A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

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> Who Runs Australia? The Labor Government, or the Capitalist State?

also in this issue: Which Way for the Socialist Left?

Right-wing attack on AUS at Latrobe

Students Reject Gay-baiting at Macquarie

Is Biology Woman's Destiny? by Evelyn Reed

# DIRECTACTION

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## A CHALLENGE TO REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

The Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA) is holding its 4th National Conference in Sydney over the Easter long weekend April 20-23. This will be the first conference to be held in Sydney since the founding conference of SYA in August 1970.

At our founding conference there was just over 30 members in attendance. We were a small group confined to Sydney with a few members in Adelaide. We devoloped out of the initial stages of the youth radicalization, through the antiwar movement, On the other hand we did not become campus and high-school struggles.

Although small, through our experie-

nces in these struggles, we had come to understand the need to build a revolutionary youth organization around a Marxist program which sought to understand and assimilate all the lessons from the history of the revolutionary movement. We set ourselves against the spontaneist trends that had appeared on the Left: for instance "Students for a Democratic Society" (SDS) - we knew that the struggle would be a lengthy one and that a long term strategy had to be thought out. We decided we would need a newspaper, DIRECT ACTION could not only report on struggles but become a factor in the movement itself by building support for the struggles of the oppressed and exploited.

SDS no longer exists and there have been no similar organizations of any significance since. Yet the radicalization has broadened and deepened since our founding conference. DIRECT ACTION has devoloped into a fortnightly 16 page paper that is winning many new readers every day. SYA has grown into a nationwide organization to become the strongest revolutionary youth organization in this country.

But we are still only at the beginning of the road - we have only traced the outlines of the sort of organization So we make this call revolutionthat will be needed to help bring about fundamental social change in this country. But we know that the opportunities for our growth are greater than ever.

The election of a Labor government reflects the radicalization of the past 7-8 years. At the same time as some changes are undertaken by the Labor government, the demand for more thorough-going social change is fueled. We stood at the left of the

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NAME.

CANBERRA: SYA, P.O. Box 1733 Canberra City, ACT 2601. Ph 477306 (John). HOBART: SYA, P.O. Box 1255N G.P.O. Hobart 7001.

forces calling for a victory for Labor We pointed out that Labor could not solve fundemental social problems while it remains tied to the capitalist system. It has shown this clearly already by its refusal to break from the reactionary alliances entered into by the previous government. We do not think that you can ever gain by becoming an accomplice to capitalism for reasons of expediency the Vietnam war showed how brutal a day of reckoning will be.

frustrated or demoralized by the pow erful system we were confronting. We did not engage in any terrorist or ultra-leftist actions to achieve our aims: we knew that history had pronounced against these methods. Our method was always to invoke as many people as possible in bringing about social change, as only a majority struggling will change

At the conference at Easter we will be discussing our activities for the coming year - we will be mapping out our perspectives for growth. Reports and discussion for the university student movement, secondary school student movement. struggles of Labor youth and our perspectives for the radicalization will be features of the conference.

As we strive to build these struggles, we will recruit activists who come to understand the need for a fundamental change in society. Activists from the workers' move ment, the women's liberation movement, the secondary schools and gay liberation movements will become united in the revolutionary youth organisation in Australia as we strive to mobilise the mass of Australians to change Australia in in their own interests - for socialism

ary youth to attend our conference, to become involved in the struggle for socialism in Australia and throughout the world! Our conference will mark an important step in this process, but because the task is so big, we cannot just afford to have support from afar. We need your presence and active support. There is no more rewarding task to get involved in, and our 4th conference will be the first step for many new people. Why not you, as well?

## What ASIO Raid Means

BY DAVE HOLMES

The ALP has never been a revolutionary party although in its ranks and supporters there have always been many militant socialists. For most of its existence, however, it has been committed to socialism as an "ultimate" objective. How is this to be achieved? The official view has always been that socialism (interpreted to suit the narrow electoral aims of the pro-capitalist leadership) will come about through the party winning a parliamentary majority and gradually legislating its

Of course the Scullins, Chifleys and Whitlams of the ALP were not, and are not now, apostles of socialism. It has simply suited them at times to point to the party's "socialist objective," adopted under mass rank and file pressure. But even many party members who are genuinely committed to socialism do not fully understand the hopelessness of the "theory" of a "parliamentary road" to socialism. In formulating an alternative strategy for the construction of a socialist Australia, a correct appreciation of the state is essential.

neutral instrument at the service of whichever party has a parliamentary majority at any given time. The state, in this view, is controlled by the people through their representatives in a parliament based on universal suffrage. When one party replaces another as the governing party, the ministers in charge of the departments change, a few top personnel change, and that is all. That state which served the capitalist Liberal party so well will equally well serve the working class-based Labor party ... The ASIO affair should have dented this tragic illusion, at least among the most conscious Labor socialists.

Laborist ideology regards the state as a

The essential fallacy of the theory of the parliamentary road to socialism is that it is based on an incorrect appraisal of the state. The state is not neutral, it is not controlled by parliament, and it cannot just be "taken over" by a socialist government. As Ernest Mandel explains in his brilliant pamphlet "The Marxist Theory of the

"The power of the State is a permanent power. This power is exercised by a certain number of institutions that are isolated from and independent of so changeable and unstable an influence as universal suffrage. These are the institutions that must be analysed & we are to learn where the real power lies: 'Governments come and governments go, but the police and the administration remain.

"The State is, above all these permanent institutions: the army (the permanent part of the army - the general staff, special troops), the police, special police, secret police, the top administrators of government departments ("key" civil servants), the national security bodies, the judges, etc. -- everything that is 'free' of the influence of universal suffrage."

"is concentrated outside parliament and outside the institutions born of universal suffrage." It is concentrated in the boardrooms of the big capitalist corporations, in the directing bodies of the state apparatus which serves their interest The state is not neutral, it is an instrument of domination of society by the capitalist ruling class. To the assertion that the contemporary state plays the role of an "arbiter," Mandel replies:

"Two comments are called for. First the arbiter is not neutral ... the top men in the State apparatus are part and parcel of the big bourgeoisie. Arbitration thus does not take place in a vacuum; it takes place in a framework of maintaining existing class society. Of course, concessions to the exploited can be made by arbitrators; that depends essentially on the relationship of forces. But the basic aim of arbitration is to maintain capitalist exploitation as such, if necessary by compromising a bit on secondary questions. '

The conclusion drawn by revolutionary socialists from this reality, following Marx' assessment of the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871, is that a workers' government cannot lay hold of the existing capitalist state apparatus, but must smash it completely. The working class in power must construct its own state which will differ markedly from the old one, and which will gradually disappear as society comes of age and advances to full socialism.

The ASIO affair has opened a window on the inner workings of the capitalist state, and provided a good demonstration of the correctness of the Marxist theory of the state. Here, even the veneer of parliamentary control of a key state agency has been worn threadbare. By implication, ASIO considered Senator Murphy, its ministerial head, as a "security risk," i.e. as a not wholly reliable defender of the capitalist private property system. Moreover, it is his links with the left wing, and Labor's working class base, which renders it and Senator Murphy suspect to such leading "arbiters" as the director of

Senator Murphy does not want to scrap ASIO, just to control it. The demand of socialists in the Labor party, however, is to abolish ASIO in particular, and capitalist political police in general ( state police special branches, etc.). But the most important lesson the left should learn from this experience is that it is a tragic stupidity to believe that winning a parliamentary majority could ever, even if the party leaders were socialists (which they aren't), lead to socialism. The road to socialism in Australia consists in building the independent anti-capitalist movements of all the oppressed and exploited Participation in elections and parliament will be a part of this struggle, but only to mobilize people in struggle, not feed them illusions that a few more seats in parliament will alter things fundamentally. To carry out this strategy the working class and its allies must acquire a genuinely revolutionary leadership which won't suffer from the gradualist illusions of Senator Murphy and the "official" Labor left.

## Come to the Conference! Join SYA!

 I would like to attend the Socialist Youth Alliance Conference at Easter. Please send me more information.
I would like to join the Socialist Youth Alliance.

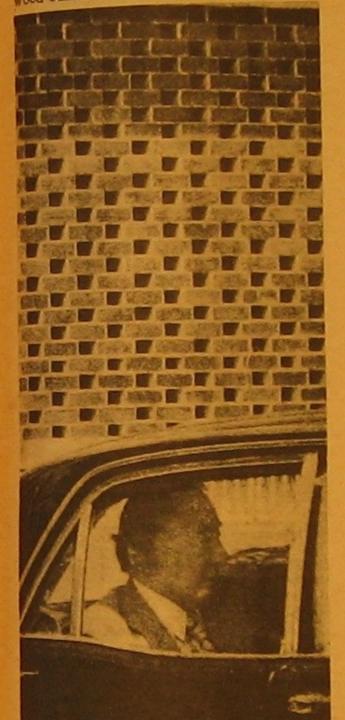
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## GOVT. RAIDS OWN SECURITY SERVICE OCTOBER STATEMENT AND STATEMENT OF THE S

One of the most unusual placards in a recent demonstration in Canberra simply said "Long live Senator Greenwood, God and Croats". Behind the paradoxical order of priorities lies the background for what appears to be one of the strangest events in recent politics in Australia. In direct terms it was the visit of the Yugoslav Prime Minister, Mr Bijedic, whiched sparked off the ASIO row, but in reality the background to the events goes back to the twenty three years of Liberal rule and to the Launceston Federal conference of the ALP in 1971.

Since 1949, the Liberal government has openly participated and aided Croation migrants in their attempts to overthrow the worker's state of Yugoslavia. Ample evidence has been provided of the existance in Australia of the Ustasha. Two incidents last year, the bombing of two Yugoslav business premises in Sydney involving serious injuries and the demise in Yugoslavia of a Ustasha terrorist group which was trained in Australia, failed to persuade Greenwood otherwise. Former Prime Minister



Attorney General Murphy leaves ASIO

McMahon, current Opposition Leader Snedden and many other Liberal leaders have been involved in supporting functions organized by various opponents of Yugoslavia. It is no accident that Senator Greenwood managed to rate a position ahead of God. The help he provided was apparently considered to be more valuable than the Diety's.

When the ALP government took office it was aware of the general existence in Australia of the main base of the Ustasha. Labor is of course, hostile to Croation reactionaries. This hostility is based on more than a lack of support amongst them for Labor. It is based on the deep revulsion amongst Labor's rank and file over the Ustasha terrorists! activities as well as the good relations Labor wants to establish with Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia happens to be high on Whitlam's list of priorities. It ranks as one of the top nations outside our immediate region of SE Asia. One of the important reasons for this is immigration. Under Labor's scheme the immigration target becomes far more flexible and the Yugoslav worker's state is going to become an important source of migrants far more signifigant than in any stage in the past.

It was therefore no accident that as soon as Labor took office the "National Times" could speculate that the traditional priority for Australian Prime Ministers in Europe, London, could be replaced by Belgrade and that Whitlam might visit Yugoslavia before he even goes to Britain. That did not eventuate but the Yugoslav Prime Minister became the first foreign leader to visit Australia under the Labor government,

The Labor leaders were of course fully aware that there is an extreme hostility to the Yugoslav regime in sections of the Croatian community in Australia. Knowing of the existence in Australia of the Ustasha, the new government considered that strict security measures were necessary.

The agency the Australian government usually relies upon for security purposes is the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO). ASIO has developed quite a notorious reputation over its 27

year history. On many occasions it has been exposed as being used to spy on trade union members and officials, student activists and just about everyone else left of centre. The conservative publisher Maxwell Newton, a man whose knowledge will concern the future of ASIO. of the operation of government in Australia has made him a rich person, and The ASIO raid probably has the most whose anti-union views are well known has alleged on "This Day Tonight" that ASIO agents have been used to infiltrate unions and smash the left wing. After 23 years of Liberal rule ASIO agents established themselves as strict opponents of the left who turn a blind eye to the real crimes committed by the right.

When Labor's Attorney-General, Senator Lionel Murphy, requested information on the Ustasha in order to organize the security arrangements for the Bijedic visit he was apparently met with a blank refusal to produce the files despite the fact that he is the ministerial head of

What followed then was best assessed by the "Sydney Morning Herald" on Monday March 19 in an editorial entitled "ASIO on trial": "Not even connoisseurs of spy thrillers would readily accept a scenario involving a raid by Scotland Yard on MI-6 or one by the FBI on the CIA..." but this is exactly what happened.

The facts are well known: At 8am on Friday March 16 Murphy flew from Canberra to Melbourne accompanied by six Commonwealth policemen. As soon as he arrived at ASIO headquarters in St Kilda Road (suitably disguised as a branch of the Victorian Gas and Fuel corporation) he conferred with ASIO officials. ASIO staff were assembled in the auditorium while the files were being searched. It was reported that while no files were taken Senator Murphy and the Commonwealth Police took extensive notes on the activities of the Ustasha.

Members of the capitalist Liberal party opposition raised many objections to the legality of the raid. None of them were worried about ASIO Director-General Barbour's refusal to cooperate with the Labor government. To them it seems perfectly reasonable that Murphy is a "security risk" and that ASIO does not have to provide information against right wing terrorists which they

The main results of the raid in terms of public action against the Ustasha are expected in Senator Murphy's statement to Parliament on March 27. There are however other aspects. The most obvious

bitter lessons for Murphy himself. Two years ago at the ALP Federal Conference in Launceston, Bob Gould, the Socialist Left delegate from NSW moved for the abolition of ASIO. One of the main opponents of the resolution was Murphy, a so-called left winger. In the event the the vote was tied at 22 all, the resolution therefore lapsing. Instead, a compromise motion was adopted: "The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation to be placed under ministerial control,". One of the by products of the ASIO raid was an allegation by Michael Willesee in the "Australian" that one of the people on whom files were kept was no one else than ... Lionel K. Murphy, Senator NSW.

There have been several other allegations of exceeding of its charter by ASIO, Robert Mayne in the "National Times" March 19-24 listed several of these from his personal knowledge including:

\*ASIO was involved with a leading businessman, a right-wing member of the NSW Legislative Assembly and a Country Party member of the NSW Legislative Council in a bid to produce a magazine aimed at discrediting left-wingers, communists and others.

\*ASIO keeps files on a number of Sydney journalists because they expressed views in print opposed to the Liberal Government's policies on the Vietnam war.

\*ASIO feeds out selected material to mem. bers of parliament, journalists and others in attempts to damage trade unionists seen by it as "leftists."

Some of the files given to Mayne by ASIO agents and which confirm his allegations are now in the possession of the "National Times ".

The "National Times" allegations provide additional material if ever it was needed about the security organization's abuse of its power. What is needed is not Ministerial control but total abolition. The ALP must learn from the mistakes of the past.

## **Trade Delegation Off to China**

BY DAVID NIZOZ

Just after the Federal Elections, DIRECT ACTION, in analysing the reasons why a considerable section of Australian employers backed the Labor party, stated: "Many businessmen feel that any improvement in the position of the Australian bourgeoisie vis-a-vis its overseas counterparts will depend on three things: a) the setting back or taming of any working class upsurge in response to the employers' offensive against ment. His reward has come very early inthe workers! living standards b) a more dynamic intervention by the state in the economy including "indicative planning" and "incomes policies" c) a larger trade with the workers' states, in particular the Soviet Union and China, " ("Labor and the Ruling Class" by Sol Salby in DA 32, December 7, 1972)

While we have had some indications of Labor's actual actions on the first two scores more action has been taken around the last point. The recognition of China and East Germany is now being followed with a large trade delegation to the People's Republic of China, announced on March 13. The delegation, to be led by Secondary Industry and Overseas Trade Minister Jim Cairns, is to comprise some

of the most powerful businessmen in Aust- than each other, there should be no crittralia. Amongst them are the chairman of icism levelled at them for trading with BHP, Sir Ian McLennan, who is to lead the capitalist countries if they find it necessmission, the general manager of the National Bank, T.C.B. Bell, Kenneth Myer of Myer Emporium and representatives of exporting, importing, banking and government interests. It may be recalled that Kenneth Myer was one of the most prominent supporters of the ALP just before ainst workers struggling for better conditthe elections when he signed his name to a public letter urging a change of govern-

to Australian workers? They have little to gain from; such missions. There are no trade unionists on the mission. Nor is it projected that in the Chinese mission expected later on in the year there will be any trade union representatives. Of course, ism from its trade: the Chinese workers' state should have the complete freedom to trade with whoever it wants. The considerations of the workers in these countries should be the only criterion used. By trading with capitalist countries, China and the Soviet Union are not becoming capitalist. While it is clear that at the moment both of the largest workers' states are more interested Australian economy let alone world capin trading with capitalist countries rather italism can only have a marginal effect,

What are the benefits, on the other hand,

ary to build their economies.

In the past the ruling class has used contracts with the workers' states as a lever against strikes and other working class activities. Pressure has been applied agions to stop their struggles on the grounds that they are working against the interests of the workers in the Soviet Union, etc. This just isn't the case. It is only Australian capitalists who benefit from such

Now that Australian capitalism has jumped on the bandwagon of the pilgrims to Peking, it is important to assess the exact value to be gained by Australian capital-

In 1971-72, exports to China were worth \$37.3 million and imports \$41.3 million. Exports in 1970-71 were \$63.3 million mainly because of a drop in wool sales and imports were \$31.6 million. China's economy is still pretty weak. The impact of an increase in Chinese purchases on the

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## headquarters after raid A healthy jump was made in our drive

for 500 new subscriptions since our last issue, with 114 new special subscriptions. Sydney led the way with 54 new subs. Canberra shot ahead with 11 new subs, exceeding already the quota for the ACT, which was for 15 new subs.

However, the drive is still a little behind schedule. We have only two more issues to go in which to achieve our full target of 500 new readers. We think we can do it if we keep up the pace of the last period - but we will need help. You, the reader, should take this opportunity to subscribe and get the next fifteen issues of DIRECT A CTION posted home at the incredibly

low cost of 6,67 cents each. This offer only lasts another two issues of DIRECT ACTION, so act now! Send in your dollar! Here are the totals of new subs in the

drive so lar:	Should	New	Quota
	Be	Subs	
Sydney	117	115	195
Melbourne	105	98	175
Adelaide	27	. 21	45
Brisbane	27	10	45
Canberra	9	16	15
Hobart	3	4	5
Latrobe Valley		1	5
General	9	18	15_
Total	300	283	500

# Students Defend Gay Liberationist at Macquarie

BY PETER JAMIESON

the publication of reactionary antihomosexual views and photographs in the Macquarie University student newspaper "Arena" The editor of "Arena", Mark Aarons was not only responsible for putting the scurrilous material into print but stood ing" an opponent , Jeff Hayler.

Mass pressure against Aarons' unprincipled actions has forced his resignation from editorship of "Arena" and a public apology for the articles. Reputed to have resigned Upon questioning, Hayler saw his outspokfrom the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) in order to impartially edit "Arena", and his refusal to subordinate this to be Aarons continues to propagate CPA politics. more "acceptable" in society as a way of

The present situation stems from a meet- against their oppression. Through gays ing of Macquarie University Students Coun- openly confronting the sexual mores of cil (MUSC) held on March 7 to fill a casual capitalist society more people, gays and vacancy. Three candidates stood for elec- non-gays, will come to realize that sextion: Phil Heamshaw, Mark Aarons and ually "normal" is a meaningless phrase. Jeff Hayler. Upon distribution of preferenc- All heterosexual stereotyping, the nuclear The next issue of "Arena" which appeares Hayler was declared elected by one family, the role of women etc then come vote over Aarons.

arranged hecklers for other candidates) to arrive two hours late for the election.

Candidates were allowed to present a policy speech, to arrange people to speak in In recent weeks a furore has developed over their support and to be asked questions by presented a confused policy speech marked human development. by radical-sounding phrases but no concrete programme for action,

Counterposed to Aarons' thoroughly conto gain personally from this by "discredit- fused, ramshackle proposals Hayler produced evidence of his past work on behalf of students and the cause of Gay Liberation. Hayler has been an outspoken critic of restrictions on sexual freedom.

> enness on the question of homosexuality encouraging other gays to openly struggle

Apparently Aarons was so confident of vic- There is widespread ignorance about homotory (having "lined-up" his supporters and sexuality in our society, and very great pressures on homosexuals to feel they are 'abnormal" and should conform to this

sexuals developing their own identity and personalities freely, as it prevents other student councillors and the audience. Aarons oppressed groups, and in fact distorts all

> So-called scientific studies by many scientists, psychologists and psychiatrists merely reflect existing prejudices that homosexuality is a disorder and should be treated by such methods as aversion therapy, in an effort to adapt people to the society. Socialists like Hayler see the need to support the struggles of all oppressed layers of society, to deepen and politicise them and to link the struggles into a fight for socialism.

Despite the efforts of Aarons' supporters to disrupt the students' council and embarrass Hayler, it was Aarons who was visibly disappointed and embarrassed when the results of the ballot were announced.

ed on March 13 contained a vicious personal attack on Hayler, taking up most of page two. Included were two photographs insulting homosexuals and reinforcing reactionary views on homosexuality. A letter to the Editor by Hayler answering previous attacks made on him by one of

stereotype. Present society prevents homo- Aarons' cohorts was given a scurillon caption and illustration caption and illustration.

March 14 saw a general meeting of ents meet to discuss a proposed rise editor's stipend as requested by Aarr several weeks earlier. It was proposed that the existing stipend of \$40 per id be increased to \$65. On principle this was a just demand as editors of stude papers are entitled to a living wage. fact the the \$65 per issue (equal to \$13 per year) was still much lower than the paid to editors at other universities

Nevertheless the feeling of the meetiran so strongly against Aarons that the per issue was massively defeated as wa a \$40 per issue proposal. Instead a rig wing proposal was put through that the editor receive expenses only to a maxium of \$20 only! Hence in two weeks Aarons had succeeded in reversing the hard-won gains of \$40 per issue accept. able to students. So much for Aarona Co. talk of a "peoples' paper" and "self-management". Self-delusion more likely

The spiteful smear attack on Hayler provi oked a storm of protest, and at a meen on March 15 Aarons was severely attacked and forced to admit publicly his responsibility for the offensive material, While Agrons and Co. were still crestfallen from the big reduction in the salary a petition was circulated by Gay Liberationists to call a general meeting of students for March 22 to censure Aarons for his culpability for the smear attack on Hayler. The constitutional requirement of fifty signatures was rapidly passed.

March 21 saw Aarons again come under attack for his actions and at a students' council meeting that evening he resigned from the position of editor . Thus Aarons avoided the odium of defending himself next day when the motion of no-confidence was to be debated. So much for letting "the people" decide issues, one of Aarom demagogic catcheries.

The next day, March 22, the motion of no-confidence in Aarons was to be put, But who should come into the scene with a face-saver for Aarons but the right-wing Duly moved with great emotionalism-(Aarons has paid enough, don't crucify him!) a procedural motion to the effect that since Aarons had resigned and apologised the motion of no-confidence be

The opportunist, unprincipled actions of Aarons over the past weeks have further isolated him and his followers from the students. "National U", the newspaper of the Australian Union of Students (AUS severely censured Aarons and called into question the relation between his actions and the beliefs of the CPA.

Aarons' attitude to homosexuals seems to spring from the position of Stalinized communist parties which hold that homosexuality is a degenerate product of capitalism! Compare this to the position of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. All anti-homosexual laws were discarded along with other sexist laws such as those denying women the right to abortion. However, after the death of Lenin in 1924 and the usurpation of power by the Stalinist bureaucracy the strict curtailment of democratic rights and reintroduction of anti-homosexual laws

As Jeff Hayler pointed out we should use this opportunity to stimulate discussion of the oppression faced by homosexuals and a chance to expose the opportunist gaybaiters like Aarons and his clique,

Gay Liberation Demonstration at Macquarie University in 1972

## Melbourne Uni Staff Sackings

Eleven days before Christmas 1972, the Students' Representative Council at Melbourne University found itself in economic

It immediately took an "economy" measure - that of sacking most of its permanent came bogged down on the question of staff, The measure was designed to save the SRC about \$2,500. Later the SRC admitted that the decision was both hasty and ill-considered (Farrago, Feb. 27 edition).

However as the "Young Socialist" (weekly broadsheet of MUSYA) pointed out, "This is hardly the point. Neither is the argument that 'economic necessity' precipitated the sackings.... The point is that the sacked staff were in no way re-sponsible for the economic bungling that cost them their jobs. And yet they were the ones to suffer."

On March 13 these things were brought into the open at the first mass meeting of students for '73. Students there expressed their concern over this whole miserable business by voting soverwhelmingly in fav-

At that meeting, motions were put forward urging economic co-operation for the sacked staff. More importantly, the S.R.C. was asked to make a public apology to them and - most significant of all - moves were made to ensure the present staff security in employment, a 35-hour week, automatic pay rises to keep which costs almost as much as the more pace with inflation and control over their numerous and underpaid staff, the amount

However these motions were not discussed. An early MUSYA motion calling on the meeting to discuss these motions before debating a motion censuring the SRC

Debate on the censure motion took up the hour-long meeting. Discussion bethe competence of the former Administrative Secretary, who was only one of four departed staff members. After a spurious motion was put calling on the

decision but strongly criticising the way in which the SRC executive carried meeting to adjourn before it started -Sydney Students Fight Services Cutback

Struggles recently broke out on Sydney University over the early closing time of one of the main eateries. The first day back from the long vacation there was a spontaneous occupation of the

place in question by about two hundred students. In an attempt at appeasement Union President, Dr. Phil Berthon-Jones called a meeting at 4,00 pm on the our of a full and open debate on the sack- too well known for the huge crowds swarm- up to draw up changes to the constitution, following Friday, a time of the week not well in retaliation; an accountant went over the accounts, and other union members checked the constitution so that when the meeting came Phil Jones and his Board were confronted with such a spate of attacks that they couldn't justify themselves before the four-hundred strong audience. Students were upset at the

perks for the few, the rotten food and extortionist prices charged for it, the lack of student control over decisions of the Board and the financial fiddlings, which Union members weren't allowed to see because "they wouldn't understand" Students pay \$350,000 a year to this phantom Union!

which wasted about 15 minutes - the SRC

impassioned defence of the former Admin-

speakers took up this question and made

it the basis of their defence. Opponents

of the SRC rose to an emotional and

istrative Secretary and mentioned only

It was on this basis that the SRC es-

caped. Only about one-third then passed a motion upholding the retrenchment

briefly the other major issues.

The meeting found that it had no power which were presented to a front lawn meeting the following Wednesday. The Tuesday night before, the President in his consternation that his \$15,000 job was under attack had to console himself that it was all a Communist Plot.

When the plotters presented their proposed cut services, the extent of the bureaucracy were accepted almost unanimously. But that was only a start. Now they have to of money spent on Board dinners and other General Meeting where they need a two give two weeks notice of a Constitutional

thirds majority. At a second Constitution al Meeting a week later they need a simple majority. Then, the University Senate has a right of veto over it. The senate is a group of politicians and businessmen who run the University. So why not?

The proposals of the "plotters" were: (1) Board to be bound by decisions of General meetings and/or referenda of mem-

(11) Right of recall of Union director's place to be declared vacant and recontested by secret ballot of members on receipt of a petition signed by three hundred members.

(111) All meetings of the Board and its committees to be open to members to observe and speak - no right for the Board and/or its committees to meet 'in camera'. All Union accounts, minutes and records to be open to perusal by members.

Such is a "Communist Plot".

# **Under Attack at Latrobe**

RY DAVID DEUTSCHMANN

At La Trobe University in Melbourne preparations are under way for a referen-dum to gauge student opinion on whether the university should remain affiliated to the Australian Union of Students (AUS). The referendum will be held March 28

In recent years AUS has become increasingly a target for right wing attack. The most vocal opponents of AUS have been the Democratic Labour Party/National Civic Council (DLP/NCC) and their various front groups on campus. The principal right wing organisation on LaTrobe campus is the Democratic Club which also operates through another grouping, the Moderate Student Alliance,

The intensified right wing attacks have resulted from the growing recognition that AUS, a national organisation representing more than 140,000 students on forty campuses has on numerous occasions taken a position of support for movements calling for social and political change.

lan MacDonald, Chairman of the La Trobe AUS Committee, described the role of AUS in a statement two weeks before the referendums

"Over the past few years, AUS has gained a reputation for being left wing in political orientation. This is surely accurate as opposition to the Vietnam war, apartheid, racial inequalities and National Service have all tended to be regarded as left wing. These above mentioned issues have gained in the past widespread support amongst student bodies throughout Australia.

With the election of a Labor government, it was felt that the need for pressure on certain issues by AUS had become redundant. This is not the case. There remains the need for the national student body to reflect and enhance the continuing need for social change on a whole range of issues, and indeed, the very basis of this society".

In August 1972 the La Trobe Student Representative Council (SRC) affiliation fees to AUS were to have been paid, At that time however the treasurer John lanigan stated that certain alterations to the finance system would hold up payment for a couple of weeks. Lanigan emphasised that payment would be made.

By the time the then AUS president Ken Newcombe spoke to the next meeting pf the SRC outlining the benefits of affiliation with AUS, Lanigan was making statements that AUS would not receive my more money from LaTrobe. Late in September 1972 the right wing appears to have hit upon the tactic of questioning the legality of La Trobe's affiliation to AUS to attempt to cover their action in refusing to pay affiliation fees to an organisation which the majority of students support. Lanigan began writing to AUS asking for details of all written contact between La Trobe SRC and AUS.

Since that time the rightists, Lanigan in particular, have attempted to cast doubt on whether LaTrobe is actually affiliated to AUS, despite the fact that the university was affiliated in August 1968. Lanigan has refused to pay the LaTrobe SRC's 1972 AUS fee of \$5,000.

The right wing attempts to disaffiliate La Trobe from AUS is a part of the national DLP/NCC strategy to destroy the organisation as an effective national voice and fighting weapon for students. Over the past twelve months the DLP/ NCC press has mounted an anti-AUS campaign. DLP/NCC forces have been behind attempts to disaffiliate several campuses from AUS. At the present time the rightists appear to be concentrating their attention on LaTrobe where they have considerable forces on the SRC. They appear to hold alot of hope of a defeat of the left at La Trobe: a pamphlet produced by the Democratic Club at the beginning of the year proclaims the election of the sixth SRC as "the turning point in the history of La Trobe". The balance of forces on the sixth SRC is: nine leftists, nine right-

ists and one middle-of-the-road.

On Thursday, March 22, a general meeting attended by 750 students was held, AUS President Neil McLean, addressed the meeting. McLean said that despite the flurry of camouflage which the right wing had thrown up, the real reason behind the attack on AUS was the reactionaries' dislike for union policies. The right wing has based its campaign around arguments that AUS is undemocratic, and that its health and travel schemes are not the cheapest available. However, the right's attack is clearly motivated by the stand which AUS has taken in fayour of the demands of the Black, gay, womens' and antiwar movements.

The rightists know that they could never win a campaign based on opposition to AUS's policies so they have been forced to create a whole series of non-issues, backed up by their tactics of intimidation by threat of legal action against those who speak out too strongly against the right.

Unfortunately some students have been confused by the right-wing tactics. In particular, the activists of the Worker Student Alliance largely confined their arguments at the mass meeting to emphasising the benefits of the AUS travel and health schemes, rather than exposing the political motivations behind the attack against AUS.

It is essential that the right wing offensive against AUS is beaten back. Rejection of the disaffiliation moves in the referendum will be a first step in this direction. However leaders of the Democratic Club have already hinted that they will not necessarily accept the referendum as binding. For the role of a strong student voice in Australian politics, the La Trobe struggle will be an extremely important test of strength,

## **VSTA Stop Work Meeting**

BY JIM McILROY

The Victorian Secondary Teacher's Association has decided to hold a one day stop-work meeting on March 30. As announced by Geoff Reid, President of the VSTA, the stop-work is being called over the case of Helen Garner. Ms Gamer was sacked last year from Fitzroy High School with out any proper hearing after she taught a class in which sex was discussed in a free and open way. The issues raised are both that of the right to democratic procedures and the right to freedom of teaching and learning. (See the article in DIRECT ACTION 37 on unrest among Victorian teachers.)

The VSTA executive decision comes after along period of agitation by concerned teachers and parents on the question. This culminated in a strong wote to go out by a regional delegates meeting of the VSTA. In light of this the VSTA had to act. Pressure had mounted steadily towards this step, which is only a beginning in the campaign to gain democratic rights for teachers.

A meeting organised by "teacher Action" to discuss "The Politics of Victimisation" on March 15 was addressed by Helen Garner and other victimised teachers. Decisions taken included; (i) Backing for the April 11 Secondary Student Strike for student rights (recognising the association of the struggles of teachers and students for democratic

(ii) A move to march on Parliament house after the stop-work meeting in the Myer Music Bowl, to present grievances to the Hamer/ Thompson government and to dramatise the situation,

This campaign is part of a mounting attack on the Education Department and Liberal government over education policies. Plans are now underway for a broadly based and sponsored mass march in Melbourne in May on the overall crisis in education, to focus public attention on these questions in the State election period. A part of the movement reflected inside the ALP, is aimed at pressuring the Holding State ALP to take a firm stand on all questions of the education crisis.



The following is an abridged report re- Turning the tables and putting the repres-

NEW YORK, March 13- "For a change, we're on the inside while they picket utside," Florynce Kennedy said of the neagre anti-abortion forces who picketd the March 10 meeting here on the intrnational abortion rights struggle. The Vomen's National Abortion Action Coal-

ition (WONAAC) sponsored the event.

weekly "The Militant", published in the

inside Town Hall a crowd of more than 600 gathered to celebrate the Jan. 22 upreme Court decision legalizing abortio nd to use that victory to boost the interational movement to win women's right were speeches by three leaders of the abortion struggle in France.

Claude Servan Schreiber, a journalist in abortions for French women: the safe, inexpensive, illegal abortion for the rich and well-informed; and the dangerous, costly, illegal abortion for the poor,

Her sentiments were echoed by Gisele Halimi, a founder of "Choisir" (Choice) French abortion rights group and attoralier, the key defendants in the recent ittee for Freedom read greetings to the Bobigny, a suburb north-east of Paris, for facing trial for performing abortions. having an illegal abortion. Because of ted. Her mother Michelle, went on trial darkened for a slide show presentation by as an accomplice and received a suspend- WONAAC national coordinator Susan Laed fine.

'Choisir," Halimi told the Town Hall meeting, "used the Bobigny trial to end WONAAC's International Women's Day the humiliation and loneliness of women rally was a testimony to those past strugragged before the court (for having had gles, a celebration of the recent U.S. bortions). "The anti-abortion law" she court victory, and a prelude to the battl ppression. We do not belong to ourselves. "world,

printed from the revolutionary socialist sive law itself on trial placed French women on the offensive, she explained. "There is no example in history of an oppressed group being freed by anyone else but themselves," she added.

> Michelle Chevalier received a standing ovation when she rose to speak. After a moving narration of the arrest and trial of herself and her daughter, she declared her rejection of the suspended fine. "I am not guilty," she said in French, "it is the state that is guilty!"

Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) also spoke at the meeting. She said the so-called right-to-life forces operate under a misnomer: "It is the women's to choose. The highlights of the evening movement that supports the right to livein economic, social and political justice,"

Ellen May of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Law describmagazine, reported there are two kinds of ed her country's abortion policy as "Trudortions," Prime Minister Trudeau has said "have to account for their act in the same way criminals do." May invited those at the Town Hall rally to attend the Canadian women's conference to be held in Toronto, March 16-18. "The US, victory is only the first!" she said,

ney for Marie-Claire and Michelle Chev- Jean Toche of the Ad Hoc Artists Comm-French abortion trial. In 1972, sixteen- meeting from the defence committee for year-old Marie-Claire was prosecuted in Dr Willy Peers, the Belgian gynaecologist

broad support for her case, she was acquit-At one point in the evening, the hall was Mont on the history of the U.S. contraception and abortion rights movement.

ontinued, "is the cornerstone of women's to win women's right to choose around the

## THE "UNDERSTANDABLE" CRIME

ather Eric Hodgens, a Catholic priest the rapist or rapists not to report it. These who holds a diploma in criminology from figures also do not include the rape that Melbourne University, recently aired his goes on inside the sacred institution of views on rape in the "Australian and New marriage. (A. man cannot be charged ealand Journal of Criminology". Later, with raping his wife!) an interview with the Melbourne "Herld" he expanded further on the subject. What is most odious in Hogden's state-Hodgens thinks that a rape victim's moral ments however, is the implication that a packground should be taken into account woman who dares to drink alone in a pub a sentencing a rapist: "A tender, delicateor accept a lift from a stranger deserves oul (sic) who has lived in a sheltered en- to be raped i, e., "she is asking for it". ironment is more likely to suffer serious (This partly stems also from the popular psychological problems if she has been myth that women secretly enjoy being aped than a woman who knows what it's raped!) The denial that women have

provocative, illustrates the way in which Therefore the man should pay for his crime depending on the amount of dam- women are expected and compelled to be age he causes." This clearly shows the dependent on men, as protection from ttitude of male-dominated capitalist other men. society towards rape. It is not the violation of a woman's person; it is the viol- Finally this priest goes on to say that he ation of a man's property. Rape is view- is against abortion for women who become ed not primarily in terms of the terror, pregnant after being raped. He is "not pain and indignity suffered by the victim convinced" that many "girls" would find but in terms of the devaluation of damag- bearing such a child psychologically disd goods.

lodgens mentions that only a fifth or sixthHodgens does not seem interested in why

it any further. " He goes on to say "In 75 the verbal abuse) . percent of instances the woman has been aught up in undesireable circumstances, The act of rape is the ultimate act of ing a lift from a stranger."

n reality, the number of cases of rape s probably far higher than reported figcases women are under intimidation from and confident identity.

of reported rape cases end up in court: it is that in this society women are so They are investigated firstly by the pol- frequently unsafe on their own and cannot ice and they've got to be fairly convinced walk down the street without fear of molthe charges are genuine before they take estation and violence (to say nothing of

the right to eat, drink or travel alone,

saying that these acts are in themselves

such as drinking alone in a pub or accep- hatred in a society where men grow up to treat women with contempt, and to despise them as objects of property. Sexual oppression and woman-hatred will not be eliminated until capitalist society is overires. Due to the humiliation and social thrown along with its alienating and exstigma associated with being the victim ploitative economic relations, and the f such an attack, many women are too preconditions can be laid down for women rightened and ashamed to even report to free themselves from the limitations iving been raped to a cynical policeman of their role in the family and begin to et alone pursue it to court. In yet other create for themselves a new independent

... NITA KEIG

The Sydney Antiwar Movement

BY GORDON ADLER

The signing of the Indo-China ceasefire agreement has resulted, in Australia, in the division of the anti-war forces into two camps. There are, on the one hand, those who see the ceasefire agreement as an unqualified victory for the Indochinese liberation forces and a major defeat for U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. On the other, there are those who take a more realistic view of the situation, recognising that so long as the Thieu regime exists there can be no talk of a victory for the Vietnamese people over their landlords.

Calling things by their real names has always been central to marxist analysis of events, and it is no service to the Indochinese struggling for independence to label defeat as victory. Of course, the ceasefire agreement is not a total defeat for the Indochinese revolution. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam has been preserved, the liberation armies are still in possession of considerable areas of the countryside in Vietnam, and they hold the greater parts of Laos and Cambodia. Under the agreement these forces remain armed, and they will have the opportunity to consolidate and strengthen their positions in the areas under their control. But the Saigon regime, too, will have much needed time to tighten its grip in preparationfor renewed attacks on the liberation forces at a later date, backed up by American military power under what it hopes will be more favorable political conditions for offensive action.

The true state of affairs is that the ceasefire agreement is neither a victory nor a total defeat for the Indochinese revolution, but a temporary stalemate in the armed conflict.

It is the responsibility of the antiwar forces in Australia to continue the struggle to mobilize the greatest possible numbers of people in action to compel the United States to withdraw all military, political and economic support for the Saigon regime and for the counter-revolutionary forces in Laos and Cambodia, and to end all Australian complicity with the Thieu regime, as well as to demand the release of the huge number of political prisoners held by Thieu, and not provided for in the

Quite apart from any future attacks on the liberation forces by the Saigon army, the United States is even now carrying out massive bombing in Cambodia, it has not yet removed the mines from Haiphong, and it is obstructing the implementation of the agreements by accusing the Democratic Republic of violating the ceasefire agreements. To throw our hats up in the air in expressions of joy at the ending of the war, in these circumstances, as "Tribune," newspaper of the Communist Party of Australia, has been doing, is to show little understanding of the real alignment of forces

As a result of its unrealistic attitude the CPA sees no need for mass demonstrations around the as yet unfulfilled aims of the antiwar movement. Instead, it has attempted to substitute victory tours by representatives of the DRV and PRG for mass action. These tours could, of course, be focal points for the development of a great mass movement if properly organised, and if their aims were to destroy the illusion that the war has

The conference of secondary school act-

ivists held in Sydney in January decided

to hold national student actions on April

chools and to demand basic democratic

nforeseenproblems, however, a decision

ights for secondary students. Due to

Most centres, however, will be going

which will serve to publicise the June

action. These will generally be held

outside the Education Departments or

State Parliament buildings on April 11.

t was felt that the time available to us

ahead with pickets or small actions

ended and that the United States has withdrawn unconditionally from Indo-China. The CPA, however, has completely rejected such a perspective, and has sharply attacked those who proposed a campaign around the tours with this

In Sydney, at the general meeting of activists of the anti-war coalition, a resolution seeking a review of the aims of the anti-war coalition in the light of the ceasefire, was carried. This resolution reaffirmed the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U. S. forces from Indo-China, the release of all political prisoners held by the Thieu regime, and the ending of Australian complicity with Saigon. The resolution supported the proposed visit of representatives of the DRV and PRG, but pointed out that this visit could not diminish the need for mass demonstrations around the aims of the

Although this resolution was seconded by Brian Aarons, a member of the national committee of the CPA, when it became clear that the CPA did not have the numbers present to amend the resolution to its liking, almost every CPA member present abstained from voting on the motion. Immediately the motion was carried, the CPA group then left the meeting. The meeting was conducted under the strictest observance of normal meeting procedure, yet in the following week "Tribune" devoted its main editorial article to a vicious attack on the coalition as an SWL-SYA front. Tribune took care to avoid publishing the text of the resolution, which would have exposed its rotten disruptive role in the antiwar movement. At the following meeting of the coalition on March 13 a motion was carried requesting the convener, Lindy Decker, to send a copy of the resolution to"Tribune' for publication. It is to be hoped that Tribune will accede to this request.

After the walkout of the CPA from the February 20 meeting, a letter bearing the names of Ken McLeod, Mavis Robertson, Bob Hammond, Malcolm Price and Ron Mellor, calling for the establishment of a new antiwar organisation, was circulated. It was alleged that meetings of the existing anti-war coalition were unrepresentative because body of activists, and that this should be replaced by a committee composed of two representatives from each organisation participating in the antiwar movement, in order to obtain the widest possible basis for anti-war

The general meeting of the anti-war coalition firmly rejected the criticism that meetings had been unrepresentative of the antiwar forces, but decided to appoint two delegates to attend the meeting of the new committee as

On March 15th, the new committee met in the Boilermakers' Hall. As a broadly representative meeting, it was a complete fizzle. Apart from the fact that four of the signatories to the letter convening the meeting were not present, and the only one who was present, Matcolm Price, a member of the Communist designed to give the CPA complete League, who stated that while he did not wish control of the movement. Despite being to make a fuss, he firmly denied that he had signed the letter, there were only seven organisations represented, and of these, four had CPA delegates The org-

portant factor in getting the students in-

to organise more support from other sec-

ment. Without the necessary financial

necessary funds to organise the action

was the strength of the national coordin-

resources it is impossible for the students'

rights organisations to function on a large

propaganda and thus to involve more people.

effectively, to prepare and distribute more in all areas.

the strength of the radicalisation going

on at present in the schools.

11 to protest the treatment of students in tions of the population, time to feel out

has been made by the National Education Funds were an important factor in coming

Action Coalition to postpone the action to a decision on the question of postpone-

volved, time to consolidate and broaden



anisations "represented" were AICD (Barry McMahon, ) CPA (Joe Palmada, ) Save Our Sons (Marie Gollan, ) Free Papua-New Guinea Association (Denis Freney), Communist League and WSA and the Working Women's Group of Women's Liberation (Gloria Garton).

How many of these representatives were actually elected as delegates by the organisations they claimed to represent is not known, but SOS has been defunct for some time, and the Free Papua New Guinea Association has scarcely been heard of in the antiwar movement or anywhere else,

called to discuss arrangements for the proposed tour, but this was hardly touched on in this discussion. For those who really want the visit to be a sucess this lack of forward planning is a matter of considerable concern.

In reply to a question to future meetings of the group, Denis Freney said that the basis of representation would be the same, and added that it was better to have one representative from each of thirty-eight organisations than thirtyeight people from the one organisation,

It would indeed be a considerable advance on the present state of affairs if thirty-eight independent organisations participated in the decision making of the antiwar movement, but the actual attendance at the meeting and the nature of the organisations represented shows that the formula adopted is much the largest organisation on the left, the CPA has been unable to muster enough of its members to ensure a majority at general meetings. After

difficulties of communication which

came about largely due to a lack of

the base of the movement in schools, time finances the high degree of national co- discussions to draw more people to the

Where it was intended that those areas

where the movement would be able to

aid the other areas, the groups with the

biggest problems to face in terms of

activists, etc. have not received the

help they needed from the better off

groups. The result is that the NEAC

effectively. In NSW interventions by

radical students are planned for all

can be compared to a chain that is only

able to cooperate to build the movement

apathy, finances, lack of experienced

NATIONAL H.S. ACTION POSTPONED TO JUNE 6

in the movement. Time is the most im- conference in January. Because of the

scale. With an extra two months in which as strong as its weakest link rather than

into account when arriving at the decision are already planning to use the time

to organise, it will be possible to raise the as a tightly organised coalition of groups

accusing others of "stacking" the meeting of February 20 and staging a walkout after an abstention vote, it has resorted to the device of a committee limited to two members from each organisation, and even this has turned out to be a dismal failure.

Uncertain of what to do next, lacking any clear perspective for action, wavering on the Vietnamese visit and making no preparations for it, the group was confronted from a circular letter from yet another antiwar group, calling for action opposing the bombing of Cambodia. In the end the Committee adopted the following aims; . Recognition of the Royal C

bodian government; pressuring the USSR to recognise this government, and a campaign against the bombing of Cambodia. 2. Australian government recognition

of the PRG. 3. Opposition to Australian bases in SE Asia.

4. Establishing of a magazine to explain different viewpoints about Indo-

The proposed Vietnamese visit, over which so much heated discussion had occured in the February 20 meeting had apparently been forgotten. For a committee that was set up with the object of assisting in the work of raising \$20,000 to cover the expenses of the visit, we wonder how serious it is about the visit or the above aims. To make the visit a success and to use it to help build the antiwar movement, it will be necessary to do much more than has been done to date. The best way of achieving this is for all the forces of the left to combine in action around the aims adopted by the Sydney antiwar coalition on February 20.

activities where education is being

ordination necessary has been impossible. Education Action Group in order to make

discussed. As well it has been decided

to hold a number of functions and open

the June 6 action the most important

rights movement.

event yet in the history of the students

however, represent a slowing down in

place among secondary students. The

and J. J. Cahill High in Sydney, and

Upwey High in Melbourne, have shown

that students are prepared to take militar

action against the prevailing conditions

in schools. The extra two months now

available will make it possible for the

students about the need for concerted

mass action and to inform them of the

activities and aims of the movement.

NEAC to educate more of these radical

the strength of the radicalisation taking

recent student actions at Ibrox Park High

The postponement of the action does not,

## Labor Returned in S.A. Election

BY GRAEME TUBBENHAUER

The Dunstan Government made history and became the first Labor government ever to be returned to office in South Australia, with an increased vote over the 1970 election. The ALP had about 52% of the total vote and the Liberal-Country League 37%. In the 1970 election the ALP received 51% and the LCL 43% of the total vote.

The inevitability of the Labor return was acknowledged before the election by the press, and even Dr. Eastick, leader of the LCL, said, "I express sincerely that I believe that the reason we could ... lose the forthcoming state election is the differences in the LCL."

Since April 1972, the LCL has been split into two factions, the Liberal Movement (led by Steele Hall - ex-Premier of SA), and the official LCL (led by Dr. Bruce Eastick.) To understand the differences within the party of the bourgeoisie, one must look at the class basis of the warring factions.

During the middle of the last century the SA economy was based upon the rural bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie. concentrated mainly on agriculture rather than grazing, unlike their Eastem counterparts. Because a large labour force is required in this form of activity, much of the SA workforce was involved in the rural sector.

This situation remained until the Great Depression of the 1930s. At this time a section of the rural bourgeoisie felt that the crisis could be solved by sponsoring rural investment. On the other hand the emerging urban bourgeoisie saw industrial expansion as the solution. Since that time the strength of the urban bourgeoisie has increased and surpassed the declining strength of the rural bourgeoisie, and within the framework of capitalism competition between the rural and urban sector continues.

The Liberal Movement represents the aspirations of the urban bourgeoisie, while the LCL represents the interest of the rural bourgeoisie. This was the first election the LM faced and proved to be a testing ground for their soprogressive policies." All in all, the LM did not fare as well as it had expected Eastick blamed the election loss on the LM and the LM blamed the LCL. A week after the election, Millhouse, deputy leader of the LCL and supporter of the LM suggested that the LCL should disband. He said that a split in the party was necessary, based on metropolitan and country divisions. Within the framework he envisaged, the two groups

sition, and as a coalition in government. This proposal was generally unacceptable to LCL and some LM members.

A contentious point in the election was labor relations. Due to SA's reliance on luxury goods (such as the motor vehicle industry,) the economic slump hit SA more severely than other states. This was seen in the higher level of unemployment than other states.

In reply to the bosses' onslaught, SA workers have taken to direct action to win their demands. Many of the struggles have hinged around the use of civil courts in settling disputes.

The first major dispute arose in March 1970 when Dunstan was first elected to power. Ten builders labourers employed by McMillan Construction struck for over-award payments. Just before Les Robinson, Secretary of the then Builders Labourers' Federation, was hauled before the Supreme Court, the dispute was settled and the workers won a wage rise. In June 1970 Robinson and the BLF organizer Ron Owens were fined and later gaoled by the Adelaide Magistrates Court for obstruction when they tried to stop work on a building site during a strike.

In the same month Jack Nyland of the Transport Workers Union was sued by the Supreme Court for conspiracy and procuring breaches of a contract.

The recent Tasmanian ALP state confer-

ence, attended by about 250 delegates

group the Labor Youth organization.

These groupings have been seen by the

outgoing, conservative ALP state exec-

utive as being extreme-left organizations.

Tony Jacobs, one of the more right-wing

ALP members who had led the split at the

June 1972 Labor Youth conference charac-

terized the Socialist Left as "a party with-

in a party". Senator Ken Wreidt, perhaps

the most conservative outgoing executive

years, and for this reason, Socialist Left

supporters "have no place in this party"

All this only emphasised the right-wing's

place in society, and the Socialist Left.

radicalization, particularly among youth

much support in the party, due to this

obsessive fears of the radicalization taking

It is true that left-wing ideas have gained

ed Marx and Trotsky and was working for acy."

member said that the Socialist Left follow- the the bed every night and see a conspir-

a socialist revolution. He said that it kept So Ken Williams and the rest of the left

the Labor Party out of power in Victoria for backed some sections of the right-wing

was centred around attempts by the right-

wing to curb the Socialist Left and to re-

BY ALBAN JOHNSON

The Kangaroo Island dispute beginning in November 1971 also demonstrated the use of civil courts (see DIRECT ACTION no. 29, p.6.) The most recent example of the use of civil courts was late last year. This dispute involved the Australian Building and Construction Workers Federation, Two unionists were sent to gaol but were later released (see DIRECT

ACTION no. 33, p.3.)

In Dunstan's policy speech before the election he said that the ALP would remove the use of civil courts in settling disputes. He went on to say that he would remove all penal provisions from the new Industrial and Arbitration Conciliation Act of 1972. (It is ironical to note that this piece of anti-working class legislation was the brain child of the ALP Minister for Labor and Industry McKee and a handful of Trades and Labor Council bureaucrats.) Dunstan's promises are not worth much. It is action that speaks loudest, and it will

The LCL talked a lot about "union responsibility" and the domination of unions over the ALP. In short, what the LCL meant was that they endorse the bosses onslaught against the working and living conditions of the SA workers.

be action he will get if he does not

remove all penal provisions from the

One of the most startling points of the otherwise quiet election was the legis-

not all follow Marx and Trotsky. The

the so-called "left-wing" Federal Labor

leaders. The Socialist Left has not kept

the ALP out of office in Victoria- mem-

in the elections has not dropped in many

years. Unfortunately, the Socialist Left

cannot be considered a well-organized

secretary of the Miscellaneous Workers'

Union, Ken Williams, said that the Soc-

ialist Left's alleged activities are "a fig-

ment of the imagination of the press, and

some people who would like to look under

and pushed for a compromise; an investig-

ation into the activities of the Socialist

Left. This motion was lost in favour of

another which was intended to curb the

Socialist Left's activities, and give the

with any "breach of party rules". It has

force in Tasmania. Its'leader', the state

bership doubled when the party was invol-

ved in the antiwar movement, and support

majority would go no further than many of

lative council result. This bastion of the rural bourgeoisie was shaken with the ousting of two LCL candidates and the election of two ALP candidates. A couple of days after the election it appeared that the ALP would get another two seats as votes were counted. Now the ALP holds six out of the twenty seats and if Dunstan is able to put through his policy of "one man, one vote", this will further greatly reduce the LCL majority in this body

Apart from the two major parties, there was Pastor Overduin (leader of the Right to Life Organisation) who stood on the abortion issue at Henley Beach and also Susie Creamcheese', a self-proclaimed anarchist whose platform was a carton of creamcheese. Overduin received 1526 votes in his electorate which was about 12%. Susie scored 782 votes or about 5% of the total vote. Recently the Right to Life has been organising, and a march through the streets of Adelaide took place on March

The ALP has now been returned for another three years. This is not enough. Dunstan has a pretty sorrowful record over the past three years and it is doubtful if his performance in the next three will be much different. It is the task of every rank and file member of the ALP to force the leadership to carry forward the Socialist Objective in the ALP platform.

when Premier Eric Reece selected the state Labor cabinet last April without a vote of the Parliamentary Labor Party caucus. Conversely, the left is always breaking these rules.

The other main question at the conference was that of Labor Youth. At the 1971 Labor Youth conference, under the impa of the youth radicalization, some radical motions were passed. The most prominen was one that called for the legalization and distribution under government contro of marijuana. This brought the wrath of Eric Reece and other state executive men bers upon Labor Youth - which marked the beginning of Labor Youth's bad relations with the executive. So by the next conference, in June 1972, there was an organized right-wing stack and a "left"wing counter-stack. The result was a right wing walk-out (see DIRECT ACTION 23 for further on this). The state executive could not recognize the right-wing Labor Youth without losing all its credibility, it decided to try to re-constitute it imme state executive power to deal immediately iately (see DIRECT ACTION 26), although some wanted to completely disband it been shown that the conservative leadership the conference, delegate R. Hawkes said that Labor Youth was being used as a powe

never "breaches party rules", even when base for various individuals, it goes against conference decisions - eg. The decision at the conference was to reconstitute the Labor Youth into the Young Labor Association along the lines recomm ended by the state executive (ie, member ship open to all ALP members under 30 years old, and over 16 - this cuts out man interested but radical high school students; and to split the organization into six brane around the state. ) A constitution for the YLA was also adopted. However, the new YLA, in uniting the factions that split in June last year, will be highly unstable, an

as the left grows, the attacks from the righ

will intensify

## since the early sixties. However, they do **New Attempts at Censorship**

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

The NSW State Government's new "Indecent and Restricted Publications Act" has met a remarkable amount of opposition. Even some of the bourgeois press expressed concern that the new legislation would cut across civil liberties. The Sydney "Daily Mirror" in its editorial on March 22 described the Act as "dangerous", a "threat to our whole concept of personal liberty", and as being "in the direction of a police state.

The Act provides that: \*Heavy penalties (\$500 fine or six months gaol for a first offence) will be imposed on those who publish, distribute etc, "indecent articles." \* An "indecent" article will be anything which departs from " contemporary community standards of decency. \* Defendants will not be able to present any evidence in court as to what "contemporary community standards"

\* Trial by jury under the old Act will be abolished. Trial will be by magis-

\* Police with a warrant will be able to forcibly enter any building if they suspect it contains "indecent" material, and seize any material they consider to be "indecent,"

On Sunday, March 18, a public meeting at the Teachers' Federation Auditorium, Sydney, was held to discuss the Act. About 300 people attended. The meeting was addressed by Sydney barrister and ALP member, Jim Staples, who discussed the Act at length, Wendy Bacon, who has been fighting censorship laws for some years, and several other people.

On Wednesday, March 21, a lunch time meeting of about 1500 students was held in the Roundhouse of the University of NSW. Speakers included Professor Garth Nettheim from the Law faculty, reactionary Liberal MLA, Jin Cameron, and the editors of "Tharunka the Student Union's journal. Cameron a member of the government, pointed out that this was a fight between "liberalism" and "conservatism". He said that he supported the latter.

The meeting carried almost unaminously a resolution condemning the Act. The meeting further agreed to authorise publication of a magazine explaining and challenging the Act. Over 200 people agreed to act as joint publishers. About 40 people demonstrated later that afternoon outside Parliament House where the new Bill was being debated.

The political nature of the Act was expreed by the inclusion of a section covering "any other subject matter", However, this section was deleted after strong objections from a few Labor opposition members. A majority of the Labor MPs are obviously not interested in democratic rights for the left, or even just for non-conformists.

The change from trial by jury to trial by magistrate has been made to facil- \*\*\* suited to the aboriginal culture.

itate conviction, because of the high incidence of hung juries in recent obscenity trials. The Act is in fact "dangerous", as the "Daily Mirror" said, because any publication that the government considers indecent for 18year olds or younger, can now be prosecuted. All political and student papers could fall under this Act.

## **Black Housing Project**

BY IAN GORDON

"Aboriginal people who have managed to with much good luck and great hardship",

The above is the opening sentence from a pamphlet produced by the Aboriginal Housing Committee, a group of blacks who are attempting to develop houses in Louis Street, Redfern for the use of poor blacks. The fact that the project is being undertaken in Redfern (well-known for police discrimination against blacks) is significant, because the project is being organized and led by blacks.

The aim of the committee is "... to bring Aboriginal people together so that we can live in the way we want to live and share what we have with one another" It is hoped to establish a range of community-operated facilities which will be open to whites as well as blacks. Also, it is planned to develop the area so that houses will have a common lawn and garden

thus establishing an atmosphere more

The project has wide support within the black community. The committee includes Chicka Dixon, Bindi Williams and settle into white society have only done so Lyle Munro. The committee has received a verbal agreement from Gordon Bryant (Minister for Aboriginal Affairs) that funds will be forthcoming.

> However, at a public meeting on Sunday March 25 a local ALP councillor, present ing the viewpoint of South Sydney Councis made it clear that neither he nor the coun cil supported the project. He tried to justify his position but the length of his speech and the racist tone of it gave him away to the few who did not already real ize what he supported. A representative of the racist Chippendale Protection Soc iety also addressed the meeting, but was so overwhelmed by the support the blacks had from the community that he cut his speech short and disappeared.

The project marks a step forward for the black movement. Not only is the racis of the local council being challenged, the blacks are trying to overcome one o the essential problems which faces them-. . . that of sufficient and adequate housing,

was not sufficient to involve a large enough One very important matter that was taken date proposed for the actions, activists action a success. What is needed first all is more active student participation ation that was first established at the

BY MIKE JONES

Have women always been oppressed?

here are a number of primitive communities scattered around the world where old matriarchal practices and customs survive to a greater or lesser extent. These are usually called "matrilineal" communities because the line of kinship and descent is still traced through the mothers alone. But the matter goes deeper than this. In such regions the fatherfamily is still poorly developed. A man may be recognized as the husband of the mother and yet not be recognized as the father of her children or, if recognized, has only an extremely tenuous connection with them. As this is usually expressed, the children belong to the mother and her kin.

This means that the children belong not only to the mothers but also to the brothers of such a matrilineal community. In other words, the mothers' brothers, or maternal uncles, still perform the functions of fatherhood for their clan sisters' children that in patriarchal societies have been taken over by the father for his wife's children. For this reason such a community is sometimes called "the avunculate." The term "avunculate" refers to the mother's brother as the term "patriarch" refers to the father.

These matrilineal communities are survivals from the matriarchal epoch and, however much they have been altered since the patriarchal takeover, testify to the priority of the earlier social system. In fact, by the time anthropology began in the last century, most primitive clans had already become altered in their composition to a certain degree. Pairing couples, or composed solely of clan mothers and brothers (or sis- munity in transition to patrilineal forms. ters and brothers).

in with class society. A new man from outside the clan was added to the maternal group - the husband of the woman who became his wife. However, while the husbands participated in providing for their wives and (Primitive Society, p. 34.) children, so long as the clan system prevailed the husbands remained subordinate and even incidental to The position of women in some of these surviving guardians of their sisters' children.

Field anthropologists who reject the historical approach are caught in a serious dilemma when they encounter such primitive clan communities. For instance, Malinowski in his studies of the Trobriand Is-Mother-Right as follows:

"We find in the Trobriands a matrilineal society, in are legally reckoned through the mother only, and life, even to the taking of a leading part in economic, ceremonial, and magical activities . . . " (The Sexual Life of Savages, p. 3.)

But because "these natives have a well-established institution of marriage," that is, cohabit as pairing

couples, Malinowski goes through a tortuous search for the father in a region where the mother's husband has not yet developed into a father in the true sense of the term. According to the natives themselves, the tama, which Malinowski insists upon calling the "father," is no more than "the husband of my mother." In some instances he is not even that; he is a tomakava, a "stranger," or, as Malinowski puts it, "more correctly an 'outsider.'" (Ibid, pp. 5, 6.) In other words, the man from "outside" the clan, who has achieved recognition as the husband of the mother in some places, still falls short of achieving his true father status.

There is a man, however, who performs the functions of fatherhood for his sister's children, in particular for her male children. That is the mother's brother. Malinowski writes:

"Social position is handed on in the mother-line from a man to his sister's children, and this exclusively matrilineal conception of kinship is of paramount importance . . . people joined by the tie of maternal kinship form a closely knit group, bound by an identity of feelings, of interests, and of flesh. And from this group, even those united to it by marriage and by the father-to-child relation are sharply excluded . . . " (Ibid,

Malinowski significantly observes what he calls the "two-fold influence" or "duality" that permeates this matrilineal community as a result of matrimony impinging upon matriliny. Male children look to, and feel divided between, two adult men connected with the mother. On the one hand is the old-established mother's brother; on the other hand there is the newcomer, the mother's what Morgan called "pairing families," had made their husband. What Malinowski doesn't bring out is that appearance in communities that had formerly been the Trobriand Islanders represent a matrilineal com-

The pioneer anthropologists of the last century found But the pairing family, which was still a part of the many examples of matrilineal communities passing over collectivist maternal clan system, was a totally different to patrilineal and patriarchal forms of social organizakind of family than the patriarchal family which came tion. As E. Sidney Hartland sums up the evidence, patriarchal rule "made perpetual inroads upon motherright all over the world; consequently matrilineal institutions are found in almost all stages of transition."

the mothers' brothers. The mothers' brothers remained communities-in-transition remained largely unaltered the basic economic partners of their clan sisters and and they continued to enjoy economic independence and social esteem. In other regions, however, particularly those in which class relations, patriarchalism, and male supremacy have been superimposed upon a rude economy, women became as degraded as their sisters in class society. In such regions women can be as much landers describes these people and their "Principles of oppressed by their brothers as by their husbands and fathers.

Australia is often offered as proof of the debased which descent, kinship, and every social relationship condition of primitive women. But, according to Spencer and Gillen, the highest authorities on the central tribes, in which women have a considerable share in tribal there is a "great gap" between the old traditional period and the present. They conclude that the women formerly occupied a far different and higher position than in recent times. (The Native Tribes of Central Australia, pp. 195-196.)

Robert Briffault, summing up this and other reports,

maintains that patriarchalism, male domination and the debased condition of women "are features of con influenced by the antihistorical anthropoloparatively late origin" and have supplanted a former total line book Sexual Politics she writes that "both condition of female influence and control of line book sexual Politics she writes that "both condition of female influence and control of line book sexual Politics she writes that "both condition of female influence and control of line book sexual Politics she writes that "both condition of female influence and control of line book sexual Politics she writes that "both condition of female influence and control of line book sexual Politics she writes that "both condition of female influence and control of line book sexual Politics she writes that "both condition of female influence and control of line book sexual Politics she writes that "both condition of female influence and control of line book sexual Politics she writes that "both condition of female influence and control of line book sexual Politics are male worlds." condition of female influence and esteem. "The Any primitive and civilized worlds are male worlds," many respects also a degraded race, they are in a 46) and that women have always been oppressed, many respects also a degraded race," he says, and that test by patriarchal men then by men of the "avunis why male domination, once instituted, proceeded to take (p. 25) Oddly enough she takes this position "its extreme consequences." (The Mothers of the consequences o "its extreme consequences." (The Mothers, Vol. I. pp. admitting she does not know whether or not 338-339.) This should not be surprising in a matriarchal period. where, through disease and other causes it a continent let was a matriarchal period. where, through disease and other causes, the aboriginal sulamith Firestone in her book The Dialectic of a century after the coming of the white man-made a century after the coming of the white man

n sharp contrast, there are many regions in which matriarchal customs have been preserved and there is no such debasement either of the women or of the women or of the women's strength — showing her ignorance the men. Such examples can be found among the North

American Indians where male supposed the North in the state of the women or of the beyond women's strength — showing her ignorance and the strength in th American Indians where male supremacy and oppression of women were nonexistent until they were brought over, along with whiskey and guns, by the civilized settlers from Europe. Briffault cites the following from the missionary J. F. Lafitau:

"Nothing is more real than this superiority of the women. It is in the women that properly consists the nation, the nobility of blood, the genealogical tree, the order of generations, the preservation of families. It is in them that all real authority resides; the country, and Engels who, she says, knew next to nothing the fields, and all the crops belong to them. They are women as an "oppressed class," she maintains the soul of the councils, the arbiters of war and peace' was woman's reproductive biology that ac-(Ibid, p. 316.)

According to Alexander Goldenweiser, woman's in some sudden patriarchal revolution." (p. 83) Firefluence was paramount in the election of chiefs. The the feminist, parrots the antifeminist theme that activities of these chiefs were carefully watched and sology is woman's destiny without bothering to critsupervised by "the matrons," especially in questions of presamine the facts. war, and if found unsatisfactory in any respect the the unfortunate that even some women anthropolodissatisfaction of the women brought about the depo in have made similar errors despite their studies of sition of the chiefs. As late as in the period of the Iro- to subject. Influenced, or perhaps intimidated by the quois confederacy, he says, "women were more influen missupremacist and bourgeois ideology which pertial than men both in the election of chiefs and in their and anthropological circles, they too subscribe to deposition . . . public opinion was more significantly to nyth of the everlasting inferiority and oppression that of the women than of the men in the group." Many fromen. a devastating war, he adds, "must have been averted by the British anthropologist Lucy Mair states, "In the the wise counsel of the matrons." (Anthropology, pp. met societies, and indeed in some industrialized 363, 365.) The reality of woman's power is evidenced as women are never wholly independent . . . They by the fact that deeds of land-transfer of the Colonial in always had to depend on males, whether brothers

One of the most interesting confrontations between stropology, p. 83.) This sweeping statement is not the Iroquois men and the white men who looked down to the of some matrilineal survivals in recent times upon women as the inferior sex is cited by Briffault are women retained their economic independence and The chosen orator of the Iroquois, "Good Peter," ad the esteem. It was not true at all for the matriarchal dressed Governor Clinton in this manner to explain the of social organization before male supremacy the high esteem of the Native Americans for women: whom

Brothers! Our ancestors considered it a great offence to reject the counsels of their women, particularly of the Female Governesses. They were esteemed the mistresses of the soil. Who, said our forefathers, brings us into being? Who cultivates our lands, kindles our fires, and boils our pots, but the women? Our women, Brother, say that they are apprehensive. . . . They entreat that the veneration of our ancestors in favour of the women be not disregarded, and that they may not be despised: the Great Spirit made them. The Female Governesses beg leave to speak with the freedom allowed to women and agreeable to the spirit of our ancestors. . . . For they are the life of the nation. [Briffault, op. cit., pp. 316-317.

women. The fact that some women in primitive regions the original hunting communities that existed became as oppressed as the women of patriarchal civ- lee period of the matriarchal commune. Let me ilized nations does not prove that women have always that It was not the occupation of hunting that been oppressed. All it proves is that in some regions, men superiority over women - it was the introbut not all, the degradation of the mothers and sisters of private property, class divisions, and the also brought about the degradation of the mothers' starchal family that brought about male supremacy brothers. Some mothers' brothers became as much male the oppression of women. supremacists and oppressors of women as the patriar his brings us to the final point in the tangle of myths chal men who served as their models.

was no such thing as male supremacy over women-of contrariwise, of female domination over men. The clan community was communistic; a sisterhood of women time, with woman's work confined to home and and a brotherhood of men. The keystone of that social what is the truth in this matter? structure was equality in all spheres of life, economic social, and sexual. Thus women were not always op pocial versus family division of pressed. The oppression of women began as an integral labor part of an oppressive society that overturned and sur planted the old matriarchal commune.

The "avunculate theory" of eternal female oppression is only a more sophisticated variation of the uters

This fighter on the side of women's liberation

aression of women. She recites the whole man-made on this score. According to Firestone, female eression is older than recorded history; it goes all way back "to the animal kingdom itself." (p. 2) the author, because of her biology woman "reand in bondage to life's mysterious processes," (p. n is which she takes over male designations for ading and baby-tending. Thus, she concludes, women are been "at the continual mercy of their biology" has made them "dependent on males," whether set sere dan brothers or husbands and fathers.

prestone has fallen lock, stock, and barrel for the theory of female inferiority. Sweeping aside and for her original and continued oppression, and

sovernment nearly all bear the signatures of women ristands and fathers. (An Introduction to Social

Linken Gough Aberle, of Vancouver, made the best initiations to the book Matrilineal Kinship, published I on the 100th anniversary of Bachofen's Das meht (Motherright). Yet she, too, thinks that womlive always been oppressed. In a recent article for the women's liberation movement she states, power of men to exploit women systematically from the existence of accumulated wealth" by the power of the state. This adheres to the Wirstviewpoint. But then she departs from the method bibrical materialism when she says, "Even in hunt-Modelles it seems that women are always in some the 'second sex,' with greater or lesser subordinamen." (Up From Under, January-February

this may be true of some hunting communities These are hardly pictures of "eternally oppressed" live become altered in recent times, it was not

s to prove that women have always been the sec-This one concerns the distinction between the But historically, before the patriarchal takeover, there and civilized division of labor between the According to the prevailing propaganda, the of labor between the sexes has always been

is often said or implied that from the very beginning of human history to the present day the division of labor between the sexes has been a division between the husband and wife of a family. The hustheory" of female inferiority. The one, like the outstand hand wife of a family. The hus-must be rejected by women of the liberation movement to take tare of the work while the wife stays at home Unfortunately, this has not been done by some in the liberally the household and children. Some women Unfortunately, this has not been done by some in the liberation movement are indignant because the scornful of the proposition that biology is woman's scornful of the proposition that biology is woman's

But the injustice goes deeper than this. It involves the taught that their whole lives were bounded by the four stunted, dependent, culturally sterile life of a woman walls of a home and the best women were those who caged up in a domestic enclosure doing stupid and served their husbands and families without complaint. stupefying chores.

duction of woman's work to family servitude. They care are deprived of the kind of socialized work which would To be sure, women of the plebeian classes, the "com-

According to the churches and the guardians of the established order, woman's place is in the home and always has been, serving a husband and children because the family has always existed. But it is not true that procreation, which is a natural function, is identical with the family, which is a man-made institution. While women have always been the procreators of children, they have not always been isolated in self-enclosed units, each woman serving a husband and family. The "eternal family" hoax is only the ultimate expression of family of the urban era. the "uterus theory" of female inferiority.

The first division of labor between the sexes was not, as it is today, a division between husband and wife, with the man doing outside work while the wife stayed at home doing housekeeping chores. Both sexes in primitive society performed social labor. This was possible because their system of communal production was accompanied by communal child care and education. Female children were trained by the adult women into their future occupations while the male children at a certain age were turned over to the adult men who became their tutors and guardians. Both production and child-raising were originally social functions, performed by both women and men. It was only with the downfall of the matriarchal commune and its equalitarian relations between the sexes that women were dispossessed from social production and put into family servitude. Men took over in the new divisions of labor.

Historians often point out that with the advent of the new economy founded upon agriculture and stockraising, many new divisions of labor came into existence, replacing the former sexual division of labor. To give a few examples, pastoral activities became separated from farming; metallurgy, house construction, shipbuilding, textiles, pottery, and other crafts became specialized trades. Along with these divisions of labor in the crafts, there grew up specializations in the cultural sphere, from priests and bards to scientists and

the process. As these new divisions and subdivisions of labor grew and proliferated they came more and moreand finally exclusively - in the hands of the men. The women were squeezed out of these fields of social and cultural work - and pushed into home and family life. With the rise of state and church power, women were destiny.

In this elevation of men and downgrading of women, There is little need to dwell in detail on all the factors they forfeited not only their former place in social proin capitalist society that have brought about this re- duction but also their former system of communal child

give them economic independence; such work is largely mon people," have always worked. In the long agrireserved for men. Marriage and the family are upheld cultural period they worked on farms as well as in as the finest career a true woman can pursue. Reaction- cottage crafts, and they did all this along with bearing ary contraception and abortion laws force women to children and taking care of households. But working bear children whether they want to or not, and in the in and through and for an individual husband, home, absence of child-care centers each individual woman and family is by no means the same thing as engaging is saddled with the burden of raising the children her- in socialized labor in a communal society. Participation in social production develops the mind and body; isolation and preoccupation with home chores weakens them and narrows the outlook.

In other words, the division of labor between the sexes has not always been the same. The maledominated division of labor that came in with class society, private property, and the patriarchal family represented a colossal robbery of the women. This is even more true today with the reduction of the extended, productive farm family to the tiny, nuclear, consuming

To refute the myths that have helped to keep women oppressed - from the "uterus theory" to the "eternal family propaganda—is not simply a matter for scientific and historical correction. It has profound implications for the women's liberation movement. The argument that woman's biological makeup is responsible for her social inferiority is the chief stock-in-trade of the male supremacists. If this claim proves to be unfounded their position collapses - and that is what I have tried to ar-

Females in nature suffer no disabilities compared to males as a result of their biology. Nor were women downgraded as a result of their maternal role in preclass society. They were held in the highest esteem for their combined functions as producer-procreatrix. Woman's position in society, therefore, has been shaped and reshaped by changing historical conditions. The drastic transformation that overturned matriarchal communism brought about the downfall of the female sex. It was with the rise of patriarchal class society that the biological makeup of women became the ideological pretext for justifying and continuing the dispossession of women from social and cultural life and keeping them in a servile status.

Only by recognizing this can women come to grips with the real causes of our subjugation and degradation which are today bound up with the structure of the capitalist system. Our struggle for liberation will be hindered so long as we are hoodwinked into believing The roles of the sexes were radically transformed in that nature rather than this society is the source of our

> A banner carried by women in a recent demonstration proclaimed, "Biology Is Not Woman's Destiny." This should become a watchword of the feminist movement, as we work and fight together to redirect our

## **BOOKS ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION** FROM PATHFINDER PRESS

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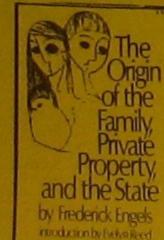
WOMEN'S

LBERATION

BY EVEDTN REED

PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION Fifth edition, revised and expanded.

Her anthropological studies are especially acute and knowledgeable, not aly picking up where Engels left off, but documenting a number of new Marxist concepts in the development of primitive society in a most convincng and erudite fashion."- Guardian. The author traces the subjugation of somen to the rise of private property and the development of the family. This new edition contains her June 1970 speech at the Socialist Scholars Conference, "Women: Caste, Class or Oppressed Sex ?" as well as "How Women Lost Control Over Their Destiny and How They Can Regain It."



THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE by Frederick Engels, with introduction by Evelyn Reed. In this classic of historical materialism, Frederick Engels, Karl Marx's closest collaborator for four decades, examines the social organization of primitive human beings and traces the development of the family, the state and private property. Drawing on this material Engels demonstrates that these institutions are not "natural" and everlasting but are the products of specific social and economic conditions. This work is of great relevance to the debates within the women's liberation movement on the role of the patriarchal family as a permanent feature of social life. Reed in her introduction elaborates on this and evaluates Engel's work in the light of trends in twentieth century anthropology, 190pp \$2.25.

PUBLIC MEETING

A LECTURE BY

**EVELYN REED** 

Evelyn Reed will be doing a speaking tour of Australia between April 10-24 An independent Marxist anthropologist and feminist, Reed is in great demand as a speaker in the United States where she has lectured at more than eighty universities. On March 2, during a women's liberation conference in Seattle. Washington, Reed, along with Kate Millett, a feminist best known for her book "Sexual Politics", addressed a public meeting of twelve hundred women and men as part of a two-day celebration of International Women's Day,

Reed in her presentation spoke of the need for women to do away with the anthropological and biological myths about their role and reconstruct their history. Millett opened her remarks by stating that Reed's talk was "the best academic thesis and the best piece of scholarship I have ever heard",

In Australia Reed will speak on the subject "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?" and discuss such questions as "Have women always been the second sex?" "How did the family arise?" "What accounts for the subordinate position of women in our society today?" "Why is this history so little-known?"

BRISBANE Thursday, April 12, 7.30 p.m.

Tuesday, April 10, 7.30 p.m. Teachers Federation Auditorium, 300 Sussex Street, Sydney.

Trades Hall, Wickham Terrace, Brisbane.

Friday, April 13, 7.30 p.m. CANBERRA Friday, April 13, 7.30 p.m.
Hughes Community Hall, Hughes, ACT. Tuesday, April 17, 7.30 p.m.

ADELAIDE SYA Hall, 287 Rundle Street, Adelaide. MELBOURNE Wednesday, April 18, 7.30 p.m.
Assembly Hall, 156 Collins Street,

\$1.00 DONATION, 50c SEC. STUDENTS

## Which Way for the Socialist left?

BY JIM McILROY

In recent weeks, the socialist left of the Victorian ALP has again clearly shown its strength within the Party. In response to the big business press and the manocurves of the Labor leadership, the SL has demonstrated its ability to put forward and fight for progressive policies amongst the ranks of the Party. The forces behind the Socialist Left, who played such a vital role in building the massive Vietnam Moratorium movement of 1970 - 71, have again stood up in the defence of the rights of colonial peoples to determine their own affairs without outside military interference - this time in Malaysia and Singapore, (see DIRECT ACTION 36)

The formation and development of the SL from sections of the Party backing the previous Victorian State Central Executive (VCE) was very much bound up with the massive anti-war movement which has enveloped the campuses and labour movements over the last few years. This movement found its reflection inside the ALP, particularly in Victoria, where the atmosphere was most receptive. In turn, many of the old VCE activists who now support the SL, played an important role in mobilising the ranks of the Labor Party in Victoria as participants and active workers in the Moratorium movement.

It was these forces which created a situation where numerous local ALP branches were involved in their regional Moratorium groups, and where so many of these branches marched under their own banners at the big demonstrations. It was also the Victorian Left ALP forces, which through close links with the 27 "rebel" unions, were instrumental in bringing into the streets thousands upon thousands of trade unionists in defence of the Vietnamese struggle. The massive size of the main Moratoriums of 1970 - 71, in Melbourne (estimates of 70 - 100, 000), by far the biggest in the country, were largely the result of the strength of ALP backing and involvement in Victoria.

When right-wing inspired Federal intervention came in Victoria, and the VCE was dismissed in late 1970, the involvement of the Victorian ALP left in the anti-war movement was a main precondition for the emergence of a strong oppositional Socialist Left grouping. The Socialist Left had been revived by new forces gained from the anti-war movement. The old VCE had suffered from bureaucratic inertia. The new SL is a more active body, with a more in-volved membership which has proved itself capable of gaining 40% support in the Victorian ALP. The development of the SL paper "Action" (the successor of "Inside Labor"), and its editorial line, showed the strength of radical and anticapitalist sentiment amongst a significant section of Victorian ALP members. Overall, the SL remains a heterogeneous grouping, and this is reflected in "Action" and in the way the SL functions. However, the leading articles in "Action", and its public stance, have taken a consistent anti-capitalist position. It has regularly supported the anti-war, women's and black liberation movements and attacked anti-labor laws, unemployment and inflation. It has also been quite ready to criticise the official policies of the ALP in a vigorous way. Despite some equivocation, "Action" has carried strong attacks on the national-chauvinist sentiment which has afflicted many parts of the left in Australia in recent times. Overall, "Action" and the SL have sucessfully carried radical ideas to a large number of the ALP and trade union rank and file members for more than two

Following a period of relative quiescence before the December elections, and the pious hopes of the Labor leadership and the big business press that it would somehow fade away, the SL has come back

First, the SL's motion criticising Defence Minister Barnard's policy on keeping Australian troops in Singapore, was passed with over 2/3 support in the Victorian ALP State Council. Then Bill Hartley and George Crawford had the temerity to criticise the government's failure to disclose any worth while information about US bases in Australia, let alone move to abolish them (as is strongly implied in ALP Federal policy.) Hartley went on to accuse Barnard of being a "client" of the Defence Department and of its permanent head, Sir Arthur Tange.

The result has been hysterical attacks from the right, and the beginnings of moves against the SL and its leading spokespeople. Senator Wriedt, the federal minister for Primary Industry, told the Tasmanian State ALP conference

"Certain people and organisations do not have the right to be in the ALP. One of these organisations (and the people who belong to it) which should not be here is the Socialist Left." (The "Age" March 7, 1973)

Later, Federal ALP President Tom Burns sent telegrams warning Hartley and Crawford that "... they should refrain from making these attacks on defence policy." ("Herald" March 5, 1973) This gag attempt was later endorsed by the right wing dominated NSW ALP leadership In their own defence, Hartley and Crawford have formally agreed to accede, under protest, to Burns' demand to confine criticism "to within the party organisation you repre-

However, the matter cannot rest there. More controversial issues must arise in the near future, and the SL will clearly not be silenced on them. The rightwing has virtually committed themselves to some form of punitive action if the SL again makes criticisms of government policy manoeuvres in public. Obviously the strong internal Party and industrial backing of the SL make action to prosecute it extremely difficult, particularly in the complex situation of three clear factions - left, "centre" and right in Victoria. However, attacks, particularly on individuals, are certainly on the cards, as the history of the "intervention" clearly shows.

The best defence for the SL is a positive approach to gain support in the Party for



a principled political position, for a

socialist alternative to the present lead-

ership. As the SL is well aware, attacks

centred on individuals, such as Barnard,

are irrelevant and counter-productive.

It is the politics that count, The SL is

Labor movement as a whole. An attack

movement. For most activists in the SL

no question of splitting (despite much

newspaper rumour-mongering) arises.

The ALP remains the mass party of the

organised Australian working class; the

historic vehicle for the initial stage of

independent political action by Aust-

ralian working people. The SL is the

main centre for the development of a

broad-based left-wing alternative to

present policies and leadership in the

Labor Party. It could not play any such

vital role outside the ALP at this stage,

big unions. The changed environment

thrown the basic conflict of forces with-

in the ALP into sharper focus than ever.

even with the backing of a number of

of a Federal Labor government has

Every rightward step of the Whitlam

only stand to gain in the long run.

leadership is now counterposed clearly

to the left-wing alternative. The SL can

The resurgence of the SL was under-lined

further in a recent central meeting of the

organisation, the first since the Federal

than 100, was the largest for some time.

The general spirit was good in the wake

conciousness of the SL members was the

over-whealming passage of an amended

motion calling for recognition of the

Provisional Revolutionary Government,

the immediate withdrawal of all polit-

ical and diplomatic support for the

Thieu regime, and demanding the re-

lease of all political prisoners held by

the Saigon government. The original

motion was far less clear on the second

point. The basic principle of complete

national self-determination for the Viet-

namese was reaffirmed in the finalised

motion. In addition, a section in the

original, calling for the endorsement

of the 4-Power International Commis-

sion including the US, was deleted when

the argument was accepted that the US

to do with the future of Vietnam. It

defence of the Vietnamese revolution

the SL on a better political basis for

had no right at all to negotiate anything

should be noted that this motion places

elections. The attendance, of more

Debate was lively and broad ranging.

An important-gauge of the political

of the sucessful SL actions.

an indigenous section of the ALP and

represents an important part of the

on it is an attack on the real Labor

Innes, Whitlam, Crawford, Hawke

than the majority of the left groups in the leadership of anti-war coalitions at

Another motion was passed reaffirming support for the women's liberation movement and its four main demands around the question of abortion, equal pay and opportunities, child care centres and free safe contraceptives. Another motion supported the movement for democratic rights for teachers against victimization, and called for the Labor government to live up to its promise of finances for education.

An unresolved debate around policy on industrial affairs showed up the differing political positions within the SL. However, an important point was that the motion put forward by the Casey- Latrobe SL regional group had involved about 60 members in discussion. The regional group system has increased grass roots participation, and offers great possibilities for a more active membership working at branch and regional level within the ALP. The future of the SL lies in the recruitment of the many new ALP members, particularly young people, flooding into the Party in its period of triumph.

The immediate future sees a challenge being posed to the SL by the imminent Victorian State elections. It is in such a period of heightened political interest and activity that SL policies can have the greatest general impact, inside and outside the party. A real alternative of the Holding leadership of the State ALP. On every issue they have been half-hearted or worse. They offer no real perspective for the working people and the oppressed groups, no real solution to pressing social problems. Only an outward looking and active SL can pose a real alternative programme to the conservative policies of the Hamer government - one based on the interests of workers and the demands of the mass protest movements. The candidaturesof Joan Coxsedge and Ian Cathie provide an entry point or an alternative programe. Coxsedge is a long time activist in the women's movement, and will be stressing women's rights, particularly the demand to repeal all anti-abortion laws, Cathie has been deeply involved in educational and other social questions.

The basis of a strong fighting campaign around certain key themes is present. Such themes might include-

- 1. Demand repeal of all anti abortion
- . Demand repeal of all state anti-union laws, including the Essential Services
- 3. Strong action on unemployment, and rising prices in conjunction with the ALP Federal Government (including a massive system of State Public Works) 4. Urgent action on education, including

reallocation of finances to poorer

- state schools and democratic rights for teachers and students. 5. Urgent action on environment, poll-
- ution, transport, regional development including 100% tax on profits of polluting companies. 6. Overall, the ALP should be pressured
- to make the resources of the State availableto the mass movements of protest.

A strong campaign around these themes could put the SL in an extremely strong position inside the ALP, and widely influential amoung Labor voters generally. With such political support, right wing attacks would be made so much more difficult and dangerous for themselves. The SL can only gain by becoming universally recognised and respected as the real socialist alternative in the ALP.

Fifteen months after its first devaluation, wilar has just suffered a second. Durthe negotiations around the first devaln, certain capitalist groups and their men were able to spread around the on that the new exchange rates ald stick." But today, nobody upholds sch an optimistic prognosis for the inter-ectional capitalist system any more. For the time being, the system of fixed exhange rates is done for - that is the bitter histon that emerges from this second devaluation, which will inevitably be followed by others.

THE TECHNICAL CAUSES

from a technical point of view, the causes of this fall of the dollar are not hard to find. Today, outside the United States, in fact American) have dollar holdings of upwards of \$50-60 thousand million in liquid or partially liquid form. Each of these capitalist companies is prepared to hold these liquid assets in dollar form only insofar as it is not worried about taking a loss in exchange.

But since 1971 (actually since 1968), the U.S. central bank has refused to exchange these dollars for gold. The central banks of other capitalist countries will exchange them for their own national currencies my within certain limits.

so all that is necessary for the agreednon system of exchange rates to break down is for a certain amount of dollars -2 or 3 thousand million out of the 50 thousand million total! - to be thrown on the currency market. This is what just appened. And inevitably, it will hap-

The capitalists on a world scale would be willing without hesitation to hold these liquid assets in dollar form only if one of mo conditions were met: if the dollar's convertibility into gold (or into some other means of payment with an intrinsic value) were reestablished; or if American imperialism regained its competitive meriority, so that dollars would again he linked to American commodities that could be resold at any time because they would be a better bargain and of superior quality to those of U.S. imperialism's

Neither of these conditions is about to be reestablished; the persisting deficit in the American balance of trade after the first devaluation demonstrates this, Hence, an exacerbation of the crisis of the international monetary system is inevitable.

his, a law established by Karl Marx nore than a century ago is confirmed: No inconvertible paper money can retain fixed rate of exchange beyond the comdaries of a state. The second fall of the dollar thus confirms the decline of American hegemony, the lack of an international capitalist authority, and be reality of interimperialist compet-

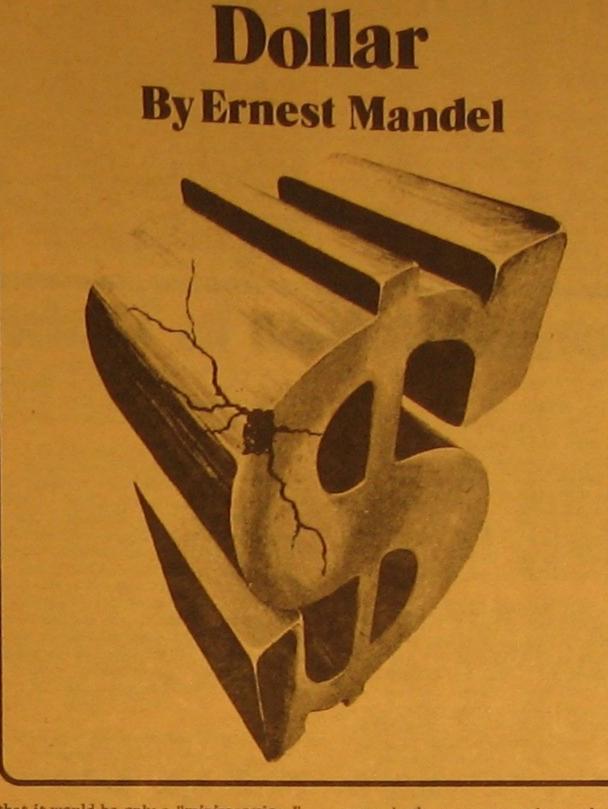
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CAUSES

the mass of paper dollars that has inmated the capitalist world during the past three years did not fall from the sky. awas not the product of a technical mistake" made by the Washington conetary authorities, nor was it the relection of a diabolical scheme to attack the trade of Europe and Japan, nor was it the result of Common Market protectimism. It is the product of the inflation of credit and the budget deficit that the lixon administration was forced to reort to in order to get out of the 1969-

o fail to understand this is to present in idyllic image of the inextricable contradictions in which American imperialism, and with it the international capitalist system, is mired.

Immediately halting the American balance of payments deficit during 1969, 1970 and 1971 would have involved transforming the American recession lato a very serious overproduction crisis, would have meant 10 or 12 million unemployed in the United States instead of 5 or 6 million. That would have involved a very serious economic crisis in the rest of the capitalist world. The disintegration of the international monetary system is the price paid to temporarily avoid this economic and social

The American bourgeoisie and its ideologues are completely aware of this. If today the bourgeoisic talks about "limiting" the annual increase in the monetary mass (inflation of credit) to 5 percent a year (as opposed to 10 percent a year since 1969), it is because it knows that the higher rate would provoke a new Arthur Burns and Milton Friedman, is



The Second Fall

of the

that it would be only a "minirecession." We shall see.

The dilemma of the European and Japan ese capitalists is no less real. They can demand that Washington return to a more "orthodox" monetary policy. Their pressure is doubtless partially responsible for the budget cuts (all at the expense of the working people and the poor) that Nixon has just decided on. At some point, they could even refuse to defend the dollar's exchange rate (which is what the Swiss bankers did on the eve of the first devaluation, and also what the West German bankers finally wound up doing, thus precipitating the second devaluation).

But by doing this, they would be running great risks, for two main reasons. Above all because every serious economic and social crisis in the United States, the central fortress of the international imperialist system, would have grave repercussions in all the other sectors of the system. The U.S. domestic market is today a key sector of the world market for all the other capitalist powers.

BANKERS AND INDUSTRIALISTS

Not only that. By pushing towards devaluing the dollar, they are pushing toward devaluing a not inconsequential fraction of their own holdings. A not inconsequential (albeit minority) part of this worldwide floating mass of tens of billions (millards) of dollars is held by European and Japanese capitalists. These dollars automatically lose a part of their value when the dollar falls.

The capitalist partner-competitors of the United States are thus condemned to always lose, one way or the other.

But the opposite is also true. On both sides of the Atlantic, the first commentaries on the consequences of the second devaluation stressed its effects on world trade. In New York they were jubilant: American exports would become less expensive, imports more expensive. In Dusseldorf and Tokyo they groaned: "Our"exports will get more expensive.

All these commentaries are superficial and partially imprecise. The world market is not as monopolized as national markets are. Prices on the world market are not so closely controllable by the big trusts. An increase in the rate of exchange will therefore not automatically reflect itself in prices. Furthermore, demand is not so elastic; products are not so easily substituted for one another as on the national market.

This means that European and Japanese exports to the United States will not decrease in the same proportion as the devaluation of the dollar, that American exports to Europe and Japan will not go up in the same proportion, that the cost of living in the United States will be affected by the higher prices of imports, and that the general expansion of world trade will slow down. The gains anticipated by U.S. industry thus threaten to the case with the first devaluation).

Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that the European and Japanese central banks are not hoarding "devalued" dollars, but are immediately reinvesting them in U.S. treasury bonds on which they earn interest. Thus, one of the consequences of the influx of dollars in Europe and of the devaluation is that the overseas capitalists' share in the surplus value created by American workers increases. In this sense the devaluation, first proclaimed as a "triumph" by Washington, reflects a deteriorated situation and not a strengthened position.

But still, the basic thing is another point. What the dollar devaluation wins for American industrialists and loses for German industrialists, it will lose for American financial groups and win for European and Japanese financial circles, It means in effect that from now on it will take more dollars to buy a factory in Europe, less European (and Japanese) currency to buy a factory in the United States. In this sense also, the American imperialists have no reason to rejoice about the fall of their currency.

THE COMMON MARKET THREATENED

Nevertheless, American imperialsim did score some points against its European competitors. But this success is not so much in the realm of trade as in forcing a halt to the attempts at unification of the European imperialist powers through the strengthening of the Common

To promote an interpenetration of capitals capable of creating enterprises of the same power as the major American trusts, the European bourgeoisie would have to create a European superstate with its own currency, its own industrial policy, and its own independent nuclear arms. In view of the great differences in their situations and the great divergences that separate them, these imperialists can hope to achieve such a unification only one step at a time. The formation of the Common Market was conceived only as a first step. Monetary unification by 1980 was supposed to follow as the second decisive step.

But the disintegration of the international monetary system hit the different imperialist powers at a time when the economic and social situations in the various countries are widely disparate. Two of the four big Common Market powers, Great Britain and Italy, are going through a difficult economic situation marked by exceptionally severe class-struggle tension. The bourgeoisies of these two countries could not agree to a united solution with the other European bourgeoisies. They "floated" their currencies not only in relation to the dollar but also in relation to the other European currencies. In one blow, the hopes of monetary union based on a European "superstate" were shot down.

Thus, the devaluation of the dollar, following in the wake of the American attempt to scuttle the Concorde - and with it the threat of seeing the European aeronautics industry outstrip America's for ten years - has put very severe strains on the capitalist integration of Europe.

Calls for "European solidarity" are on the rise in every bourgeois capital; but reality does not jibe with the appeals.

NEW CONTRADICTIONS HITTING DECLINING CAPITALISM

American imperialism is trying to make the European and Japanese capitalists bear the brunt of its own falling rate of profit. The European and Japanese capitalists are responding by trying to impose the necessary sacrifices on their own workers in the form of wage freezes, incomes policy, "wage consultations," "rationalization," and so on. When the European workers refuse, the bourgeoisie does not miss a chance to reveal its own basic hypocrisy.

Last week "The Economist", one of the most representative weeklies of the British bourgeoisie, published two articles, one devoted to the workers' revolts against the incomes policy decreed by the Tory cabinet, the other on the international speculation that provoked the devaluation of the dollar.

In the second article, it was explained that no political decision can prevent "the laws of the market" from fixing the floating rates of exchange; a governmental decree aimed at counteracting the "laws of the market" would be worth only the paper it

But in the first article, all the stops were pulled in trumpeting moral indignation against the British trade unions, which had dared to defy government decrees fixing the rate of wages and which had sought to "exploit" the "laws of the market" to their own profit, thus committing outrages against parliament, democracy, and humanity.

In other words, only the workers must bow before government decrees; only the speculators have the right to exploit the laws of the market to their own advantage.

But behind this hypocrisy lies an objective contradiction to which attention must more and more be directed. These famous "speculators" who made the dollar fall are not some obscure figures of the notherworld, the "mafia" of "international finance." They are the multinational corporations, that is, the most honorable leading lights of industry, banking, and trade in all the imperialist countries -- and American capitalists in the lead. These gentlemen have today become uncontrollable by by their own governments. But at the same time, they need governmental aid more than ever. Precisely the 1969 recession reminded them of the sad fact that whatever their profits may be, they can very soon be brought to the brink of ruin if a suificiently deep recession shakes the economies of the imperialist countries.

Bourgeois governments less and less able to restrain the multinational corporations, while the multinational corporations cannot do without more and more sizable periodic governmental support and subsidies; an inflation that must be accelerated to hold back increasingly serious recessions, but which at the same time wrecks the international monetary system and thereby disrupts the expansion of world trade; an accelerated interimperialist competition at the very time that the formation of a new international monetary system demands the greatest international bourgeois solidarity; the necessity of "disciplining" the wageworkers and the impossibility of breaking the obviously rising combativity of the workers -these are the new strains that today are added to the classical contradictions of the capitalist system.

## **DIRECT ACTION FORUMS**

at 139 ST JOHNS ROAD, GLEBE.

at 140 QUEENSBERRY

STREET, CARLTON.

at 287 RUNDLE ST,

ADELAIDE.

Friday, April 13, 8pm.
"WHICH WAY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL MOVEMENT?" Manda Lenane and Mike Jones discuss the role of the National Education Action Coalition and its struggle

Thursday, March 29, 8pm
"A HISTORY OF WOMENS' LIBERATION" Leitha Neilson and Dot Tumney discuss the struggle of women against their oppression in history and as it has

Thursday, April 12, 8pm
"WHICH WAY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL MOVEMENT?" Dave Deutschman and Ted Murphy discuss the role of the National Education Action Coalition and its struggle for student rights.

WHICH WAY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL MOVEMENT?" Speakers: Penny Jackson and Greg Adamson. A discussion on how to fight for better education conditions and student rights.

Friday, March 30, 8pm.
"THE REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMICS OF WOMENS" Nita Keig discusses why the problems of women cannot be resolved under capitalism.

for student rights.

emerged today.

# THE WORLD REVOLUTION Palestine: Imperialism's Hypocrisy

## Left Gains in French Elections

BY TONY THOMAS

The second round of the French parliamentary elections held March 11 showed the retention of a parliamentary majority by the Gaullist-led coalition but significant gains for the Union of the Left, an electoral coalition composed of the Communist and Socialist parties and the Left Radical Movement, a liberal-capitalist party.

Flora Lewis, reporting from Paris in the March 12 "New York Times", reported that in 483 districts the Union of the Left captured 178 seats to 271 for the Gaullist-led coalition. The Gaullist majority thus retained control of the French National Assembly and has the necessary votes to elect a premier and a cabinet.

Lewis reported that the CP received 73 seats, while the SP and the Left Radicals received a combined total of 105 seats. A liberal-capitalist "centrist" coalition led by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Jean Lecanuet received 28 seats in the assembly. Three seats were won by the left social-democrats of the United Socialist Party, and three seats were attributed to the "far right,"

Lewis and other observers in the U.S. press attributed the scope of the victory of the Gaullist coalition, which has ruled France since 1958, to the anti-Communist campaign whipped up by the Gaullists in the week following the March 4 first-round elections. The day before the voting, after the "official" close of television campaigning, Gaullist leader and French President Georges Pompidou announced on television that French voters had a "simple choice of Marxist Communism" or freedom.

Jonathan Randal in the March 12 "Washington Post" reported that "cricial to the leftist union's defeat were the roughly 3 million voters who backed the centrists in the first round, then swung behind the pro-government parties today after many of their own

One of the most heartening developments of the French elections was the strengthened showing by the "far-left" candidates of the Communist League (French section of the Fourth International) and the Workers Struggle (Lutte Ouvriere) organization.

Henri Weber, reporting in the March 9 issue of "Rouge," the Communist League's weekly, reported on the261district first round campaign of the

two groups:

"Despite .... unfavorable conditions, more than 300,000 workers have answered the call of the League and LO (Workers Struggle): 'On the first round, show your opposition to the regime, your defiance to the Union of the Left, your determination to solve the question of power by methods of class struggle."

"The average tally of the revolutionary candidates, oscillating around 2 per-

cent, is an advance in relation to that gained by Alain Krivine (the League's presidential candidate) in the 1969 presidential elections (1 percent.) ... candidates of the League received 5.51 percent of the vote in Sedan, 3.3 percent in Chelles, 3.39 in Caen, 3.52 in the first electoral district of Strasbourg, 3, 36 in the first of Poitiers, 3.28 in the second of Tours, 2.8 in the second of Lyon, 2.6 in the second of Toulouse and in the first of Montpellier, etc ...

"The candidates of 'Workers Struggle' received 4 percent of the votes in Chartres, 4.17 at Issoudun, 3.6 at Rochefort, 2.92 at Thionville, 3 percent at Douai and at Henin-Lietard, 4 at Thiers, 3.3 at Meaux and at Montereau, 2.18 at Orly, etc ...."

According to Weber, a large section of the votes for the Communist League and Workers Struggle came from working-class districts.

## Confrontation in Trobriand

BY BOB STRONG

NIUGINI: MARCH 16.

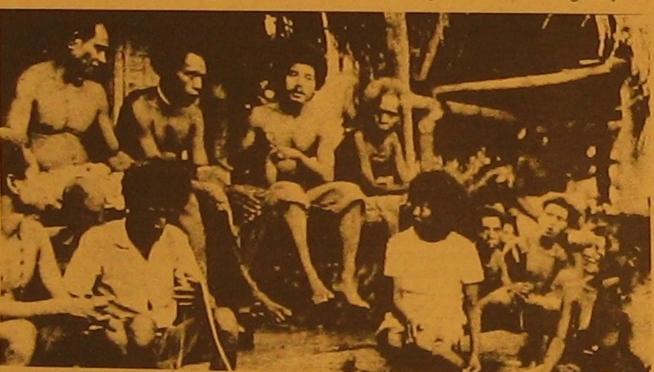
There is an uneasy peace in the Trobriands which form part of Papua New Guinea today following clashes between supporters of the People's Kabisawali Government and the supporters of the Kiriwina Local Government Council. Two fully equipped mobile squads of riot police plus a dozen reinforcements from Alotau have been rushed into the area to supplement the Islands normal police force of nine men.

The People's Kabisawali Government and Kabisawali Enterprises have been recently formed by John Kasaipwalova, a former University of P. N. G. Students' Representative Council President and spokesman for the Black Power Movement. Last year, John returned to his village in the Trobriands and formed a co-operative that was in direct opposition to private enterprise traders and existing co-operatives on Kiriwina Island. The co-operative built trade stores for various villages in the area by the Co-operative was damaged by a

and its influence reached into many villages three ton truck owned by the Kiriwina that were former supporters of the Kiriwina Council. Supporters of the Co-operative set upon the Council truck and smashed Council. These trade stores then started to undercut the prices on basic foodstuffs.

police, Paramount Chief Vanoi and the Council President Chief Waibadi went to Port Moresby for talks with Chief-Minister Michael Somare. This was because the supporters of John Kasaipwalova were reand also because for the first time, the contested. John Kasaipwalova's government sought to dispense with the District Office as run by the Administration. He sought ;to retain Chief Vanoi as the public figurehead but all governmental powers would be distributed amongst the minor

Relations between the two factions went from bad to worse and a confrontation was sparked off when a light truck owned



John Kasaipwalova (with beard) reports to two of the chieftans after being released

all the glass panels and bodywork. The following night somebody set fire to a tractor and trailer owned by the Council. A few weeks before the clash with riot It was destroyed. Talk of a big fight was growing and then the first reinforcements of police were flown in from Alotan Chief Vanoi and Council President Waibadi then left for talks with the Chief fusing to pay taxes to the Kiriwina Council Minister, authority of the Paramount Chief was being When they returned, the Administration truck carrying them was set upon by the angry supporters of the Co-operative. The villagers had rushed the utility and started pounding on it. Riot police who were nearby opened up with tear gas. A

> chiefs were 'protected'." The following day John Kasaipwalova was arrested for allegedly laying hold of a police officer the previous night. John

was then taken to the District Office at Losuia where his supporters attempted to free him. Riot police then used tear gas on the villagers. At present John is on bail and he will appear in court on Monday the 19th. Meanwhile the Papua New Guinea Gov-

police spokesman said that "police were

taking every precaution to see that both

ernment has affirmed its support for the Kiriwina Council. Chief Vanoi has also threatened to send out the Black Stones these are traditionally sent out at time of war. Each village that supports the Paramount Chief then supplies Chief Vanoi with mercenary warriors. If this happens, open fighting ; will start in the Trobriands. John has appealed to his followers not to be goaded into violence by police harassment, and has called for riot police to be withdrawn,

The presence of armed police on Kiriwina and their policies of intimidation and harassment, is increasingly angering the people. At this time the police are still there and increased patrols by the two mobile squads and other reinforcements are continuing. If there is going to be any settlement at all, all riot police should leave the area so the people themselves can settle this dispute. The Kiriwina Council is not helping any settlemen by hiding behind the presence of riot police and District Administration so that they will not have to come to terms with the new movement.

Free John Kasaipwalova Now!

Riot police out of the Trobriands!

Support for the Peoples Council on the

Peronist Elected in Argentina more dangerous. The brutal frustra-

in the Frente Justicialista de Liberacion (FREJULI -- Liberation Front for Social Justice), scored a notable victory in the recent elections. With some 10,000 precincts out of 54, 529 still to be accounted for, the vote for Hector Campora, the Peronist candidate for president, now stands at 6, 235, 528.

This compares with 2,718,023 for Ricardo Balbin, the candidate of the Union Civica Radical(UCR --Radical Civic Union, ) who was favored by the Lanusse military dic-

The vote for Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Ciapponi, the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST -- Socialist Workers Party, ) has been listed as 95, 598. Both Coral and Ciappone protested irregularities in the election, such as absence of PST ballots in key working-class districts.

The voting was running unusually heavy even for Argentina, where it is compulsory to vote. The casting of blank ballots - in contrast to most elections since 1955, when Peron was toppled - was very low, standing as of now at only 118,000 for the country as a whole. At this writing it appears doubtful that a second round will be held for the

Peronist vote is now 48.7 percent and likely to go above 50 percent when the final returns are in. A second round would almost certainly end with the Peronists holding a twothirds majority or more.

The military regime displayed glumness over the outcome of the elections. Even though it had been expected that the Peronists would take the lead over other formations, the size of the lead seems to have astonished the military.

In the far left there is considerable speculation over the possible reaction in Argentina's ruling circles. The most likely alternatives are either another military coup d'etat to prevent the Peronists from taking office, or an attempt to divert the masses through an Argentine version of the Allende ploy in Chile.

If government power is turned over to the Peronist command, the masses will certainly expect substantial concessions. In view of Argentina's rickety capitalist structure, concessions on the scale required are excluded. The consequences would be sharp rise in mass discontent and the erosion of the popularity of Peronism, making it still more difficult to maintain capitalist

If, on the other hand, the military should attempt a new coup in the coming weeks, this could prove to be even S. African Students Fight Repression

Students in every major city in South Africa planned a nationwide series of mass meetings and marches the second week of March. The actions are to protest government "banning" orders against 16 leaders of the National Union of South African Students (the organization of white, Englishspeaking students) and of the South African Students Organization (the organization of Black students.)

tion of expectations aroused by the

nary fury on a nationwide scale.

Peronist victory in the elections could

touch off demonstrations of extraordi-

The top generals are to meet in a few

days to weigh the political situation in

the aftermath of the elections, No

doubt they will all agree that a stormy

period lies ahead for Argentine capi-

talism. They may find it more diff-

icult to reach agreement on what to

do about it.

The government bans, issued under the Suppression of Communism Act, stemmed from last year's mass student protests against racial discrimination in education. The bans prohibits the students from travelling, attending meetings, speaking publicly, being quoted in any publication, or contacting each other. At least three of

the Black student leaders have been placed under house arrest.

The government's actions have caused a turmoil of debate among intellectuals and within the main opposition party, the United Party. Andre Brink, regarded as one of the country's leading writers, suggested that Prime Minister Vorster might take a lesson from Charles de Gaulle, who tried to crack down on students in France in 1968 and fell from power a year later.

Vorster took the unusual step of sending Brink a personal letter in reply. The letter attacked Brink's conciliatory view of the student struggles, labeled Brink a "pink liberal," and ended by wishing him a good night's rest "in spite of the curlers in your hair."

e latitude the US ruling class is willto grant the Israeli state in the oursuance of its policy of dominners pure and aggression was disgustingly strated by the reaction of both on and decisive sections of the capist press to the Israeli destruction of Libyan aircraft shot down over the i on Feburary 21.

The US government sent "condolences"
There was no condemnation the action, not even a hint of one,

te reaction to Black September's the reaction, during which three thartourn operation, during which three executed, was a

March 1 at 7.00pm, eight Black stember members broke into the Saudi biss embassy during a farewell party ing given for a departing US diplomat. ber of ambassadors escaped, erge C. Moore, US charge d'affaires, o was the guest of honour; his replace-Ambassador Cleo Noel Jr, Saudi ebisador Abdullah el - Malhouk og with his wife and four children); d Adli el-Nazir, Jordanian charge liffires, were seized as hostages,

be exact demands of the commandos per became clear. At various times gras reported that they were asking in the release of all Arab prisoners blin Israeli gaols; Sifhan Sirhan, de West German Baader - Meinhof mon; a series of Palestinian prisoners old in Jordan, and Abu Daoud, a Fateh ember imprisoned in Jordan on charges during conspired to overthrow King

by the afternoon of March 2, it beame clear that the real intent of the commandos was to free Abu Daoud; the the alleged demands were dropped.

Then the Sudanese government refused plargain with the commandos, the no American hostages were executed. he fedayeen then reduced their aminds still further. By March 3 they rere twing to negotiate a deal by which by would be granted safety in exchange to the release of the remaining hostages. When that was denied, the fedayeen mendered on the morning of March 4, one sixty hours after they had taken the

from released a statement expressing nock and grief at the senseless and latinous murder of Ambassador Noel nd Mr Moore," He demanded that "the expetrators of the crime ... be lought to justice," and renewed his per for " all nations to take a firm and against the menace of international

stally is superflous to comment on propriety of Richard Nixon comaining about barbarism and terrorism.

any as signifigant as Nixon's remarks to the editorial stand taken by the

"New York Times". This is because the "Times", apart from being in general, the organ of an important section of the ruling class itself, tends to directly express the viewpoint of US ruling circles on the question of the Middle East. It says openly what the

The "Times" ran two editorials on the Khartoum operation. The first one (March 3) began;

government may consider true but

"The murder of an American ambassador and charge d'affaires by Palestinian fanatics stirs disgust among civilised people."

The second one (March 4 ) began: "The brutal cold-blooded murders acts of criminal insanity that civilized nat- women. ions can no longer tolerate."

The Black September commandos were referred to as "this gang of bloodthirsty

By way of contrast, here is the opening sentence of the New York Times's lead ed- offering the savages a solution, a means

Libyan airliner in the Sinai peninsula last week," (Blame seems so hard to fix that the editorial board cannot even decide who it has suffered since the 1970 Jordanian

use of the passive voice.)

The "Times's" point of view is clear: It has long been established that civilized nations - the United States and Israel being stitute the movement on a mass scale, prime examples - murder only on a massive scale. The governments of these nations think big, have no patience for smallscale executions. Only savages who lust after the smell of blood do that sort of thing. of the Palestinian masses to that of the Civilized nations never kill less than 100 people at a time and do so only at large distances and with modern weapons.

Moreover, the defenders of civilization can never be sure to what depths the savages in Khartoum constitute an act of barbarism may stoop. Passenger planes may be filled that has appalled the civilized world - and with bombs; Asian peasants may be hiding it is only the latest in a string of similar hand grenades in the bellies of pregnant

So the embattled nations defending civilization are constrained to shoot first. If need be, the victims can be blamed for assassins" and "insane bloodstained fanatics. "creating "tragedies" by having the effrontery to exist. And then the civilizers' cultural superiority can be demonstrated by itorial on March 1: "No useful purpose is of preventing further tragedies: an unemoserved by an acrimonious debate over the tional, calm negotiation process, conductassignment of blame for the downing of a ed in the spirit of charity and reason.

Such is the real attitude of Western imperialism. Given the mass murder that the Zionist state and its U.S. guarantor get away with, it is remarkable that so few of the individual agents who carry out their policies have been violently dealt with by the Palestinian liberation movement. Those who equate the consciously stage-managed mass terror of the imperialist oppressors and their allies with the tactical mistakes made by groups fighting for a people that has suffered continuous exploitation, humiliation, violence, and death at the hands of imperialism are beneath contempt,

But from the viewpoint of the interests of the Arab revolution, the Khartoum operation was a serious mistake. In the narrowest sense, the fedayeen should have realized by now that imperialist governments will allow their kidnapped diplomats to be killed rather than bargain with their captors, Kidnapping diplomats will simply not succeed in winning the release of political

In the broader sense, the Khartoum operation shows that the Palestinian movement has still not drawn the lessons of the defeats shot the plane down, thus necessitating the civil war. If having 10,000 men and women under arms could not prevent the Jordanian army from liquidating the fedayeen presence in Jordan, isolated armed operations by small groups will surely not recon-

> The Palestinian movement was defeated in Jordan because its leadership failed to recognize the crucial need to link the struggle Jordanian masses and to do this through developing an action program based on the socialist transformation of the entire Arab

There are signs that the revolutionary movement in the Arab East has begun to emerge from the downturn that followed the Jordanian civil war. The Egyptian student movement, the increasing number of strikes in Egypt, and strikes and student demonstrations in Lebanon are all signs of this,

The future of the Palestinian revolution lies in linking up with these movements, in integrating the struggle against the Zionist state with the fight against the Arab regimes, and in programmatically assessing the inadequacies of the previous Palestinian leadership. It does not lie in executing individual diplomats in Arab capitals.

## Zionist Hysteria Reaches Australia

BY DAVID NIZOZ.

The new form of anti-Semitism in the form Hadi, asking the Labor government to of anti-Arab, father than anti-Jewish hate cease recognition of Israel, the "Australis on the increase in Australia, There have ian" found Nassif's refusal to condemn been some cases of victimization against individual Arabs, A few lost their jobs during the 1967 war and following the Munich events. This time the whole community is being threatened.

in the clearest form so far in the pages of the "Australian". This newspaper which in called on Attorney-General Murphy the past distinguished itself by referring to the Palesinian fighters as "mad animals", has suddenly discovered the Palestine-Australia Solidarity Committee (PASC).

Following a letter to Prime Minister Whitlam from PASC chairman Nassif the actions of the Black September group the only thing worth reporting.

On the following day, March 22, the PASC was referred to as "Arab terrorists" The new anti-Semitism has expressed itself and Mr Leibler, president of the Jewish Board of Deputies was reported to have to investigate the activities of the PASC. Nassif's refusal to condemn the Munich killings or the execution in Khartoum was the sole ground for attacking him.

This anti-Arab sentiment was echoed 1 the "Australian's" editorial, endorsing Leibler's remarks and putting the PASC on the same level as the notorious Ustasha.

It is interesting to note that Leibler, a long time apologist for the Zionist regime in Israel, goes unchallenged, After all, Leibler has never condemned far worse Israeli terrorism, such as shooting of the Libyan plane. Nor has the "Australian" chosen to investigate the terrorist front organisation, the United Israel Appeal, which collects around \$4 million dollars per annum to aid in the terrorising of the Palestinians and other Arab people in the Middle East.

## Palestine Solidarity Actions movement, Trade Union movement and Sydney Forum

Y FRANK MORRIS

battle of Al-Kerameh on March 21, 68, which saw the first victory of the lestinian liberation movement over the lonist army of Israel, was commemorated informative atmosphere. This was the

The Al-Kerameh incident was the first time hat an Israeli military expedition had been DA peakers included Peter Indari, President Friends of Palestine, John McCarthy om the Commusist League, Sol Salby, mational Research Officer of the the editorial board of DIRECT ACTION John Bechara, Arab student activist. forum was sponsored by Friends of alestine, an Austalian organization workag in solidarity with the revolutionary cople of Palestine.

The speakers emphasized the necessity to ject an understanding of the needs of

Austalian Labor Party.

At least three book stalls were in operation either selling or freely distributing literature on Palestine and Zionism, and refreshments were provided in a 10 minute break.

The speakers were well received and discussion flowed freely in a very social and March 25 forum held in Sydney on Sunday, largest function to date on Palestine and reflects the growing interest in the Palestinian liberation movement.

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

The first of the DIRECT ACTION Forums in the editorial board of DIRECT ACTION

Sydney, held on March 16, drew an audience of about 50 people. Sol Salby, Israelience of about 50 people. born anti-Zionist presented a detailed account of recent developments in the Palestinian struggle for national self-determ

He outlined why socialists oppose Zionism, and in particular the connection between the Zionist state of Israel and imperialist designs in the Middle East, Cde, Salby e Palestinian struggle into the Anti-war concluded by indicating what Australian

Palestinian struggle.

The audience spent about an hour on questions and discussion of Cde, Salby's talk, after which coffee and biscuits were provided for .. those who stayed for informal discussion.

BY DAVE KERIN.

On March 2, a demonstration in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people was held in Melbourne, The rally was called to protest the visit by Israeli premier Golda Meir to the United States. The purpose of her visit was to beg more finance and arms from the US and to formally open the launching of a fund drive by the international Zionist movement.

The demonstration was attended by 50 people and was held in spite of a ban by the City Council on the use of the City Square for political demonstrat-

Various speakers addressed the demonstration. Benjamin Methav, an Israeli

socialists should do in solidarity with the born Jew and an active campaigner for the rights of Palestinians, called for self-determination for the Palestinian people. The demonstration demanded the release of all political prisoners in Israel and an end to the barbaric torturing of these prisoners. It was pointed out that repression by the Zionist apparatus is not limited to Arabs, but now includes the arrest with out trial and torturing of Jewish social-

> The demonstration and the speakers got across to a lot of people in the City Square, but it also emphasises the need for further actions and efforts at education on the question of Palestine. A publication compiling historical and recent data on Palestine, the "Palestine Bulletin", is now available. It may be obtained from Melbourne SYA office, 140 Queensberry St, Carlton,

A monthly newspaper, "Free Palestine is now being published in Sydney by th Friends of Palestine. Copies may be o tained for 10c from DIRECT ACTION.

# BY PETER CONRICK



BLOODY BUT UNBOWED O! Labour! must there be yet another Easter Crucifixion before Farm and Factory Worker unite to hail the Risen Sun?

Socialisation Call, April 1933

This is the sixth part of our series on the history and development of the Australian Labor Party, Previous articles dealt with the origins of the ALP, Labor's first years in office, the war years and the anti-conscription fight, Labor in the 1920's, and the Scullin government in the depression, \* \* \*

In this installment of our series we look at the influence of NSW Labor premier, J. T. Lang and his relationship to the Federal ALP. Besides Lang, we will discuss the role of the workers' mass movements during the depression and finally look at the fortunes of political labor throughout the remainder of the

J. T. Lang is unique in the rather tepid and uninspiring history of the Australian working class movement, and indeed, in Australian politics. For three vital years (1930-1933) Lang held the most powerful industrial and political combination of Labor forces in the palm of his hand. Within his own stronghold of NSW, Lang dominated Labor politics for the entire 1930s. It was not until 1939 that he was successfully removed Party, or 'Lang Labor Party' as it was known. Apart from this unparalleled political strength, Lang was possessed of a strong character and even a (somewhat limited) dosage of charismatic leadership. In part, this charisma has been mythologized over the years by Lang's estrangement from the offical labor movement and also reinforced in his own writings since the depression. The three major works, Why I Fight,
The Turbulent Years and The Great
Bust offer no special historical insights (although sections of each can be valuable) and generally serve the doubtful purpose of clouding and mystifying the actual role played by Lang. These books, as ang himself later admitted, were and still remain, valuable tools in concretizing his figure as some sort of legend, albeit a minor one.

#### Lang and the Depression:

No matter how large the person of Lang emerges in this period, it should be stressed that it is not lang himself but the social forces on which he drew his support that are significant. The real actors in this scene are the militant rank and file ALP activists, the organisers of the unemployed, and of course, the workers and unemployed themselves. At the height of his power Lang could have led the NSW working class in any direction he chose-in the final analysis it was the path to parliamentary solutions, not revolutionary conclusions that Lang decided upon. Behind the rhetoric of 'financial imperialism' and 'foreign masters' lay a new sort of revolution which "has come- is being fought, and will continue a little into the future. It has come without our streets being barricaded, without the accompaniment of fire-arms, but in the way the Labor movement has always said it would come, by Act of Parliament." The promise of socialism through "act of parliament" was used time and time again by Lang to pacify and redirect workers at his meetings who were calling to be armed.

It was in this sense the Lang was more valuable to the conservative powers

than their hysterical attacks on him were willing to acknowledge. For three years he consciously pushed back and rechanneled the fudamentally revolutionary demands of the mass of workers by a skillful combination of demagogic populism and caution. Lang threw up a veritable smoke-screen of non-issues to divert the dynamics of the worker's movement. As Robert Cooksey has illustrated in his study, Lang and Socialism, he could "cancelise the emotions of his audience." Lang's populism has been best preserved in part of a speech which he gave to the opening session of the 1931 Easter Conference of the NSW branch of the

"The Labor movement in this stae requires more solidarity than ever before. We must press on our (socialist) objective and do it quickly. You must get out among the people; you must point out to them the benefit of socialization; you must make them ready to receive it." 2 The strength of the Labor premier's rhetoric appeared as a favourable contrast to the time-serving vaccilliationof the Federal Labor gov ment under Scullin.

Sitting in the audience at the 1931 Easter conference were men and women who took Lang's invitation to socialization seriously and who proceeded to organise themselves along the lines of "socialization units". The growth of these units within the Labor party was so rapid and their influence so far reaching that ultimately they struck at the basis of Lang's power.

### The Socialization Units

In its original form, the movement for unconditional nationalisation of all basic industries was to be a limited propaganda campaign. The aim of this campaign was simply "to propagate the objective of the Labor party, ie the Socialization of Industry." 3 One of the basic functions of the directing committee was in a weapon against the struggle against Theodore, who had once loomed as a rival to Lang in New South Wales. The educative role of the committee buttressed its more overt political aims of frightening the Federal Labor caucus. While the Socialization Units were firmly in the grip of the Lang machine, the concept of socialism was a conveniently far off objective, although just close enough to worry Scullin, However, for thousands of rank and file of the Party, the Units were seen as serious organisations fighting for an immediate objective.

The emergence of the Socialization Units in 1931 as potential tools of mass struggle was a clear challenge to Lang's control. Their growth outside the context of the Lang machine illustrated the willingness of Labor supporters to rally around an alternative, anti-capitalist leadership within the Party itself. Lang's reputation as a radical, partly derived from his initial sponsoring of the units, was not justified by his subsequent rejection of them. By mid-1931, units had been formed in most urban and semiurban Party branches, each group a potential opposition to Lang's leadership.
The salient weaknesses of the Unit s organisation was their fallure to establish stronger union links, particularly at

the factory level. Had units been seriously organised in the trade union movement, the outcome in the struggle against Lang may have been different.

#### The Units and the Communist Party

In line with the general ultra-leftist turn

taken by the stalinised Comintern in 1929 (known as the third period), the CPA had altered its moderately sectarian appraisal of the ALP to one of extreme hostility. Local communists denounced the Labor party as "social fascist" and exhorted the workers to create their own "independent" organisations. This turn away from the mass working class party left the CPA stranded at the most crucial time. Instead of working within the ALP, they stood outside and were largely ignored. Their denunciations of Federal Labor as being "social fascist" was matched only by the characterisation of Lang and the Socialization Units as "left social fascist". According to the twisted logic of the Communist Party, the left social fascism of Lang and the Units was even worse than the unadultthe CPA, Lang was a cunning master of deception whose trickery of the workers was only exceeded by the Socialization Units themselves. The failure to separate the Units from Lang cost the CPA thousands of potential recruits. This was despite the fact that certain central leaders of the Units (notably Tom Payne) 4 were quite sympathetic to the CPA. Throughout the depression, the Communist Party's principal influence had been in the Unemployed Workers Movement, and its off-shoot, the Workers Defence Corps, which offered physical resistance to evictions and the withdrawal of essential services for debt. In some cases desperate fighting took place between the anti-eviction committees and police. 5 Nonetheless, the sensationalism of these actions was no substitute for the mass work that was required to lead signifigant sections of the work-force away from the dead-end of Langism. Unbeknown to the Communist Party, the Socialization Units were the organs through which such an alternative could have

#### The Demise of the Units

For two years the socialization units formed the strongest left formation that has ever existed within the ALP. Whereas, in the past, socialist groupings had skirted the fringes of the Labor Party, usually devoid of any impact. the Units constituted an effective socialist left. The main reason behind their success lay in the Depression and the crisis of Australian capitalism. In such a period, the way became open for an alternative to the reformist solutions of traditional leadership. When one in every three unionists in NSW was unemployed, the Units were seen by workers as a way out of the "chaotic miseries capitalism had forced them into, " 6

Despite their mass organisation, the Units failed, partly through a lack of programmatic clarity and partly because of their weakness within the unions. The Units were eventually severed from the Labor party at the 1933 Easter Conferences. Lang had reacted violently

to their action orientated programme, but it was only when they posed a real threat to his machine that he cut them off. After the dissolution of the local units, some members joined the Communist Party, others remained inside the ALP, most returned to "the grey mass of political apathy from which only the great Depression and the Socialization Units had drawn

#### The Fall of the Lang Government

The short-lived influence of the Socialization Units corresponded to a general political upheaval in NSW during 1930 - 33. In 1930 Lang won his second term of office as Premier of NSW, after a short unspectacular period of government from 1925 - 27. His first term as premier had produced some indication of his radicalism through a number of reforms in the interests of unions and new social services. It was in this period that Lang built up a considerable following in the official union leadership, enough even, to defeat an ttempt to remove him from the bosition of parliamentary leader. Later, many unionists came to regret this support when they found it impossible to dislodge Lang from the NSW exec-

There was none of Lang's aggressive reformism in his policy speech for the 1930 general elections. It was in fact a surprisingly conservative effort. The elections were held on October 25, and Labor was returned with fifty-five of the ninety seats, obtaining 55% of the total vote. The result was a personal victory for Lang against the diminishing fortunes of the Federal Labor government.

At the conference of Commonwealth

and State premiers, held in Canberra in February 1931, Lang unsuccessfully tried to move that the Australian governments "pay no further interest to British bondholders until Britain had dealt with the Australian overseas doots, in the same manner as she settled her own foreign debt with America." 8 Lang's proposal was opposed by Commonwealth treasurer Theodore whereupon the NSW premier introduced legislation to reduce interest payable within NSW to 3% and then on April 1,1931, defaulted on payments to British bondholders. Theodore retaliated by withholding Commonwealth finances to NSW and sued the government of NSW for refusing to pay the bondholders. The dispute continued after the defeat of the Scullin government with the new Commonwealth ministry under Lyons. By a process of retaliation and counter-retaliation the conflict between NSW and the Commonwealth came to a head. Finally the Commonwealth pressured the governor of NSW not to sign one of Lang's more radical financial policies, which provided for the state to acquire unpaid mortgages, as well as directing civil servants not to collect Commonwealth revenue. When Lang refused to withdraw this piece of legislation he was asked to resign, but he declined. The Governor's response to this refusal was to dismiss Lang and he quickly withdrew,

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

# THE BRIE

ICK MAKES GOOD

ecording to a recent report in the selbourne "Herald", the results of a all of all visitors to Madame Tussaud's vax gallery in London, over the past placed United States president, year, placed omto hate and Richard Nixon, top in the "hate and Richard Nixon, Nixon toppled Adolf fear" section. Nixon toppled Adolf Hitler from the spot which he had become accustomed to occupying over a period of some years. Visitors to Tussaud's Amsterdam gallery also gave Nixon "top marks" in the "hate and fear" section.

CHANGED HIS MIND. On March 15 questions were asked in the Queensland parliament concerning the background of Ward McNally, Press secretary to the present federal Minister for Works in the labor Party government. It seems that McNally had a criminal record in New Zealand before he moved to Australia 3 years ago.

Queensland Premier Bjelke-Petersen said hat many people would be deeply concerned that such a situation could exist. cord was not so noticeable when McNally edited a newspaper in Queensland. During one election Bjelke-Petersen approached McNally asking for overage for his election campaign, The "concern" about McNally's past hat he is now working for the Labor arty. It could also be tied up with the act that McNally is soon to publish a book attacking the Queensland Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Act and containing interviews with black militants like Denis Walker, John Newfong and Pastor Brady.

## KEEPING SINGAPORE SAFE FOR

DEMOCRACY. The Singapore government has just released six political prisoners who had been held without trial since 1971. An official announcement stated that the six were being released because "their capacity to cause damage to the security and stability of Singapore had been considerably reduced. "

THE END IS NEAR, Max Fox, Liberal member of the federal parliament, revealed on March 8 the startling fact that twenty per cent of the Labor Party members refused to take an oath on the ible, Every member of the Liberal and Country parties swore on the bible. Fox said: "I think the public should ponder this and the type of government they have elected". He also said that it was farcical that the parliament opened every day with prayers - who could dis-

igree with that? ut the public really should ponder the ype of government they elected - did hey know that it was 80 per cent

BLOOD LUST NOT SATISFIED. Apparently msatisfied by his genocidal efforts against the people of Vietnam, United States resident Nixon on March 15 announced details of a new crime law which, among other things, will reintroduce the death senalty. Crimes which would carry the death penalty under Nixon's new law would include: treason in times of war, espionage and sabotage, as well as crimes which resulted in death.

RITUAL TO STAY, Victorian Education Minister Lindsay Thompson said on March 8 that the patriotic oath would be maintained in Victorian state schools. Every morning thousands of students are forced to repeat the words "I love god and my country. I honour the flag. I will serve the queen and will cheerfully obey my parents, teachers and the law".

UPWEY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS STRIKE

On Friday March 16, 400 students went on strike at Upwey High School in the outer suburbs of Melbourne. The students struck in sympathy with a work stoppage by teachers who were protesting against understaffing at the school. Since the beginning of the year the second form has not had an english teacher and the sixth form has not had a French teacher. The four hundred students struck after several leaflets supporting the teachers' demands were issued at the school. Following a mass meeting in the school grounds, the students staged a march down Main Street in Upwey.

## FLATS

On Thursday, March 16, about 30 women protested outside the Housing Commission in Melbourne, over the lack of child-care facilities in Commission flats. The protests followed the death could have something to do with the fact of a three year old child who fell from an eleventh floor flat while her parents were at work. The child had been left in the flat with her younger brother because her parents were unable to find a baby-sitter for that day.

> The protestors saw the Housing Commission's public relations officer, H de Marigny, who said that Commission rents were so low that "there should be" no necessity for both parents to go out to work," Some of the women also saw Victorian Housing Minister Dickie, who said that child-minding was a municipal council responsbility - in other words go ACTION election supplement, Fox and annoy someone else, because I'm not going to do anything. Several of the women also saw the Labor party's Victorian Shadow Minister for Welfare, Bornstein, and asked for an assurance that the ALP would provide child-care throughout the state if they win the coming state elections,

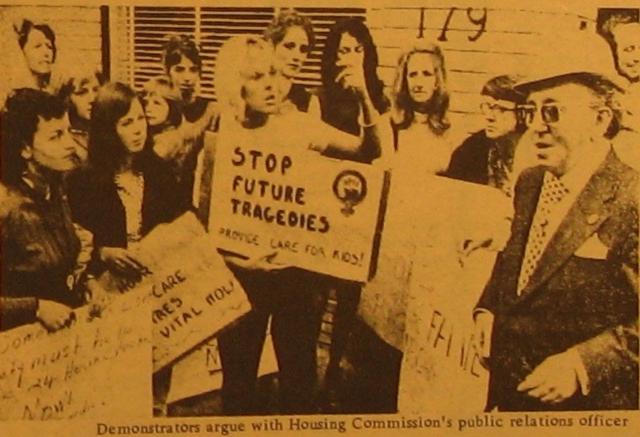
GERRYMANDER. In the coming Victorian state elections the Labor Party will need to do much more than simply increase its vote in order to win, it will need a landslide, not because it has a lot of ground to make up on the Liberals and the Country Party, but because of the way the electoral boundaries are distributed. For the Legislative Assembly each electorate elects one representative, but each electorate does not contain the same number of people. For example the urban electorate of Scoresby contains 55,321 people, while the rural electorate of Kara Kara contains only 16, 641 which means effectively that one vote in Kara Kara is worth approximately three votes in Scoresby. Similar situations exist in many other electorates. The Liberal Party government is not planning to redistribute electoral boundaries before the election.

ABORIGINAL INFANT MORTALITY. Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Gordon Bryant, revealed recently that between 1964 and 1969, one out of every two aboriginal babies born in the south coast region of New South Wales died before reaching one year old.

APARTHEID. A black African man recently of the workers, was involved in a level crossing accident in Transvaal, South Africa. He was rushed In Israel, Histadrut, the national trade to hospital where a doctor amputated a leg union organisation, is now the biggest Bielke-Petersen's concern about McNally's WOMEN PROTEST UNSAFE COMMISSION and left instructions for the man to be given employer of labour and bans strikes a blood transfusion. Later the doctor re- the role is completely reversed. turned to find that the man had not been given a transfusion. When he asked why, he was told that the hospital had run out of "black" blood of the man's type- it only had "white" blood. He was eventually result of suggestions from the "coloured" given some "white" blood, but he died.

LABOR FOLLOWS SWL. Liberal MP Max

Fox, following his revelation that some members of the ALP wouldn't take an oath on the bible, went on to prove how Labor is manipulated by left wing forces. He quoted from two documents, one called the "red rules" which appears to be published by a right wing Catholic organisation which reveals how insidious reds are subverting the moral fibre of the nation's youth by getting them to think about sex and other unhealthy subjects. Fox's second document was the DIRECT pointed out that DIRECT ACTION was published by the Socialist Workers League a communist organisation which supported the election of the Labor Party. Well that proves it then. We wait with bated breath for Labor to nationalize the means of production, distribution and exchange.



on, the biggest motoring organisation in the country, reveals that of all cars under twelve months old, 21 per cent had defective brakes, 13 per cent had engine trouble, 12 per cent had steering faults, 4 per cent had bad body work and 3 per cent had suspension defects. The report was compiled as a result of a computer backed survey. The prices however were still of a high quality. NO TO ACTU HOUSING SCHEME The Builders Labourers Federation has come out strongly and declared its "com plete opposition" to the ACTU's proposed housing scheme. A special meeting of the union's federal management com-

mittee in Melbourne decided it would not co-operate with the scheme "in any This is a welcome move. The attempts by the trade union movement to enter into partnership with private enterprise in the retail business, travel schemes, and now housing projects is a thoroughly backward step and should be strongly

opposed. Any alliance with capitalism

runs counter to the main purpose of the

trade unions, to fight for the interests

UNSAFE CARS. A report just released

by the Australian Automobile Associat-

APARTHEID 2. In 1971 a new \$11 million opera house was completed in Cape Town. South Africa. It was built largely as a community whose opera company is the most important in South Africa at the present time. The building was financed by rates contributed to by all races. Now however, it has been decided that the opera house will be for the use of whites

"OMEGA BASE" MEETING

A public meeting called by the "Stop Omega Committee" to begin initial publicity and group together a coalition of individuals and groups in opposition to the establishment of the "Omega" Base in Australia, was held in Melbourne on Wednesday March 21.

The meeting was addressed by Dr Alan Roberts, a physicist at Monash University, Dr Hutton, a long-time anti-Omega activist from New Zealand and Brian Brogan who is an activist in the Socialist Left. It was chaired by ALP senator Bill Brown and was attended by another Victorian ALP parliamentarian, Senator Primmer. Senators Brown and Primmer, by their attendance, clearly displayed opposition to the policy of support for the continued plans relating to "Omega" followed by the Whitlam leadership.

The speakers outlined the scientific side of the Omega issue and related this to the military objectives of the US. Emphasis was given to the question of mounting an on-going campaign around the issue of the Omega Bases along the lines of the campaign that was carried out in New Zealand.

A further meeting was called to form a broad committee and is to be held on Tuesday April 3 at the Trades Hall, Melbourne, at 8.00pm.

NO PROFIT INVOLVED. According to a report by the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney has only 14 beds available for thousands of alcoholics and people who happen to be drunk with nowhere to go.

. . . STEVE PAINTER

#### CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

obviously frightened at the revolutionary forces he had unleashed. In the absence of an alternative leadership to Lang, the massive class movement he had set in motion floundered and was left without

In his memoirs Lang rather belatedly claims he had considered extra-parliamentary action. However, he goes on to say that "I was not prepared to risk the creation of a situation resulting in bloodshed, particularly as the Commonwealth would have its forces fully armed and our supporters would largely be the unemployed, without weapons of any kind," Thus Lang has persisted with the myth that he considered a mobilisation of the working class. He is more honest when he admits that "rather than risk civil war and have bloodshed in the the dismissal. " 9

Labor in the 1930s

It is often stated that the Great Depress-

ion did not end in 1933, but continued to the second world war. For the majority of Australians this was true; their lives were visibly unaltered from the days of 1929 - 32. Unemployment remained at a steady 8 - 10% throughout the '30s, and overall growth rates in productivity and output continued to stagnate at a little above depression levels. Only in capital inflow and outflow was there anything like a recovery to the norm of the mid-20s. Even so, this largely superficial recovery was exploited by the government and press as propaganda that "an end was in sight."

But for the majority of Australians, the depression did not end until after the war, As far as the Labor party was concerned, it faced yet another decade of reconstruction and realignment after the shattering blows it had been dealt in the depression. In NSW the newly constituted Federal Labor party fared miserably against the Lang party. In Federal parliamentary politics, Labor was outmanoeuvred by the Lyons UAP (United Austalia Party - the anti-Labor block of the '30s). At the 1934 elections,

Scullin made little impact on the position of the Labor opposition. The instability of the ALP's parliamentary group was compounded by the nagging presence of nine Lang supporters, led by J.A. Beasley, who functioned as the only effective Labor opposition until 1935.

In 1935 Scullin resigned from leadership of the ALP, and was replaced by John Curtin. Curtin saw it as his task to reconstruct the Labor party as "a popular movement, not a class movement," 10 Again the catch cry became national unity. So Curtin fought the 1937 elections on the basis of Australia's defences arguing more fervently than the UAP for air and sea power for Australia. This belief by Curtin and successive Labor leaders, of the ALP's destined role as a party of national unity, has always been a focal point of the ideology of official Labor.

In a working class party, so imbued with parliamentary traditions as the ALP, it has been the commitment to a "national destiny" that has enabled the parish pump politics of Curtin (and, for that matter,

Lang) tofunction on the broader stage of Australian and international politics.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1 "Sydney Morning Herald" October 5

2 April 3, 1931, cited in Cooksey, Lang and Socialism, p 41. 3 Labor Daily May 6 1930 4 Payne eventually joined the CPA. The other key leaders were McNamara and Kilburn, both active in and around socialist groupings for some years. Donald Grant, another unit leader, was one of the the famous IWW Twelve. 5 "Sydney Morning Herald", June 20 '31 cited Turner and Louis, The Depression of

the 1930s p 116. 6 Labor DailyJuly 24, 1931 7 Cooksey, Op Cit, p 85 8 Shann & Copland, The Battle of the

9 Lang, J.T. The Turbulent Years pp 208-

10 cited in McQueen, "Glory without Power", in Australian Capitalism. (ed Playford and Kirsner)

# International Women's Day 1973

#### Melbourne

Two events marked International Women's Day in Melbourne this year. The two events, a speakout and a demonstration, were attended by roughly 2,500 people.

A womens' speakout held on March 8 packed Melbourne's Assembly Hall to capacity. Probably 500 women attended to hear three short talks including a brief history of International/Women's Day, The rest of the time was taken up by women from the audience giving their own personal testimonies concerning experiences and problems which they encountered around matters such as child care, working conditions, job discrimination, abortion and other subjects.

At one stage the speakout was disrupted by two women from a sectarian grouplet which calls itself the Spartacist League. They seized the microphone and be gan to abuse the women present for fighting around womens' liberation demands instead of "struggling for revolution as members of the working class around workers' demands". Women, these people asserted, of course welcome progress around issues such as abortion, contraception and child care but they should not fight around such issues because such struggles are not around "revolutionary demands",

The audience's reaction to this behaviour was hostile, showing that few of those present shared the sectarians' illusions that womens' right would be won without a struggle conducted by women. Neve has the revolutionary socialist movement denied that women should organize independently to fight the specific injustices which they suffer as a sex. The fact that these sectarians put forward such a position indicates the degree of their seperation from reality.

The second part of the International Womens' Day celebrations was the march held on March 10. According to the Melbourne daily "The Herald", which gave the march front page coverage, 2,000 people demonstrated. Over three quarters of the marchers were women.

Demands put forward by the marchers

- \*For the right to work and equal pay \*Equal opportunities for work and edu-

hour long rally during which speakers addressed the crowd on the main demands of the womens! movement and womens! liberation songs were sung.

A contingent from Melbourne Gay Liberation participated in the march, illustrating the common interests of women and homosexuals in their struggle against sexual oppression. At a rally after the march a lesbian addressed the crowd on her oppression both as a woman and a homosexual and she was well received.

The success of the International Womens' Day activities gives an indication of the sympathy which exists for the demands of women in Melbourne. The womens' liberation movement is growing and this should be reflected in further mass action in the near future.

#### Sydney

BY NITA KEIG

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On March 17-18 a Women's Commission was held in Sydney as part of nationwide activities in celebration of International Women's Day (March 8). The Commission was conceived as a large gathering where women would give and hear testimony about the oppression they suffer in their everyday lives. It would be a time when women could see that the discriminations, problems and frustrations of their lives were not unique but were shared by women everywhere. It was to be an occasion where women placed on trial the men, the laws and the institutions which oppress them and attempted to recognize and understand the patterns of their oppression better. Sessions were planned covering five broad topics: "Women as Morkers- Paid, Underpaid and Not Paid", "Women and Marriage" and "Other Forms of Discrimination", although it was recognized that testimonies would obviously overlap all these areas.

Approximately 600 women attended over

Approximately 600 women attended over the two days, with between 350 and 450 attending each session. Rather than taking the form of abstract reports, the test-imonies were living, spontaneous and often very moving descriptions of life as a woman. The meeting was heterogeneous. Women of all ages, different classes, married, unmarried, lesbians, mothers, factory workers, students, housewives teachers, pensioners and secretaries were all present.

For the right to work and equal pay
\*Equal opportunities for work and education
Free child care and pre-school facilities,
Free, safe contraception
\*Safe legal abortion on request
The march loft the City square after an picture of the breadth of the oppression

of women, and how no aspect of one's life can be isolated or remain untouched by it.

The Commission reflected the growth and expansion of the movement over the past year or so. Of the women's groups participating in the event were organizations as diverse as Gay Women's Liberation, Women's Electoral Lobby and Christian Women Concerned, along with women from a variety of women's liberation groups.

What was clearly revealed was the revolutionary nature of the women's liberation movement and its massive potential for reaching out to thousands of women, even the most downtrodden and superexploited, and giving them a revolutionary understanding of the society around them, and the confidence to fight it. A recognition of the role of the family, one of the most important pillars of capitalism, is key in this process. Many women who testified had read very little, if anything about women's liberation but rapidly and strongly identified with the movement under the impetus of their own experiences. In this consciousness there is a clear anti-capitalist dynamic. It is incompatible to believe in capitalism. This was assumed by many of the women who spoke. However, what did come across was the refusal of women to accept the subordination or postponement of their struggle to some later date, and the insinuation often made by "left" organizations that the women's movement is of secondary importance, and even a divisive movement in the revolutionary struggle.

The Commission was the most successful event of its kind yet organized by women in Sydney. The new understanding and the enthusiasm flowing from the discussion can only lead many women to want to act upon it. The Commission should herald a period of increasing activity and growth in the women's movement. Already an action has been planned for the Saturday preceding Mothers Day with a focus on the demands of women as mothers, and interest in all issues seems high.

The women's liberation movement will continue to grow, and the impact of its ideas will continue to be felt, it is a movement whose deepening thrust attacks the very roots of the capitalist social system.

#### Adelaide

BY PENELOPE JACKSON

Women in Adelaide celebrated Internat-ional Womens' Day by marching through the city and callying afterwards with the

specific aim of talking with other women,

The number of women marching was about 200. However, although small in numbers, the feeling of solidarity, strength and sisterhood was overwhelming. The marchers sang songs of liberation and chanted the demands which were:

\* Free abortion on demand.

\* Free 24 - hour community controlled child-care centres.

\* Free, readily available contraceptives.

\* Equal job opportunity.

Afterwards, at the rally, there was street theatre and two speakers. One outlined the demands of the march and the importance of them, and the other spoke on the topic 'Is sistenhood powerful?', basically outlining the fronts on which women to build an outgoing, powerful movement capable of reaching masses of women. Despite heavy criticisms of demonstrations from some sections in the Women's Liberation movement, the march proved to be a success and proved that women are indeed striking back against their oppression in this society in a confident and active way.

#### Brisbane

BY JANE BECKMAN

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On Friday March 9, women from the Women's Liberation movement and the Children by Choice Association staged a demonstration in King George Square around the theme; "Abortion is a woman's right to choose," The demonstration took place during the lunch-hour and about 30 women leafleted and spoke to the lunch-law crowds about the abortion issue. Its Passmore from the Children by Choice addressed the crowd and a very effective street theatre performance was the high-light of the whole demonstration. Despite the fact that we had been refused a permit by the city council the police contented themselves with taking down people's names.

The situation regarding abortion in Queens-land is particually repressive. Legally a woman can get seven years gool for att-empting to procure an abortion for her-self or helping another woman procure an abortion and a doctor can get up to four-teen years gool. This forces women in Queensland to travel inter-state at great expense where they have more hope of obtaining an illegal abortion.

Actions around the abortion issue are needed to force the Labor government to face the abortion issue and to force it to meet this demand of women. The recent sucess of our sisters in America over this issue can only inspire us to wage a campaign as broad and powerful, Sisterhood IS powerful,

Top: Women's Commission, Sydney