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A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

WHAT WEGAN BAPER FRUNK LABOR



BY JIM MCILROY

Labor's victory in the Federal election has thrown up a whole series of questions about what the ALP will do in the coming months. The broad majority of Australian working people of all ages have turned to Labor to provide political solutions to the social crises of our time. Labor has ridden to power on an extremely powerful current of popular frustration with the big business government and all its machinations. Workers, youth, women, blacks and homosexuals all seek a government which really seeks to tackle the widespread exploitation and oppression which they suffer under this society.

To those who believe that this Labor administration has the answers a big disappointment is in store. To those who see this tremendous Labor victory as one important stage in a long process of building a movement to replace capitalism, the first signs of the Whitlam leadership's intentions are already quite apparent. And the need for the continual fight to place alternative solutions before the majority of Australians is also clear.

A process of backtracking on key

election promises has already begun, A central issue for the Labor leaders was the question of conscription. The 1971 Federal Conference resolution on National Service states that: "A Labor government will repeal (our emphasis) the present National Service Act and annul its penal consequences." Yet now, Lance Barnard (Minister of Defence) states that the Act itself will remain on the statute books. Only the regulations relating to it will be changed to make it inactive. But he specifically added that the Act should remain in case of need in some future emergency. In other words, the demands of the thousands who marched again and again in protest against Australian involvement in Indochina, and against conscription in any form and who looked to Labor to eliminate any vestige of the Liberals' criminal military policies have been divert-

ed. The real demand has been dodged.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

GOVERNIENT

DIRECT ACTION salutes Labor's tremendous victory. Labor's return to power and its crushing defeat of the L-CP government is a landmark in postwar political life. It will be a great boost to the morale and confidence of the labour movement and its allies as they press forward in their struggle against the employers and for an end to their particular oppression,

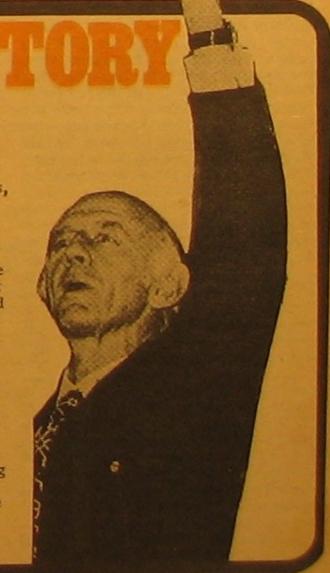
As revolutionary socialists we have participated fully in this struggle to throw out the L-CP and return the ALP to office, Without laying down any conditions we have supported Labor against the capitalist parties - the L-CP, the DLP, the Australia party, etc. But we have repeatedly pointed out that Mr Whitlam's basically conservative and procapitalist policies are not sufficient to solve in any meaningful way the problems facing the vast majority of Australians,

For this, Labor must adopt a socialist programme which challenges the power

of the capitalist ruling class, and which mobilises the workers and youth to fight for it. We have never told anyone to passively entrust their fate to any parliamentary deputies, whatever their politics, but to struggle for their demands in the streets, in the factories, on the job sites, in the schools, etc.

This is Mr Whitlam's hour. Sadly, in the period to come, he cannot but disappoint all those ordinary people who have turned to Labor. Mr Whitlam's whole approach is based on the illusion that somehow both capitalists and the working majority can live a decent life. That is not true and never has been.

A socialist approach consists in building the independent movements of the oppressed - of labour, women, youth, blacks, gays, and so on - and demanding that Labor take up their demands and fight for them, and struggling within the ALP to construct a class-struggle leadership that will,



LABOR MUST STAND BY S.A. BUILDING WORKERS

BY COL MAYNARD

While most sections of the trade union movement at present are in a state of euphoria over the return of a Labor government, after lying low during the election campaign, the offensive against the working class, launched under a Liberal government still goes on unimpeded. Central to this attack against the working class is the attack against the trade unions and the right of workers to organise and bargain collectively with the employers. Provisions for the imprisonment and fining of union officials and individual workers for taking part in "illegal" industrial actions have been proposed by both Liberal and Labor Parties.

Construction Workers Federation, have been jailed indefinitely for "contempt of court". The union is at present engaged in a fight with a suburban construction company over its hiring of non-union labour. The S.A. Supreme Court issued an injunction restraining them from organising pickets of the company.

This is an attack on the entire working class and its right to organise workers into unions. It is an attack against the very right of existence of trade unions and should be fought vigorously by all sections of the labour movement.

The Federal Council of the ABCWF has called for the immediate release of those imprisoned and asked that the ACTU take immediate action to call out build-In Adelaide Les Robinson and Ron Owens, ing workers nationally. The federal officials of the Australian Building and secretary of the ABCWF, Norm Gallagher,

for a national stoppage the ABCWF will organise one of its own.

Builders labourers have been particularly critical of the role of ACTU president, Hawke, who they claim has only intervened "to take the steam out of the situation". They have declared that they will fight it "to the bitter end".

The NSW president of the ABCWF, Bob Pringle has rightly called on the ALP government to intervene on behalf of the unionists and immediately secure their release. ALP Premier of S.A., Don Dunstan having introduced a bill into state parliament calling for imprisonment of workers taking part in "illegal" strikes would seem an unlikely candidate to intervene on the behalf of workers jailed for fighting scab labour. In fact,

most of his comments during ti have been limited to slande baiting of the ABCWF leader ALP is the party of the Austral class. It rests on the trade w should therefore unconditional trade unions and workers again attacks of the employing class.

Dunstan, Whitlam and Hawke willing to take up the fight the make way for those who are, now has control of the Federal as well as the government of s members of the ALP and all trade unionists should demand that Whe and Dunstan should immediately and release Robinson and Owen ABCWF should be allowed to co its fight against the use of scabl unhampered by the courts and the of jail. The ALP should uncondist support this right.

an audience for themselves than in

seeing victory for the Vietnamese.

that would bugger the anti-way mon-

If the Vietnamese win victory, de-

there will be no need for an antique

movement around the issue of the bin

china war. But what Mr. Byrne his

to explain is how a war can be for-

without soldiers. If, as he says, the

Americans really are getting out,

whole point that he misses is that the

withdrawal is a completely phony

withdrawal. It is the substitution of a

increase in the air bombardment for

the participation of a large America

ground army. OUT NOW means all

air, sea, and land forces, all special

advisers, all supply of weapons, all

minefields, all economic and military

withdrawn. It means immediate with

drawal without conditions, Mr. Brite

dismisses the movement based on this

demand as "an open house for all and

sundry - Australia Party, Liberal Party,

Humanists, Catholics for Peace, Chris-

ian Women Concerned, and so on

and counterposes to this the slogan of

"solidarity with the suffering people of

Vietnam in their life and death strugge

with the beast, American Imperialism."

He admits that "the central demand of

the antiwar movement which was access

able to all these groups, (which were

equivocal in their attitude to imperia

ism to say the least) was 'OUT NOW'

but rejects it because it has not "resul-

realising that a victory for the Vieter

ed in the working class of this comby

ese represents a step forward in the

struggle to overthrow capitalism in

Australia." In other words, the annual

movement must be restricted to the

who already understand that capital

An attempt to build the antiwar man

ment on the basis of the solidarity

slogan in opposition to the OUT A

slogan has two cardinal weaknesses

Firstly, as Martin Byrne frankly real

nises, such a movement would be

much smaller than the more broad

based demand for withdrawal, and

secondly because the mere express

of solidarity with the Vietnamez

no demands on the aggressor. Evel large numbers of people did take to the streets to chant solidarity with

Vietnamese this would hust the

ican war machine far less than the

demand that they get out, that they

stop bombing Vietnam, that they

cease aiding the Thieu regime,

ing that it is necessary to "dump" ist slop like OUT NOW", he was

take up the demand "Victory to 1

small demonstrations composed a

ideological elite are more imp

than mass demonstrations of hun

of thousands of people demanding

all US military forces.

total and unconditional withdrawa

It's up to all who want to genular assist the Vietnamese people, and

win a victory for the oppressed pe of the whole world, to continue to build a more world, to continue to

build a movement demanding will drawal of all US forces from Indoc

of Indochina to self-determina

Their cause is not served by tryl pass off the current peace propose a victory and retreating on our der

and insisting on the right of the period

peoples of Indochina," Appa

is the cause of war.

ment properly."

BY GORDON ADLER

As the negotiations between the United States and the liberation forces in Indochina drag on the debate on perspectives for the antiwar movement in the period ahead is taking place in many centres. It is unfortunate for the movement and more importantly, for the Vietnamese people themselves, that much confusion has been generated by these peace proposals.

"Tribune" newspaper, published by the Communist Party of Australia, for the first time in recent months, has attempted to answer criticisms made in DIRECT ACTION of CPA policies for the antiwar movement.

21-27) rejects the view that the ninepoint peace proposals have been forced on the Vietnamese through the collusion of the United States, the Soviet Union and China, and asserts that the inner meaning of the October 8 draft agreement is the defeat of Nixon.

the present draft agreement, " he writes, "with its clear provision for a total withdrawal of all US and allied troops within 60 days of signing, expresses the fact that after 18 years of insanely destructive effort, the US has finally been forced to acknowledge its fundamental failure in this effort."

Now, if there is one thing at all that stands out clearly through all of Nixon's crafty dealings, it is the fact that the US has not given up its strategic aim of subjugating Indochina. It has not seen the error of its ways. It has not suffered any agonising reappraisal of its role in South-East Asia. Thwarted in battle by the combined effects of the victories of the Indochinese liberation forces, and the antiwar movement at home, Nixon has had to order a tactical retreat in order to preserve intact the forces necessary to continue the struggle. Without this, the tide of protest in the US would have become overwhelming. Nixon would have lost the election, the US government would have had to accept unconditional withdrawal of all its military forces and not just the ground forces, the Thieu regime would have been overthrown and all US plans for the domination of Indochina would have lain in ruins. In place of this, if the agreements are signed, Nixon will have succeeded in establishing the permanence of the Saigon regime as a base for the further plunder of the areas under its control, and as a centre of subversion against the governments in the areas controlled by the liberation forces. The proposed withdrawal of US forces is not unconditional. The cessation of the bombing of Vietnam will in no way remove the US protection of the Saigon regime if a cease fire agreement is made. Any uprising against the Saigon government in the area under its control will certainly be regarded as a breach of the cease fire and will be used by the US as a justification for resuming hostilities against North Vietnam and the PRG under much more favourable circumstances. Only the unconditional withdrawal of all US forces, and a recognition by the US of the unfettered right of the Vietnamese to resolve their own political problems without US interference, can bring a just and lasting peace.

Malcolm Salmon quotes the Paris weekly "Nouvel Observateur" of October 30.

in which Jean Daniel writes that the concessions made by the Vietnamese side in the agreements "may sadden professional ultimatists." It is true that many in the antiwar movement are saddened by the desertion of the Vietnamese by the Soviet Union, China, and the other Workers' States, but it is not true that as a consequence such people are professional ultimatists. The real question at issue is whether we aid the Vietnamese more by demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all the military forces of the US and its allies, or by calling on Nixon to sign agreements making the acceptance of the Thieu regime in Saigon by the

In the same article, Malcolm Salmon Malcolm Salmon ("Tribune", November criticises the parallel drawn between the nine point agreements and the Brest Litovsk treaty, and refers to the different circumstances in which the two agreements were drawn up.

Vietnamese a condition for US withdrawal,

The circumstances are not identical certainly, but both the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and the nine-point are unjust. Using an argument similar to that used by Malcolm Salmon, the treacherous German Social Democrats claimed that since the Bolsheviks had accepted the Brest-Litovsk treaty, there was no reason why they should oppose it.

According to Leon Trotsky, in an article published in 1935 (see "Writings of Leon Trotsky" 1934-35, Pathfinder Publishers, New York, 1971, pp. 291-300), the Bolsheviks answered them: "You swine. We are objectively compelled to negotiate in order not to be annihilated, but as for you - you are politically free to vote for or against, and your vote implies whether or not you place confidence in your own bourgeoisie."

It is not just the Communist Party that is incorrect and confused by the latest

stage of the war in Indochina. The Comm- they are more interested in mainting unist League, consisting of a number of people who split off from the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance several months ago, have also been supporting the demand for "sign now". However, they have been rather confused on this. In the October 27 issue of their paper "Militant" their editorial had this to say:

"On the 18th. November, nation-wide demonstrations will be held in Australia in response to the call for international antiwar actions by the NPAC in the United is it that the war is still going on? States. These demonstration will occur in an atmosphere of conjecture over the possibility of a cease-fire being signed in Vietnam. In this situation it is vital that the antiwar movement remains independent of the strategico-tactical considerations of the Vietnamese state, and does not water down its propaganda to give support for a ceasefire. (Our emphasis.) This would have the effect of taking Nixon at his word, and abandoning a clear-cut position on the selfdetermination of Vietnam. The demonstrations are a vital necessity, and we must continue until the final victory of the National Liberation Front."

However, in the next issue, a double page spread hails the 9 point peace plan as a victory, and an article by Martin Byrne states that " . . all socialists should join with the Vietnamese in demanding that Nixon sign the agreement that gets the Americans out of Vietnam and the rest of Indochina."

In a very hysterical tone Byrne opposes the antiwar movement organising around the demand of "Out Now":

"Those who have had to suffer their screechings about 'rebuilding the antiwar movement around the demand of OUT NOW, when it is patently obvious that the troops were getting out, (although the war, curiously enough, was still going on) can only expect that

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HOBART: SYA, P.O. Box 12.55N G.P.O. Hobart 7001, Ph 252563 (Alban) I would like to get in touch with the Socialist Workers League I would like more information about the Socialist Youth Alliance I would like to join the Socialist Youth Alliance NAME.

 uing unabated as we go to press. The strike is by about 500 women members of the Foodstuffs and Allied Industries Union (FAIU) in support of their claim for an immediate pay rise of \$7,68 which would bring their wages up to the same as those paid to female shop assistants. This claim follows hot on the heels of an earlier claim for \$13 of which \$5,25 was granted operative from November 2.

BY GEOFF PAYNE

The FAIU is a branch of the Miscellaneous Workers Union and union officials sald it was the largest meeting yet of service industry sections of the union in describing the first strike meeting early in October. But not only is it important that these women have gone on strike in the numbers they have, it is also important that they have kept up their morale and taken such militant actions in attempting to win their demands. These facts are all the more important when one considers that women in this society are an oppressed sex, "tradition" teaching them that they are inferior, with their role being that of housewife and mother, It is for this reason, mainly, that women tend to be ununionised and where they are in unions they tend to be less prepared to take strike action.

The three-week old strike by retail stores

cafeteria workers in Brisbane is contin-

But this situation is changing in time with the needs of the Australian capitalist class. Professor M.W. Peter, head of Business Administration at Queensland University, speaking to the Queensland division of the Australian Institute of Management, said, "The pace of continued growth, in income and in the quality of life, depends more on how this relatively untapped reservoir of woman power is tapped."

He said the female work force in Australia had grown greatly, and continued to grow faster than the male work force.

This structural change in the workforce has been brought about by the very real needs of the Australian ruling class to more viciously exploit every sector of its industry. In this process, however, women are brought back into social life and realise that their interests are not served one bit by passivity or moderation.

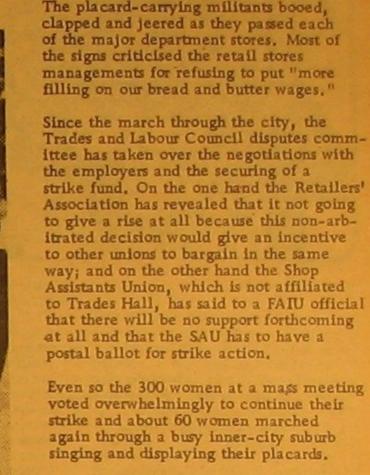
And if the Retailers' Association has learned anything from this strike, it is

MILITANCY OF WOMEN WORKERS RISES precisely that women cafeteria workers are no longer quiescent.

> A further example of their combativeness is that the women have refused to submit a work value case to arbitration even

though the Retailers' Association is insist- after 12 days of being on strike they ing on this and the State Industrial Comm- marched for 45 minutes through crowded issioner recommended this course of action. Brisbane streets, This is truly significant

Not only have the cafeteria workers not submitted to the bogey of arbitration but



for a section of industry that has been

dormant for so long.

At long last some kind of solidarity action is being talked about by the

TELC disputes committee with the calling of a stop-work meeting of MWU members in retail stores. It seems that finally the sentiments of the rank and file are finding some limited expression, as numerous cafeteria workers have brought up how their fellow employees want to come out in strike action,

One woman speaking from the floor exclaimed that the shop assistants will have to force their union to come out, the same way they had to force their own union to act . Indeed this is exactly what is needed in an organised firm a strike committee directly made up of women and working for their rights.

With the Retailers' Association only willing to grant a small rise to a small section of the women and with the cafeteria women accounting for only a marginal part of the Christmas period profits it becomes obvious that strikes by other workers in the retail stores would quickly bring the cafeteria women their just increase and hopefully stimulate further demands both on the employers and the union officialdom.



Cafeteria workers on the march from Brisbane Trades Hall to City.

BY IAN NORMAN

ion workforce at the Queensland Alumina Limited plant expansion project at Gladstone, Queensland, can only be seen as a defeat for the workers. Of the 1200 workers sacked on October 18, only 250 started again on November 29. It was reported that the worldorce will rise to 600 workers after some time and the project will now be completed by September, 1973. This is some six months later than the original target date - the company was glad to delay the project, with the world alumina market already

The return to work of part of the construct- The parallel dispute at the Greenvale nickel treatment plant being built near Townsville, where 225 workers were sacked on October 28, was also resolved when a meeting of 100 of the men agreed unanimously on November 24 to accept

> The Gladstone construction workers have been subjected to slanderous attacks from various sources - the employers, the press, politicians, as well as some union leaders. (see reports in DIRECT ACTION Nos. 29, 30). On top of all this came another

ed to pay the sacked workers unemployment benefits, after a month had already passed. During this time union officials were carrying on secret negotiations with employer representatives, and many of the demoralised workers and their families were forced to leave Gladstone in search of work. By the first week of inal workforce remained in Gladstone.

The dispute was patched up in favour of the employers, largely because the militancy of the workers at the site was forced into channels acceptable to the employ-

blow when the Federal Government refus- ers, the Brisbane "Courier Mail" reported on November 22: "Queensland Alumina Limited managing director (Mr. L. J. McAdams) said the decision to resume work reflected great credit on those who sat down at the negotiation table and resolved their differences speedily."

Two days earlier the paper's editorial had November only about 470 men of the orig- lectured unionists about using "arbitration and conciliation channels" and warned against "wildcat stoppages and strikes". It concluded: "Gladstone's experience should teach unions that playing too rough does not pay." However, we would conclude that the experience demonstrates the consequences of allowing negotiations to be carried on out of the direct control of the rank and file workers. The dispute was taken out of the hands of the workers' elected site committee and there were no attempts to broaden the struggle by calling for solidarity actions. The experience also demonstrates the willingness of employers to lay off whole workforces in order that they may get their way.

the results of negotiations.

HY STEVE PAINTER

After twelve years of rule by the big business dominated National Party, New Zealanders have turned to the Labour Party for solutions to the problems facing them. In one of the biggest landslides in the history of New Zealand, the Labour Party won 48% of the total Party's 31.

Major factors influencing the vote were rising unemployment and inflation and a housing shortage. Other factors contributing to National's unpopularity were their refusal to end New Zealand complicity in the Vietnam war, and their policy of conscription for military service.

Labour has equivocated on the question of withdrawal from aggressive military alliances such as SEATO, but many Labour Party members are strongly in layour of withdrawal from such alliances.

candidate for the Auckland seat of Eden on learning of his election, immediately telegrammed Kirk demanding withdrawal of all New Zealand training forces from Indochina. The leadership of the New Zealand Labour Party is unrepentantly conservative but socialist elements in the the party launched a strong campaign to bring issues such as the Vietnam involvement and the right of women to abortion to the fore in the election campaign.

Under the impact of the radicalisation which has taken place in New Zealand around the antiwar movement the question of the oppression of the Maori minority and the issue of the oppression of women, the Labour leadership has been forced to make some concessions. The major problems facing the Labour Party concern the control of inflation and unemployment. Labour's reactions to these problems will determine whether the workers' party will finally take

steps to lead the New Zealand working people in the direction of socialism or whether the right wing leadership will be permitted to allow the present radicalisation to subside.

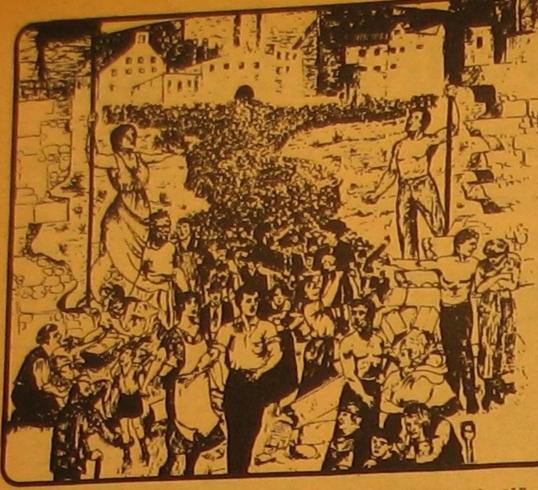
BY NITA KEIG

Between one and two hundred people gathered in Melbourne City Square on Friday evening, 1st December in one of the biggest and liveliest gay demonstrations to date. Leaflets were distributed explaining and condemning the role of such institutions as the law, police, church, psychiatry and the family in oppressing homosexuals in our society. Estimates of practising homosexuals were placed at 5-10% of the population. Another leaflet criticised the attitudes

expressed towards homosexuals in the film "The Adventures of Barry McKenzie" which is currently showing to large audiences in Melbourne and Sydney.

Speakers addressed the demonstration on the existing oppressive and punitive laws relating to gays. A woman spoke on the dual oppression of lesbians, as women and and as gays.

The action reflected the growing confidence of this movement and pointed to its potential to mobilise large numbers of people around this issue.



BY DAVID NIZOZ

The massive swing to the Australian Labor Party in the elections has done a lot more than put the ALP into office. We of the S.Y.A. and S.W.L. are not harbouring any illusions about the significance of the change in government. What we can use the election result as a guide to is the changing political situation in Australia at the moment, We also do not consider the figures to be significant in and of themselves. It is only in the context of analysis of the role of various forces in the whole of society that they are meaningful.

The main trends in the elections were a three per cent swing to the ALP on a of the Australia Party vote, and corresponding swings away from the Liberal Party and the DLP giving the breakdown Despite the large record number of independent candidates the share of the vote was low which reflected not only lack of interest in the reactionary candidates of the extreme right but together with the low donkey vote indicates the tremendous interest in the election as a of Australian aggression in Vietnam and

clear cut contest between the ALP and the Liberals.

The election campaign itself provides probably more lessons than any sets of results. All political parties and almost all other organisations which intervened in the campaign were forced to orientate to the AIP. Labor policies were presented, discussed, argued, debated, considered and distorted more than any other topic. The conservative ALP leadership tried to emphasise mainly its welfare proposals. Some of these, like a universal health insurance system and the National Compensation Scheme, represented reforms miles ahead of anything the Liberal party has offered in the previous 23 years. These together nationwide basis a more than doubling of with the gimmicky "It's time" slogan was the central axis of its campaign. Foreign affairs, and the Indochina war in particular, were relegated to the as ALP 49.70%, LCP 41.27%, DLP 5.55%, bottom of the list, and in his opening Australia Party 2, 30% and others 1, 18%, campaign speech Whitlam told everybody that the war was over. Despite the fact that the policies advocated by the ALP during the disastrous campaign of 1966 are held to have been vindicated by the vast majority of Australian workers no a attempt was made to attack the record

the Liberals' reactionary role elsewhere. The Liberal party likewise refused to make it an issue. For them it could only be a sure vote loser. Whitlam's reasons were different: he didn't want to endanger future cooperation with U.S. imperialism. Thus he gave no indication of any intention of ending Australian complicity in Vietnam.

Even the DIP didn't see any mileage in its belligerant foreign policies. Its campaign this year was based on social issues. The foremost among these have have been censorship, law and order and abortion. Abortion has been raised as an issue by the reactionary Right to Life Association as well as by the candidature of Arthur Burns as an antiabortion Labor candidate in the ACT and by statements made by Jim Staples on abortion in NSW. If the election results are any indication, the nationwide drop in the DLP vote and the poor performance of Burns in the ACT Labor in South Australia and Western tend to confirm Staples! view that ALP. In the ACT Allan Fitzgerald, the only Australia Party candidate to oppose abortion on demand, polled poorly actually worse than in the 1970 byelection. In the NSW seat of Bennelong, formerly a blue ribbon Liberal seat,

the swing to the ALP will probably be sufficient to unseat the local member. Dr Moss Cass, who has argued strongly

in favour of abortion also polled well in Maribyrnong and increased his majority despite one of the dirtiest ever campaigns waged against him.

where Staples was the campaign manager

In contrast with the poor performance by the DLP, the Australia Party more than doubled its national vote. Not only did the Australia Party support abortion oh demand, but it had several other planks which outflanked the ALP from the left. Its performance showed that the conservatism of the ALP leadership on many questions probably lost them votes. The Australia Party is of course a capitalist party whose antiunion policies are not much different than the Liberal Party. Socialists will never support it but we will point to its success as a lesson for Labor, particularly on social issues.

The huge swing to Labor in Victoria will probably be interpreted by Whitlam and Cameron as a vindication of the Federal intervention in Victoria in 1970. That may have won a few bourgeois votes and Pes the maing the many dollars. However, the major factor never to in Victoria to have been ignored by the media was the antiwar upsurge and mass it was far a bow natural mobilisations there, in particular the May support to 1970, September '70, and June '71 Moratoria. No one has been seen in the public eye to be connected with the anti- Maximi war movement more than Dr Jim Cairns. The 10% swing in Lalor in the elections shows just how significant the mass upsurge has been to the ALP and how militant policies help win the ALP votes.

Labor not only won seats, it also lost a few seats. While local factors affected Bendigo which appears to have been lost the other seats deserve more attention. The three year \$300,000 campaign of Ian Wilson seems to have succeeded in Sturt but at \$5 an elector it is not likely to be repeated in the near future. Nevertheless there was a slight swing against Australia which also cost the ALP the abortion is actually a vote winner for the seats of Forrest and Stirling. Unemployment is high in both states as it is in Tasmania. All these states have ALP governments. These governments, in particular the Tonkin government of Western Australia, have a record of unquestionable conservatism. Tonkin's

with Nixon's policies, and with the

Labor seeks "neutralisation" of SE Asia

as an alternative to SEATO, All this

means in practice is the emphasis on

Thieu regime.

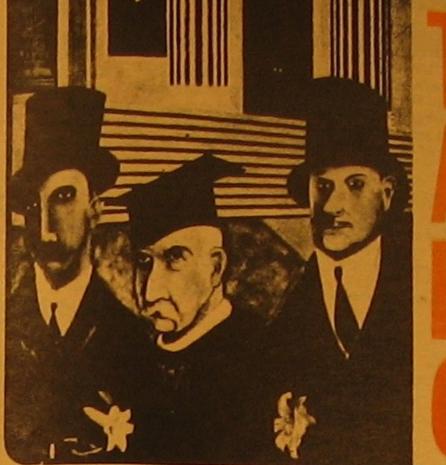
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policies and ks such as man north of worken the and gays can only reside mort for Labor.

The ALP man socialis min cies of the capitalia para are that any modest gin elass under it are not going return to power of the



confirm this impression.

The divisions between the various wings The main reasons why a considerable of Australian capitalists have never section of the bourgeoisie changed their before been so public. Unlike all preallegiance were similar to those previous vious elections since 1949 a significant occasions when the AIP was elected: section of big business is openly supportthe worsening economic and political ing the ALP. Not even in 1961 during conditions on an international scale. the "credit squeeze" was the support for Many businessmen feel that any improve- massive working class upsurge. Labor so widespread as in these elections, ment in the position of the Australian

The turn to Labor has certainly been most parts will depend on three things: a) the and the Sydney "Daily Telegraph". How- ing class upsurge in response to the ever it has not been limited to the "rancid Murdoch press". Other newspapers, in particular the Melbourne "Age" by the state in the economy including which speaks for an influential section of the Australian bourgeoisie, also backed Labor. Even more importantly perhaps were the boasts by certain ALP officials that more money than ever before came ions of business organisations. It is likely to implement those policies probably even true that big business con- designed to help the employers in their tributed more to the ALP campaign funds current difficulties. rather than to the Liberal Party. The Liberal Party's public appeals for money

A considerable proportion of employers, particularly those which are comparatively

in Australia for the great majority.

What Don Chipp calls "socialism" is

tank of talent"to enliven and expand

government bureaucracy (a traditional

or Harold Wilson's "new society". It

has little in common with socialism -

control of people's lives by themselves

without the guiding hand of the techno-

must be developed as the real Labor

"Financial Review" calls Labor's "alba-

of the Labor party base, play a vital role

in teaching the Australian working people

immediate future, Labor's position as

the government of the day is not secure.

The DLP, threatened with rapid decline,

now its hold on the government has been lost, can work hard to block all Labor's

positive initiatives in the Senate. The

parliamentary crisis which will undoubt-

edly result will lead to a dissolution of

both houses of parliament and the opport

unity for a renewed campaign focussed

directly on all the real issues.

programme for our time. What the

crats. It is this vision of socialism which

role of ALP governments). The proposal

is similar to J. F. Kennedy's "new frontier

merely Whitlam's plan for a "think

ation is posed.

Either way the challenge of socialism

as a real alternative to capitalist exploit

stronger like those in the Metal Trades, see the tremendous resistance that the working class has put up in the past to the on internal faction-fighting and looked penal clauses of the Arbitration system. Witness for example the Clarrie O'Shea struggle. They know that the impact of a credible national leader", (emphasis strong arm tactics such as the Lynch Laws added). will result in further resistance and a

bourgeoisie vis-a-vis its overseas counter- The alternative presented by the ALP: apparent in the pages of "The Australian" setting back or taming down of any work- modified form or another looks much more attractive to the employers. They employers' offensive on the workers living believe that because of the working class's ship wasn't sufficient for them. The standards b) a more dynamic intervention allegiance to the ALP, the Labor leader- control of the party had to be wrested ship will be able to restrain and perhaps "indicative planning" and "incomes poli- even turn back the working class movecles". c) a larger trade with the workers ment. They know that an attempt by states in particular the Soviet Union and a Liberal government to send the army to scab on strikers, as was contemplated into the party coffers from the contribut- On all three points the ALP looks far more complete solidarity action by the whole class and is doomed to failure. On the other hand they can foresee the natural advantages which will enable an ALP Government to undertake precisely such a course. They, the employers, remember too well that it was the Chifley one. Labor government which sent soldiers to the mines during the militant miners' strike of 1949.

On the other economic front, some

employers tend to blame the economic ultra-conservatism of the Liberal government for the lack of any planning and the general ad hoc way that the economy has been run for the last 23 years. The new technocrats of the Labor party offer once again an attractive alternative. Their "think tank" for business executives gives the employers a chance to recover their loss of profits for 1970-71 and the reduction in the rate of growth during this year. As Whitlam himself pointed out, one of the oldest attractions of the Liberal government to business, that of being able to deal directly with the ministers concerned and develop a working relationship, had gone by the board as the outgoing government had 60 changes of ministers over the last six years. The Liberal party conservatives belong to the old "free enterprise" school, believing in the minimum state intervention in the economy. They still consider 'incomes policies" such as those introduced by Nixon and Heath to be "socialistic". Even if the Liberal party was willing to undertake such a change in its course, and McMahon did hint at the possibilities, most workers regard it as the employers party and will resist a wage freeze brought down by the Liberals far more than if it was brought down by the

party they recognise to be their own. The Liberal Party conservatism carries through to its foreign policy. They still haven't appreciated the important role trade with the workers' states plays in interimperialist competition. Less than 24 hours before Nixon announced his impending visit to Peking McMahon pub- should still support the return of an ALP icly ridiculed the idea of making any deals with the Chou En Lai regime. Whit- cohorts try to have it returned as well. to China a day or so earlier. Future recognition and trade was the main item workers, not big business, are looked on his agenda. Even when the conservative after by the Labor government,

government of Tanaka in Japan broke off relationships with Talwan the Liberal government was still opposed to the idea.

It is not accidental that elections have been held or are due to be held in most of the major capitalist states. In all centres elections play an important role in chanelling radicalising masses of people into the bourgeois parliamentary system. Elections also play a role in resolving many of the smaller tactical differences that sections of the ruling class have among themselves. Election debate often reflects a real living struggle between different positions within the ruling class, In countries where no working class party exists such as the U.S. or where they are very small like Canada, such a debate represents no difficulties for the capitalist class. In Australia the union base of the ALP represents a thorn in the side of the bourgeoisie.

The attitude of the bourgeoisie to the ALP on this score was articulated in a front page editorial in "The Australian" on election eve, Dec 1:

"The Australian' has opposed the Labor Party at previous elections. We could not support Mr Whitlam in 1969; we were certainly opposed to the old style Labor Party of Mr Calwell. But the Labor Party of today has made immense changes. It has broadened to the extent that it is no onger a party for one single section of the

Under Mr Whitlam it has turned its back outward towards the nation's needs. Today it has a credible national policy and

Thus the bourgeoisie ruthlessly attacked the Calwell leadership, which under mass pressure took a strong antiwar position during the early stages of the Vietnam war. The replacement of the Calwell leadership by the current Whitlam leaderaway from the unions. Thus Parliamentarians, who have their parliamentary career in mind, were added to the Federal Conference - the policy forming body. But only after the Federal intervention in during the recent oil strike, will result in the Victorian branch whose militant policies were absolutely unacceptable to the employers was Federal Secretary Mick Young able to spend a whole hour on Monday Conference telling the Australian bourgeoisie how a Labor government will serve their interests better than a Liberal

> The intensifying interimperialist rivalry, which helped bring about the downfall of Gorton, has now brought a sizeable section return of an ALP government. They are hoping that the welfare proposals and other reforms using untapped potentials which will hit only a minor section of the capitalist class will serve as a carrot to the workers while the Whitlam government helps the employers in their attack. As the editorials of "The Australian" emphasised, the support for the ALP is limited to this time. In the the meantime they are expecting to "re 'reorganise" and "modernise" the Liberal Party so that in three years time the employers will be once again able to rule directly through their own instrumentality rather than the intermediary of the Labor

The smoke screen of Labor's "sense of identity" and "exciting visions" can be disregarded as the real motivation of the press barons for supporting the ALP. Similarly, all the promises of horrible uture and moral degeneration made by the the overlords of the feudal ultra conservative antilabour media can be regarded as the the masking of those forces which while unhappy with the Liberals, are not prepared to take the risk of a union based party being given state office, in case it is forced by mass pressure from underneath to take anticapitalist measures.

The problems Australian capitalists are having with their political party shouldn't affect the workers movement. The ALP is a labour party - it has been formed to protect the interests of unionists not employers. Whitlam himself has described it as a party of employees. Socialists government even if Mr Murdoch and his lam of course had just concluded a trip to What socialists should fight for are socialist policies for the ALP so that the interests of

the situation under UN auspices and propping up the Thieu regime against

adopted strong positions against Austand file must be mobilised with the thousands of other opponents of the war

civil aid to bolster ailing regimes in the area rather than on direct military aid. But this aid, which will not benefit the peoples of these countries but only their corrupt ruling groups, can, if needed, be supplemented by armed intervention. Labor's Minister for Defence, Lance Barnard has spoken of a mobile, highly efficient and "flexible" army (which can quite readily be used to put out "brush industri fire" wars in Asia). That is, ALP leaders about when are quite prepared to use Australian troops against revolutionary peoples, but ent lab they prefer for the present the subtle, "civilian" approach. Labor leaders have a consistent record as efficient prosecutors calliof war - in both WWI and WWII - a record party in which both Gough Whitlam and Bob Hawke have proclaimed their pride. Labor leaders have affirmed faith in that "great association" - ANZUS. They seek to make ANZUS an "instrument for justice and peace and for political, social and economic advancement of our region, " of That is a forlorn hope indeed. ANZUS can only be an instrument of oppression and destruction for the countries of Asia.

Again and again, Labor policy is couched in terms which reflect the enormous andfor socialism, DIRECT ACTION supporters in the last few years. Labor's policies, war sentiment which has swept the nation here as elsewhere, demonstrate the nature of the party as the mass party of the workworking on the hustings for Labor -letter the working people. At the same time, ing class, responsive to movements among ALP leaders continually strive to harness and divert anticapitalist feeling into

> This process can be seen once again with Labor's policy on industrial relations. The new Minister for Labor, Clyde Cameron stated during the campaign that: "There will be fewer strikes under Labor because we will remove the cause of industrial unrest. We would attempt to get over the problem of both parties failing to talk to one another by a system of mediation - which operates in other parts of

to press for policies breaking completely the work, to be bludgeon to do to manage the state machine more others meraly see it as a party which "efficiently". Any move towards similar represents their interests and which system worker an emphasis Federal laws must be vigorously opposed, works to create good conditions of life On a whole series of other issues we see the ambiguous character of Labor

during the campaign certainly tend to

BY SOL SALBY

policy - as a response to broad pressures, and as an attempt to absorb those presswes. The broad movement of women for their rights finds its reflection in Labor policy with a committment to support equal pay and build child care my and trade centres. Yet Whitlam and other Labor leaders fell over themselves to declare that the right to abortion was not an issue in the election and that the ALP has no policy on this question. What sort of approach is this to the struggle of women for democratic rights and

freedom from sexual oppression?

The question of "socialism" has been an issue in this election whether Whitlam tross", the socialist objective - can still and his colleagues like it or not, Liberal as a reflection of the mass character ministers of the dying McMahon regime stressed that the choice for Australians was between "socialism or free enterprise" about the socialist alternative. In the (e.g. Don Chipp in "The Australian" of November 30):

The Labor Party is a true socialist party. . . I am deeply concerned at the implications of a 10-year dogmatic, socialist plan being impacted on to the Australian economy and society from Saturday next. This to me is the overwhelming issue which voters must take into account," Many workers see the ALP as a socialist party too. Many

The elections meant different things to different people. To McMahon and the rapacious class of exploiters which he represents, they meant an opportunity to avoid having to solve the problems which are a legacy of 23 years of Liberal misrule. To the mass of which are a legacy of 25 years of portunity to put their party in power truth. We don't. We are presently offering 15 issues of for the first time in the living memory of many.

leadership will have to drastically change its thinking.

We explain why we think this, in this issue, we will have more to say in future issues. How did Labor come to adopt a socialisation programme in 1921? Why won't the present Labor leadership

DIRECT ACTION fought alongside the masses of workers for the election of a Labor government. Our slogan was "Labor to Power — Fight for Socialist Policies". Labor is in power, but the fight for

lement it? Why won't Labor nationalise industry? Read DIRECT ACTION and you will find out, Besides articles on the Labor Party we carry overseas news that you won't read anywhere else. The press barons have reason to fear the DIRECT ACTION for \$1, our normal rate is 10 for \$1. Our special rate will only be on offer for a couple more issues. Subscribe now. Can you afford to miss an issue?

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Labor leaders have also refused to come out clearly on their attitude to Nixon's continued Indochina genocide, to dissociate Labor completely from US

policies. They seek instead to heutralise" Large sections of the Labor Party have promote a "peace" which can only mean alian complicity in the past. The rank the wishes of the Indochinese people.

Labor's landslide victory is a source of meeting in Sydney. great satisfaction to all supporters of DIRECT ACTION. A part of it belongs to us. We have been the only tendency on the left to mount within the limits of our means and size a vigorous and nonsectarian intervention to help return the ALP to power and at the same time fight to win Labor to a fighting socialist plat-

In the final phases of Labor's campaign DIRECT ACTION continued to meet with a very interested and favourable reception, At Mr Whitlam's final Victorian rally on November 30 at the St Kilda Town Hall in excess of 400 copies were sold to the huge crowd. Over 100 were sold at Whitlam's December 1 Anzac House

The DIRECT ACTION election broadsheets were distributed in thousands at the final rallies in NSW and Victoria, and on December 1 afternoon thousands were distributed to shoppers and commuters around central Sydney.

election campaign. Calling for an ALP victory and a socialist programme, they have been given to Labor supporters at every major rally in the Eastern capital

As well as intervening in the election in this way to build support for Labor and

have been active as Labor members in their branches. We have participated with other ALP members and supporters boxing, handing out how to vote cards, etc. One of the largest swings was in a All told upwards of 45,000 of these broadsheets have been distributed during the

In this tremendous political event which symbolises and illuminates the hopes of hundreds of thousands revolutionary socialists have marched side by side with the masses of workers and youth, Thousands have had their first encounter with the ideas of revolutionary socialism through this pioneering campaign,

The ,19721

Labor's Stand on Foreign Bases, Alliances

The Liberal Party, as the political representative of the capitalist class in Australia, had followed a consistent policy in allowing and fostering the establishment of military bases in Australia. This, in turn, is quite consistent with their support for the SEATO, ANZUS and ASPAC alliances, through which the various national ruling classes have united to hold back any challenge to their rule, any attempt at revolutionary change in South-East Asia.

Foreign bases have been established at Pine Gap, Woomera, and North West Cape, and more are apparently planned. The tasks set for these bases is not only to assist in repelling any attack on Australia, but also to direct attacks from Australia's imperialist allies to any part of Asia. The motives of the Liberal Party in putting forward this policy are clear - as the party of the propertied classes they and their counterparts in other imperialist countries stand to lose too much from a successful revolution in Asia. Their position and motives we can understand, but where does the Labor Party, now that it is the government, stand on the question of foreign

The platform of the Australian Labor Party states, under the title Bases and

Facilities' that: "Labor is opposed to the existence of foreign-owned, controlled or operated bases and facilities in Australian territory, especially if such bases involve a derogation from Australian sovereignty.

"Labor is not opposed to the use of Australian bases and facilities by Allies in war-time, or in periods of International tension involving a threat to Australia, provided that Australian authority and sovereignty are unimpaired, and provided that Australia is not involved in hostilities without Australia's consent,

"The tenure of these bases and facilities by other powers should not be of such a character as to exclude properly accredited access by authorised Australians charged with the duty of evaluating Australian defence policy, whether members of the Australian Parliament, defence departments or armed services.

The question of foreign bases, however, cannot be separated from the whole question of the system of imperialist alliances such as SEATO and ANZUS.

If these alliances are allowed to exist under a Labor government once again the time will arise when our ruling-class will deem it necessary to intervene in Asia for the sake of retaining or expanding their markets and maintaining their political power. What then will be the Labor Party's decision? At present, as the quote from the platform points out, the Labor Party will allow the Allies the use of bases and tracking stations. The Labor Party, purporting to be the party working in the interests of the Australian working-class, would then ally itself with the forces of capitalism and see, perhaps, Australian workers once again being forced to fight in an imperialist war against workers and peasants of other countries.

The Labor Party's shadow Minister for Defence, Lance Barnard, stated that foreign bases would be acceptable. "If they can be integrated into the Australian defence system, using Australian experts and technology, we would have to look at them favourably."

The word 'defence' has been used a lot; we have to ask however what imperialist

pacts like SEATO, ANZUS, and ASPAC defend and who does the defending. As in the First World War, the Second World War, Korea, and Vietnam, the purposes of these treaties and other alliances before them, was and is to militarily defend the "right" of a set of imperialist powers to either retain what property, influence ism, and power it has or increase it by poaching world. on the preserves of a rival imperialist country. The conscript defenders of these "rights" of the ruling class are the workers; they're the ones who build the war machines and equipment, who fight in the war, and invariably die under the banner of capital.

BY DAN ROSENSHINE

however its interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the international working-class. Hence the choice of the Labor Party, concerning foreign bases as with everything is to serve either capitalism, or the interests of the workers of the

In coming down on the side of the latter, it must cut all military ties with those of the counter-revolutionary alliances. The Labor Party must cease to allow the training of troops for purposes of suppression of national liberation struggles. The

Labor Party must also demand the alism desist in those foul and min exploits which turn worker against and make the question of their life death dependent upon the twists and the of the capitalist market.

These are the real interests of the Av ian workers - these principles should be the guide for the Australian Labor Par and the present "leaders" who atten foist on Australian workers a tidie version of a system of imperialist masquerading as "defence" should booted out and replaced by people w to fight for the real interests of the may ity of Australians.

that the majority of the anti-Perceits.

In its November 14 issue, the "Monitor"

editorially approved of Peron's retun,

"And hopefully", the "Monitor" sid,"

Peron will agree to the military's

playing a continued supervisory role

in any postelection government, his

unifying force in a country for too im

Robert Ares, one of Peron's top advises,

sounded the same theme in an interview

published in the November 9 issue of the

Buenos Aires weekly, "Panorama"," #15

evident to me", he said, "that General

Peron's aspiration is to achieve spiritual

unity between the people and the

forces, whose prestige, unfortunately

has been suffering a great decline no

The November 8 issue of "Avanza"

Socialista", the weekly paper of the

tine Socialist Party (Partido Socialis

Argentina), carries a lengthy and

the meaning of Peron's return, w

been reprinted in the November

"The question that must be asked

"Avanzada Socialista" says in par

whether he is coming back to hel

workers or to make a deal with the

ploiters and offer the military gove

"Innumerable workers, Peronist co

eros fighting against the regime,

hoped for many years for Gener

return. They thought that the

back would be a day of struggle

the day of the collapse of this s

poverty and the iron fist that op

all workers - Peronist or not,

hard reality is that Peron is not

back to fight. Peron is coming to

triumph for the working class,

"Intercontinental Press".

a political way out ...

presence could be a settling and

albeit concerned over Mr. Peron's

presence, tend to agree with the

Lanusse government".

torn apart by dissent".

minds of the people".

Peron's return did not lack drama. The November 17 return of Argentina's ex-President Juan Peron after a 17 year enforced exile has further heightened

the ferment gripping Latin America's most industrialised nation. The current Argentine military dictatorship, headed by General Alejandro Lanusse, arranged for Peron's return as part of a well designed effort to head off mounting social discontent, an effort all indications show has the collaboration of Peron himself.

The 77-year-old Peron was president of Argentina from 1946 until he was overthrown by a US backed military coup in 1955. His dictatorial regime, while carefully defending capitalism, failed to establish a secure national base for Argentine capital and often clashed with the growing domination of the country's economy by US capitalism.

To gain popular support, Peron permitted the growth of a large and powerful trade union movement. Many Argentine workers were attracted to his populist style and the demagogic, nationalist attacks he directed against American imperialism and those Argentine generals and businessmen who were in its service. Since 1966, the Argentine people have suf- A crowd of more than 100,000 people fered under a series of pro-US military dictatorships that have carried out political repression, and repeated assaults on the standard of living. The last three years have seen a rising tide of mass mobilis-

to power by the same method. The Lanusse regime has been faced with two nationwide general strikes since September 1971. In an attempt to restore social stability, Lanusse has promised a return to parliamentary rule and has scheduled elections for next spring. But this directly raised the question of Peron's role, since he is the only capitalist politician with a mass

ations by workers and students as well

heads of state, each of whom had come

as military coups that replaced two

Public demonstrations were banned, and a force of 30,000 soldiers was mobilised to maintain security in Buenos Aires, while the airport where Peron's plane landed was surrounded by elite tank units. Peron himself was at first placed in seclusion under heavy guard. After a day he was allowed to proceed to a \$93,000 mansion purchased for him by his followers, where he was greeted by a mass demonstration of enthusiastic supporters.

The Peronist movement is a diverse array of forces that have used Peron as a symbol of opposition to US influence in Argentina and to the present regime. It includes traditional capitalist politicians, urban guerrillas involved in terrorist actions, and dissident sections

of the military. But the most important base of Peronist support lies in the powerful CGT trade union federation (Confederacion General del Trabajo - General Confederation of Labor). The CGT leadership, and much of its rank and file, identify themselves as Peronists. For his part, Peron has promised everything to everyone, not even hesitating to link himself with the memory of Che Guevara.

gave Peron a tumultuous welcome during his first night in Buenos Aires. While many of these were militant workers ready for a showdown with the Lanusse dictatorship, the real game being played by both Peron and Lanusse has been described by a number of com-

"There is, however, general agreement that the divisions that have rent this nation for the 17 years since Mr. Peron's ouster cannot be ended without Mr. Peron's presence", James Nelson Goodsell wrote in the November 15 "Christian Science Monitor".

"Whether they can be ended with his presence is something else again - but the military government of Lt. Gen. Alejandro Agustin Lanusse argues that



U.S. Cops Kill Black Students Louisiana state police, seeking to sup-

press demonstrations on the Baton Rouge, Louisiana campus of Southern University murdered two students on November 16.

For several weeks, students at the all black school had been boycotting classes in support of demands for on campus medical facilities, expanded black studies programmes, improved transportation to the campus, the right to audit financial records, and the resignation of the university president, Dr. G. Leon Netterville. Demonstrators occupied the administration building from October 30 to November 10 when several of their demands, including amnesty for participants in the protest, were granted. Students United, which organised the demonstration, voted to continue boy-

cotting classes until all demands were

On November 16, students reported, Netterville asked for a meeting with Students United in his office. During the meeting which was attended by more than 200 persons, Netterville asked to be excused, promising to return shortly.

Edwin E. Edwards, governor of Louisiana later claimed that Netterville called the sheriff's office, asking state police to clear the building.

Hundreds of heavily armed state police invaded the campus. The students were ordered to disperse and tear gas was fired into the administration building. As the students filed out, the police opened fire killing two 20-year-old students, Denver

Smith and Leonard Douglas Brown.

At first, police officials and Governor Edwards sought to deny all responsibility for the killings. Police denied using bullets and claimed that the students were killed by "shrapnel". But a coroner's report revealed that the students were struck by buckshot from shotguns like those the police were carrying. Governor Edwards then admitted the youths "may" have been killed by a policeman who "accidentally" used buckshot instead of tear gas.

Netterville has denied asking state police to intervene, attributing this request to an anonymous campus cop.

The murders sparked demonstrations of protest on many US campuses.

put the finishing touches on a dea the regime, with the worst enemial the working class". "Avanzada Socialista" cites numera ations of an already worked out the

deal between the Peronists, the ment and the middle class, I Radical Party. But the statem tinues, "Nor can we discount the P sibility that settling the final proof the accord will give rise to a st of war between Peron and the gov-

Today, Argentina, along wi the highest level of class struggle mass radicalisation in all o Whatever understandings ex sides - Peron's and the arm) return is a very dangerous expe the Argentine ruling class. touch off massive actions against be dictatorship that could go far beyon control of Peron and his lieutenant.

IN BRIEF:

GIVEN THE "GO AHEAD"

President Marcos of the Phillipines recently told the Phillipine Historical Association how he arrived at his decision to declare a state of martial law: "I wanted a period in which I could commune with myself and with God and ask Him whether it was correct for me to proclaim martial law. I asked for a sign and He gave me several signs". No one can say the Almighty's not generous.

LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE SLANDEROUS

On October 25 a criminal court in the Swiss city of Lucerne ruled that the revolutionary socialist newspaper "La Breche" had committed an actionable offence, an assault on the honour of individual members of the bourgeoisie, by publishing the labour theory of value. The court action began after "La Breche" workers' democracy, having been the had published articles denouncing a wage victim of strong arm tactics by the system in the metallurgy industry in 1971. The wage system was one under which workers' incomes would be affected by their "attitude toward their superiors" "La Breche" also claimed that capitalists were using pension funds to amass capital,

Deeply offended by these cruel charges, three companies sued "La Breche" claiming that their managements had been defamed. The three suits were later joined into one. The real aim of the charges was to stop members of the Revolutionary Marxist League which publishes "La Breche" from distributing their paper and other socialist literature outside factory gates. Unfortunately, the publishers of "La Breche" were unable to demonstrate the reality of capitalist exploitation to the satisfaction of the judge. He found in favour of the companies. "La Breche" is appealing the decision and has called on supporters to aid the defence both financially and politically. Contributions and letters of support can be sent to: Case postale 1,000 Lausanne 20, Sevelin, Switzerland.

DESPERATION

Speaking in Brisbane during the election campaign, Liberal member Ivor Greenwood the fringes of the workers' movement urged voters " . . . if you have a spare mo- with no perspectives for building a socialment not only vote for a Liberal government but pray for one". Greenwood knew masses of people. the score - short of divine intervention nothing could have saved the Liberals.

SECTARIANS DEMONSTRATE IMPOTENCE

On November 25 the sectarians of the Socialist Labour League held their much advertised demonstrations in Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane and Hobart. The actions were called unilaterally by the SLL around the slogans "Throw the Liberals Out", "Vote Labor", "Demand Socialist Policies". Reflecting the strength of the SLL and the fact that it refuses to enter on a principled basis into united fronts with other organisations, which in spite of disagreements might share some common perspectives, the demonstrations were pitifully small. In Sydney 65 people turned up while in Melbourne the action was called off because of rain, and in lobart the two speakers who turned up

found themselves with large amplifiers but no audience. As yet we have received no report from Brisbane. The failure of the SLL actions demon-

strates the impotence of the organisation's sectarian politics. After devoting most of their energies over the course of a month to the actions, they were able to attract less than 100 people nationally. It is clear that the actions constituted a major focus for the SLL, an intensive postering campaign was carried on, and for the Sydney rally a bus was even hired to transport supporters from the outer suburbs: unfortunately only about eight people could be rounded up to ride in it.
A sidelight to the SLL's postering campaign was the contempt they showed for the principle of democracy in the workers' movement by covering Communist Party election posters and DIRECT ACTION 'Labor to Power" posters with their own. The SLL should be a firm supporter of Stalinist SPA to stop them selling their press on the wharves.

Why, after so much effort did the SLL's actions flop? The failure of the SLL stems from its inability to relate to current political reality. It, like most other left groups, is small. The problem

for such groups is how to communicate ideas to masses of people, and how to move large numbers of people in an anti-capitalist direction, how to lead large numbers of people through experiences which will bring about an awareness of the nature of capitalist society and the need to overturn it. The SLL rejects the only tactic which makes it possible for a small group to break out of isolation from the masses - the tactic of engaging in united action around specific issues with other groups and organisations where agreement can be reached on a common demand or aim. The SLL rejects this tactic. In the November 29 issue of their paper "Labour Press"they say "We will exclude no one from our campaign and demonstration who agrees with the demands outlined in our manifesto and who wishes to help build the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists ... ". With such policies the our will remain a uny sect existing of ist movement capable of involving

DRINK UP

The amount of DDT in cows' milk in this country is now three times above the level considered safe internationally.

COMMONWEALTH WORKERS STOP WORK

On November 22, 500 employees of the Commonwealth Public Service attended a stop work meeting in Melbourne. The workers were protesting the Commonwealth's delay in granting a \$6 wage increase flowing on from the 1971 Metal Industry Award, The meeting was characterised by the attempts of the union officials to obtain a decision to return to work. The officials were obviously concerned that any industrial action might affect the Labor Party's election chances and were anxious to have the matter pushed STEEL MANUFACTURERS' STUNT. NO SOLUTION TO POLLUTION CRISIS

Fourteen months ago, several big companies including BHP, Containers Ltd., J. Gadsden and United Packagers Ltd. all associated with the manufacture of steel cans, announced that they were embarking on a project to eliminate the pollution problems created by such cans. The scheme was announced in an attempt to stave off a punitive tax being imposed on steel cans by the NSW have always made available to Ausgovernment, as a result of the spiralling tralians - freedom to suffer political cost of disposing of the cans and the increasing difficulty of finding somewhere to put them. The companies' scheme was to recycle the cans. However a recent report carried in the "Sydney Morning Herald" indicates that the scheme has done nothing except provide a cover under which the government could drop its plan for a punitive

The report reveals that of the 500 million steel cans dumped in Sydney each year, only about three million find their way to the recycling centres. The report also reveals that cans delivered to some recycling centres have not been recycled. For example, in Townsville cans collected were eventually dumped in the local rubbish tip and in Brisbane and some other centres the cans are being "stockpiled". Clearly the steel manufacturers' plan, announced in a blaze of publicity, was nothing more than a propaganda stunt which attacks none of the problems created by irresponsible use of the resources available to society.



DRACONIAN EDUCATION REGULAT-IONS PROPOSED FOR SA

South Australian secondary school principals are urging the government to introduce new regulations giving them the power to suspend students for insolence, persistent disobedience, immoral conduct or a serious breach of discipline. Of course the principals will decide what is "immoral", "insolent" and "serious" - things like male students having long hair, students handing out leaflets in schools etc., if the past conduct of SA principals is any indication.

SOCIALIST RUNS IN TRAMWAY UNION ELECTIONS

Doug Jordan, a tramway conductor from Melbourne running on a socialist platform for editorship of the Tramway Union's journal "The Record" polled 300 out of the 2,100 votes cast.

SOME FREEDOMS FORGOTTEN

Recent advertisements by supporters of the capitalist parties have urged people not to vote for the Labor Party because Labor in power would threaten "... those basic freedoms for which Australians have always fought and which they cherish so dearly - freedom of speech, association, worship and enterprise". There are some other freedoms which governments of capitalist parties censorship, freedom to be sent to murder people in imperialist wars, freedom for some to live in luxury while others starve, freedom for black people to rot in slums, freedom for women to be killed by backyard abortionists .. to mention a few.

STUDENT VICTIMISED

Peter McMahon, a high school student seeking reinstatement after being expelled from Blacktown Boys' High School in Sydney's western suburbs has taken court action to have his expulsion revoked. At a recent court hearing of the case, the principal of the school expressed the opinion that McMahon did not have the ability to pass his Higher School Certificate and should leave the school. He then went on to say that the student had had the effrontery to want to discuss the political aspects of economics in an economics class. He also said that McMahon was one of a number of students who had committed the crime of being associated with organisations outside the school, The Socialist Youth Alliance and DIRECT ACTION were mentioned, Of course the free, compulsory and secular state education system doesn't attempt to shape students' political attitudes.

REHABILITATION

Evidence recently presented to the enquiry into conditions at Melbourne's Pentridge Gaol included the revelation that a prisoner who was refused medical treatment after complaining of stomach pains, was later found to have a bullet in his stomach.

DEMOS, STRIKES CAUSE \$2,3 MILLION LOSS TO VICTORIA'S TRAMS!

Outlining his latest plans to curtail civil liberties in Melbourne, Victorian Premier Hamer speaking on November 29 would take a tougher stand against demonstrators in the city area. This he said, was necessary because according to the annual report of the Victorian Tramways Board, the tramways had lost 10 million customers over the past year - a 7% drop in passengers representing a loss in revenue of 2,3 million dollars. He went on to say that according to the board, a major cause of the increasing disinclination of people to use trams was the disruption of their timetables caused by strikes and demonstrations.

For strikes and demonstrations to have caused that sort of a loss, Melbourne must be in a state of considerable turmoil, in fact the revolution must be just around the corner .. or could it be that the real reasons for the decline in the use of public transport lie elsewhere? For example, in the policies of the Liberal Party government which over almost two decades has neglected public transport as part of its policy of promoting the motor car industry?

.... STEVE PAINTER

Marxism and Feminism

not in terms of society as a whole, but in terms of their families and immedlate friends. They become alienated from society, because of their alienation from the means of production and because they must compete as individuals, and as family units for the available jobs and material goods essential for life. In this respect, also, the family is a wasteful economic unit because it requires the useless duplications of goods and appliances, and irrational use of labour in society.

However, the family is showing obvious signs of breaking down. The divorce rate is rising, there is a steady increase in illegitimate births, there is a high incidence of suicides among married women; mental homes house large numbers of women crippled mentally from the effects of family life. Added to this, and despite the handicaps of lack of child-care facilities, sex and wage discrimination and double work load, increasing numbers of married women are asserting their right to work outside the home and to earn an indep-

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8 endent income. All these factors are contributing to the disintegration of the

nuclear family. As Marxists, we understand that women and workers have the same enemy. Sexual oppression has been perpetuated by every ruling class since class society and private property began. The family, and the subordination of women within it, is one of the major institutional props of class society. So the struggles of women, like those of the oppressed nationalities, must ultimately become anticapitalist struggles in order to succeed.

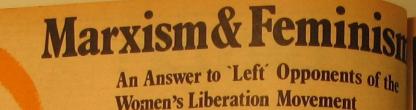
Oppression in the epoch of imperialism takes many forms. Revolutionary socialists give wholehearted support to all struggles against oppression. We don't measure one oppression against another, saying that one is more "real" or more important than any other, and we don't attempt to dictate which section of the oppressed should begin the struggle against imperialism. Marxism is the theory of class struggle aimed at socialist revolution. But it is

not a formula prescribing what forms the revolution will take in the course of its development. It is a tool that helps revolutionaries understand and better intervene in the class struggle. Above all, it helps us assess the new forms in which the class struggle takes place - nationalism, the student movement, the women's movement. It helps us to appreciate the revolutionary implications of these struggles and how to give them a more radical direction.

The women's liberation movement will be instrumental in bringing down capitalism, because capitalism is incapable of granting women total freedom. Uncompromising feminism can only lead to socialist conclusions. The demands of the movement will develop as the struggle deepens, as concessions are granted others will be thrown up; and these demands will more and more strike directly at capitalism.

We know that the struggle for women's liberation will not end with the socialist revolution. It must be waged now as

well as during the transitional period which will follow the revolution, until the time when women have total freedom and equality. As Marxists, as Trotskyists, we support the independence and intransigence of the women's liberation movement and don't condemn and disparage it. Authentic Marxists are the champions of the oppressed who are casting off their oppressed mentality and beginning to stand up and demand their rights. While we build the movement, uniting women against their oppression, we try to win over the most conscious women to join us in building a revolutionary party that can unite all oppressed sectors of the population in decisive struggle against the capitalist class. The Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance see the women's liberation movement as a central part of the world socialist revolution in the making, and are in the forefront of helping to build and lead this movement in a revolutionary direction. Our position stands in sharp contrast to the default of all our opponents who claim to be socialists or communists.



classes can sometimes be won over to join actions against female oppression. This helps weaken the ruling-class by taking advantage of differences within that class.

Lenin had a very clear position on the need to mobilise women as women, which stands in sharp contrast to the approach of the SLL today. The following quote from Lenin signifies this:

"That is why it is right for us to put forward demands favourable to women. This is not a recognition that we believe in the eternal character, or even in the long duration of the rule of the bourgeoise and their state. It is not an attempt to appease women by reforms and to divert them from the path of revolutionary struggle. It is not that or any other reformist swindle. Our demands are practical conclusions which we have drawn from the burning need, the shameful humiliation of women in bourgeois society, defenseless and without rights, We demonstrate thereby that we recognise these

toward the Chinese. It is necessive make them understand that the Age ican state is not their state and the do not have to be the guardian of state. . . . Those American work who say: 'The Negroes should spawhen they so desire and we will dehem against our American policy those are revolutionists; I have conceed in them." (New York: Mentical lishers, 1967, Page 17.)

The spirit of the passage applies to a chauvinism among workers, Revelop any workers defend workers and the spirit of the passage applies to any workers defend workers defend when the for liberation, just as they detend right of black people to self-detend ation. Instead of putting the one on the Women's Liberation Movement to the workers and the importance of the class truggle and the fact that men are the oppressed, the responsibility sheds but on the male workers and the unbureaucrats to support the just demand of women. Women organising independing the properties of the propert

The second argument of the section against women's liberation, where the see the special oppression of women that only of "exploited worker", copletely leaves out the oppressive character of the family. This simply that from the fact that they do not have in Marxist analysis of the role of the family, or the oppression of women with it, or in society.

The Socialist Labour League thins abortion, contraception, child-care etc. are reformist and petit-bourged and try to justify this position by sylmator working class women are not on ressed in this way, and besides, they like having big families. They ignate fact that it is working class women who suffer at the hands of back-yard abortionists, and are often forced to bear child after child. The complete irresponsibility of these people on the questions can only be described as an working class.

This is a significant departure from the position held by Marx, Eagels and Leal on the question of the family, As Ingel pointed out in "The Origins of the Fami Private Property and the State", the family grew out of the needs of class society, as a pillar of the institution of private property and the class demands of the class of the property of the institution of human beings over other hand beings. This is still the fundamental character of the family.

beings. This is still the fundamenal character of the family.

The family is above all an ecosmismit, where each individual family responsible for such tasks as feeding clothing, educating the children dearing for the sick and aged, note of whom are useful to capitalism, bear they are non-productive. The innihis forced to look out only for its oral interests in competition with other in illes. Because having children inside the existing family structure mean years of domestic drudgery for all severy rich women, the ability of worth to control their bodies and to be able to make decisions about when adwhether to bear children is an esstright denied by capitalism. Without this, women are unable to make decisions which affect their lives and are forced, through lack of child-care facilities or adequate social service to be economically dependent on the husbands or families. The reason the government will not provide low cost or free childcare facilities on a mass scale is precisely because it would help to break down the estain patriarchal, nuclear family where en remain in the home doing social unpaid work. The family performs the task of conditioning and social the young. It plays a decisive funding her provided in the perpetuation of class society. Wealth is passed down to succeeding enerations through the family street Unlike working-class children, children of the ruling class are same of every economic and educational advantage. Children learn to accept the exploitative and alternating scilled and competitive traits needed to sin this system. They learn to this, contributed on PAGE 7

The explosive growth of the Feminist Movement has had a profound impact on the current radicalisation, not only by adding another sector of militants to he struggle, but also by attacking the mainstay of capitalism - the nuclear amily. Women are now demanding the essential dignity and worth that has been lenied them through the entire period of class society.

This movement has had diverse effects on the left. The Maoists were the first to reject it, and it wann't long before the women in this grouping rebelled against the chauvinist attitudes towards them, and the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) still has divided views on this question.

he Socialist Labour League (SIL) has
even without exception the most hostile
ward the Women's Liberation Moveent. Openly, Ilaumtingly, chauvinist
their meetings, and rideuling any
ention of women's needs, this sectarian
rouping has the audacity to masquerade
nder the name of Trotskyism. Their
leas and attitudes to the women's
rovement, oppressed nationalities,
udent movement, homosexual oppresson etc. are completely alien to the
eachings of Trotsky and the principled
ositions of revolutionary socialists.

sitions of revolutionary socialists, or revolutionary Marxist caters to the ost backward elements of the working ass, Trotsky was quite clear on this int, even pointing out the role of bad aguage in the struggle of the working ass, Quote; "And how could one create y by day, if only by little bits, a new e based on mutual consideration, on if-respect, on the real equality of men, looked upon as fellow workers, the efficient care of the childrenan amonghere poined with the roars, rolling, ringing, and resounding earing of masters and slaves, that earing which spares no one and stops nothing? The struggle against bad aguage is a condition of intellectual giene, just as the fight against filth d vermin is a condition of physical giene,"(The Age of Permanent Revolution, A Trotsky Anthology, by Isaac sucher, P., 301, 302)

olutionary Marxists are always in orefront of fighting any chauvinist ms and attitudes that oppress won not in the forefront of fostering

The SIL regards the pressing needs of women as "petit-bourgeois" and "reformist" and it sees that the only valid struggles for women are those waged around narrowly conceived job issues. It seems impossible for them to comprehend that the majority of women will radicalise around issues that directly affect them, and that they feel oppressed as a sex first. Neither can they see the dynamic relationship between struggles for immediate gains around issues such as abortion that directly affect women and attainment of full female liberation. Because they do not see this they have no programme which can mobilise masses of women who do not yet see their enemy as the capitalist system itself.

The two main arguments the Healyites use to defend their anti-Women's Liberation line are:

1) The basic division in society is between the capitalist class and the working class: consequently, struggles against other forms of oppression like sexual and national oppression must be subordinated to the struggle between the 2 major classes.

The root of the special oppression of women is in their role as exploited workers.

workers.

In answering the first argument: Markists see no contradiction between men and women fighting the bosses and women workers fighting for their demands as women. There is no contradiction between being a revolutionary and a feminist; they complement each other. National and women's oppression are just as "real" as the oppression of workers as workers even though sexual oppression and national oppression cut across class lines. We favour all oppressed sections of society - workers, oppressed nationalities and women - organising themselves fines in their own organisations. The independent organisation of women will be the most radical and effective way of advancing women's liberation because women know best how they are oppressed as women and have the most to gain from fighting that oppression. However, the liberation of women will only be achieved by the overthrow of capitalist society, and thus women's liberation is very much a class question.

Since all women are oppressed as women at one degree or another.

needs and are aware of the humiliation of the woman, the privilege of the man, That we hate, yes, hate everything, and will abolish everything which tortures and oppresses the woman worker, the house-wife, the peasant woman, the wife of the petty trader, yes, and in many cases the women of the possessing classes. The rights and social regulations which we demand for women from bourgeois society show that we understand the position and interests of women and will have consideration for them under the proletarian dictatorship.*

"Must I again swear to you, or let you swear, that the struggles for our demands for women must be bound up with the object of seizing power, of establishing proletarian dictatorship. That is our Alpha and Omega at the present time. That is clear, quite clear. But the women of the working-class will not feel irresistibly driven into sharing our struggles for the state power if we only and always put forward that one demand, though it were with the trumpets of Jericho. No, No! The women must be made conscious of the political connection between our demands and their own suffering, needs, and wishes." (Lenin in "The Woman Question". New York: International Publishers, 1951, pages 90, 91 and 92.)

These people are worried that an index

These people are worried that an independent struggle for Women's Liberation could create "disunity" in the working class. For their information the working class, For their information the working class is already disunited. Capitalism has fostered divisions not only between men and women, but between black and white, between the more and the less privileged, between religious groups and so on, It is true that some men opposes women's demands because they have been taught to consider women inferior and don't agree with our demands. In this case, revolutionaries are whole-heartedly on the side of the women, not the backward male workers. We don't tell the women: subordinate your demands in the interests of "class unity" or postpone your struggle until the male workers are

In this connection it is relevant to recall Trotsky's attitude toward racial chauvin-ism among American workers. In the pamphlet "Leon Trotsky on Black Nation-alism and Self-Determination", Trotsky said:

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