Co. and Villawood, to name a few of its 123 subsidiaries (not to mention the Liberal Government).

By 1916 Vestey's had bought up 36,000 square miles in Northern Australia for 55 cents per square mile, actually attempting to bribe the Administration with £20,000 to withdraw another company's

But the people most affected by Vestey's deals are the 2,000 aboriginal stockmen, most of whom work for Vestey's. In 1966 the Arbitration Court ruled that their wages be equalised with white wages within three years. But, they left Vestey's a loophole by introducing a "slow worker" clause - which Vestey's applied to all their stockmen. Consequently the Gurindjis walked off Wave Hill, and laid claim to their traditional land at Wattie Creek, where they have been ever since.

In 1970 the Gurindji campaign began agitating in Sydney for land rights. The Gurindji case is a test case which if granted, will mean the granting of land rights elsewhere.

Police Repression in Redfern

There is a growing movement among Redfern aboriginals to assert their identity as blacks. The Redfern blacks are subject to vicious police repression in an attempt to force upon them white customs and silence opposition to capitalist oppression. It is not uncommon to see dozens of blacks arrested for "drunkenness", simply because they are black. Bashings in police stations often occur. While only 2% of NSW's population is black, the black percentage of prison population is far greater.

Some blacks feel that a "bill of rights" is needed. But to achieve this, blacks will need to organise politically, and the whole nature of police repression will have to be exposed.

Queensland's Racist Laws

These laws' repressive nature can be gauged by the fact that South Africa's reserves are modelled on those in Queensland.

The Queensland Aborigines Act deems 40,000 aboriginals "assisted". This means that they cannot leave the reserve without permission, that they must unquestioningly obey the manager's orders and can be arbitrarily removed to another reserve, if they "misbehave".

The manager has absolute authority at all times. He is "assisted" by an aboriginal council, half of which is elected and the other half co-opted by the manager (who chooses the worst Uncle Toms he can find), and whose decisions he can veto at any time. The manager is the sole source of "justice". He can expropriate the aboriginals' wages and property, with no right of appeal.

Because of the Act's unpopularity, it will be subject to amendment soon. But its complete abolition is the only just solution to repression of Queensland's aboriginals. A continuing nationwide mass campaign starting with the largest possible demonstration on December 3, is the only way to achieve this.

Above top: Land rights vigils outside Commonwealth Offices Melbourne, December 1970.
Above: Free Niugini demonstration in Sydney October 8. (Tribune Photo)
Above: Land rights demonstration outside N.T. Legislative Assembly, Darwin, October 1970.

MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY COP RIOT

JIM McILROY

At 5.00 a.m. on Thursday September 30 more than 100 Commonwealth police smashed their way into the University of Melbourne Union building in search of four draft resisters and the "pirate" radio station 3DR. The draft resisters had been living in the Students' Union for several days with the co-operation of the SRC and Union authorities. 3DR had been broadcasting intermittently since the Tuesday before, beginning with the pre-taped announcement:

"Good morning, this is Melbourne's first Draft Resistance Radio 3DR. We are trying to give power to the people by providing an alternative to the Big Business-owned and operated mass media..."

It continued to send out left wing comment and rock music at intervals over this period, reaching far out into the suburban ghettos of Melbourne.

The police raid failed in both its objectives - the draft resisters were successfully hidden and later smuggled out of the building, and transported to Adelaide and Flinders Universities, where they were assured of sanctuary. The radio transmitter was dismantled and distributed around in small sections - none of which were found, despite official claims to the contrary. Apparently, the radio will resume operating at a later date, despite huge penalties for unauthorised (i.e. oppositional) transmissions.

Overall, the police were made to look extremely foolish. No doubt this contributed to the wanton destruction they carried out on the Union Building, perhaps conceiving of it as student-owned property, whereas in fact, the damage costs will have to be borne in the final instance, as always, by the working class of this country.

All in all, the damage is officially estimated at \$8,000, including more than 50 plate glass doors and five steel fire-proof doors, all of which were kicked in or smashed by crowbars. Many of these doors were in fact un-locked. The police refused to use keys which were proffered by the Union Manager and the SRC President, and continued on their rampage of destruction.

An interesting sidelight on this aspect is that the University Council had only a week before, been locked in struggle with students and the SRC in particular, over the principle of \$500 being paid by the student body as a contribution to the damages of the May 6 lock in (see *Direct Action* No. 10)

Will the Council go all out to recover damages from the Commonwealth Government over this issue? Or could it be that such "principles" somehow lose their force when questions of intruding class solidarity in the face of challenges from below occur? Here, as in many other matters, the University Administration is caught going both ways - trying to reconcile basically opposed interests - those of one constituency, the members of the university, and of another stronger one, the ruling bourgeoisie. As presently constituted, the University Council cannot represent student/staff interests. It can only serve the capitalist system.

In a blatant attempt to whip up public fears of "student violence", the Commonwealth police officer in charge, Deputy Commissioner Davies, who had come down from Canberra especially to lead the raid, charged that the 200 or so students inside the building "resisted with hostile violence". The *Melbourne Herald* of September 30 ironically makes the point quite clear: "If this is peaceful resistance then I would hate to see what you call violence", he told a jeering group of 300 students sitting cross legged on the 2nd floor".

Unfortunately the complete statement which was read out from a typed sheet had quite obviously been prepared before the raid, a fact which was not lost on the ABC reporters who noted it in their evening news reports.

Three hours later, apparently considering that the "violence" charge hadn't quite proved convincing enough, the police grabbed one student, Lynton Brown who was sitting on the second floor, and charged him with "malicious wounding". This was a complete fabrication - the chair which he was alleged to have thrown, actually was dislodged when the police used bolt-cutters to remove chains holding barricades of chairs the students had built up to block the stair wells.

At no stage did the police produce search warrants, even when asked to do so by the Registrar, Brigadier Bell, who then commented, "It's nice to be one of the oppressed for a change". (Very nice, no doubt, when it's merely a matter of having one's authority momentarily unrecognised. However, whether the Registrar will be permanently changed by his experience will remain to be seen when the Administration faces a challenge from four students demanding a greater part in university decision making - a permanent threat to the position of the bureaucrats).

The whole incident has caused quite a stir in the University. The student-controlled Union Board has considered taking legal action against the Commonwealth for reparations. The Chairman of the Professorial Board, while noting that the draft resisters had caused no obstruction, had a bet each way in a letter to *The Age* (October 5) ending, "We must deplore in the strongest possible terms, the events of the past few days which threaten the university's traditions and functions by the attempt to solve issues by the incitement of, and use of, force and violence". The student body in a large meeting, was completely united in condemnation of the police attack. The police and the Liberal Government's whole concept of "law and order" is in complete disrepute, not helped by Federal Attorney-General Greenwood's ineptitude and his comment that the raid was "a discreet and restrained attempt to effect arrests".

SYA gives its complete support to any group, including draft resisters, who are pursued and persecuted by the police and the whole repressive legal apparatus. This does not however, mean endorsement for the strategy of draft resistance as the most effective means, either of smashing conscription or of radicalising youth against Australia's involvement in imperialist wars. We feel that the fight against conscription must be tied closely to the anti-war movement as a whole but not as the main aim of it but rather in association with the mass demand for "all troops and aid out now". The government will respond only to massive demonstrations of popular opposition, not to individual acts which cannot in their nature involve the great proportion of the population in a direct way. The coming moratorium of December 3 in Melbourne based solely on draft resistance, can in no way approach the size and power of previous moratoriums. Thus we must not see draft resistance as an alternative strategy for this period; rather we must continue to educate strongly on the continuing US and allied military and political oppression of the Indo-Chinese people, and refuse to allow a diversion which might take the heat off McMahon's troops to suppress other revolutionary struggles in Asia.

The dramatic effects of the police raid and the genuinely useful initiative of a left wing "pirate radio", have had a positive effect on developing opposition to the government. However, we must never see such activities as an alternative to hard, slogging political work developing mass movements around popular transitional demands.



Above: To Lulupa is congratulated by Mataungan patron, Mr Oscar Tammur, MHA (Kokopo), after being elected president.

Above: Free Niugini demonstration in Sydney October 8. (Tribune Photo)

N.S.W. SOCIALIST LEFT CONFERENCE

The Australian Labor Party was formed out of the defeats suffered by the trade union movement in the massive strikes of the early 1890's, to win through parliament reforms which had eluded the industrial movement. Its career since then has been essentially that of a crisis party, voted in when capitalism suffers a breakdown, to carry out a reformist programme, only to be voted out in favour of the direct representatives of capital when the crisis passes.

The party made substantial gains in the last federal election - enough, before the latest polls, to give the politicians real hope of victory in 1972.

To improve the party's 'image' in Victoria, Whitlam last year organised the right and part of the left in a deal allowing the Federal Executive to move in and 'clean up' Victoria's left wing branch, and hold elections calculated to give it new leadership with a 'respectable' right wing policy like his own.

The desired effect was only partially achieved, and produced some dire side effects. The Victorian Left leaders, who had been heavily involved in the bureaucracy and machinery of the party's organisation opened up a wide discussion of social and political issues. They appealed directly for support to the rank and file. In this new opening they created a new and more viable 'Socialist Left' with a wider following. While the combination of right and centre forces was able to win numerically at the conference, the 'Socialist Left' emerged as larger than either of these two forces taken singly, and has largely set the pace in the Victorian ALP since that time.

In order to intervene in Victoria, the right wing had sought and gained the support of some of the prominent leaders of the so-called 'Steering Committee', though there was no real discussion of the issue amongst the Steering Committee's rank and file. As a quid pro quo the Steering Committee leaders were granted a system of proportional representation in the election for party officers in NSW, though only granted proportional representation for the reason that the right was convinced that this system offered them the best hope for a solution in Victoria. The aim of the right was to smash the Victorian left with a hammer and, because of mounting criticism of the NSW right, to deliver it a smashing blow with a feather.

Before and during the 1971 NSW Conference of the ALP, a 'Socialist Left' grouping emerged. With a clearly differentiated socialist viewpoint it succeeded in winning some rank and file members of the Steering Committee and some younger party members. The Socialist Left scored better than any other third grouping in recent years. The vote for its candidate in the election for the Assistant Secretary's position reached a new high, while some Socialist Left candidates, with a much smaller vote, were elected to leading bodies of the party. It is clear that due to proportional representation, particularly in those elections where there are a number of positions to be filled, significant minorities will be able to gain some representation.

The NSW Socialist Left is not as strong as in Victoria - that State is another planet politically. But it is strong enough now to discuss realistically its policies and prospects for the coming period.

The policy and strategic orientation of the Socialist Left was debated at a two day all-in conference over the October long weekend: internal democracy being regarded by the whole SL as essential if

it means business about having that spread through the whole party and ultimately through the whole of society.

The Steering Committee's way of settling on strategy and such programmatic points as they have had has always been through dogfights amongst themselves combined with wheeler-dealing with the other bureaucrats on the right of the party.

In the months preceding the Socialist Left conference, it was clear that a number of differing viewpoints had emerged. When it came to the conference there were four draft documents up for discussion as to the specific political basis that should be used by the Socialist Left from which to widen its activities, and to be adopted as Socialist Left policy.

The discussion of the main papers lasted over a day with a full participation in the debate of all who wished to speak.

The paper finally passed by the conference was that presented by Roger Barnes. This paper presented in a clear and convincing manner a brief analysis of recent political developments, examined the role of reformism, the state, parliament and the present position of the working class, underscored by the necessity for understanding new moods among workers, youth and women. The paper concluded with a set of immediate demands around which socialists should organise in the coming period.

This paper, which is now up for final ratification at a forthcoming general meeting of the Socialist Left, easily received not only majority support, but also the widest support. The final vote of 45 to 29 represented, by and large, the support for this paper against the support for the other three documents combined.

One of the minority papers was presented by George Petersen, MLA for Kembla. His paper consisted of a short preamble followed by a series of demands. In debate, the main argument put forward was that the NSW Socialist Left should attempt to emulate the Victorian Socialist Left. While this is in general true, are very real historical reasons for the present position of the Victorian Socialist Left.

In the ALP divisions of the fifties the DIP and extreme right left the party in Victoria, while in NSW this occurred only partially. The resulting Victorian ALP executive assumed an increasingly left orientation and succeeded in consolidating trade union support. Driven from power, parts of the executive retained that basic support. It is however, now necessary for socialists in both states to be aware that not only should they seek support among the present rank and file party and trade union members, but that increasing radicalisation of workers, youth and women will expand the party as a whole.

Phil Sandford presented a paper whose central thesis was that there will be a major recession in Australia next year, accompanied by a direct assault by the bourgeoisie on the workers' standards of living.

All his demands were economic ones - in accordance with a very defensive industrial strategy. He argued that modern Marxist theories of neo-capitalism such as Mandel's have gone the way of Rolls Royce, Penn Central, 'Look' magazine etc. "The implication of (Mandel's) analysis is to dismiss wage struggles as economist and to concentrate on issues such as alienation."

However, the Barnes document did not dismiss economic struggles. Importantly,

neither did it dismiss any of the others which are emerging, such as women's liberation, the environment issue, workers' control, etc. whose logics are all anti-capitalist.

The Sandford document not only limited itself deliberately in its programme to the total demand of nationalisation plus a 30 hour, four day week with no loss of pay, regular wage adjustments based on the cost of living, minimum wage for all workers, employed or unemployed, a ban on penal powers etc., all of which



were more fully expressed by Barnes and Petersen, it rejected the women's liberation document which was presented to the conference on the grounds that women's lib divides the workers' struggle in this time of crisis.

The fourth paper, one of whose supporters was Hall Greenland, was argued against by Bob Gould on the ground that its language was incomprehensible. Unfortunately, this may have been so for some people, though the content of the document, which was the first document received, was largely covered by the other documents. The high vote won by the Barnes document, especially from people not identified with any particular viewpoint, was due to its more pertinent content.

The final session of the conference was devoted to discussion of the women's liberation movement. Debate centred around two papers presented by Sylvia Hale ('The Right to Work' and 'Why Women's Liberation!') and one by Virginia Coventry ('A Women's Liberation Document on Women Workers').

Sylvia Hale postulated that changes in contemporary society were laying the basis for a radicalisation of women, many of whom previously constituted one of the most passive and backward sectors of society. Improved education, technological innovations (mechanisation of work, efficient contraceptives), smaller families, domestic appliances) were permitting many women for the first time to enter, and remain, in the

work force. Accompanying this move away from domestic isolation and stultification was a growing consciousness on the part of many women of the inferior position they occupied in capitalist society, and that that could only be changed once women began to organise, to generalise their grievances, to make demands, and gain greater self-confidence in the ensuing struggle.

It was argued that socialists should give critical support to the women's liberation movement as the ideological expression of the changes that were taking place among women. The role of socialists was to consistently place before members of women's liberation a socialist alternative to the problems confronting them.

Moreover they should recognise the inherently anti-capitalist nature of the women's liberation movement. Such demands as the right of all women, whether married or single, to work focused attention directly on the inability of capitalism to provide work for all at adequate rates of pay. Rather than dividing the working class, women's liberation by advocating such demands as equal pay, equal and compensatory education, adequate pre-school and child-care facilities, and abortion on request, was providing the pre-conditions by which women could actively participate in the struggles of the class, and thus in the overthrow of capitalism.

During the ensuing debate Phil Sandford

WORKERS CONTROL & THE Y.L.A.

JOHN PERCY

The Victorian Young Labour Association conference, held on October 3 proved interesting from several angles. Some of the concepts put forward by the right-wing of the YLA could be indicative of a line of approach that could be adopted by the right-wing of the labour movement generally. These concepts came out in the discussion on several motions from the Henty YLA branch which involved the idea of 'worker participation'. This idea has been used by trade union bureaucrats and the more sophisticated capitalists overseas to divert the working class, but they have not been tried here yet, although someone like Hawke could be expected to take them up as part of his corporalist strategy, sooner or later.

One of the motions proposed - "That the YLA organise a forum on Workers' Control in Yugoslavia, and how such a system could be introduced in Australia under a Labour Government." The YLA member proposing it, however, soon made it clear that what he had in mind was workers' participation, not workers' control. These are two totally different concepts. To realise that workers' control is a transitional demand put forward by revolutionaries in the working class movement, and that participation is put forward by the capitalists (as by De Gaulle in France, 1968, as the proposer enthusiastically noted!) is surely indicative of the differences between the two concepts.

Ernest Mandel, in his pamphlet on Workers' Control (available from SYA) wrote that 'Workers' Control is a transitional demand, an anti-capitalist structural form par excellence. This demand stems from the immediate needs of broad masses and leads them to launch struggles that challenge the very existence of the capitalist system, and the bourgeois state. Workers' Control is the kind of demand that capitalism can neither absorb nor digest, as it could all the immediate demands of the last sixty years from wage increases to the eight-hour day, from social welfare legislation to paid holidays.'

Participation, on the other hand, involves weakening the militancy of the workers and the strength of their unions, it means making the workers responsible for the failure of the industry and the system, without them having any control over it. It is merely a revamped version of the usual capitalist attempt to foster class collaboration in terms of 'team spirit' and loyalty to the firm.

S.E.C. STRIKE

JOHN MILES

Early in October about two thousand State Electricity Commission workers in the Latrobe Valley staged a 'wildcat' strike which all 'responsible authorities' from the Victorian Government to the ACTU condemned unanimously. Precisely for this reason the strike was a very significant warning to the leaders of the ACTU not to play their own political games while completely disregarding the wishes of the rank and file unionists.

After seven years of negotiating through the ACTU for their annual leave to be restored to what it had been in 1963, these men had had enough. What is more, this case is now unprecedented in that the Arbitration Commission had already granted the demand, but the Victorian Government interfered behind the scenes to prevent it being implemented.

Both the State Electricity Commission and the ACTU realise that the leave should and will be restored but they have compelling reasons for dragging their feet, at this stage: the SEC because of strong government pressure, and the ACTU because it wishes to dampen industrial unrest until after the federal elections.

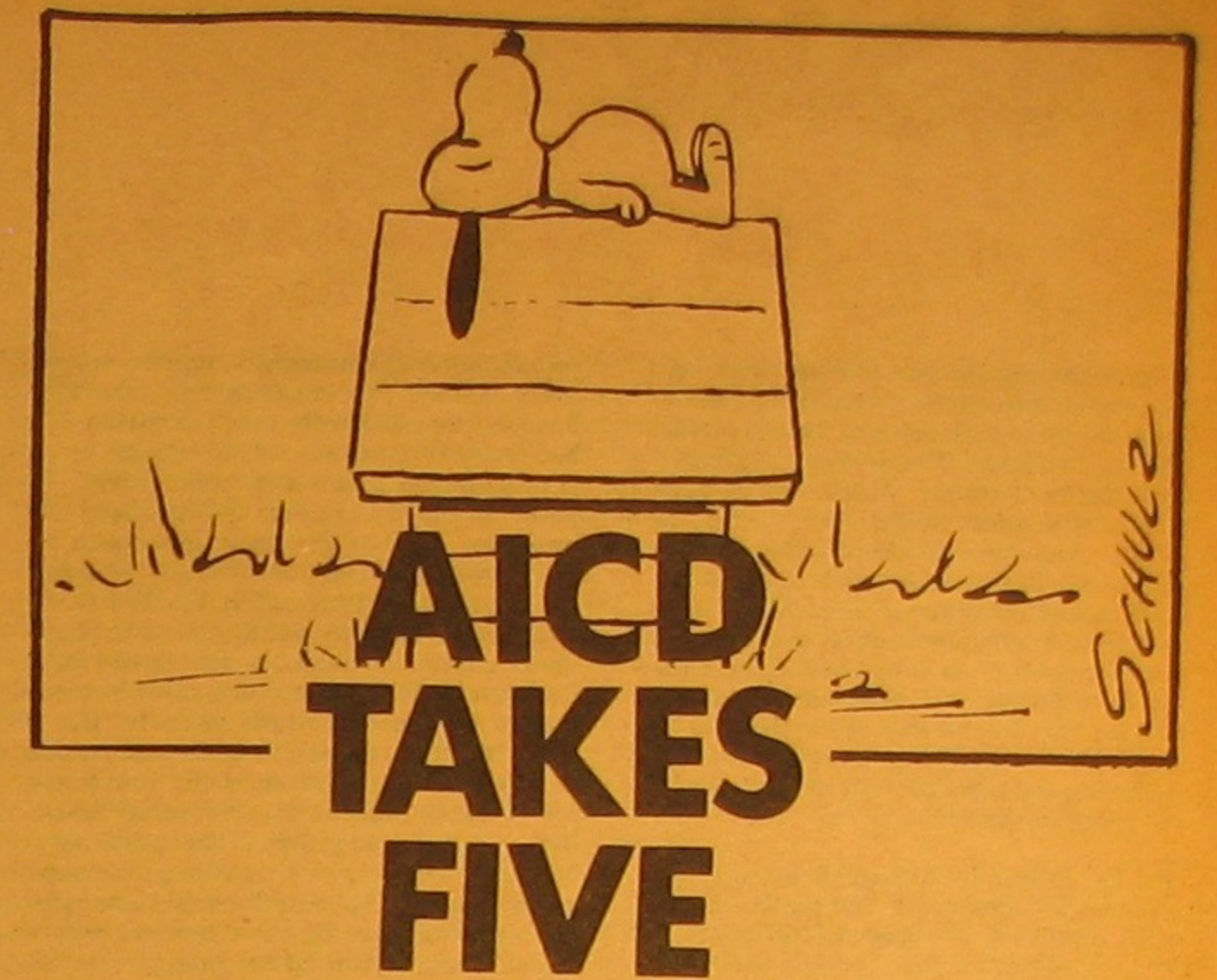
In Yugoslavia, although the workers to a certain extent have control over decisions at the plant level, this is fairly useless unless they have control of the whole national economy. Until genuine socialist democracy is instituted in Yugoslavia, and in the other workers' states in Eastern Europe, Russia and China, workers' control is not possible. As for the possibility of workers' control in capitalist Australia under a Labour Government, without a revolution made by the working class, the contradictions of this position are obviously absurd.

An amendment was accepted limiting the topic of the forum to 'workers' control' but with the organization of the forum in the hands of the right-wing executive, its unlikely to make any actual difference.

This same idea of worker participation came up in another motion, condemning the introduction of Government-controlled secret ballots for unions, but tacking on a demand for 'complementary provisions for secret ballots in employer organizations and democratic worker participation in management of enterprises!' Not understanding, of course, that the capitalists would still control the enterprises as well as the courts and the government! A left-wing motion to delete the second part by one vote.

One important motion from the left that was passed, however, was that the YLA only support candidates for election who stand on a clear socialist position. A motion for candidates in swinging seats was rejected. This was a healthy break from a blind orientation to parliament as the way to change things. The multiple illusions that firstly, parliament has the power to change the economic relationships in this society, secondly, that the capitalists would let parliament, and thirdly, that Labour parliamentarians once in power would actually try to have been around the labour movement for too long, and must be vigorously fought.

Although the right-wing lost on this motion, they easily swept the field in the elections that were held at the conference indicating that many merely came for the voting at lunchtime. Although the YLA is generally more healthy and active in Victoria than in most other states, its still necessary to fight to dispel the illusions that many young people still retain that it is possible to reform the capitalist system within their own structure and to the rules they lay down.



It seems that yesterday was the day for mass mobilisations against US and Australian aggression in Vietnam, and tomorrow is the day for public meetings. True, we've seen the McMahon Government make probably the only popular move of its tenure by promising to withdraw combat forces by December, but it seems hard to believe that no-one in Sydney wants a demo anymore, particularly when it wasn't so long ago that thousands of people felt like it. What is more likely is that no-one that matters wants a demo any more, and let's face it, the way the Moratorium has developed over the past few months, it's the Association for International Co-operation and Disarmament that matters.

This paper has on several occasions during the past months drawn the implications from Nixon's announcement of his impending visit to Peking. We considered that, now that both the US ruling class and the Chinese bureaucratic caste appeared to be collaborating to bring about an "honourable" settlement to the Vietnam conflict, it was imperative that the pressure be kept up from within the aggressor countries, and that, although we certainly couldn't envisage demonstrations of the magnitude of last year, we should nevertheless lose no time in organising a mass action, preferably on December 10 of this year.

Our comrades argued this point at Moratorium meetings in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. The August 18 Sydney Sponsors' Meeting adopted the scenario of a demonstrative action on December 10. However, on the same night, McMahon announced his decision to withdraw the troops. Although we acknowledged that, by achieving a partial victory in this one respect, we would consequently have a harder job in making a success of the December action, we felt that such an action was still essential, and that we should all pull together all the more to ensure a relative success.

But other sections of the movement, particularly AICD, began to stall, seeking after new formulae. This new, "sophisticated" approach resulted in AICD calling, quite unilaterally, what amounted to little more than a public meeting on the street outside the US Consulate in Sydney. SYA viewed this move with some concern and published an open letter to AICD protesting such divisive action. We



also distributed a leaflet to this effect at the gathering.

The following meeting of the NSW Moratorium Co-ordinating Committee adopted a three part proposal for the organisation of the December action, which called for a march to a public meeting in the Town Hall to discuss the future of the anti-war movement. The AICD representative at the Co-ordinating Committee meeting raised no objection to this proposal.

But it appears that AICD had already decided the future of the antiwar movement. At the October Sponsors' Meeting held on the following Sunday the AICD spokesman, feigning indignation at the "breach of faith" (he said it, folks) on the part of SYA daring to suggest (in the open letter and the leaflet) that AICD wasn't perhaps doing things quite properly, he declared that, because of this, AICD wasn't going to participate in the Moratorium action, and that they had booked the lower Town Hall, and they were damn well going to have their own public meeting, and that if SYA wanted to organise a march, they were quite welcome to.

Well, folks, we were completely flabbergasted! Here was this nice man McLeod, who had for the past two years selflessly devoted himself and his organisation to the Moratorium, saying that he wanted out, and only six days after he had supported the proposals for the December 10 action!

Our response to this proposal (?) was that if, after so much bugging around between August and October, there remained any chance of pulling off a united action on December 10, the only hope lay within the Moratorium aegis rather than in individual and unco-ordinated initiatives by component groups, and that we had better decide there and then to get things moving.

Well, we lost. Let's face it, when an organisation in the coalition as influential and important as AICD decides it doesn't want to play ball, then there isn't much the others can do. And AICD damn well knows it.

So there it is. The last mass action of the Moratorium in Sydney was on June 30, 1971. Anyone would think that the Moratorium had ended the war. Perhaps AICD should ask the Vietnamese.

TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS OF FASCISM

By ERNEST MANDEL

SIX COMPONENT PARTS OF FASCISM AND THE DANGER OF FASCISM TODAY

The following are two sections from an extensive introduction written by Ernest Mandel for a collection of Leon Trotsky's writings entitled 'The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany' which will be published this month by Pathfinder Press, New York. The term 'fascism' today has become one of the catchwords of the New Left as well as some of the established political tendencies such as the Communist Party (M-L). It is applied indiscriminately to a wide variety of unrelated phenomena that in one way or another are regarded as right wing or authoritarian, reducing the term to a mere epithet with no specific content.

But the failure to distinguish between a real fascist movement and routine capitalist repression has proved fatal in the past to radical parties that counted their supporters and members in the millions. Mandel's succinct presentation of Trotsky's rigorous Marxist analysis of what fascism is and what it is not provides the necessary groundwork for any discussion of how fascism can be successfully fought. One of the key lessons of the failure to stop the rise of Hitler in the 30's was the incapacity of the Social Democratic and Communist Parties to distinguish the genuine fascist movement from a host of other procapitalist currents and to unite in a fight to the finish to smash Hitler before it was too late. The fact that both parties had cried wolf for years and even called each other agents of fascism and 'social fascists' paralyzed them both when the real thing appeared.

For space reasons we have been forced to omit Mandel's discussion on the false theories of the nature of fascism put forward by the Social Democrats and Stalinists in opposition to Trotsky's call to action. We have included Mandel's estimate of various right-wing movements in different parts of the world today and their relation to fascism. Mandel's essay was translated from the German by Rod Speil and Robert Langston.

THE SIX COMPONENT PARTS OF FASCISM

Trotsky's theory of fascism is a unity of six elements. Each element within this unity possesses a certain autonomy, and each passes through a certain development by virtue of its internal contradictions. But the unity can only be understood as a closed and dynamic totality in which these elements, not in isolation but in their intrinsic connection with one another, can explain the rise, victory, and fall of fascist dictatorship.

1) The rise of fascism is the expression of a severe social crisis of late capitalism, a structural crisis which can, as in the years 1929 to 1933, coincide with a crisis of overproduction, but which goes far beyond such conjunctural fluctuations. Fundamentally, it is a crisis in the very conditions of the production and realization of surplus value. It is the impossibility of continuing a 'natural' accumulation of capital under the given competitive conditions on the world market (i.e., with a given level of real wages, labour productivity, and access to raw materials and markets). The historical function of the fascist seizure of power is to suddenly and violently change the conditions of the production and realization of surplus value to the advantage of the decisive groups of monopoly capitalism.

2) In the epoch of imperialism, and where the workers' movement has gone through a long historical development, the bourgeoisie exercises its political rule most advantageously, that is, with the lowest overhead, through bourgeois parliamentary democracy. This form of rule has two great advantages. It allows a periodic reduction of social antagonisms through the granting of certain social reforms. And it permits an important section of the bourgeoisie to participate directly in the exercise of political power through the bourgeois parties, newspapers, universities, employers' associations, municipal and regional governments, the summits of the state apparatus, the central banking system, and so forth.

But this form of bourgeois rule - which is by no means the only historical one (1) - depends on the maintenance of a highly unstable equilibrium of economic and

social forces. When objective developments disturb this equilibrium, the big bourgeoisie has hardly any alternative but to try to establish a higher form of centralization of the state's executive power in order to realize its historical interests, even at the price of renouncing the immediate exercise of political power. Looked at historically, fascism is both the realization and negation of monopoly capitalism's tendency - first noted by Rudolph Hilferding - to 'organize' in totalitarian fashion, the whole of social life in its interests. Fascism is the realization of this tendency because in the last analysis it has performed this historical function. It is the negation of this tendency, because, contrary to Hilferding's expectation, fascism has only been able to perform this function by the extensive political expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

3) Given the conditions of modern industrial society and the immense numerical disproportion between wage workers and big-capitalists, it is practically impossible to carry out such a violent centralization of power by purely technical means. It is equally impossible by such means alone to liquidate most, if not all of the gains of the modern workers' movement, including those "germs of proletarian democracy" within the framework of bourgeois democracy, as Trotsky correctly characterized the mass organizations of the workers' movement.

Neither a military dictatorship nor a pure police state - not to speak of an absolute monarchy - has sufficient capabilities to atomize and demoralize for very long a conscious social class with millions of members and thereby to prevent the reappearance of even the elementary class struggles that are periodically produced by the simple play of market laws. To accomplish these ends, the big bourgeoisie needs a movement that can set masses in motion on its side, that can wear down and demoralize the more conscious parts of the proletariat by systematic mass terror and street warfare, and that, after the seizure of power, can totally destroy the proletarian mass organizations and thereby leave the conscious elements not only atomized, but also demoralized and resigned.

By appropriate methods adapted to the requirements of mass psychology, such a mass movement can achieve a constant supervision of the masses of class-conscious wage workers through an immense apparatus of block wardens, street monitors, and factory cells (the Nationalsozialistische Betriebsorganisation). It can also influence ideologically a part of the less conscious workers, especially the white-collar workers, and it can partially reintegrate them into a functioning class collaboration.

4) Such a mass movement can only arise on the basis of the petty bourgeoisie, capitalism's third social class, situated between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If this petty bourgeoisie is hit so hard by inflation, bankruptcy of small firms, and mass unemployment of university graduates, technicians, and the higher salaried employees, that it falls into despair, then a typical petty-bourgeois movement, compounded of ideological reminiscences and psychological resentment, will arise. It will combine extreme nationalism and at least verbal anticapitalist demagoguery (2) with the most intense hatred for the organized workers' movement ('Against Communism!'). At the moment this movement begins physical attacks on the workers, their organizations, and their actions, a fascist movement is born. After such a movement has passed through a period of autonomous development, which it must do if it is to win mass influence, it comes to need the financial and political support of important sections of monopoly capital if it is to carry through to the seizure of power.

5) If the fascist dictatorship is to fulfill its historic role, the workers' movement must be ground down and beaten back before the seizure of power. But this is only possible if, prior to the seizure of power, the scales have tipped decisively in the favor of the fascist bands and against the working class. (3) The rise of the fascist movement is like an

institutionalization of civil war, in which either side, regarded objectively, has a chance of success. (This is the reason, incidentally, that it is only under very special, "abnormal" circumstances that the big bourgeoisie favors and finances such experiments. From the outset there is a definite risk in such all-or-nothing politics.)

If the fascists succeed in paralyzing, demoralizing, and smashing the enemy - the organized workers - their victory is certain. But if the workers' movement strikes back successfully and seizes the initiative for itself, then it can decisively defeat not only fascism but also the capitalism that spawns it.

This is so for technical-political as well as social-political and social-psychological reasons. At first the fascist bands organize only the most resolute and desperate parts of the petty bourgeoisie (the part "gone mad"). The petty-bourgeois masses, as well as the unconscious and unorganized part of the wage workers - especially young workers and white-collar youth - will normally waver back and forth between the two camps. They will be inclined to join the side that demonstrates the greater boldness and decisiveness. They want to bet on the winning horse.

Historically considered, the victory of fascism expresses the inability of the workers' movement to resolve the structural crisis of late capitalism in its own interest and to its own ends. Such a crisis always at first offers the workers' movement a chance at victory. Only if it does not take advantage of this chance because it is misled, split, and demoralized, can the battle lead to the triumph of fascism.

6) If fascism succeeds "like a battering ram in smashing the workers' movement," then it has done its duty from the standpoint of monopoly capitalism. Its mass movement is bureaucratized and to a large extent assimilated into the bourgeois state apparatus. This cannot occur unless the most extreme forms of the plebeian, petty-bourgeois demagoguery present in the "goals of the movement" disappear from view and are removed from the official ideology.

This development is by no means opposed to the continuing tendency of the highly centralized state apparatus to become independent. For once the workers' movement is vanquished, and the conditions of the production and realization of surplus value have been decisively altered domestically to the advantage of the big bourgeoisie, then efforts will necessarily be concentrated on bringing about a similar change on the world market. The all-or-nothing politics of fascism are carried over from the social-political sphere into the financial sphere; it encourages permanent inflation and finally allows no alternative but foreign military adventure. But this whole development brings with it deterioration rather than improvement in the economic situation (a consequence of the war economy) and in the political position of the petty bourgeoisie - with the exception of that part that can be fed with sinecures from the increasingly independent state apparatus. Instead of "liberation from the coils of usury capital," a pronounced acceleration in the concentration of capital and the proletarianization of the middle classes takes place. This fact demonstrates the class character of the fascist dictatorship, which does not correspond to that of the fascist mass movement. The former represents the historical interests of monopoly capital, not those of the petty bourgeoisie. Once this tendency becomes predominant, the conscious and active mass base of fascism necessarily shrinks. The fascist dictatorship has the tendency to undermine and disintegrate its own mass base. The fascist bands become appendages of the police. In the phase of its decline, fascism is transformed back into a particular kind of Bonapartism.

These are the constituent elements of Trotsky's theory of fascism. On the one hand, it is based on an analysis of the special conditions under which the class struggle develops in highly industrialized

countries during the late capitalist structural crisis (Trotsky himself spoke of the "epoch of capitalist decay"). On the other hand, it flows from a particular way, peculiar to Trotsky's Marxism, of relating the objective and subjective factors in the practical course of this class struggle and in the theoretical interpretation of it . . .

IS THERE A FASCIST DANGER TODAY

But Trotsky's theory of fascism is not only a pitiless indictment of the past. It sees into the present and the future, and it is a warning against new theoretical errors and an admonition against new dangers.

The specific character of fascism can be understood only within the framework of imperialist monopoly capitalism. It is absurd to call any of the authoritarian movements in the semicolonial world "fascist" simply because they swear allegiance to a leader or put their adherents in uniform. In a country where the most important part of the capital is in foreign hands and the nation's destiny is determined by that domination of foreign imperialism, it is senseless to characterize as fascist a movement of the national bourgeoisie seeking in its own interests to liberate itself from that domination. Such a movement may share some superficial features with fascism: extreme nationalism, the leader cult, sometimes even anti-Semitism. Like fascism, it may find its mass base in the declassed and impoverished petty bourgeoisie. But the decisive difference, in terms of social and economic policy, between such a movement and fascism is immediately evident if one investigates the movement's postures towards the two decisive classes of modern society: big business and the working class.

Fascism consolidates the rule of the former and brings it the highest profits economically; it atomizes the latter and smashes its organizations. By contrast, the nationalist movements of the national bourgeoisie in the semicolonial countries, which are often falsely disparaged as "fascist," usually deal some serious and lasting blows to big business, especially foreign capital, while creating new organizational possibilities for the workers. The best example of this is the Peronist movement in Argentina which, far from atomizing the working class, first made possible the general organization of factory workers into the unions, which to this day exert significant influence in the country.

It is true that this so-called national bourgeoisie's ability to maneuver between foreign imperialism and the domestic mass movement is socially and historically limited, and it will continually waver back and forth between these two chief roles. Certainly, its class interest will finally lead it to an alliance with imperialism, from which it will try to extort, through pressure exerted by value, while an all-too-powerful upsurge of the mass movement would threaten its very position of class rule. Of course, such a turn against the masses can take the form of bloody, fascist-like repression, as with the Indonesian generals after October 1965. Nevertheless, the fundamental difference between the two processes - that of fascism in the imperialist metropolises and that of what is at worst vicious military dictatorship in the semicolonial countries of the third world - must be so clearly understood that no confusion of concepts can occur.

It is also important to avoid confusing the ever clearer contemporary tendency towards the "strong state" with a tendency towards "creeping" or even "open" fascistization. Fascism's point of departure, as has been stressed again and again, is a desperate and impoverished petty bourgeoisie. After a twenty-year "upward swing of the long cycle," scarcely any imperialist country of the West has such a desperate petty bourgeoisie. At most, some marginal layers of the peasantry and urban middle classes are affected by a tendency towards impoverishment. But even these layers, none of which are of any significant weight in the total population, have up until now been able to find new employment relatively easily in trade, services, and

industry. A process opposite to that of the years 1918 to 1933 is occurring. At that time, the middle layers were being pauperized without being proletarianized; today they are being proletarianized without being pauperized.

Under the conditions of a predominantly prosperous and conservative petty bourgeoisie, neo fascism has no objective possibility of winning a broad mass base. Wealthy property owners don't fight street battles with revolutionary workers or radical students. They prefer to call the police and provide them with better weapons to "take care of unrest". This is just the difference between fascism, organizing desperate petty-bourgeois elements, using them to terrorize whole industrial areas and large cities, and the authoritarian "strong state" that, to be sure, utilizes violence and repression and can deal hard blows against the workers' movement and radical groups but is unable to annihilate the workers' organizations and to atomize the working class. Even a superficial comparison of the developments in Germany after 1933 with those in France after the establishment of the "strong state" in 1958 makes this difference perfectly clear. And the same conclusion flows from a comparison between the fascist dictatorship in Spain between 1939 and 1945 and the decadent "strong state" of today that, despite the sharpest repression occasionally carried out by the police and military apparatus, is completely unable to suppress a rising mass movement.

The economic situation would have to change decisively for a new, immediate danger of fascism to arise in the imperialist states of the West. That there will be such a change in the future is by no means excluded; indeed it is probable. But until this happens it would be better to avoid being fascinated by a non-existent danger of fascism, to talk less about neofascism, and to devote more attention to the systematic struggle against the very concrete and real tendency of the bourgeoisie towards the "strong state", that is, towards the systematic restriction of the democratic rights of wage workers (by means of emergency laws, antistrike laws, fines and prison sentences for wildcat strikes, limitations on the right to demonstrate, state and capitalist manipulation of the mass media, re-establishment of preventive detention, etc.). The kernel of truth in the "creeping fascism" theory relates to the danger that passive and unpolitical acceptance of such attacks on elementary democratic rights can only whet the appetite of the rulers for harsher attacks. If the workers' movement lets itself be led around by the nose without offering any resistance and allows its power to be taken from it step by step, at the first sharp change in the economic situation, some clever adventurer could easily be inspired to really try to smash it. The resistance which has not been prepared in persistent daily battles over many years will certainly not fall miraculously from heaven at the last minute.

And precisely because the main task today does not lie in a struggle against a virtually impotent neofascism but in one against a really threatening "strong state," it is extremely important to avoid confused ideas. To declare the first skirmishes to be the beginning of the decisive battle and to give the impression that fascism (whether "creeping" or "open") is identical with the rather ineffective CRS in Paris or the West Berlin police thugs, is to dull the masses' awareness of the truly horrible danger that a fascism armed with today's far more advanced technology would represent. It is to make the same fatal error that the KPD (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands - Communist Party of Germany) leaders made from 1930 to 1933, when they characterized Bruening, Papen, Schleicher, and Hugenberg as the incarnation of fascism, which in turn led the workers to conclude that the monster wasn't nearly as bad as it was made out to be.

The seeds of a potential new fascism are present in the disease, consciously induced in some imperialist countries of xenophobic and racist mentality (against the Blacks, against the coloreds,

against the Immigrant workers, against the Arabs, etc.). In the growing indifference in a country like the United States to political murder, in irrational resentment at the sort of "unfriendly developments" on the world scene that tend to occur ever more frequently, and in an equally irrational hatred of radical, nonconformist minorities (They should gas you all," has often been yelled at SDS demonstrators in West Germany and West Berlin; "You belong in a concentration camp" is typical of the imprecations hurled at radical demonstrators by "law and order" advocates both in West Germany and in the United States).

It is a tragic blindness when an otherwise intelligent and liberal university teacher such as Professor Habermas lets himself be carried away to such an extent that he applies the term "left wing fascism" to the radical students; to those who are, in fact, potentially the first victims of a future fascist terror. Today, as much as in the twenties and thirties, the actual breeding ground of fascism is not to be sought among the nonconformist minorities but among the philistines minorizing "Respectability, honor, loyalty!"

It is by no means excluded that in the event of a shock to the world capitalist economy - not necessarily in the form of a world economic crisis of 1929-33 magnitude, which is unlikely in view of the size of contemporary budgets and inflation - these seeds present in all of Western Europe might suddenly blossom into a new fascist epidemic. But there is much that suggests this danger to be much greater in the United States than in Europe. Europe's big bourgeoisie has once already burned its fingers severely with a fascist experiment. In some parts of the continent, as a result, it lost everything it had; in others, it was only able to salvage its class domination at the last minute. It is all the less likely to be led to repeat the adventure, since the experience also left deep traces among the masses of the people, and the suddenly rising threat of a new fascism would certainly bring the sharpest reactions.

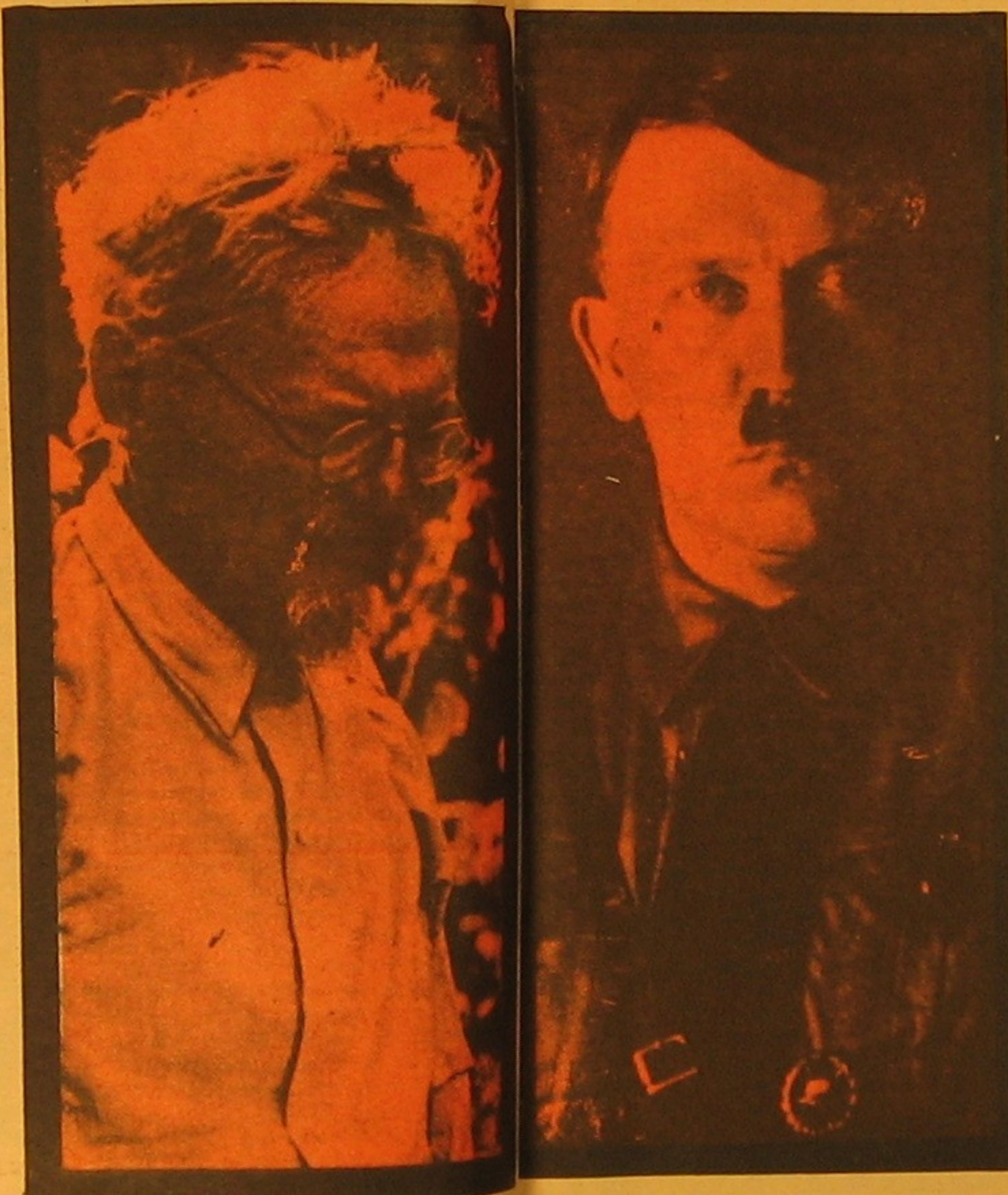
In this connection, developments among West European students are a good omen. Since the beginning of the century, student groupings were the intellectual incubators of fascism. The first cadres of the fascist bands were recruited from among them. They supplied the organized strikebreakers in the 1920's, not only in Germany but also in Great Britain during the General Strike of 1926. Long before Hitler moved into the Chancellor's office, he had conquered the universities. And after the People's Front won the 1936 elections in France, the semifascist Camelots du Roi continued to rule the Latin Quarter.

Today the picture has changed radically. In all West European countries the primary trend among students is towards the left and extreme left rather than towards the extreme right. Pickets, not strikebreakers are recruited from the students, and they go to the factories not to help the employers 'reestablish law and order', but to encourage the workers to question late capitalist 'order' far more radically than the workers' traditional mass organizations themselves do. It is not likely that this trend will be radically altered in the coming years. While fascism was, after the First World War, above all an uprising of the youth, there are few signs today that the youth anywhere in Western Europe could be seduced in any large numbers by right-wing extremism.

The next wave in Europe will be to the left and the extreme left: this is shown by the seismograph of the youth, who are always several years in advance of the mass movement. And the May 1968 events in France were only a prelude. Only if this wave should recede in failure, and if the disappointments of the younger generation should coincide with an upset in the economy, would fascism, in turn, have some chance of success.

In the United States too, the developments may well have the same dialectical rhythm that has been experienced everywhere since 1918. When late capitalist society is deep-

Continued next page...



Above top left: Trotsky
Above: Hitler reviewing
top right: Hitler
military parade in Nuremberg

KHRUSHCHEV: The death of a (poor) shepherd

We were not moved, as the "Tribune", (paper of the Communist Party of Australia) and Indira Gandhi were, at the lonely death of Nikita Khrushchev, "this man of the people" who "is assured of an honoured place in history", this man who had the "extraordinary courage" to destroy the myth of Stalin. We have the least tears and the longest memory, and we have an entirely different picture of this treacherous calculator who sprang up as a result of zealously thrusting his allegiance behind his caste, releasing his last breath in a nursing home for worn out bureaucrats.

But before recalling the rise of this curiosity of Stalinist politics, we take the liberty of amusing ourselves for a few moments on the commentary brought about by his death.

Dave Davies wrote in "Tribune", Sept. 22, 1971: "Nikita was perhaps too much one of the boys. The name of Khrushchev was erased not because of his weaknesses. It was because of his association with 'the thaw', that period in Soviet history which saw an upsurge of great hopes for the further development of socialism, a mass stirring which promised a flourishing of Soviet democracy and a threat to bureaucratic rule." On Sept. 15, 1971, "Tribune" wrote that Khrushchev's reign "was marked by fruitful democratic developments in the USSR, as well as by some serious errors in policy".

And if you are curious and want to have some light thrown onto the nature of these "errors", the manner in which the Russian "people" agreed to remove Khrushchev, don't count on "Tribune" to inform you. How "progressive", how "liberal" the CPA think they are being here to criticise the current leadership! The CPA's "Socialism with a human face" is seen as being "one of the boys". No mention of Khrushchev's massacre in 1956 in Hungary (here or ever elsewhere...) is made. These comrades still believe theories about "cults of personality" and now seek to make a new one: everything would be going well if good, old jolly Khrushchev was still around. When will we see an honest analysis of the past from them?

The Chinese have been crying out, in a very truthful way, that he was "a buffoon and a traitor, the father of all modern revisionists!" Quite right. But the Chinese who so accurately brand the adventurist and the capitulator in the Cuban missiles incident, the accomplice of imperialist crimes throughout the world, have followed the same path, sticking their dagger in the backs of the revolutionary people of Bengal, Ceylon, the Sudan, Ethiopia, the Cameroons, Iran and others.

A GOOD MAN WITHOUT A HISTORY?

Did the good shepherd Khrushchev miraculously erupt onto the political scene one day in February 1956, armed only with his artless courage and a fine Leninist intransigence?

A former shepherd who became a coal miner in the Ukraine, Khrushchev joined the Bolshevik party in 1918, right in the middle of the civil war. For many years following this, he carried out the obscure tasks of an apparatchik, content to let himself be carried along by a wave and take orders. This reveals his mediocre bureaucratic tendencies, but being a careerist, he was soon caught up in the infernal machine of the Stalinist apparatus.

His rise to prominence in the thirties, under the protection of the sinister Kaganovitch, his accession in 1935 to the leadership of the CP of the Ukraine, as the commander of the purges, only reveals the temperament and capacity of an accomplished blackguard.

Making his career in 1935, he raised himself to the highest honours on the corpses of hundreds of thousands of long-standing communists and all opponents, whether they were right-wingers or revolutionary marxists. He climbed the remains of entire populations, those national minorities that the deadly madness of "the great Russian chauvinist" Stalin pledged to massive extermination, and he made himself the accomplice, in the same way, of the annihilation of millions of poor peasants, hurriedly listed as "Kulaks" in the Ukraine.

And all this, the good, the affable, the merry shepherd from Koursk province achieved without flinching, driven by an insatiable thirst for power. The more patiently woven legends about Khrushchev collapse with a great crash.

THE HEROIC INFORMER OF STALIN'S SWINDLES

Stalin's death was followed by intrigues and treachery in the corridors of power (in the course of which the one who bloomed most beautifully with Stalinist debauchery, Beria, lost his hide). With the only stroke of genius in his arduous career, Khrushchev sought to consolidate his own influence by including a denunciation of Stalin's crimes, which from then on were impossible to conceal.

This was something too serious to leave aside, without also treating along with both imperialists and revolutionaries.

He understood that he was there to protect the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy by getting rid of the cumbersome corpse of his mentor. The main part of his plan of attack against Molotov and Malenkov, the terms of the 20th and 22nd congresses have combined exactly to load the responsibility of all the vices of the bureaucrats on the wide shoulders of the defenceless corpse of the Soviet Genghis Khan. By this sleight of hand, he white-washed the same bureaucracy of its faults, and at the same time, he set himself up as the most zealous defender of the counter-revolutionary system set up by Stalin.

AN APOSTLE OF PEACE AND GOOD WILL BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD? Although Khrushchev attacked Stalin for the necessities of his own cause, he was not slow in providing pledges of loyalty to the Stalinist "ideal"; he was one of the promoters of the crushing of the Budapest Commune, the protagonists of which had been wrong to take a little too seriously the anti-Stalinist diatribes of the 20th congress

He also distinguished himself by his patience and effectiveness in Poland, after the events of Poznan and the development of a spirit of very serious criticism. At first taking matador poses at the time of the missiles crisis in Cuba, he finished by revealing his bureaucratic weakness in making the most pitiful retreat possible.

As the maker of the break with China and Albania, he demonstrated in this affair, as in the Cuban episode, his obtuse perseverance of restricting support only to the extent that he believed it to be in the interests of the USSR. He had the most bare-faced contempt for the interests of "foreign" proletarians and the world revolution. He also found his true counter-revolutionary role in endorsing the politics of compromises and capitulation in front of imperialism, otherwise known as

peaceful coexistence. From then on, he was anxiously "sitting in peace", in three or four-party conferences on European or world "security"; he was instilling the spirit of "goulash communism" into the heads of the Soviet people; and he was choking the Chinese economy. To this end, he distinguished himself as the mediocre initiator of a policy of enticement of all the petty-bourgeois regimes on the planet (Egypt, Indonesia, India...), that his successors are striving to follow with more or less success.

Khrushchev: the apostle of peace, the John xxiii of communism", and as Garaudy has ridiculed him, by christening him as only the father of panzer-communism and of the diplomacy of capitulation.

THE UNSTEADY MODEL OF COWARDICE AND POST-STALINIST DOUBLE-DEALING Khrushchev was - and secretly remained - the security and model of all those to whom he had shown the way in the hazardous transition from adulation to denigration of Stalin. He remains - by means of his definitive and sinister image - the leader of this low and cowardly breed which still controls the communist parties of the world, and orients itself towards trampling on the faces - literally and figuratively - of all the real revolutionaries.

He is the symbol of that category of people which does not hesitate - after having guaranteed and practised, with full knowledge of the case, and with the most perfect cynicism, the greatest crimes that the workers' movement has known - to assume postures of repentance and of being overwhelmed. "If we had known! Our good faith has been caught unaware!..."

After having worshipped the one who devoted his maniacal zeal to ditching the world revolution and to exterminating the real inheritors of Leninism, this band of hyenas set about slashing the corpse of Stalin, who the day before still inspired it with such a great mixture of reverence and terror.

Khrushchev remains the most thorough likeness of all the pseudo-communists without any honour or political courage, who did not hesitate for one instant to swap their little bit of revolutionary belief for a plate of bureaucratic lentils.

But this tale offers revolutionaries clear revenge: the death of Khrushchev is surrounded by an atmosphere of indifference and pettiness. This is a sign of the end of the reign of the sheep of repentant Stalinism.

These comforting signs, which demonstrate Trotsky's thesis that the accounts of history must be paid, are innumerable. And for the followers of Khrushchevite Jesuitism, the bill will be particularly heavy.



KHRUSHCHEV: CHAMPION OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS OF FASCISM ...

Continued from previous page

ly shaken, the pendulum always swings first to the left, and only after the workers movement has failed does the right get its chance. But America's big bourgeoisie is less experienced and therefore cruder than the West European, for it has until now, scarcely ever had to suffer from the risks it has run. It has therefore a less highly developed instinct concerning the natural limits of all-or-nothing politics, and it possesses in the nonpolitical tradition of broad sections of the American population a reservoir of right-extremist conservatism that - in the case of a turn in the economic situation and missed opportunities on the radical side to transform the country in socialist terms - might offer a fascist adventurer greater chances of success than would Europe. The increasing violence, the explosive race question, and the recklessness of some imperialist circles make the profile of a fascist-like trend clearer on the US side of the Atlantic. (4)

final phases of a life-and-death struggle to preserve 'their' monopoly-capitalist society after it had been vanquished in the rest of the world, US big business should hand over political power to violently irrational men, it would be fatal to all mankind. At the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties, revolutionary Marxists could warn that the struggle against fascism and for a socialist solution of the European crisis was a battle against an advancing barbarism in our part of the world. In the coming decades, the struggle for a socialist America may be a life-and-death battle for all mankind.

For this reason, the sharp analyses and the Cassandra cries of Trotsky have immediate relevance. For as long as monopoly capitalism exists, the same danger, in even more dreadful form and with even more inhuman barbarism, can arise once more.

We said at the beginning that the reader of this book will be transfixed by Trotsky's analytical achievements. But the study of these writings calls forth anger and scorn even more than admiration. How easy it would have been to have heeded Trotsky's admonition and avoided disaster. This should be a great moral for us: to recognize the evil in order to fight it in time, and with success. The German catastrophe does not have to be repeated. And it will not be repeated.

Footnotes.
1) The peculiar amnesia of bourgeois ideologues concerning the recent history of bourgeois society is perennially astonishing. During the two hundred years since the first industrial revolution, the state forms in Western Europe have alternated among aristocratic monarchy, plebeian Caesarism, conservative-liberal parliamentarism (with perhaps 10% and sometimes less than 5% of the population enfranchised), and outright autocracy, depending on the country whose political history is studied. Except for a brief interval during the Great French Revolution, parliamentary democracy based upon universal franchise has almost everywhere been a product of, not the liberal bourgeoisie but of the struggles of the workers' movement.

2) Nevertheless, it is always a question of a particular form of demagoguery which attacks only particular forms of capitalism ('interest bondage', department stores, etc) Private property as such, and entrepreneurial domination in the plant, are never called into question.

3) If this is not the case, and the workers retain their ability and willingness to fight the fascist seizure of power can become the prelude to a mighty revolutionary upsurge in Spain, the fascist military putsch of 1936 was answered by a revolutionary uprising of the working class that, within a

few days, dealt the fascists a crushing military defeat in all the big cities and industrial areas and forced them to retreat into the underdeveloped, agrarian parts of the country. The fact that that lasted almost three years, were finally able to come to power was due both to international factors and to the fatal role played by the leadership of the left in the parties and in the state. This leadership stopped the working class from bringing to a swift fulfillment the socialist revolution successfully begun in July 1936. In particular, the leadership failed to undermine France's last base of power among the backward peasantry and the North African mercenaries by refusing to implement radical land reform and to proclaim the independence of Morocco.

4) It is necessary to remember that in this polarization process - already begun in recent years - right-wing activism has been in decline. In the United States too, the politically active part of the youth is tending overwhelmingly towards the left. As in Western Europe, confrontations occur not between left-wing and right-wing activists, but between left-wing activists and the police. The relative prosperity of the middle layers of the American population, and their corresponding conservatism, are certainly not unrelated to this fact.

January 30, 1969

SUPPORT MUKTI FOUJ!

The following article is a reprint of a leaflet written for the Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee in Melbourne by Steve Painter of SYA.

While you are reading this leaflet, East Bengali refugees fleeing from the bullets and bayonets of Yahya Khan are streaming toward the Indian border at the rate of 30-40,000 per day. Many never reach the border: they die of cholera or starvation on the way and are left to rot by the roadside. Children are being born to mothers too weak from starvation to be able to produce milk to feed them. Children and babies are dying by the thousands. There is scarcely a family in the whole of East Bengal which has not lost at least one member either to Yahya Khan's murderers or to the disease and starvation which has followed upon the disruption of the economy caused by the West Pakistani invasion of East Bengal.

The situation in East Bengal is not unique. Two years ago the rest of the world watched while the Nigerian army conducted a genocidal war against the Ibo people of Biafra. Situations such as Bengal and Biafra do not just "happen". They are not a necessary result of overpopulation in certain areas of the globe. They result from the state of poverty in which most of the peoples of the world are kept by the irrational exploitation of the resources of the earth for the benefit of a few at the expense of many.

Throughout Latin America, Africa and most of Asia, a state of permanent crisis exists. Every year in these areas, millions of people starve to death, not because their countries are too poor to feed them, but because the products of their countries are stolen to feed the gigantic industries of North America and Europe. The resources of the so-called "under-developed" countries are expropriated at a fraction of their real value to build skyscrapers in New York or to buy yachts and limousines for the privileged classes of Western society.

The permanent crisis existing in the Third World (Asia, Africa and Latin America), is normally ignored by the powers controlling the Western world. Only when an additional catastrophe occurs on top of the permanent crisis, will the West think of acting and even then only if the situation threatens to take a political turn or if the people show signs of understanding the causes of their misery and of revolting against them. Even the Western aid is limited to a paltry few thousand (or few million) dollars conscience money. And such sums are paltry when compared to the enormous amounts of money earned through exploitation of Third World resources each year.

Would the United States even think of launching a campaign half or even a quarter as expensive as the cost of the

Vietnam war, in order to eliminate poverty in Haiti (or even in Chicago for that matter) or to provide assistance for the victims of the floods in East Pakistan? Last year when the United States had whole fleets of helicopters ready to bomb and shoot the peasants of Vietnam, would they send helicopters to assist the millions of people left homeless and starving by floods in East Pakistan? No, they contented themselves with sending monetary aid and saved their consciences by writing off the extent of the tragedy as over population in the area.

BANGLA DESH

In East Bengal at the present time a war is being fought. The butcher Yahya Khan is attempting to reassert West Pakistani control over the area. Since Pakistan was created in 1947 by the break up of the British Empire in the Indian sub-continent, East Bengal has been exploited as a colony of West Pakistan. Besides the normal exploitation which all Third World people face at the hands of Western capitalism, the East Bengalis have been forced to tolerate the exploitation of the resources of their country for the benefit of a small minority of army-backed West Pakistani merchants.

This situation arose in 1947 when large numbers of Hindu merchants left East Bengal and army-backed West Pakistani merchants expropriated their property for their own use. Since that time, West Pakistanis have dominated almost all of the functioning of the Pakistani state. For example, most of Pakistan's export income comes from sales of jute which is exclusively grown in East Bengal, yet the vast majority of the income from this source is banked in the West and used for the development of the West. The following figures also reveal the extent of the discrimination against East Bengal within the structure of the Pakistani state:

1. While East Bengal contains well over half of the population of Pakistan, only 15% of all government jobs are held by Bengalis and only 10% of the armed services is made up of Bengalis.
2. The allocation of money for social services amounts to 300 rupees per person in the West, 70 rupees per person in the East.
3. Allocation of money for development expenditure - 521 rupees per person in the West and 240 rupees per person in the East.

In December 1970 elections were held with the aim of setting up a National Assembly (parliament) in Pakistan. In these elections the people of East Bengal seized their opportunity to protest against their oppression by voting overwhelmingly for the Awami League, a political party led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and demanding a greater degree of self-government for the province of East Bengal. The support for the Awami League was so decisive that although it won no seats in West Pakistan, it won

almost every seat in East Bengal. This gave it an absolute majority in the House of Assembly (the Awami League won 167 out of 313 seats, the West Pakistani People's Progressive Party was next largest with 88 seats). The West Pakistani business classes and Army leaders were alarmed at this development because they realised that their stranglehold on the East Bengali economy was threatened. Consequently they took steps to prevent the National Assembly meeting.

On March 15, under enormous pressure from a popular upsurge, including a general strike, in favour not only of autonomy but of independence, Mujibur Rahman moved to seize a greater degree of autonomy for East Bengal. This was a manoeuvre designed partly to force Yahya Khan to negotiate and partly to retain control over the popular movement for the Awami League. Yahya Khan flew to East Bengal to negotiate, but used the negotiations as a cover under which he took steps to strengthen the Army in East Bengal. By March 25 he decided that the Army was strong enough to restore West Pakistani rule by force, so he flew out ordering the Army to take control.

The facts about the Army takeover have been well publicised: the shooting of hundreds of students in their dormitories, the bombings of unarmed civilians and the use of torture, in short the waging of a genocidal war. This war has led to a situation where eight million people have already fled to India and the total number of refugees will probably reach around 15 million.

THE MUKTI FOUJ

From the beginning of the whole affair, the Awami League has had the support of the East Bengali police and military units. After the army crackdown on March 25, the military units loyal to the Awami League attempted to resist the army takeover in conventional military battles. They were outnumbered, out-gunned and consequently overwhelmed. Since that time the former military and police units have become a nucleus around which 15,000 regular troops and up to 30,000 irregular guerrilla forces have gathered under the name Mukti Foj (which means liberation army).

The Mukti Foj has been successfully conducting a guerrilla war against the Pakistani Army and they will be virtually impossible to eliminate, since they have the support of at least 80% of the population. Their method so far has been to take virtual control of the countryside at night and to destroy communications links and small outlying army garrisons. The response of the Pakistani Army has been to retaliate with terror against the civilian population thus strengthening support for the Mukti Foj.

THE FUTURE

The Mukti Foj are fighting to free 75 million people from a foreign power which has been robbing their already impoverished

nation of valuation resources for more than 20 years. The popular upsurge of support for the Awami League resulted from the recognition by the vast majority of the people that the solution to their probe could only be achieved by political means, through the achievement of an independent republic of Bangla Desh.

At the present time the people of Bangla Desh are fighting to achieve this political solution. They have set up a liberation army and a government in exile in Calcutta. The population of the already over populated states of India which border East Bengal have understandably not reacted well to the influx of millions of refugees from over the border. The millions of refugees cannot be fed indefinitely by aid from the rest of the world (even if the rest of the world was prepared to give aid on the astronomical level which would be necessary even to keep the refugees alive on the barest of subsistence levels). The only solution is for the refugees to return to Bangla Desh and they cannot do this until the Mukti Foj has achieved its aim of setting up an independent Bangla Desh.

SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE FORMED

A Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee has been formed in Melbourne. It aims to conduct a campaign to raise public awareness of the situation in Bangla Desh and to point out that the only long term solution to the problems of the people of Bengal must be a political one. The Committee has also initiated a campaign to collect money for the Mukti Foj (the armed wing of the movement for a free Bangla Desh).

The Committee, in which the CPA, SYA and a number of independents are co-operating, has adopted the following demands:

- (i) Self-determination for the people of Bangla Desh
 - (ii) Unconditional support to the national liberation struggle in Bangla Desh
 - (iii) The end of all foreign, civil and military aid to West Pakistan
 - (iv) The withdrawal of all West Pakistani troops from Bangla Desh.
- These demands recognise the fact that while actions such as collecting money to feed the refugees are commendable for their humanitarian sentiment, they are also futile because they provide no solution to the problems which forced the refugees to flee in the first place. Even if the Freedom From Hunger posters did succeed in forcing the government to send \$10 million aid to the refugees, this would amount to a little over a dollar for each of the nearly nine million refugees. The only worthwhile thing that Australians can do for the Bangla Desh refugees is to aid the people who are struggling for an independent republic of Bangla Desh. Ultimately only a socialist Bangla Desh can provide adequately for the needs of the people of Bengal and an independent Bangla Desh is a step in that direction.

- * Rally, Melbourne City Square from 4.00 p.m. Friday, October 29th.
- * Organise for the rally. Work for Bangla Desh - GIVE to the Collection Fund for the Mukti Foj (Bangla Desh NLF). Contact the Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee at Box 87, G.P.O., Carlton. 3053.

COPS BLUNDER AGAIN

On the night after the now infamous Commonwealth Police bust up of Melbourne University Union House, the Feds once again got loose to the embarrassment of the government. This time they arrested six people who were fasting on the steps of the GPO in order to raise money for the Bangla Desh refugees.

At that stage the fasters had raised about \$20,000 and since that time they have raised several thousands more, an indication of large public support. Acting Premier Hamer, realising that he stood to lose popularity needlessly as these people threaten no one, contacted Canberra and requested that they be released. His request was of course complied with.

It will be interesting to see whether Hamer is so benevolent if members of the Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee campaigning for a solution to the Bengal crisis by collecting money for the Mukti Foj, run foul of the law.



Bangla Desh bombing victims

SAIGON ELECTION FARCE

Opposition to Saigon's one-man election farce is producing widening protests. Several hundred students barricaded themselves inside the Van Hanh University September 18 to protest the October elections and the death of three students during compulsory military training.

On the same day students staged anti-Thieu demonstrations at the city's Buddhist youth centre and at the student dormitories in Cholon, the Chinese section of Saigon. Both demonstrations were broken up by the police.

Police also attacked a demonstration of eighteen opposition deputies of the lower house of the National Assembly that morning. Iver Peterson reported in the September 19 New York Times: "We protest the October 3 elections. They are unconstitutional, illegal, and aim at establishing a dictatorial and military regime," a speaker shouted. "The police, wearing gas masks, promptly started lobbing tear gas canisters into the small gathering. They continued firing the canisters almost at random but notably at foreign reporters, long after the deputies had scattered."

The influential An Quang Buddhist sect has joined the call raised by the demonstrators for an election boycott. Even the reactionary Catholic hierarchy has been compelled to distance itself from Thieu.

In the United States, public disgust with the Saigon election farce forced Nixon into long-winded attempts to justify his backing of Thieu. Responding to demands that military and economic support for Thieu be cut off, Nixon gave reporters at a September 16 press conference an unusually frank description of governments that he usually terms part of the 'free world'.

"Now let's just look at what that (the cutting off of aid to Thieu) means in terms of worldwide policy," Tricky Dick said. "We presently provide military and/or economic aid to ninety-one countries in the world. I checked these various countries as far as their heads of government were concerned, and in only thirty of those countries do they have leaders who are there as a result of a contested election by any standard that we would consider fair. In fact, we would have to cut off aid to two-thirds of the nations of the world, in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia, to whom we are presently giving aid, if we apply the standards that some suggest we apply to South Vietnam."

Nixon also ruled out—at least for the moment—a US organized coup to get rid of Thieu: "... I would remind all concerned that the way we got into Vietnam was through overthrowing Diem and the complicity in the murder of Diem, and the way to get out of Vietnam, in my opinion, is not to overthrow Thieu, with the inevitable consequence of the greatly increased danger, in my opinion, of that being followed by coup after coup on the dreary road to a Communist take-over."

(The remark was the first official admission that the US had organized the coup that overthrew Diem. Nixon was less than candid, however, in calling the coup the beginning of US involvement in Vietnam. As the Pentagon papers proved, Eisenhower had sabotage teams operating in North Vietnam in 1954. Vice-president of the US at that time was Richard Nixon.)

Meanwhile, Nixon's decision to order major bombing raids on North Vietnam September 21 marked a serious new escalation of the war. In the period following the massive raids by 200 planes, there were daily 'protective reaction' strikes north of the demilitarized zone, and government officials in Washington all but abandoned the pretense that the US is abiding by the 'bombing halt' declared by Johnson in 1968.

Nixon's increasing reliance on air power in his attempt to halt the Indo-chinese revolution is caused primarily by the hope that low American casualty figures will reduce anti-war sentiment in the United States. US ground combat troops are being kept out of battle as much as possible, and the army of Nixon's Saigon puppets is being propped up with air power instead. In the September 26 New York Times, Iver Peterson described the inactivity of US infantry units in Vietnam:

"Unlike the peak days of American fighting here, when US troops were on the offensive in the deep inland jungles while the government troops patrolled the villages and hamlets, the Americans are now drawn back into what amounts to small enclaves while the ARVN (Saigon army) holds the front lines and is, in effect a shield for the United States troops."

Nixon's political plans include the indefinite occupation of South Vietnam by US troops. The September 21 and subsequent raids, and the threats issuing from Washington, are an attempt to cow the Vietnamese into accepting that occupation.

PERU: HUGO BLANCO EXILED

In mid-September the Peruvian junta of General Juan Velasco Alvarado crushed a two-week long teachers' strike, after arresting hundreds of strikers and exiling five of their leaders. At the same time that it was using brutal measures to suppress demands for higher wages, the government took advantage of the atmosphere of crisis engendered by its own actions to expel from the country student leader Rolando Ruben Pena Fantoja, as well as its most prominent opponent on the left, Hugo Blanco Galdos, leader of the 1962-63 peasant union struggles in the valley of La Convencion.

The repressive moves of the Peruvian junta seemed all the more sinister because of evidence of international collusion in the ouster of Hugo Blanco from his homeland. Furthermore, there has been an almost total blackout of news about the deportations and the events leading up to them.

The arbitrary deportations followed a series of police attacks on striking teachers in the latest and most extensive wave of labour unrest in Peru. The most violent assault came on September 10, when the repressive forces crushed a demonstration in Lima, arresting between 200 and 300 persons.

On September 8, the government had granted new wage concessions, giving increases of 350-1000 soles. But the strike movement seems to have continued to escalate. On September 9, 5,000 teachers from the provinces of Lampa, Azangardo, and Huacane marched on the regional centre of Puno, according to La Prensa. The September 10 issue of El Comercio carried a La Prensa dispatch reporting a march of 4,900 strikers in Chimbote the same day as the demonstration in Puno.

This build-up of the strike movement may explain why the government moved so brutally against the September 10 demonstration in Lima, and why it resorted to the unheard of measure of arbitrarily deporting seven Peruvian citizens for 'subversion'.

However, despite the fact that the teachers' strike assumed a massive and militant character and tended to link up with economic struggles in other sectors, it is not yet clear whether the bread-and-butter agitation of the strike constitutes a serious threat to the Peruvian regime. It is clear, of course, that the junta has never felt secure enough to allow Hugo Blanco to return to the countryside. From the time he was released from jail at the beginning of this year until he was deported, the revolutionary leader has been confined to Lima. On March 9 he was arrested, questioned about his political and trade union activities, and released after spending 24 hours in jail.

In particular, Blanco's support of an appeal in early September for the release of the remaining political prisoners must have embarrassed the regime. Despite a decree of general amnesty December 21, 1970, only the most well-known prisoners, such as Blanco, were released. Many others are still being held in every large prison in the country.

It is possible, moreover, that the 'revolutionary' officers fear that their demagogic promises are losing their appeal for the masses, that they may no longer be able to persuade the people to endure hardship in the name of a sham national liberation. If this is the case, popular movements could grow explosively among the deprived population, to whom the capitalist regime can offer little economic improvement.

With the rise of a new wave of radicalization, uncompromised trade union and left leaders who have not succumbed to corruption or the false hopes aroused by the so-called anti-imperialist regime would become particularly dangerous.

Whatever the government's purpose in its latest repressive moves, there seems to be little doubt that it has irrevocably lost a good deal of its 'revolutionary' camouflage. Those most immediately and acutely embarrassed by this, however, will probably be Velasco's admirers and apologists on the left.

Will even the Stalinist leaders of the CGTP dare justify the governments action against Hugo Blanco, who is a great popular hero, especially to the peasants of Southern Peru?

Moreover, the Lima government's turn to crude repression is apt to cause em-

barrassment beyond the frontiers of its own country. The Chilean popular front president, Salvador Allende, was given a warm reception by Velasco on September 3. The Chilean and Peruvian regimes are generally closely associated as representatives of the 'new anti-imperialism' in Latin America. Is this why there has been no mention of the deportations in the Chilean press?

Telegrams and letters protesting the government's latest repression can be sent to: President de la Republica del Peru, Gral. Juan Velasco Alvarado, Palacio Gobierno, Lima Peru.

FIVE MILLION STRIKE IN ARGENTINA

The Lanusse government was rocked on September 28 and 29 by twenty-four-hour strikes involving nearly all of Argentina's 5,500,000 workers.

On September 28, more than 300,000 teachers shut down the bulk of Argentina's public elementary and secondary schools as well as a sector of the private schools, after contract negotiations with the Ministry of Education became stalemated. A second, forty-eight-hour walkout was scheduled for October 6 and 7 unless the teachers' demands for educational reform and salary increases were met, according to an Associated Press report in the September 29 New York Spanish-language daily 'El Diario'.

On September 29, nearly all of the country's industry and commerce was paralyzed by a general strike called by the Confederacion General del Trabajo (CGT - General Confederation of Labour) to demand wage increases and the freeing of all political and trade union prisoners, and to protest the government's inadequate economic measures against inflation.

The government labelled the strike 'illegal' on September 28, twelve days after it had been called by CGT General Secretary Jose Rucci, who is a leader of the Peronist movement's 'moderate' wing.

Labour Minister Rubens San Sebastian had previously (in a September 24 statement) attacked the strike for having 'political' aims. When the CGT stopped went off as scheduled, with 90% of all workers taking part, the Lanusse regime immediately announced reprisals against the labour federation. These consisted chiefly of confiscation of funds held by the CGT and individual unions.

Although the government ordered massive concentrations of police and troops onto the streets of Buenos Aires and other industrial centres on September 29, there were only 'sporadic' incidents of violence, according to a United Press International dispatch published in the September 30 'El Diario'. In one instance, UPI reported, "Four passenger buses, which were operating despite the participation of transport workers in the strike, were burned."

MASS MARCH IN PUERTO RICO

The largest and most militant demonstration in the history of Puerto Rico's independence movement took place in San Juan on Sunday September 12, to protest the sixty-third annual US governors' conference. The demonstration also commemorated the eightieth anniversary of the birth of Don Pedro Albizu Campos leading Puerto Rican nationalist, who died in 1965 after spending most of his natural life in prison for his activities on behalf of independence.

The march was organized by the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI - Movement for Independence) and the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP - Puerto Rican Independence Party). In their speeches at the rally, MPI and PIP leaders estimated that 80,000 to 100,000 participated in the demonstration and that many thousands more were unable to attend because of lack of transportation.

For two weeks prior to the demonstration the government had conducted a violent campaign of red-baiting against the MPI and PIP, trying to frighten the Puerto Rican people away from the demonstration. In addition to utilizing the press, radio and television in its campaign of intimidation, one week before the demonstration the government arrested hundreds of 'independentistas' for pasting up leaflets inviting people to the march.

Support for the march was so widespread that Ferre, the government leader as a last resort, pleaded with the organizers of the demonstration not to carry slogans or shout 'Yanqui, Go Home!' According to the governor, such behaviour would injure the Puerto Rican tradition of hospitality.

To the surprise of no-one, 'Yanqui, Go Home!' became the main theme of the demonstration. Other popular slogans were 'Governors, Go Home!' and 'Jibaro (peasant) Si! Yanqui No!'

PIP President Ruben Berrios and MPI General Secretary Juan Mari Bras represented their respective organizations on the speakers' platform. Mari Bras pointed out that Puerto Rico was being used once more by the US as the 'showcase' of Latin America.

This MPI-PIP united front demonstration was organized as a peaceful and orderly action, and the tremendous success it achieved showed how deep and widespread the pro-independence movement is.

Among the supporters of the demonstration was a contingent of about 200 Dominicans whose message of solidarity said, in part: "We Dominicans living in Puerto Rico for many different reasons are with you today in your struggle for Puerto Rican independence. Puerto Rico's destiny is linked with ours, since we are oppressed by the same imperialist monster, the United States of America... Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo together will win!"

The unity in action of the pro-independence forces had a tremendous impact on the Puerto Rican population. This reporter talked to about 200 people after the march, all of whom were optimistic about the struggle for independence. As one said, "This is the best way for the Puerto Rican people to show its dignity!"



Above: Sept. 12 march in Puerto Rico

REACTION IN THE SUDAN

On July 19 last, General Nimeiry, the man currently holding power in the Sudan, was overthrown by a leftist military coup. Three days later he returned to power in a counter-coup. His government publicly declared its intention to annihilate not only the Communist Party but all other enemies of God, the fatherland, and General Nimeiry.

A witch-hunt followed, after three days of arrests which had already reached into the hundreds, if not the thousands'. Eric Rouleau reported in the July 27 'Le Monde' The entire leadership of the Communist Party, most of the leaders of the mass organizations—trade unions, students' organizations, women's organizations, and peasant unions—had been arrested. A twelve-hour curfew was in effect. In the absence of any organized opposition, the purgers carried on their bloody mission with impunity.

On August 5, the Sudanese newspaper, 'Al-Sahafa' reported that a high-level Sudanese government team would visit China in the near future to discuss ways of improving relations between the countries. On August 23, Sudan foreign minister Mansour Khalid announced that an economic and technical agreement would soon be signed with the Mao regime.

Two weeks earlier, Khaled had revealed that the Sudanese-Chinese Friendship Society in China had organized demonstrations in support of General Nimeiry, while the latter had been in the custody of rebel army officers—July 1923. On August 5, United Press International reported that Nimeiry had sent a note of thanks to Mao and Chou En-lai, because of China's refusal to join in the widespread condemnation of the Sudanese witch-hunt against the left initiated by the Nimeiry regime.

Thus, the Mao regime has compounded its support of Yahya's slaughter of the Bengali people with support of the military clique that has just completed the physical destruction of the largest Communist Party in the Arab world.

The July 19 coup against Nimeiry was a military coup led by three pro-Communist Party army officers and was a response to the progressive degeneration of the regime and to the attack of that regime on the Sudanese mass organizations.

Nimeiry himself gained power in May 1969 through a military coup. He was supported at that time by the Communist Party, which characterized him as a progressive anti-imperialist, and for nearly two years his alliance with the Communist Party continued. He granted legal existence to the Communist Party for four basic reasons.

First, the CP was the only force in the country capable of backing up Nimeiry's attempt to eliminate, or at least drive

underground, the extreme right-wing political and religious organizations. In utilizing this tactic, Nimeiry was following his mentor, Nasser, who had successfully used CP support to destroy the opposition of the rightist army officers and large land-owners, only to turn on his erstwhile allies once his own position was secured.

Second, the Sudanese CP, which was led by Abdel Khaled Mahjoub, a capable organizer with a considerable following among the Sudanese people, had, unlike the Egyptian CP, a mass base. It was thus not a party that could be eliminated by merely arresting a few top leaders.

Third, the Nimeiry regime, like its predecessors, had to deal with the rebellion of the Black non-Arab population in the South. An oppressed national minority, the people of the South had initiated a guerilla war against Northern domination. (Nimeiry, in fact, had established his reputation as a general in combat against the Southerners.)

The CP, rather than supporting the right of the South Sudan to self-determination, called for a vague 'regional autonomy' for the South. Nimeiry thus found the CP useful as a left cover in his war against the South.

Fourth, the upsurge of the Palestinian liberation struggle had radicalised large sections of the Arab world and had created a climate of severe hostility toward the suppression of left-wing movements and organizations. The September counter-revolution in Jordan, the rightward evolution of the Egyptian regime of Anwar el-Sadat, and the US-Soviet 'peace-offensive' in the Arab East altered the political situation throughout the Arab world, encouraging reactionary forces to act with increasing boldness.

Nimeiry's split with the CP was precipitated partly by the preceding situation, but mainly because of two immediate disagreements. The CP opposed the Sudan joining the federation that had been established by Egypt, Libya, and Syria. Nimeiry, determined to affiliate to the federation, fired all members of the government opposed to affiliation.

Also, the CP refused to dissolve itself into the 'Sudanese Socialist Union' proposed by Nimeiry. The SSU was to be patterned after Nasser's Arab Socialist Union. That is, it was to be the sole legal political formation in the country.

But rather than organizing mass mobilizations against the Nimeiry repression, the CP relied on 'progressive' generals to rectify the situation. It sought another, more reliable, Nimeiry.

In the absence of any serious attempts to mobilise the masses and in the face of hostile measures adopted by neighbouring Nasserite regimes the July 19 leadership proved to be short-lived. It is worth noting however, that the counter-revolutionary victories in the Arab world are self-limiting, in that the Nasserite regimes have been forced to shed their progressive facades in the face of new demands by the Arab masses which they cannot meet.

A new upsurge of the Arab revolution, which is only a question of time, will show that the lessons of the failure of Nasserism, assimilated by the masses, will make possibly great new advances in the direction of socialism.

TROTSKYISTS KILLED IN BOLIVIAN COUP

Between 35 and 40 members of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) the Bolivian section of the Fourth International were killed fighting against the right-wing coup in August. (see Direct Action 10) There were some 500 people killed and widespread repression and arrests. There is evidence that the Brazilian, Argentinian Paraguayan army forces and the CIA were involved in the reactionary coup.

The Bolivian Trotskyists fought valiantly against Colonel Banzer's forces. Among those killed was Tomas Chambi, a member of the Central Committee of the POR. Apparently expecting that he might not survive the combat, Chambi wrote on a piece of paper which was found in his pocket: "Yo soy un militante del Partido Obrero Revolucionario, que me enseno a ser valiente y combatiente por una causa justa. Pro la liberacion nacional y siempre hasta la victoria final." (I am a member of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, which taught me to fight valiantly and militantly for a just cause. For national liberation until the final victory is won.)

THE REPORTS ON THESE PAGES WERE COMPILED FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A WEEKLY SPECIALISING IN POLITICAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF EVENTS FROM A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST VIEWPOINT. FORMAL DOCUMENTS, REPORTS, REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS, AIRMAIL SUBSCRIPTIONS \$20 A YEAR FROM PO, BOX 186, HAYMARKET SYDNEY 2000.



"THE SUDANESE FREEDOM FIGHTERS WHO ARE WAGING AN ARMED STRUGGLE FOR THE INDEPENDENT AND LIBERATION OF THEIR MOTHERLAND LOVE CHAIRMAN AND THE GREAT LEADER OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE." Peking's Daily News Agency picture and caption

Rhetoric displayed here contrasts strangely with the reality of Peking's attitude towards the Sudanese dictator, Nimeiry.



"Well, so much for the election—what do we Vietnamize next?"

Langer Trial

The wave of intimidation launched by the ruling class against the student, the labour, and the anti-war movements is a manifestation of its own helplessness before the march of history.

Faced with the ever growing opposition to the capitalist system by large sections of the population, the government is trying to single out individuals which it aims to isolate, imprison and slander. It uses its state apparatus, that is, the courts, the police and the prisons to achieve this aim.

Their most recent victim has been Albert Langer, receiving a sentence of eighteen months for allegedly 'attempting to incite an assault on a policeman', on May Day. However, for anyone following that trial

it became quite obvious that it was a well-prepared frame-up. The preparation was taken up by the reactionary Maxwell Newton's Melbourne 'Observer', and the Special Branch of the Victorian Police. Several weeks before the trial, Newton's 'Melbourne Observer' ran a series of McCarthyite articles on the Worker-Student Alliance. A few dealt exclusively with Langer, describing him as the 'mastermind' behind the university and the school rebellion.

The trial revealed many interesting facts and in addition showed Langer's complete innocence. Among other things it was shown that the whole Special Branch was out on May Day (all 22 of them) taking photographs, numbers of cars parked near

the rally, recording Langer's speech (no other speech was recorded) and tampering i.e., 'doctoring' the tape.

For anyone attending the rally the meaning of the incidents that occurred was crystal clear. About 500 cops led by Larkins (a notorious Special Branch cop) and the one that charged Langer) attacked the rally, after Larkins was escorted by several people from a football oval at which the rally was taking place. The presence of the police at the rally was completely unjustified and their purpose there, was shown to be physical intimidation and collection of information.

The trial illuminates the meaning of justice in a capitalist society. We see it as one of our tasks to defend anyone on the left who has been victimized by the ruling class. SYA therefore urges the formation of a united defence committee to Free Albert Langer. We also call for a campaign against the reactionary Newton press an end to spying at demonstrations, and dissolution of the Special Branch and secret police.



CRISIS IN EDUCATION

JIM McILROY

The Southwell report on the Victorian teaching service was tabled in State Parliament at the beginning of September.

Following on three months of hearings, the findings can only be seen as ignoring the fundamental issues in education. One could hardly expect otherwise from an enquiry set up by the Liberal Minister of Education, Mr Thompson, and conducted by a member of the County Court. The enquiry had been instituted in the aftermath of the massive teacher strikes against Bolte's oppressive penal regulations against teachers' right to strike in late March. (see *Direct Action* 6)

Predictably, the responses of the three teachers' unions to the report varied considerably. Mr D. Schubert, at the time General Secretary of the conservative Victorian Teachers' Union, said, "In general, there are some very good points and some which will have to be looked at more carefully." The president of the Technical Teachers' Association of Victoria, Mr S. Lees, said none of the proposed machinery for settling disputes and defining teachers' conditions could work without adequate finance for education. The Assistant Secretary of the 'militant' Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association (which had boycotted the enquiry) Mr R. W. Hinkley, said the report had been a waste of time. (*Australian* September 3) This seems the most accurate assessment of the matter. But it was more than a waste of time: it was the exercise of a typical diversionary operation by a bourgeois system under extreme pressure.

What were Judge Southwell's main findings and recommendations? Apart from suggesting various manipulations of the machinery of the Teachers' Tribunals in order to facilitate 'arbitration' of teachers' grievances over conditions etc., the report maintained that the two main drawbacks to eliminating the unrest among State teachers "were lack of adequate finance for education" and the "aggressive and belligerent" attitude of the executive of the VSTA. This attitude was "not in keeping with the dignity of the profession of teaching". Judge Southwell said members of the VSTA executive had mixed motives—they wanted to raise the status of the profession and improve secondary education, but they also wanted to conduct a political war with the government.

The influx of large numbers of secondary pupils from Catholic schools to State schools would surely cause a complete breakdown in a State system already overstrained and in a desperate state of poverty.

A recent survey by the inner suburban education action committee, consisting of parents, teachers and head-masters, estimated that under present conditions, more than 400 children are likely to be turned away from four high schools in inner Melbourne areas next year because there will be no room for them. A further inflow would be catastrophic.

The VSTA has continually pointed out that teaching conditions have become so bad that in 1970 more than 2,000 out of a total secondary teaching service of 10,000 left teaching. A total re-ordering of priorities is essential to begin to tackle the problems of this archaic, reactionary, educational system.

However, the Liberals meanwhile continue to further promote class discrimination in education, not only by subsidising the bourgeois private system, but by manipulating the State system to further deprive working class and migrant children of their rights. For the past three years, Melbourne High School, MacRobertson High School and University High School have been openly turned into privileged institutions for the middle class elite. Rather than open these schools to their surrounding working class population, a discriminatory academic examination is used in middle class outer suburban areas.



tion system with rich, elite, private schools and impoverished schools for the working class, is a conscious policy of Australian ruling circles. The Federal Education Minister, Mr Fairbairn, made it quite clear on television that his government saw no reason why workers needed education since they would only be doing routine jobs anyway.

As another example, Labour Senator J.M. Wheelton put it that the Federal Government's education policy would lead to a situation where State school pupils would learn no more than how to read the instructions on their call-up notices. Senator Wheelton was speaking on the States' Grants (Science Laboratories) Bill.

"It is an atrocious state of affairs that State school pupils in an inadequate system should be receiving only approximately \$10 compared with \$24 being provided to the pupils of the private schools for science laboratories." Although there were nearly three times as many students at State secondary schools as at private secondary schools, \$26 million would be provided to State schools under the legislation and \$17 million to private schools, Senator Wheelton said.

The financial pressure on the Catholic school system has now become so great that a recent report of the Victorian Catholic Education Office recommended the progressive scrapping of Catholic secondary schools in an attempt to ensure at least a complete primary school religious/political indoctrination of Catholic children. Education Minister, Mr Thompson, possibly made the understatement of the year in replying to a question about this possibility: "Frankly, this is a new problem I was not looking for." (*Melbourne Herald*, October 14).

The whole integrated system of education is designed to suppress the working class and channel the middle class into various academic and higher technical streams in order to provide just that proportion of functionaries required by the system in every field. It has been said that one of the key functions of schooling is to make young workers glad to escape to their jobs, and forever frightened of, and contemptuous of, all ideas and theories.

This works well for the stability of society since in the final instance, a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism is going to depend on the working class being able to break out of the hegemony of bourgeois ideology including parliamentarism and all types of reformism—particularly that of the established labour movement. This requires a certain theoretical grasp which goes beyond the experimental world of lower school tyranny and the daily, repetitive grind of the shop floor.

This is why it is essential for socialists to press hard and continually for an extension of educational opportunities to a vastly increased section of the working class. Education must be totally free (no hidden fees as is the tendency now) and living allowances must be paid according to need, (not based on examination.) In many cases this should involve extra payments to parents who are in severe financial straits, and who would normally encourage their children to go to work as soon as possible in order to supplement the family income. As far as the school system itself is concerned, there must be demands for a complete reversal of policy: cut off all aid to private schools and massively divert resources to working class secondary schools. There must be intensive positive discrimination in favour of all discriminated against and disadvantaged groups—particularly migrants, aborigines and women as a whole.

This opening up process must apply right through the system, including the universities and technical colleges. These must also be free, staff/student controlled and increasingly emphasising adult education. Students, as apprentice workers who, in fact, 'produce themselves' must be paid a wage. Tertiary institutions should be catalysts of social change and innovation in new socialist forms of thinking and acting.

Of course these changes in educational resources and opportunities available to the working class must be accompanied by a fundamental change in the content and structure of education. For while the demand for equal opportunity is a truly transitional demand in that capitalism



to select entrants for these three schools at the end of the second year of secondary education. (See article by Ian Cathie in *Action*, the publication of the Victorian Socialist Left, October 2.)

These schools should be used to take some of the pressure off adjoining schools such as Flemington, Kew, Fitzroy, Princes Hill, Essendon and Maribyrnong, but the Minister refused to re-zone them to take students from these schools.

Another example of class discrimination is the Commonwealth secondary scholarships. A survey by the Australian Council for Educational Research found that only 4% of parents of scholarship holders felt they needed the money to complete their child's education. Scholarship examinations clearly discriminate in favour of the middle class.

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will not and cannot grant it, a transformation of consciousness is going to depend on a total redevelopment of social relationships in education. Syllabuses must be opened up to really critical material, political discussion and action must be an accepted part of the education process.

There must be a general movement away from hierarchical, orthodox, pedagogic relationships towards equality of teacher and pupil in the learning process. The basic principle must be that of a child-centred system (see article by Judith Conway in *Socialist Review*, No. 4). The rights and aspirations of the children must be basic; their needs and initiatives must be the final determinants of what happens in the school. This involves a change in the role of the teachers. And this provides a considerable problem for the perspectives of teachers, in their dual role as agents of the system and workers, alienated by it.

This conflict is reflected in the perspectives of teachers at the moment, including the relatively progressive forces in the VSTA and the TTA. The VSTA particularly, is extremely militant in pursuing its campaigns over control of entry and tribunal reform, and they have argued strongly for a better financial deal and curriculum reform. But they are still teacher-centred in their attitudes, and have made little attempt to consider the rights of students to determine their own educational destiny. Their strike campaigns have sometimes given the appearance of playing down student interests, and they have made little attempt to develop a common perspective and programme with students on a radical transformation of education. The teacher unions still act as self-defence groups (cf. craft unions), and at base they are concerned with establishing teacher hegemony over the education system.

The achievement of this would by no means necessarily lead to the revolutionisation of the education system. However, an objective dynamic of radicalisation is provided by the fact that the State will never agree to relinquish its grip on education, which is increasingly central to its control of the whole society. Hence, teachers are caught in a dilemma which is hinted at by Judge Southwell as quoted in his report: The 'aggressive' attitude of the VSTA is 'not in keeping with the dignity of the profession of teaching'. Teachers do still believe in a 'professionalism' and its 'dignity', and somehow hanker after the privileged position of the lawyers and doctors, (even as these professions are becoming less and less independent and 'self-regulating', by the inexorable process of proletarianisation of all work under capitalism). However, this middle-class individualist ethic is now impossible to realise, and teachers are increasingly becoming aware of this fact.

Hence, the conflict in teachers ranks over militancy for what? The VSTA has lost 2500 financial members out of 7000 this year, partly because the Government has stopped collecting union dues, but partly because of disorientation in the ranks. Teachers are beginning to ask where they want to go from here. The opportunities for socialists among the teachers to put forward new perspectives and transitional programmes are clear. Teachers, as has been shown, can be mobilised in mass numbers around popular demands. The task is to forge a link between teachers and students on the basis of truly radical demands which drive towards a socialist transformation of education in the context of the development towards a socialist society.

Palestinian Solidarity

The public meeting held in Melbourne by the PASC was quite successful. About 80 people attended and over \$100 was collected at the end. Speakers were Said Bahur, a Palestinian from the Gaza strip, Nassif Hadj, an Arab student, Ray Watson from the Worker-Student Alliance Rod Quinn from Socialist Youth Alliance and Sol Salby from SYA in Sydney.

The Committee recently passed a motion unanimously condemning the massacre in the Sudan by President Nimeiry of thousands of communists and leftists. Telegrams of protest were sent to Nimeiry and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Consistent opposition to the reactionary Arab regimes is necessary in our committee and solidarity campaign as well as amongst the resistance fighters themselves. It is interesting to note the position taken by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine on this matter. Their two representatives on the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (the coalition of all the Resistance groups) withdrew from the committee after opposing the plan to negotiate with the Jordanian regime. A leaflet issued recently by them said in part— "Our battle against Arab reaction must benefit from the bloody lessons for

which our masses have just paid a high price. The first and most precious of these lessons is the necessity for a decisive attitude towards this savage, deadly enemy in our battle, and for preventing him from blunting the sharpness of the contradiction between him and our masses by surrounding them with confusion and ambiguities about the crooked deals and confidence tricks which reaction excels in using as a means of strengthening its control."

The next major activity for the committee is the demonstration against the visiting Israeli soccer team (see advertisement on below). The demonstration is being organized by PASC in conjunction with other forces, and leaflets and posters are available, and may be obtained through SYA in Melbourne (ph. 3473507)

Demonstration

against the visiting Israeli soccer team playing in Melbourne on Sunday, November 21st, at Olympic Park.

Racism in South Africa has been dealt a blow by our determined opposition to the Springboks tour. Show your opposition also to the racist and reactionary Israeli government and its public relations soccer team, which excludes Arabs from participation.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 21st, OLYMPIC PARK, MELBOURNE—ASSEMBLY CITY SQUARE 1pm FOR RALLY AND MARCH.

Irish Action

On Friday 24 of September there was a successful demonstration organized in Sydney around the struggle in Ireland. It was called by a committee, including members of the Sean South and Fergal O'Hanlon Society, an Australian club of the militantly nationalist Sinn Fein Party of Ireland.

Posters and leaflets were used to advertise the protest, which attracted the largest number yet seen at an Irish demonstration in Sydney. About 200 people picketed on the footpath outside Goldfields House, Circular Quay which houses the offices of the British Trade Commissioner. Many placards demanded the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland immediately, and a deputation from the gathering visited the British Commission upstairs.

This was followed by a march to BOAC in the city centre where the demonstrators held a short rally.

In Melbourne, on October 3 a public meeting was called by the Green Cross Association, attracting 300 Irish men and women, despite a threatened bomb attack on the building. The association has been organized to establish an Irish dependents' fund.

A series of five resolutions were unanimously adopted. The first expressed "The complete disapproval of the Stormont government to intern Irish citizens for indefinite periods without charge or trial." The second and third resolutions noted with horror, "the brutalities committed by the British troops in North-east Ulster... causing a flow of 10-12,000 refugees to other parts of Ireland and to England."



The second resolution "... requested the British Government to withdraw all armed forces." The fourth and fifth resolutions were the endorsement of support for the relief fund, and that "copies of the resolution be passed on to the governments concerned and corresponding Australian embassies abroad." Speakers realised that Ireland will only be able to drive the British from their shores by the Irish people uniting, and the IRA was recognised as the leading expression of the Irish peoples' will to procure national freedom.

ABORTION: A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) of the United States has called for major demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco on November 20.

WONAAC was established last July when more than 1,000 women met at a New York Conference. (See *Direct Action* No. 10). They are appealing to people throughout the world to demonstrate with them on November 20.

The Appeal: "Dear Sisters, Throughout history few things have been more universal or known fewer national boundaries than the suffering of women from the denial of our rights to control our own lives, our own bodies. Decades ago the suffragists of the United States took inspiration from their British sisters and went on to build part of the international movement through which women won the right to vote.

Today, in every corner of the earth, laws deny women the right to abortion, the right to decide whether or not to have

children. Now a new generation of women has begun to stand up for our rights. The struggle for the right to abortion is rapidly crossing boundaries of nations and continents, of language and background. We have inspired one another and learned from one another.

In the United States women from many backgrounds are uniting in this fight. On November 20 we will march in massive numbers on Washington DC, and San Francisco to demand the repeal of all anti-abortion laws, with no forced sterilization, and the repeal of all restrictive contraceptive laws. We call on our sisters around the world to unite with us on that day, to bring our power together, to let the world hear in one united voice and many languages our slogan:

ABORTION—A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE

When we join together throughout the world, no force can stop us."

— The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, September 19, 1971.

Melbourne Action

DATE: SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20th
TIME: 10.00am
PLACE: CITY SQUARE,
—organized by the Women's Liberation Co-ordinating Committee.

Sydney Action

DATE: SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20th
TIME: 10.00am
PLACE: TOWN HALL RALLY, then march via GEORGE and MARKET STS. to HYDE PARK.
—organized by an ad hoc committee against the abortion laws.

Above top: Larkins. Below: 21 Sydney.

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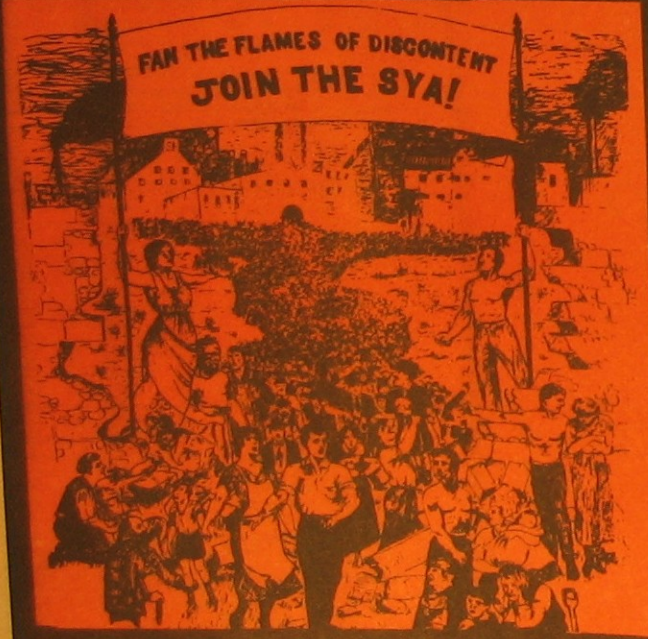
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