

DIRECT ACTION

NO. 5 MARCH 1971

10 CENTS

PUBLISHED BY SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE



AFTER LAOS?

NIXON'S OPTIONS RUN OUT

There is nothing new about the threat of an allied invasion of north Vietnam: there have been rumblings about it for many years. But this time they're coming from more "authoritative sources", as the pundits say.

Before February 1971 murmurs of this sort have emanated mainly from the extreme right of the Pentagon or from the arrogant posturings of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime, required as they are to periodically justify their meaningless existence as the "democratic" alternative to "communist aggression from the north".

Now, after Laos and Cambodia, the scenario has changed. What was before posited as an unrealistic approach to a final solution of the war now takes centre stage as Nixon's options run out. The numerous reports of an approaching desperate situation in Indo-China indicate that the United States Government has come to the realisation that it has very few directions it can turn.

Even before the February invasion of Laos, an invasion of the north was raised as one of the few alternatives left to Nixon, and now, after the defeat in Laos, the

speculation has reached an unprecedented height.

Every major newspaper in the world has given front page treatment to the latest remonstrations from President Thieu of South Vietnam, and the workers states have responded accordingly with stern warnings of the implications behind the present moves in Laos and central Vietnam. *Peking Review* has, on many previous occasions, issued severe warnings, but none as pointed as have appeared in recent editions.

The February 12 issue carried a slightly more-than-routine statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated February 4:

"The Chinese Government and people sternly condemn US imperialism for its new crime of aggression against the three peoples of Indo-China. . . . And the 700 million Chinese people who uphold proletarian internationalism absolutely will not allow US imperialism to do whatever it pleases in Indo-China. It is our duty and obligation to give all-out support to the three peoples of Indo-China till complete victory in the war against US aggression and for national salvation."

The Ministry's statement of February 8 went further, accusing Nixon of plotting an attack on north Vietnam, and emphasising the geographical proximity of Laos and China and the consequent threat to China represented by the invasion:

"The large-scale invasion of Laos by US imperialism is a grave provocation not only against the three peoples of Indo-China but against the whole world as well. Laos is a close neighbour of China. The Chinese and Laotian peoples are brothers. The Chinese Government and people have long been resolved to make all-out efforts in giving support and assistance to the peoples of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia to defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs". (*Peking Review*, February 12.)

The government statement of February 12 was still more specific in recognising the US threat to China:

"The Chinese government and people indignantly condemn US imperialism for its savage crimes of aggression against Laos. Laos is a close neighbour of China. US imperialism's aggression against Laos is also a grave menace to China. The Chinese people absolutely will not remain indifferent to it!"

"The Chinese government reaffirms: the 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area. . . . the unshirkable duty of the Chinese people to support the Laotian, Vietnamese and Khmer peoples in their war against US aggression and for national salvation. . . . The Chinese people will take all effective measures to give all-out support and assistance to the three peoples of Indo-China so as to thoroughly defeat the US aggressors and their running dogs." (*Hsinhua*, February 12.)

North Vietnamese Minister Xuan Thuy, at the Paris Conference on Vietnam, issued the following statement on February 18:

"The United States has intensified its attacks and reconnaissance activities on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. American news agencies themselves have revealed that the US, during the last few days, has stepped up air activities to the highest level, involving 2,000 combat aircraft, in the region of the 17th Parallel, not only for the purpose of supporting US and Saigon puppet troops in Northern Quang Tri and



southern Laos, but also for attacking north Vietnam. Associated Press wrote: 'This mobilisation (of aircraft) is also for the resumption of massive bombing against north Vietnam'.

"Moreover, also according to American military sources, the concentration of dozens of US and Saigon puppet battalions for the invasion of Laos, going farther than scheduled in the direction of the border between north Vietnam and Laos 'may have great significance because of the latest statement by President Nixon saying that the US would consider the use of air support for the incursion of south Vietnamese troops into north Vietnam' (*Agence France Presse*). A spokesman for the delegation later warned: 'China will not remain with its arms folded.' *Newsweek* columnist Marquis Childs wrote on February 24:

"There can be no overlooking the fact that for the first time the north Vietnamese have publicly suggested that China may respond to the invasion of Laos and the threat of invasion of north Vietnam with direct intervention. . . ."

"Communist regimes do not make such statements lightly. They normally come after careful, calculated private exchanges between the principals involved". Certainly, it is highly unlikely that the north Vietnamese would make such statements unless they had received assurances from the Chinese government. The *New York Times* of February 21 commented:

"It is altogether unrealistic to assume that China can remain indifferent to an expanding conflict on its borders or that the Soviet Union will fail to seek new ways to fulfill its commitments to Hanoi. The possibility of a new confrontation of the super-powers in Asia cannot be summarily dismissed."

As such a confrontation approaches, the bourgeois press is becoming more and more open in its opposition to Nixon's policies in Asia. This opposition often requires them to make a thoroughgoing re-analysis of the situation. Thus Tom Wicker, in the same edition of *New York Times* wrote:

"His (Nixon's) Vietnam policy is by no means one of steadily withdrawing Americans from south Vietnam, then letting the people of Indo-China work out or fight out their own affairs. It is instead a policy of escalation by American air power and south Vietnamese manpower, with the aim of military victory".

Wicker described Nixon's claim that invasion of Laos was designed to protect American troops as a "blatant deception" and "fraud".

"The clear threat to turn loose the South Vietnamese to invade north Vietnam under a protective umbrella of American planes and behind a destructive barrage of American bombs, may be in part psychological warfare. But if the President cannot get his victory in Laos, as he could not get it in south Vietnam or in Cambodia, there is only one other place to get it, and every reason to believe that Mr. Nixon will do just that." Nixon's policy, Wicker added, is "calculated to bludgeon North Vietnam to its knees, without appalling American casualty lists; it is also a policy that risks retaliation elsewhere - in northern Laos or in Thailand - and might bring Chinese entry into the war. . . ."

"It is a policy of indiscriminate aerial warfare and blind firepower on the ground that means death and destruction wholesale,

not just body counts of enemy dead, but a slaughter of innocents - women and children and old people - villages destroyed the earth ravaged, refugees in their miserable thousands wandering homeless and hungry. For the people of Indo-China, it is a wanton lie that this Administration is "winding down" the war; it is spreading the war like a holocaust".

As far as is known, sometime around February 1, around 16,000 ARVN troops were ferried across the border of Laos by US-manned helicopters, with the stated intention of wiping out an important section of the (so-called) Ho Chi Minh Trail, which is the main supply route for NVA, NLF and other liberation forces in southern Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The reason for the invasion is only half the truth. As was the case with Cambodia the United States is faced with the collapse of the local right-wing "neutralist" forces of Souvanna Phouma, as the countryside increasingly falls into the hands of the Pathet Lao.

With Cambodia, the pretext for invasion was the mythical "sanctuaries", now in Laos it is the Trail. The only difference is that the Trail is real. The myth lies in the belief that ARVN mercenaries can do what three years of one of the most sustained bombing campaigns in history against essentially civilian targets has been unable to achieve. Of course the intention becomes clearer when we realise that the primary aim of US policy has been, and remains, to destroy the entire liberation struggle in Indo-China, and if necessary, the civilian population along with it. So, even if they can't knock out the Trail, they can destroy every village in the vicinity, thereby achieving part of their aims anyway.

"The Trail", said a US army officer recently, "is a state of mind. It's a philosophy". The most exaggerated and oft-repeated claim of this philosophy is that the Trail is fifty miles wide. This may well be the case, but even the broadest interpretation of this philosophy cannot then explain why the Air Force has conducted a systematic campaign that has destroyed virtually every town and village in Northern Laos and left tens of thousands of civilians to either seek survival by huddling in tunnels during the day and trying to farm at night, or to wander the face their country as homeless refugees.

Nixon can no longer allow the US forces to just sit their and mind the shop. He must continue to find fatuous justifications for even the slightest new phase of operations forced upon him by the very dynamics of counter-revolutionary warfare. He thus justified the Cambodian excursion in terms of providing a breathing space to allow the progressive withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam.

After the monumental defeat in Cambodia (liberation forces have wiped out the entire Cambodian Airforce and 80% of oil refining facilities, isolated Phnom Penh, and pushed about 30,000 ARVN troops back to the outskirts of the capital), pressure from within the US has forced the Administration to accept restrictions on the use of US combat troops outside of Vietnam and to cloud further aggression in a haze of semantics: hence the phrases "anticipatory retaliation" and "protective reaction" to describe what could be more appropriately called desperate acts to stem the tide of revolution in Southeast Asia.

Every attempt to intensify the counter-revolution has resulted in abject failure for the US. Not only do they face military defeat, loss of morale, and wholesale desertions in Indo-China, but the opposition at home has placed severe limitations on where Nixon can go next. The present

situation can be reviewed as follows:

The US has lost the military war in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, and is losing the political war at home. The ARVN forces are deserting at the rate of 12,000 per month, and any further involvement of US ground forces would result in wholesale mutiny. (It is worth noting here that the *Washington Star* of February 19 recalled that when General William Westmoreland first proposed an invasion of Laos five years ago, "He said it would take 260,000 American troops to carry out the operation!")

The cost of the war is now unbearable to the US economy. Large sections of the bourgeoisie want out. Nixon must now produce a quick dramatic victory or get the troops out. A victory in the conventional sense is not going to be brought about by either US troops and air power or puppet regime forces. Provided that Soviet and Chinese material aid to the liberation forces remains adequate to their needs (and that has sometimes been a matter of contention) there appears no possibility of a US victory within the present limits of operation.

Three measures cannot however be ruled out. Firstly, the US could continue to destroy the Indo-Chinese people and country at the present rate. This, as has been shown, is becoming increasingly difficult because of, not only the liberation forces' military strength, but also the strength of public opinion within the USA. The second alternative is for the US to change the limits of operation. The most likely variant of this proposition is a ground force invasion of North Vietnam, accompanied by US air power. This support will probably have to take the form of tactical nuclear weapons or a hideous terror bombing of the major cities or the dyke system.

Latest developments that indicate the possibility of this course of action are the large build-up around Khe Sanh and Lang Vei, just below the demilitarised zone, the ARVN and CIA-trained mercenary buildup in northern Laos, and the suggested evacuation of three million inhabitants of the five northern provinces of South Vietnam.

An invasion of the North could produce a variety of responses:

1. The DRV might surrender. Such an

assault, in any of its forms, may well be beyond their limits of endurance. Such an eventuality may provide an easy way out for the Soviet Union and China, who may be reluctant to precipitate a major conflict over the present stakes. The matter of China's willingness to retaliate is of paramount concern. In this regard, the recent US and Canadian overtures, regarding diplomatic exchanges and the matter of admission to the United Nations, may play an important role, although most commentators are of the view that the severity of China's warnings over the recent escalations indicate that these sort of soundings are not receiving the expected responses, and that no amount of power game manoeuvring will soften up China's attitude towards the threats against its southern neighbours.

The Soviet Union, however, may be playing a more insidious role. One of Nixon's arguments that China will not intervene has been that Peking has been moving troops northward rather than toward the border with Laos. *Newsweek* on March 1 reported:

"A Soviet military manoeuvre which began last week near Lake Baikal in Siberia could only aggravate Peking's longstanding fear of the Soviet presence on its northern border and make the Chinese reluctant to shift troops away from that critical front."

2. If the DRV chooses to hold out in the face of an invasion, it will do so because it has received an assurance that China will retaliate, thus precipitating a pre-Third World War situation, depending on how far the American bourgeoisie is prepared to go.

The third remaining option is one which has many possible variants. It presupposes that Pentagon thinking hasn't advanced much further since Korea, and that the Pentagon thinks that north Vietnamese thinking hasn't advanced much further than the Stalinist policies of that time. In Korea, the threat of the use of nuclear weapons was sufficient to guarantee a settlement, a division of the spoils at that time. In this case, if Pentagon sabre-rattling were successful, the result would probably be a stalemate along the present boundaries, thus allowing the US to proceed with its "pacification" and "Vietnamisation" programmes in the south, thereby allowing a troop withdraw-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



DIRECT ACTION

Number 5, March, 1971.

All correspondence to Socialist Youth Alliance, P.O. Box 581, Sydney South, 2000.

Subscriptions \$1.50 for 10 issues

Published by Jim Percy
105 Reservoir st
Surry Hills 2010
Ph 2112748, for Socialist Youth Alliance
Printed by Hawkesbury Press, 200 George st, Windsor.

COVER

The illustration on our cover is a detail from a mural by the Mexican artist Diego Rivera, whose self-portrait appears at right. Rivera was a close associate of Leon Trotsky during the latter's exile in Mexico. Together with Andre Breton, Rivera and Trotsky collaborated on an important document, "Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art", which was first published on July 25, 1938, but without the signature of Trotsky. The document was a bitter attack on bourgeois, fascist, and Stalinist conceptions of art, and called for the establishment of an International Federation of Independent Revolutionary Art.

"We want an independent art - for the Revolution, the revolution - for the definitive liberation of art."



NIXON'S OPTIONS RUN OUT

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

al (without removing the all-important air power) to pacify the home front, with the hope of confusing and silencing large sections of public opinion and taking the steam out of the anti-war movement.

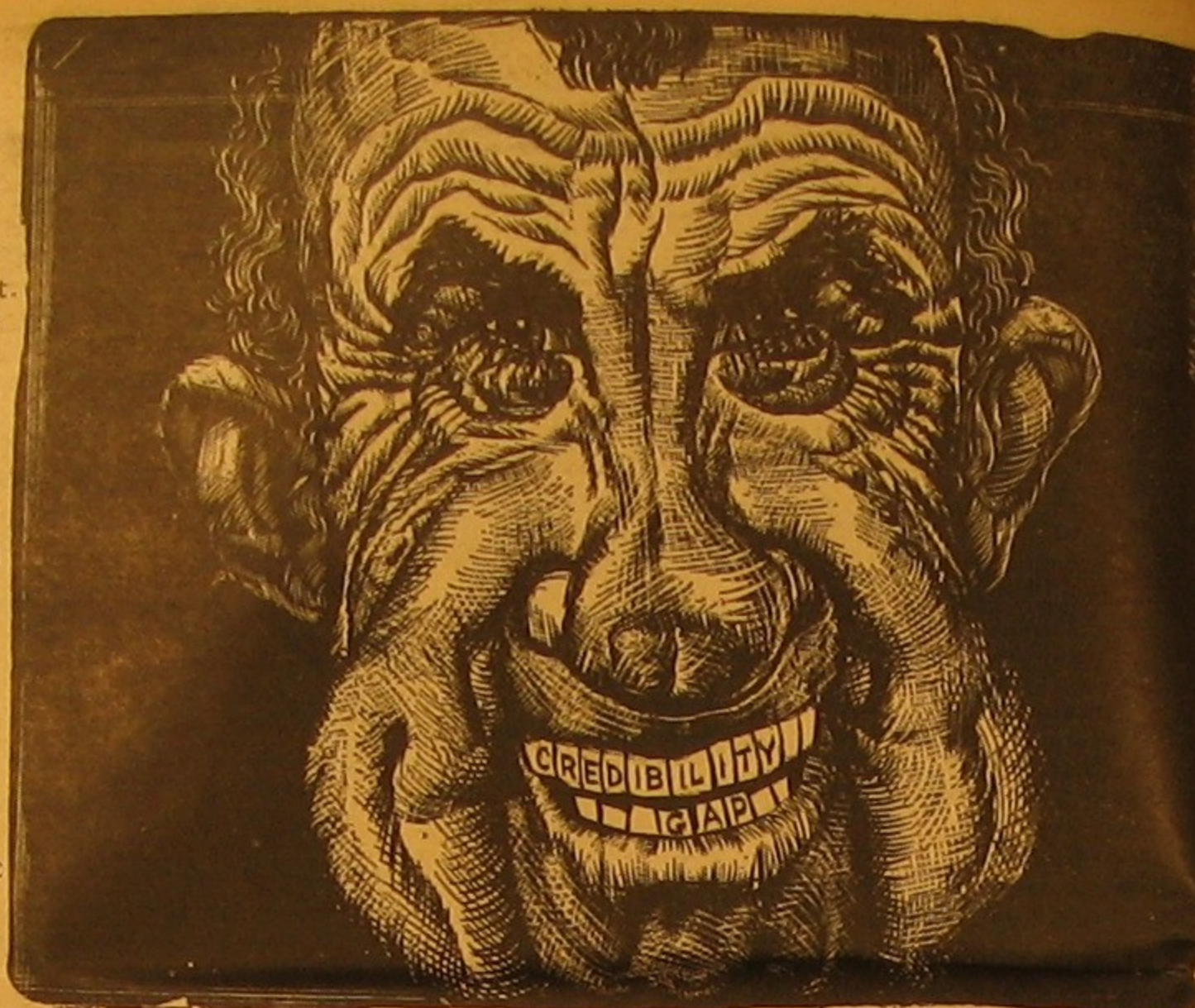
The attitude of the anti-war movement must surely be taken into account in a prognosis of this squaring-off process. As we have said, any next escalation will have to be a massive leap. If the Pentagon is seriously considering such steps, then it must be assumed that they have also considered the consequences of a reaction at home, and it is worth remembering that the Defence Department has dossiers of 25,000,000 civilians considered dangerous, and has a contingency plan for the despatch of 10,000 troops on short notice to any one of ten US cities.

The third alternative posed above requires no major military escalation, but it is highly unlikely that Nixon's hopes will be granted: it is doubtful that the anti-war movement will be prepared to accept a Korean-type settlement of the war. They have learnt a lot more about

imperialism since them. The fact that full details of the invasion of Laos have not yet been released, over a month after it began, indicates the potential power of the anti-war movement. If further examples are required, we need only mention that no top official involved in the prosecution of the war has been able to speak in public for years, and that a recent ABC poll revealed that only 14% of the population believed the administration's assertions that the invasion of Laos would shorten the war, and 46% said they believed that US ground troops had entered Laos.

Within the present limits of the conflict, the liberation forces of Indo-China have fought and won. The consummation of their revolution depends on whether, in the first place, the international anti-war movement can force the losers to go home or lose the world for all. Failing this, it depends on whether the workers' states are prepared to resist the desperate lashings out of the loser or allow history's most historic struggle to be lost in the interests of the status quo.

Our task is the first on this list.



NATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

Nearly 1000 delegates registered for the National Antiwar Conference called by the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign in Sydney from February 17 - 21. Over 1800 attended the public meeting at the Town Hall to mark the opening of the conference.

Nearly 90 papers on the war and the movement against it were presented to the delegates. The political debate culminated in the final session where motions about the nature and activities of the V.M.C. coalition were moved. The result of this session was an overwhelming endorsement for motions that mean that the V.M.C. will retain its broad coalition nature around the central demand of immediate withdrawal and with the main

purpose of organizing massive marches in the cities of the country.

A proposal suggesting that the aims of the V.M.C. should be changed to the slogan "Oppose U.S. aggression" was soundly defeated as was one which argued for splitting the coalition and making the V.M.C. common denominator support for the P.R.G. and the socialist revolution in Vietnam.

The next major date set for antiwar action was April 30. This date falls just after the major demonstrations planned by the U.S. antiwar movement for Washington D.C. and San Francisco for April 24.

With the new escalation of the war the

clear lead and decisions for action made at the V.M.C. conference are vital for the further growth of the antiwar movement so that any further aggression by the U.S. and its allies is met with a massive protest and demonstration of what the feelings of the majority of the people of the world is:

OUT NOW!

The following are the Aims, strategy and proposals for action adopted by the V.M.C. Conference.

AIMS

In the light of recent developments in the Indochinese War, and of U.S. policies in Asia, and having regard to the present state and perspectives of the national antiwar coalition, it is proposed that conference adopt the following statement of aims to be forwarded to all state bodies for their urgent consideration:

- i) We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the total U.S. and allied military presence from Indo China, and the cessation of U.S. aggression and internal subversion against

the peoples of Indo China.

- ii) We demand the immediate, unconditional and unilateral withdrawal of Australian military forces from Indo China irrespective of U.S. policy.
- iii) We demand the immediate abolition of conscription in any form, recognising it as a direct instrument of Australia's involvement in U.S. military intervention in Indo China.
- iv) We demand that the United States, Australia, and other allied governments withdraw all military, material and political support for those regimes or forces sustained by the United States in Indo China.
- v) We demand that Australia end its present policies of military intervention in countries of Asia and the South Western Pacific and refuse all future involvement in U.S. or other aggression or interference in the internal affairs of any country.
- vi) We demand that the U.S. and its allies recognise the Indo Chinese right to national independence, unity and self-determination.

STRATEGY

That the whole anti-war movement make the main direction of its activities towards achieving a forthright effort at all levels of the working class and labor movement for mass consciousness and action for the aims. In doing so to recognise that a significant percentage of workers are women and that Moratorium policies should be presented in such a way as to help break down sexist, chauvinist and discriminatory practices and attitudes to women.

The main slogan directed to the workers and the labor movement for their participation in anti-war action be "Stop Work to Stop the War", with all necessary varieties of action enlisted to lead to the goal of a mass political strike. In particular, rank and file action should be developed through the formation of workshop rank and file committees in all industries.

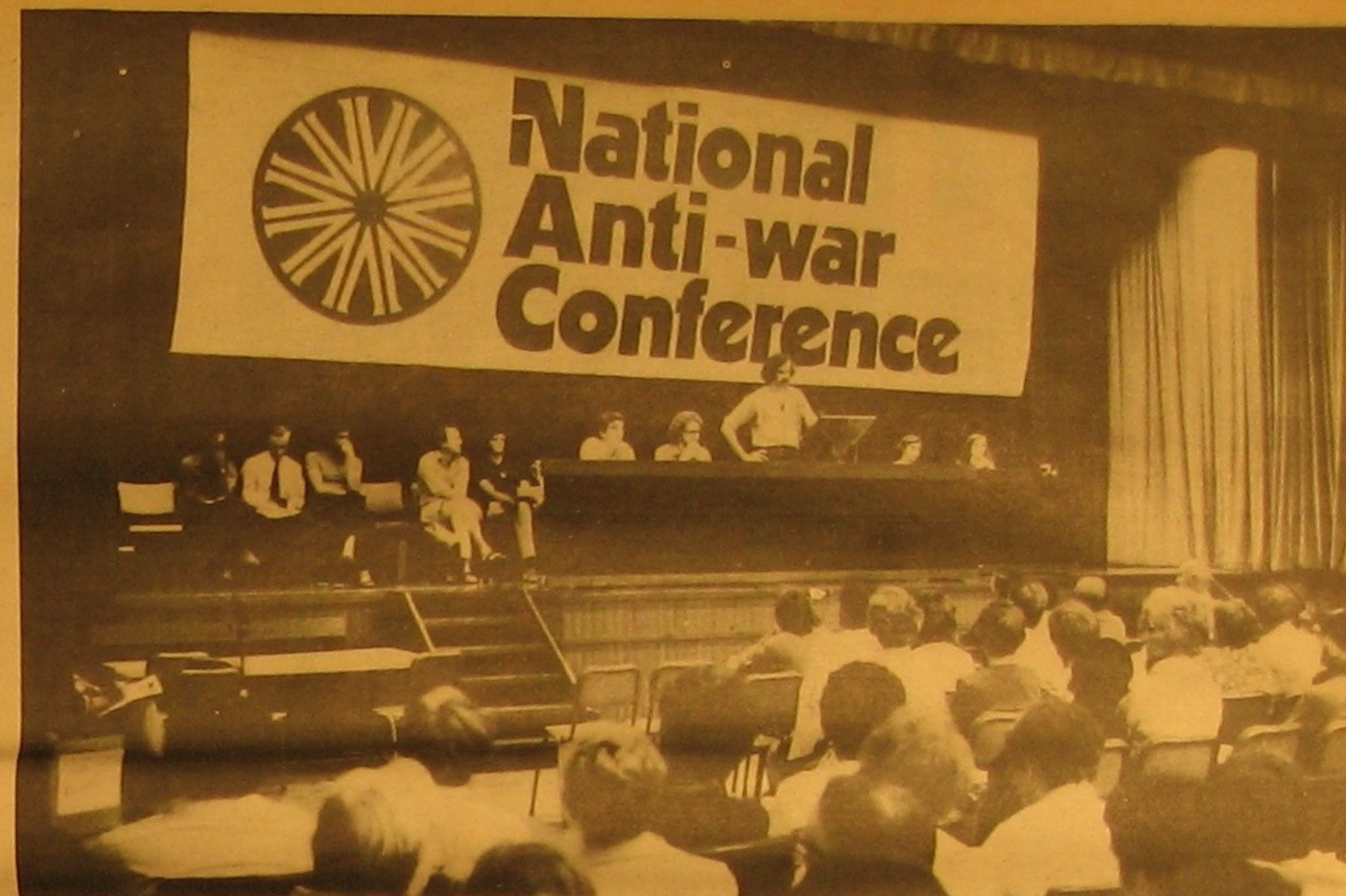
The movement to establish the close

connection between the Moratorium aims and the daily issues of immediate concern to working people.

CAMPAIGNS

In furtherance of the aims of the Moratorium, a wide campaign to be conducted:

- a) to explain the nature and policies of the N.L.F. and the P.R.G., the liberation forces of Cambodia and Laos to the Australian people;
- b) to expose the real nature of the American supported regimes in Indo China;
- c) to explain the deeper causes of the war in Indo China and the nature of the system that generates that war;
- d) to expose specifically the role and nature of U.S. imperialism and Australia's part in it.



MASS CENTRAL ACTIVITIES

The National Anti-war Conference recognised that mass demonstrations in the central city area combined with stop work action have proved the most successful focal point for the Moratorium and believes that while activities such as local demonstrations etc. should be encouraged, they should be seen as building towards the central one rather than as an alternative to it.

ACTION

The National Anti-War Conference, on the recommendation of the National Co-ordinating Committee, noting the report from the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam (November 28-31, 1970), recommends to all States that they attempt to make the months of April, May and June periods of intensive activity, publicising the Indo-Chinese withdrawal deadline for U.S. troops by June 30, 1971. In particular, there should be nation-wide mass actions on Friday, April 30, and Sunday, May 30, and that Wednesday June 30 be planned as a day when as many people as possible should stop work if U.S./Australian troops are not withdrawn from Indo-China. The three months period from April 1 to June 30 should be employed to build support for the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign in broader areas, especially in the industrial/worker class.

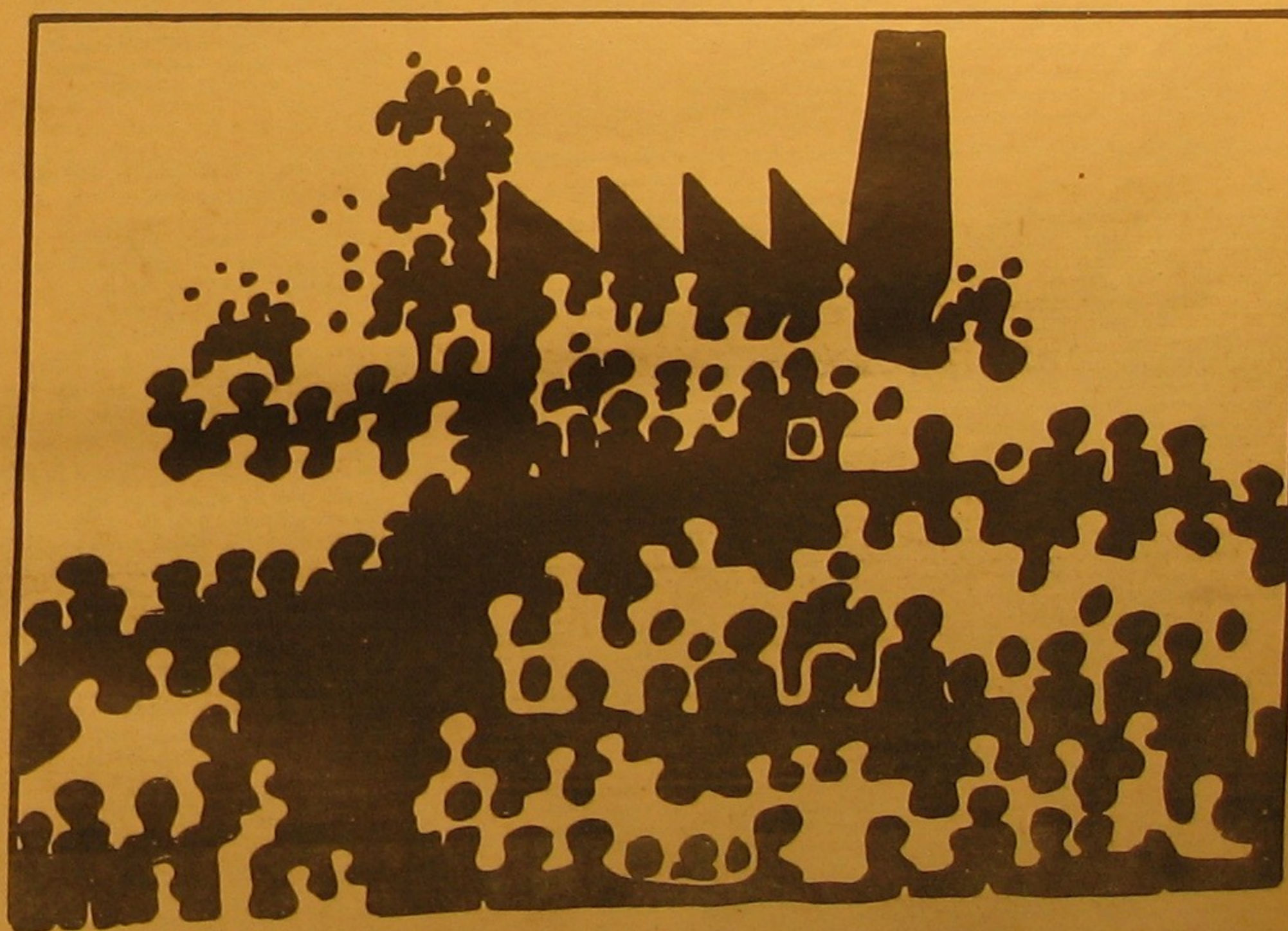
BRITISH UNION MILITANTS URGE FURTHER ACTION

On Monday March 6 a majority of Britain's 200,000 postal workers voted to end their seven week old strike. However thousands of rank and file militants refused to go back, branding their Union Leaders as traitors for urging an end to the stoppage.

Although betrayed by union bureaucrats, militant areas such as Liverpool, and South East London strongly condemned the official Union leadership and its top man, Tom Jackson.

The long and bitter postal strike is only the first indication of growing rank and file militancy which is forcing many conservative union leaderships to put on a militant facade in order to co-opt the energies of radical workers within the machinery of institutionalised class struggle.

But the real battle is yet to come. There is strong rank and file pressure through the unions on the Trades Union Congress which, when it meets on March 18 will be confronted with proposals for massive strikes in opposition to the infamous Industrial Relations Bill. As a result of rank and file pressure the TUC recently sponsored an anti-Bill demonstration of



up to 120,000 workers in the streets of London. The militants are now demanding a general strike to force the Conservative government to drop the proposed legislation.

The main strategy of the Bill is designed to smash the leading roll of shop stewards who are mainly responsible for calling wildcat strikes without waiting for the assent of the ossified union structures. By making such shop floor decisions illegal the Bill will strengthen the power

of the higher union bureaucrats to call "official" strikes, is thus taking the initiative away from militant workers. With a little luck, and a few more broken strikes, the capitalists hope to introduce, as a general principle, legally-binding contracts between the union bureaucrats and the employers, thereby effectively by-passing the workers. Unions who don't co-operate with the newly established legal machinery will be threatened with de-registration.

The divisive nature of the Bill is quite obvious and it is to be expected that the more conservative union leaderships, by their silence, will secretly support it in order to increase their hold over rank and file unionists. Because of the worsening industrial situation, (the worst since the 1926 General Strike), it is possible that the workers, in spite of setbacks like the breaking of the Postal Strike, can smash the gathering chains of bourgeois legality with the main weapon of proletarian struggle - the General Strike.



VIETNAM, ASIA, & CEYLON

AN INTERVIEW WITH BALA TAMPOE

Comrade, you mentioned during the Anti-War Conference that Ceylonese port workers have taken action against the American intervention in Vietnam. Is there any organised trade union activity against the war, and what is being done to support the Vietnamese revolution by trade unionists?

Since the very inception of active American intervention in Vietnam, it has been accepted in Ceylon that there should be absolutely no support given to that intervention by any Ceylonese government, either directly or indirectly, and for that reason, for instance, no military aircraft can use any Ceylon airport and no ships carrying men or material for the war in Vietnam can enter any Ceylon port. If any such vessel does enter the port, the dockers would immediately refuse to handle it.

We had one example of that when a ship came in and a rumour spread that it was carrying war material for Vietnam. The dockers immediately stopped work on the ship and contacted union headquarters to verify whether there were war materials. And it was only after we had confirmed that there were no war materials on board, that they returned to work. So, on that point, there is no need for any organised trade union decision. It's already an accepted fact among the dockers that they do not handle any ships carrying war material for Vietnam, and that any government - even the most conservative one - dare not, so long as they seek to maintain any kind of popular support, have any direct association with the imperialist intervention in Vietnam.

We have had several public demonstrations and mass meetings in solidarity with Vietnam, sponsored by organisations like the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, the Ceylon Peace Council, and in certain cases by the trade unions. In recent times, though, there hasn't been much solidarity activity because the situation in Ceylon is one in which other questions have occupied more public attention. There is not much similarity in the situation in Ceylon to that in Australia with respect to the establishment of an anti-war movement as such, because there are no Ceylonese troops in Vietnam, and the question doesn't even arise of any Ceylonese government giving any support to the imperialist intervention in Vietnam.

How do you see the war in the general context of imperialist strategy for the third world countries?

I see it primarily as the effort of American imperialism to hold back the advancement of the colonial revolution in Asia by armed force. To understand the present situation in Indo-China one must remember that after World War Two, several countries achieved what is described as national independence or political independence - depending on how it was achieved. In the case of Indonesia, for instance, there was an uprising against the Dutch following the Japanese surrender and that resulted in Indonesia achieving national independence.

In Indo-China and Vietnam itself there were various struggles during World War

Bala Tampoe is the Secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, and a member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. He is also a legal advocate, a botanist and horticulturalist, and General Secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union. He recently visited Australia as a guest of the National Anti-War Conference.

Two, but none were successful, and at the end of the war the big powers, with the acquiescence of the Soviet Union, divided Indo-China at the 17th Parallel. Purely for military purposes, the southern portion was taken over by the British and the northern portion was given to the Chinese, even though in September 1945, for a very short time, Ho Chi Minh had declared an Independent Republic of Vietnam and the French had recognised it as an independent republic within the French Union. In fact, it was made impossible to install an independent republic of Vietnam by this division at the 17th Parallel, and the question of national independence for the Vietnamese people has remained unresolved from that time up to now. Ho Chi Minh was himself in difficulty because he had to respect the Potsdam Agreement because the Soviet Union was a party to that agreement.

Later, and to this day, the portion of Vietnam which is now generally called "North Vietnam" has been treated as being a separate state when in reality the whole of Vietnam is one country and one people. The present situation is an artificial creation, by the imperialists, of a situation in which the north of Vietnam is treated as the North Vietnamese state and the portion in the south is treated as the South Vietnamese state. As a result you get a situation in which now when a demand is made for the unconditional withdrawal of imperialist forces from Vietnam, the imperialists counter by saying they are prepared to withdraw their forces if the north Vietnamese withdraw their forces. And they make it appear that if there are any north Vietnamese forces fighting in the area they call South Vietnam, then that amounts to an intervention by another state.

The position is further complicated by the Geneva Agreements, under which it was agreed that there would be no intervention by armed forces on either side of the dividing line until elections were held. But now, having disrespected the agreement, they themselves use the situation created under the agreement (where the state or government of North Vietnam is not to intervene in South Vietnam) to say that since there are north Vietnamese forces in south Vietnam, the north Vietnamese now do not respect the agreement, and that they are therefore free to pour any number of their own troops into that struggle.

The simple situation remains that from the end of World War Two up until today, first the French imperialists, and then

the American imperialists, have systematically intervened with the use of armed force to deny independence to that country. Now the significance of this, to my mind, is that in the course of this period of over 25 years, the nature of the situation in south Vietnam itself has altered to such an extent that any genuine independent government that can emerge from the liberation of south Vietnam cannot remain within the capitalist social structure. It will be necessary to go over to a socialist transformation on a revolutionary basis because of the long-standing character of this national liberation movement. Its content has been continually changing, and where to begin with, the National Liberation Front no doubt had within its ranks various liberal, petit-bourgeois and other components which might have continued had independence been granted even in Ho Chi Minh's time, to the establishment of some kind of bourgeois regime there. But today that is no longer possible.

National independence for Vietnam will now mean that the whole of Vietnam goes outside the sphere of operations of the capitalist system and this the United States is not prepared to allow. They think that its immediate effect will be to accentuate the revolutionary development in bordering countries. I think the substance in that fear of theirs, their so-called domino theory, is not to be understood in a mechanical sense, but in a political and social sense. There is no doubt that a victory for the Vietnamese people would result sooner or later in the overthrow of capitalism in the whole of Vietnam. It will not merely be a victory for national liberation forces, but essentially for revolutionary social forces, and such a victory will then further accentuate, for imperialism, the danger of extension of the colonial revolution of South East Asia, with increasing emphasis on its socialist character and not merely on a basis of the replacement of direct imperialist rule by local or native bourgeois rule.

If you take what happened in India, Burma and Ceylon, you will see that the British recognised the danger of national liberation movements leading not only to the overthrow of foreign rule. In these countries there was a danger not of a mere national liberation, but of a socialist transformation taking place in what Trotskyists describe as the process of the Permanent Revolution. All the native bourgeoisies, even in India which is the biggest Asian country within the capitalist framework, are incapable of solving a single basic problem of the masses in their countries. These bourgeoisies are weak economically and are capable of only one kind of development: national development, as they call it, in alliance with and subordinated to imperialism. Even a big country like India, for all its neutralist stands or non-alliance stands in international politics, in practice depends primarily on imperialist capital for development and for the achievement of its so-called Five Year and Ten Year Plans. The same applies to countries like Ceylon and Pakistan. Even Burma today is floundering in a completely unclear situation, primarily because its imperialist support has been withdrawn from the Burmese regime with a view to bringing it down and replacing it with a more collaborat-

ionist type of regime.

Ceylon has the same problem. The new government claims to be trying, following a middle way, that is to make certain concessions to the masses or at least not to take away concessions previously granted, but the imperialists can no longer tolerate such intermediate regimes. They want regimes which will suppress the masses and guarantee maximum return on capital and foreign investment.

Now the British, having had the experience of the Vietnamese development and the Indonesian national liberation struggle, decided in relation to India, Burma and Ceylon, to grant what they call political independence within the British Commonwealth, in advance of any general uprising in these countries. It's an indication of the farsightedness of British policy: India and Ceylon not only remained within the Commonwealth, but they have now become centres in which capitalism is desperately seeking to establish bases against the extension of the colonial revolution. So in this context too, for the people of Ceylon and India, there is a very special significance in the Vietnamese struggle. A victory for the Vietnamese revolution will strengthen the possibilities of revolution in Ceylon and India. Contrariwise, the defeat of the Vietnamese revolution or the establishment of some kind of halfway house in south Vietnam will mean a weakening of the forces for revolution in Asia. Imperialism cannot stabilise its position in Asia any more: it is historically incapable of doing so.

The clearest proof of this is what happened in Indonesia. As a result of the policies followed by the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) the mass movement was hamstrung behind Sukarno. The imperialists prepared their counter-revolutionary action in collaboration with reactionary military and other rightist forces in Indonesia and they smashed the mass movement, by the physical destruction of over 300,000 people who were either supporters or members of the PKI, or expected of being so.

Nevertheless, despite this virtual massacre of the mass movement on a scale not hitherto seen anywhere, the mass movement is again developing in Indonesia, especially amongst the youth. Hundreds of millions of people of Asia have no other road but struggle and, ultimately, revolutionary uprising against the capitalist structure. What is required in all these countries is the formation of genuine revolutionary parties which should then co-ordinate with each other and develop their own revolutionary strategy in Asia, to counter and overcome the already existing and highly co-ordinated imperialist counter-revolutionary strategies. Australia will have to play a role in one way or another. In this country at the moment the bourgeoisie is placing Australia within the counter-revolutionary strategy of imperialism. It will be up to the revolutionary forces in Australia to break it free of that alliance.

Bala Tampoe addresses the trade union commission of the National Anti-war Conference at Sydney Trades Hall.



and bring it into the field of revolutionary strategy.

One of the main results of the Indo-China war is the world-wide radicalisation of youth. What about the radicalisation taking place in Ceylon? Is it taking place mainly amongst the youth or is it much wider than that?

The sweeping electoral victory of the United Front Party (SLFP), the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party (Moscow wing) at the elections of May 27 1970 was due primarily to the youth radicalisation. According to my analysis of the figures, of 750,000 new workers registered after the 1965 elections, at least 600,000 voted for the coalition on May 27. The older workers divided more or less evenly between the coalition and the previous government, so that the position of the older workers was not very different to 1965, but the overall total changed in favour of the coalition, with about 1.8 million workers voting for the previous government and about 2.3 million voting for the coalition. These new workers contributed decisively to the victory of the coalition not only by their numbers, but also by their active participation in the election campaign. They gave a very definite radical aspect to the campaign, but, of course, this helped the LSSP and the CP to pass off the election struggle as a struggle for socialism, and to pass off the electoral victory as a peoples' victory. My party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) (LSSP(R)), did not put forward any candidates in the campaign, and in a manifesto accused the LSSP and CP of misleading the masses to the belief that the establishment of a coalition government would be a victory for the masses.

Now a large proportion of the youth expected radical changes once the coalition government was established. As a result of these changes not being brought about, disillusionment has spread amongst the youth. One striking feature of this is

the emergence in the (majority) Sinhala areas of Ceylon, of a new movement called the Janita Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) or Peoples Liberation Front. This organisation has been developing unknown to most people since 1966. A section of its leadership came out of the Peking wing of the Communist Party, a section from the Moscow wing, and a section from the LSSP.

The JVP was organised in all the Sinhalese villages and in the provincial towns since 1966 without any publications or public meetings. They organised in groups by holding classes and discussion meetings in private houses. Nobody was aware of their extent until just before the May elections. The newspapers began to run reports of the Criminal Investigation Department, which has a political branch, which said that there was some kind of insurgent movement being built up with the intention of disrupting the elections. This movement they dubbed the Che Guevara movement, and the newspapers began to use the term frequently, and in this way people came to hear about this movement, but very few people had any idea who really belonged to it.

About two weeks before the elections, the leader of the movement was arrested. Almost overnight posters appeared all over the island demanding his release. In this way people realised that there was some kind of a mass movement going. Then came the elections and, according to statements made subsequent to the elections, the JVP supported the coalition in 45 electorates and contributed materially to its success, although the coalition doesn't acknowledge this. After the election, for reasons which are not yet very clear, the JVP appears to have become completely alienated from the coalition. They announced a big public meeting for August 10 in Colombo as the first of a series of public meetings to explain their position to the people. On August 9 the United Front leadership of the SLFP, LSSP and CP, published a political denunciation of the movement,

claiming that it was some kind of force set up by reactionary rightist foreign interests. Some of the leaders of the coalition parties openly called it a CIA inspired organisation. The LSSP(R) had no clear idea of what the JVP was, but when they held their meeting on August 10, it was quite clear that it was entirely a genuine mass movement of Sinhala youth. There were about 10,000 people at that first meeting. Every subsequent public meeting throughout the country had a minimum attendance of 5,000, culminating in a mass meeting in the hill capital of Kandy (where both the coalition and UNP had held their final pre-election rallies) with an attendance of 15,000 to 20,000, nearly all between the ages of 15 to 20. There is no doubt that this is a mass manifestation of political radicalisation and is most significant for the future of the Ceylonese revolution.

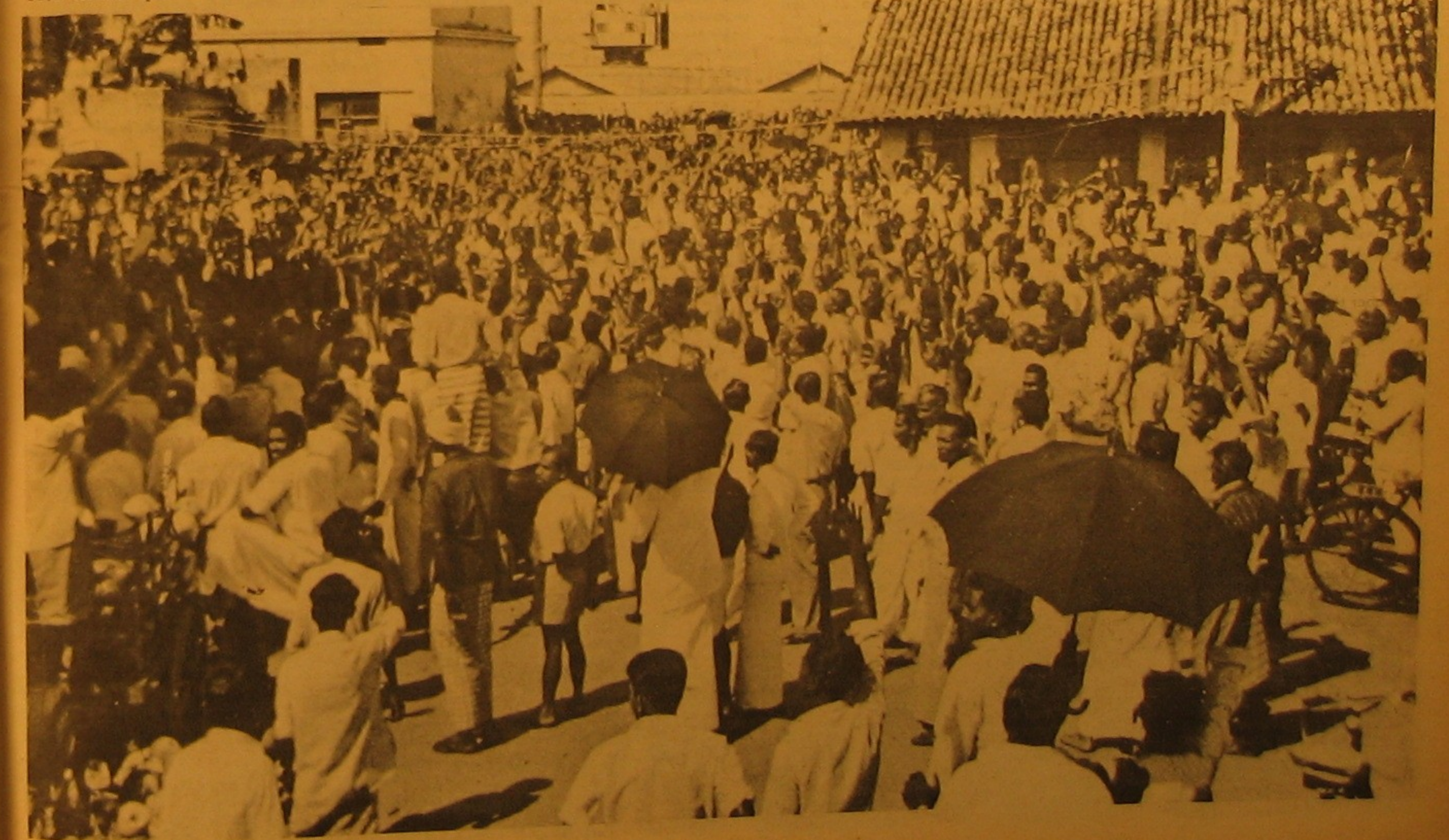
They have now come out in open opposition to the coalition government and have been suppressed as a result of this opposition. The police have for some time been arresting people whom they suspect of belonging to this organisation whenever they put up posters or even when they hold group meetings in private houses. This police action is illegal, and I myself, since I happen to be a criminal lawyer, have, on a decision of the LSSP(R), defended several of their members in the courts as a public defence of their democratic rights to publicise their political views. Other members of our party have also defended them in the courts, and our newspaper, which is published fortnightly, has denounced the government's repressive actions against this movement. As a result, our party has established very friendly political relations with the leadership of the movement, even though to begin with they undoubtedly had what we would describe as a Stalinist orientation, and to some extent, since their movement is comprised entirely of Sinhala youth, they also had to some degree a racialist orientation. But after the elections, and with each passing month, they have developed more

and more in a revolutionary socialist direction. They are associated with our party, my union, the Ceylon Mercantile Union and an organisation called the Socialist Youth Front. Last November the LSSP(R) and the JVP called a meeting to denounce the shooting of two plantation workers of Indian origin, and the leader of the JVP thus gave the lie to the propaganda that the JVP was a racialist organisation of Sinhala people only.

Recently, after the Commonwealth Conference in Singapore, the LSSP(R) called for a meeting of various political parties and trade union, youth and other mass organisations to demand that Ceylon quit the Commonwealth. Besides the Ceylon Mercantile Union, only the JVP answered the call, and in addition, they brought in a student organisation under their leadership called the Socialist Front. This organisation, together with the JVP, LSSP(R) and the CMU held a giant public meeting in Colombo shortly before I left to come here for the Anti-War Conference, to denounce the establishment of an American imperialist base, with the consent of the British, on Diego Garcia, an island close to Ceylon. The meeting also denounced the sale of British arms to South Africa, and generally exposed the fact that Ceylon's continued association with the Commonwealth is a clear manifestation of the subordination of Ceylon to imperialism's interests in Asia.

With the upsurge of the youth through the influence of the JVP in the Sinhala areas, as well as the upsurge of the working class youth, particularly in the increasing membership of the CMU in industrial establishments, I am sure that the new radicalisation of youth will be manifesting itself in Ceylon very definitely on a revolutionary basis, not only with university and school-going youth, but working class youth combining in more and more positive steps to take Ceylon on a revolutionary road which, in our view, is the only road to the establishment of a socialist democracy in Ceylon.

Five thousand port workers in Colombo, Ceylon, vote to continue a strike which had already run for six weeks.





HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION



Revolutionary socialists have been accused for many years of wanting to overthrow the U.S. government by force and violence. When they accuse us of this, what they are really trying to do is imply that we want to abolish capitalism with a minority, that we want to force the will of the minority on the majority. The opposite is the truth. We believe we can win a majority of the people in this country to support a change in the system. It will be necessary to make a revolution precisely because the ruling powers will not peacefully accept a majority rule which wants a basic change.

How can a revolution involving a majority of the people actually take place in the United States? This is the question I want to discuss today.

First of all, you have to have clear in your mind the meaning of the word "revolution." Many people have a stereotyped picture of what a revolution is like. They say a revolution is when people come with guns, when they surround a fortress or take over a city. What they do is they confuse revolution with insurrection. Insurrection is just one stage of revolution. Revolution is a lot more. It's a long process.

In a certain way you can make a parallel between revolution and pregnancy. In the very early stages of pregnancy, if just on empirical evidence you ask whether or not someone is pregnant, the answer will be no. However, with the use of science you can determine whether the person is pregnant very early. Later on it becomes evident for everybody to see.

The same thing is true of social revolution. In the early stages most people don't see it. You always begin on the assumption that in every society that needs a revolution, the majority of the people don't think it's possible. This is most certainly true for the period in American history we are in right now. We're in the early stages of the third American revolution. I say the third revolution because we've had two others—the revolution of 1776 and the civil war.

The contradictions

Why is it that we are in the early stages of a developing revolutionary situation? The reason is most basically because of the contradiction between the fantastic potential for solving human needs in this society and the existing reality. Let me explain:

Everything you use, everything you eat or wear, your car, your housing—you didn't make any of these things. We don't produce these things as individuals. We produce socially. We have a division of work in the United States, and in the whole world for that matter. People in one part of the world make things which people in another part of the world use.

But, even though we produce socially, through cooperation, we don't own the means of production socially. And this affects all the basic decisions made in this society about what we produce. These decisions are not made on the basis of what people need, but on the basis of what makes a profit.

Take the question of hunger. There are people going hungry all over the world, and the U.S. government recently reported that there are a lot of people going hungry

right here in the United States. And yet, because of the profit system, the U.S. government is now paying some farmers not to farm. Farmers don't make their decisions by saying, "We need a lot of corn in the U.S., so I'm going to plant a lot of corn." They never say that. They say, "How much money am I going to make if I plant corn? Did you know that if decisions were not made on this basis, then the U.S. alone would have the potential to feed the whole world? The economic potential is there.

Take the question of housing. If you took just the money that's spent on the war in Vietnam, you could build beautiful free homes for every nonwhite family in the U.S. and for 30 million of the poorest whites. They could wipe out every slum in the next four years. The potential exists, not only in the factories and materials for building, but in the potential to build new machines and factories. Yet, they are not going to solve the housing question because it's not profitable to build low cost housing.

Did you know that because of the way the system is structured a large percentage of the people do not do any productive work at all? You have the unemployed who are not hired because it's not profitable to hire them. Then you have the people in the Army, not to mention the police, and others who consume a great deal but don't produce anything. Then you have things like the people in the advertising industry. They don't do anything really useful or necessary. In addition, you have a mammoth, organized effort to create waste. For instance, if you designed a car for the Ford company that would last 50 years, they wouldn't use it. Because that would destroy the purpose of making cars, which is to produce profits.

I'll give you another example of how the potential for meeting human needs is destroyed because of the profit system. Say you are a capitalist, and you're about to build a factory. Do you say, "I'll build it where it's nice, where there are trees and fresh air, and where the workers will have nice homes and will be able to go mountain climbing or hunting or swimming?" No, that's not the way you think. You say, "Well, where's my market, where are my raw materials coming in, how can I make the most profit?" And this means you might build the factory where you will pump even more poison into the air.

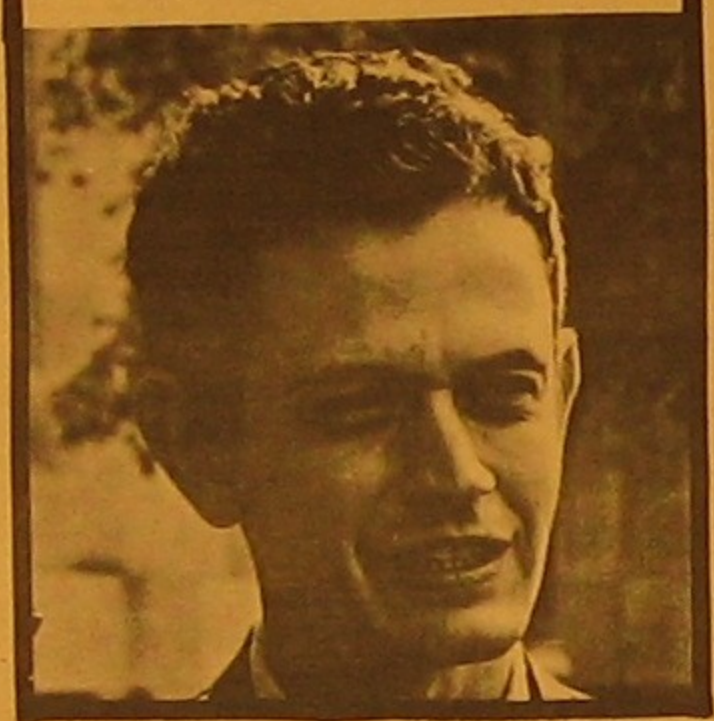
Smog is another example of a problem which stems directly from this system. Remember when they first discovered smog. They said, "Hey, look, there's smog." And they warned that if the smog increased to a certain point it would be dangerous. But, when they got past that point, they changed the danger level. And the smog is still getting worse. And now they tell us that all the rivers are polluted. In other words, it's not that they just can't meet the problem that exists. Things are getting worse.

Third world

But, it is in the underdeveloped world—in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Arab countries—where the contradictions of this system are the most clear. To really understand what this system means for third world people, consider this one fact: When a worker finishes working a full day

PETER CAMEJO

This article is an abridged version of a speech by Peter Camejo, member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party, of the United States. A long-time leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, Camejo is widely known for his campus activity at the University of California in Berkeley. This speech was delivered at an educational conference of the YSA and SWP in New York, May 1969, and is reprinted from *The Militant*.



in the colonial world, he produces as much as an average American worker does in 22 minutes. There is no way of solving the tremendous problems, the hunger and the poverty, that exist in the third world unless that figure is raised. In order to raise this figure, you have to industrialize, you have to mechanize, you have to invest.

Well, what happens is that instead of getting help from the industrialized sections of the world, instead of getting capital, third world countries are drained of their wealth by the imperialist countries. More important, the third world countries are blocked from industrializing simply because the advanced capitalist countries will not permit the competition which would result from it. In fact, in terms of the effect such exploitation is having on the world, in terms of people actually dying, starving and suffering, and their whole lives being destroyed by poverty, this is one of capitalism's greatest crimes.

Capitalism doesn't just have general long-range problems like the ones I've just mentioned. It has other contradictions—big crises, like depressions and wars. And specifically in this period, when the colonial world is trying to break out of capitalism, the wars are directed against the colonial world.

How do we go about changing this situation? How do we make it so that we can really fulfill our potential as human beings?

First, it is necessary to realize that in the United States we have a ruling class. And it's very important that everyone should get to know and recognize their ruling class. The ruling class in the United States is very small. In fact, I think, proportionately, it is the smallest ruling class in the history

of any society. Even defined broadly, there are only about 30,000 of them. There are a lot of people who think they belong to the ruling class, but only about 30,000 who have the real power.

Now, there are certain ways you can go about finding out just who these people are. One example is when you pick up your local newspaper and you look at the society page. You can see their children. The newspapers go to their parties and to the parties of their sons and daughters and to the parties of their granddaughters. In some cities, the people in the ruling class register themselves. Of course, some ruling class people don't make the register, and there are some people who will register and there aren't in the ruling class. Basically the social registers are a good indication of who these people are. In addition you can read the many books put out on this question. Books like *The Rich and the Super-Rich*. They spell it out.

How it's done

Now, how does the ruling class do it? Here, you've got some 30,000 people running a society of 200 million and most of the people in the society don't even know it. In the past, ruling classes were proud of their role. They would walk around with feathers in their hats, or big robes and things, and when they went down the street, people would say, "Hey, there goes one of our ruling class." Nowadays, they don't do that. Now, they can slip on the campus where you are, and somebody in the ruling class could walk right by, and you wouldn't even know it. They dress just like you. They're inconspicuous.

Rockefeller would never come to your campus and say, "Hi, how're you doing? Are you studying hard, getting your degrees so you can come to work for me and make me richer?" No, they don't do that. They go around saying that there aren't classes in America, that everybody's middle-class, only that some are a little more middle-class than others. In other words, they are ashamed of their own existence. They have to hide it. And there are good reasons for that. One of their problems, of course, is that they're so small. Why, there are more than 30,000 people on just one or two campuses.

Now, how do they maintain their rule? To find this out you can try an experiment. Get all dressed up, put on a jacket and tie, and walk into some corporation and say, "Hello, I'm a sociologist, I'm here to do a study. Could I just walk around and talk to people?" And then you walk up to somebody and say, "Who's your supervisor?" And he'll point to some place, and you find someone with a little name plate, and it's a supervisor. And you ask him, "Who's your supervisor?" And he'll point to a different place, and you walk in and there'll be a rug. And you say to him, "Who's your supervisor?" And he'll point to a different floor, and you'll find it gets harder and harder to get in the doors. There's more and more secretaries, and phones, and the rug gets thicker and thicker. Eventually you have to make appointments. And then you hit the sound barrier. Here is where you switch from the people who carry out decisions to people who make the decisions. And that's your local ruling class.

By the way, if you test out any institution in our society, you'll find they are structured in the same way. A pyramid from the top going down. That's the way all institutions are structured in this democratic country. This goes for government, for the political parties, the Army, the churches, the universities, for every basic institution. And when you get to the very top of these structures, to the most powerful people, you will invariably find people who own property.

Now, how do they keep the structure going? It's a very subtle thing. In the United States, we have freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and other democratic rights. So, say you go to your job one day and test it. Wear a big button that says, "Vote Socialist." And watch how fast you get promoted. Watch how you are treated. Formally you have the right to have any political view you want. But, the truth is that in all these institutions there is a very worked out, institutionalized way of going up. And on the way up, you sell your individuality, you commit yourself to the values of the system.

And you learn very fast that in return for full commitment to the system—for personal discipline, for showing up every morning wearing the right clothes, keeping your hair short, and the rest—in return, you get privileges. It's done on the basis of privileges. That is what holds the society together.

When was the last time you heard someone say, "Capitalism's a great society?" When did you hear anyone say, "Just think what our 30,000 ruling class has done for us. We should give them our full support." They never say that. They don't try to build up an ideological support for capitalism in the sense of telling you the full truth.

All the institutions under capitalism are ideological institutions in the sense that all of them maintain and demand support for the system. So it should be no surprise to you that the higher you go in a corporation, the higher you go in the university structure, the higher you go in the Army, the people get more and more reactionary. They get more and more consciously pro the system; they are more and more for whatever crimes the system has to commit. They simply wouldn't be there if they weren't. This is why you can never capture the existing apparatus and use it for making a basic change.

Workers' power

Today the smallness of the ruling class means that other classes have more power in comparison. We have a working-class army, for example, that has a great deal of actual and potential power. Take the basic production of all goods and services. Have you ever thought what a general strike would be like in New York City? Workers can take over this city in a matter of hours. Because workers run everything—the subways, the trucks that bring food, gas, light, heat—everything.

So you have to ask yourself, why is this power never realized politically? Why don't they just kick the 30,000 out? The reason is simple. The mass of people are under illusions. Now let me repeat this because the whole strategy of making a revolution in the U.S. is crucially dependent

on understanding this. The 30,000 can rule only through maintaining illusions.

You see, if tomorrow, President Nixon called a press conference and said, "Okay, I'm going to let you in on it; there's 30,000 of us who are running this country. We're canceling all elections. We're canceling freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and so on. So go back to work, back to the campus—and if there is any disturbance we'll throw you all into concentration camps." How long do you think the ruling class would stay in power? They couldn't do it. Their power is already limited by a certain consciousness that exists in the mass of the people. Their power is limited by the fact that the mass of the people believe in free speech, in free assembly and in democracy.

And this, by the way, is the thing that is least understood by the student movement. Many students believe that the ruling class has unlimited power. They think fascism and concentration camps are around the corner. Of course, we cannot be naive about the ruling class. They will suppress opposition to them insofar as they can get away with it. And they will use the most brutal means available if it suits their needs. But they will try to keep the repression in the bounds of what they can get away with without waking up the mass of the people, without destroying the illusions. Because, if the mass begins to wake up, that's a big danger.

Two-sided

There are two sides to democracy in this country, and if you don't understand both sides, you go wrong. One side is that it's phony. There is no real democracy in the sense that we don't run this country. The elections are totally phony. The ruling class simply gets up and picks two people, or three, and they say, "Okay, everybody, we're having elections. Now you can vote for Humphrey, or for Wallace, or for Nixon."

Then they have their candidates have a debate. But the debate isn't entirely phony. The debate often represents a real living struggle between different positions within the ruling class. The ruling class resolves many of the smaller tactical differences they have among themselves through means of elections.

Obviously, such elections do not in any way mean that the people have a voice in ruling this country. At the same time, the masses of people believe in democracy. And this belief in democracy is something that actually weakens the rulers. And it is something that gives us real power.

There is a power relationship between the masses and the ruling class based on the potential power of the working class. Because of this power relationship, you can do many things. It gives us what we call free speech. It gives us free assembly. It gives us the right to organize the YSA legally. Take for example the underground press. The underground press isn't really underground. These papers are published legally even though they attack the system. They don't suppress these newspapers because they know that the minute they start suppressing papers, it's going to wake people up and bring a reaction.

The only hope the ruling class has is if

it can isolate the revolutionaries completely from the rest of the people. That is why the number one task of all revolutionaries who really want to change the system is to know how to reach the people.

This is one of the biggest problems existing in the student movement at this point. The average student radical does not identify with the American people. In fact, he's hostile to them.

He says, "The American people, uh, they're against the Vietnamese, they're racist, they're this and that." But you know something? That hate for the American people was taught to the student before he became a radical.

Middle-class prejudice

When you go to school, the whole concept you are taught is that anyone that works with his hands is below you. The average Joe Shmoe is a stupid fool. And they justify the fact that some people have more privileges by saying that it's because they're more qualified.

Everything you learn in the university is calculated to give you that superiority feeling. And when you become a radical, you just turn around and invert it in a way. You keep the same prejudice in your mind and you continue to say, "How stupid the average American worker is." He's no stupider than you were before you became a radical.

Black people used to imitate white people, right? But, with the radicalization, one of the first things that started happening was that black people stopped imitating the people who oppressed them. It's the same thing with white workers. The thing that white workers do today is they imitate the people they regard as above them. They try to be like them. They vote for their parties. They support their ideas. But when they wake up this is one of the first things that will change.

Now let me explain something about mass awakening. There's no way that we radicals can by ourselves wake up the American people. Just forget about that. There is no special leaflet that we could write so articulately and carefully that when you hand it to a worker, he will pick it up and say, "That's it—I'm with you." If that were how we could do it, we'd have done it a long time ago.

There is only one way it will happen. Capitalism does it for us. The system creates the situation in which people wake up. Let me give you a few examples. Think about why it is that black people are moving today. Weren't they black in 1920? Weren't they actually worse off, if you want to look at objective conditions, in 1910, 1920 and 1930?

Role of Africa

You know that at the beginning of the century, and after that, one of the biggest uprisings they had for black people was to call them Africans. Then came the revolutions in Africa and other parts of the third world. And black people started identifying with Africa, saying, "We're all Africans." And the ruling class began to say, "No, you're Americans."

At the same time more and more black people were moving to the cities because of the industrialization of the South. And this concentration of black people living

in the cities—this begins to give them a sense of power and is one of the reasons you have the rise of black nationalism today. That is another example of how capitalism creates the basis for radicalization.

I'll give you one other example. For those people who were unemployed in the 1930s during the depression, their goal in life was to have a job, to have some stability. If you took a man who was unemployed or who had a lousy job and you gave him a job with fairly good pay, with the perspective of getting continuous increases—that to him was Nirvana. From what he had experienced in life, that was happiness.

But then what happened? His kids grew up. And when many of them didn't have the constant image of the unemployed. There would always be food on the table. They could look forward to going to college. And all of a sudden the perspective of doing what their parents did, getting a job, working 40 hours a week, wasn't so inviting. Consciousness is related to what you have lived. And what you expect.

Anybody would have told you that the many years of prosperity would have completely conserved the youth. But just the opposite has happened. They grew up totally dissatisfied, to the point that it's becoming a mass rebellion of youth.

The rebellion takes place on all levels. For instance, they start growing their hair long, just because it's supposed to be short. They're trying to do everything that they're not supposed to do, because what they're expressing, unconsciously, is that they're totally aware that there's a potential to have an entirely different kind of life. They become aware of it by the very fact of how they live their first 21 years. They go to the university with other young people. And they want to do something creative. They want to be free. And they realize this is possible. They don't want to just go to work for Standard Oil, which for their parents was a great thing.

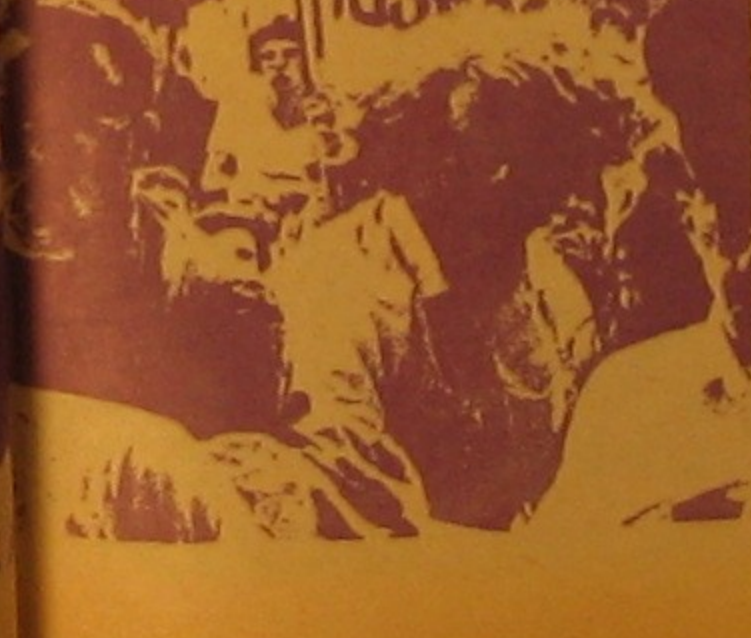
Radicalizing process

So, all of a sudden, you have an increase in consciousness, an awareness about the problems of society, created by the capitalists. And this awareness can become much more intensified if you have a crisis—if you have a major war, or a downturn in the economic situation. Right now we have opposition, we have a radicalization, but even this is nothing compared to what can develop in the future.

Now you can have all this spontaneous radicalization, you can even have uprisings of sorts, but that will never result in a change of the system, unless it's organized, unless there is a concept of how to struggle. Because, the masses of people, when they first radicalize, they don't understand the general problems. They don't understand how to change society. Very few individuals come to this consciousness completely on their own.

Think about the ideas—some of them very complex ideas—which have been a by-product of the accumulation of thought and experience over the long history of revolutionary struggle. It's this thought, this experience which is embodied in what we call

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

the vanguard—organizations like the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Now, the ruling class has also had experiences, from which they have gained knowledge. They've been running the United States without even any major political opposition for over 70 years now. They know how, when an opposition develops, to try to repress its vanguard, to knock it down, while at the same time how to maneuver and absorb it and buy it off. Eugene McCarthy's campaign was an excellent example of this.

Without a conscious vanguard with a revolutionary perspective it is hard to deal effectively with these ruling-class maneuvers. It is difficult to do the right thing.

An example of this was the attitude of the early student antiwar movement toward the GIs. When the antiwar movement first began, the students' immediate reaction was to hate GIs, to think of them as killers. I remember in Berkeley they even put up a picture of a GI portraying him as being the same thing as a cop.

Saw ahead

At the same time, the YSA opposed this. We could predict, because of the mass opposition to the war and the fact that young people in general were radicalizing, that the GIs would radicalize. So way ahead, before signs of the GI radicalization could be seen concretely, we urged the antiwar movement to go out and leaflet GIs, and to begin to relate to them.

And that's what Marxism is all about. That's what revolutionary politics is all about. It's what has been learned from 100 years of struggle against the system. During this time there have been plenty of examples of how armies radicalize, and under what conditions they radicalize.

There is something else the YSA sees, which we have learned from experiences in the struggle. And that is that you mustn't be sectarian. You should try to get everybody who is against the war to work together. The YSA understands that the best way to end this war, and to weaken the ruling class, is to get massive consciousness against the war—and to break the concept that the people against the war are a minority.

And we know from experience that you have to use the most carefully thought-out actions in order to produce that result. And in many cases, such actions are the so-called stupid, peaceful, mass antiwar demonstrations that some people are sick of—and of which we've now had eleven. And after each one of these mass demonstrations the YSA has said, "Okay, let's do it again now." And the SDS leaders say, "Are you guys crazy? What do you want to do that again for? They look at it subjectively. They are tired of demonstrations themselves and they forget that demonstrations help other broader layers of people to radicalize. They forget about the impact which the demonstrations have on the GIs, on the average person. They forget that the demonstrations are what helped the students to radicalize in the first place.

Now, we've got a double problem in the antiwar movement and in the radical movement in general, and both sides of this double problem are closely interrelated. One is that some people think they are going to solve the problems of society by supporting some liberal.

Let me explain what a liberal is. A liberal is someone who doesn't like what capitalism does, but likes capitalism. They try to solve the problems created by the system by supporting the system. Now, many students do that too. When they supported McCarthy they did that. What they were looking for was a shortcut. They were trying to change the system from within. They hoped a McCarthy victory would be a substitute for building an independent political movement of the working people, the black people and the students on a mass level, independently and against the ruling class.

On the other side you have the ultraleftists who do the exact same thing—try to bypass building a mass movement. In

California we have a bad rash: people walking around saying, "Everybody get guns." And there is a lot of applauding about guns at rallies.

And then there are those who believe in confrontation as the only method of struggle. By this I mean that the success of an action for them is not measured by how many people are influenced and won over. Their criterion is "We've got to fight the police in the street. Otherwise we aren't revolutionary."

What they are looking for is a shortcut. Some are naive about what the cops can and will do to them. They think that if the present vanguard arms itself and takes on the power structure, then they can change society. But they're not going to change it by themselves. You can't change it without the American people. And you certainly can't change it against them.

What is happening is that the ultraleftists are merely expressing frustration. Just like those who supported McCarthy, they don't have the patience and the understanding of the need to mobilize the people, to win them over, to involve them in the struggle through mass movements.

This is a working-class country. Black people in their great majority are working class. And there are the other oppressed minorities—Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, etc. What you have is an overwhelming mass of people who have objectively no interest in this system. They have to be won over, and our whole strategy, everything we do, has got to be directed at winning them.

French example

Now, how exactly can the American revolution come about? What kind of movements and strategy will allow us to take power? To make this clear, let me tell you what happened in France in May-June of 1968. I said that you need two things to make a revolution—a vanguard and an objective situation in which there is a crisis and a mass radicalization. Well, in France you had that objective situation—but you had no revolutionary vanguard. Let me show you how, if there had been a strong vanguard, revolutionaries in France would have led a struggle to take power from the ruling class.

In France you had 10 million workers on strike. You had another two million farmers supporting them. Plus the 600,000 students. Now, since the total population of the country is 50 million, this means that the overwhelming majority of families had at least one if not two people involved in the strike. It was clear that the majority of the people in France were out on strike, making certain demands. You had a majority. There was no need to negotiate with anyone.

What would a Marxist vanguard do in such a situation? First of all, we would fight for the formation of a strike council of the whole country which could simply say, "Well, it's clear we have a majority, so we are going to have free elections to decide all the questions under demand here. And these elections are going to be run by the strike council because the government has shown itself to be undemocratic."

Remember, at the time of the crisis, de Gaulle had no real power, except in the sense that there was a vacuum which he filled. Do you know that when de Gaulle wanted to hold a referendum during the strike, it was so unpopular that he couldn't get any workers in all of France to print the ballots? He had to go to Belgium, to ask the Belgian workers to print the ballots, and they refused too! He had no strength.

One might ask, what about the army? But he had no army with him. Maybe the officers, but the soldiers—who were the soldiers in France? They were the sons and brothers of the strikers.

The first thing a strike council would do would be to immediately hold elections in the army barracks for new officers, and any officer that didn't accept this would be thrown out. And then you would go to the barracks and ask the soldiers to share their guns. The guns would be used to help form militias of the people. Then you would

dissolve the police force and have the workers out on the streets patrolling. That could have been done in a number of days under the conditions that existed in France. Just to start with, you had hundreds of thousands of students who would have been immediately willing to participate in the militias and to arm themselves.

Then elections would be held in the factories, and other institutions, and delegates representing the rank-and-file workers in the factories, the students, the soldiers in the army and people in all the various institutions would come together in a central council. And you would put on the floor of this body, which would be the most democratically chosen body in the history of the country, the motion that all industries are nationalized. We would simply pass that, along with other programs which would meet the people's needs.

When you stop to think about it, what would the ruling class have done? Bombed their own cities?

When you think about it, every step I've outlined, every demand, is based on democratic ideas. The word "socialist" hasn't even been used. Because what socialism means is not simply that socialists come to power, but that a class—the masses of the working people—come to power. That could have happened in France. The objective conditions were there, the radicalization among the masses. What was missing? There was no sufficiently strong Marxist vanguard. The working class in France was led by a party which supports capitalism, called the Communist Party. So the big problem in France, in order to make a revolution, is to depose the Communist Party from the leadership of the working class.

In the United States, things are going to happen in a similar way to what happened in France. Not the same, but similar. Look what's happening on campus—it's spontaneous; on campus after campus you see radical actions. The same thing is going to take place in the working class. It is already happening with the masses of black people. As these movements develop, the vanguard at first is small, and can play only a limited role. But, out of these actions come young people who begin to understand that you need to think out the whole question.

They learn from experience. Maybe they get busted and they start thinking how to be effective. And someone sits down with them and explains how you make a revolution, how you form a vanguard and slowly build up and participate in mass struggles, how you get an interrelationship between the mass movements and the vanguard, and how you reach a situation where a crisis will develop and the vanguard will be able to lead the masses to take power.

The key to victory is moving the masses. Any concept, any struggle that eliminates this will only end in disaster. Unfortunately, the ultraleft idea that you can go around the masses, or make the revolution without them, is one that is creeping into the thinking of many students and young people today. But there will be a reaction to this. One of the troubles with ultraleftism is, of course, that when people react against it, they sometimes react against militancy in general, and flip over to become opportunists. In fact, you're going to see people who were opportunists yesterday going over to being ultraleft today, and the ultralefts of today flipping over to become opportunists. Because all of them are looking for the same thing—a shortcut. And there is no shortcut to change the system.

It takes a long time. You have to have a perspective of fighting for 10, 20 or even more years. Just like the Vietnamese say they will fight 10, 20, or 40 years—whatever is necessary. You can't walk into the YSA and say, "I want a guarantee that the revolution will happen in five years because after that I have other plans." The revolution doesn't work that way.

So, to end, I want to say this. The ruling class is never going to solve its problems through the capitalist system. Therefore, the objective conditions for revolution are going to rise up over and over again. We don't create these conditions, but there is one thing we can do. That is, we can create the subjective factor—the vanguard. By entering the YSA, by building a revolutionary party, by understanding and participating in the revolutionary process, we can make victory possible.

Are we going to be able to do it? Other generations have failed to do it. Are we going to be able to build a revolutionary socialist vanguard that can lead a mass movement to overthrow the system? That's the great challenge to this young generation. And the answer of the YSA is yes, we're going to do it.



INNER RIVALRIES OF IMPERIALISM

EUROPE vs AMERICA?

BY ERNEST MANDEL

REVIEWED BY SOL SALBY

During the recent Anti-War Conference it was proposed that the Moratorium movement make the cessation of US domination of Australia a major demand. It was overwhelmingly defeated. The question of US domination is, however, a book suggests, he concentrates on what is essentially inter-imperialist rivalry.

That does not make it irrelevant to Australians. Not only is the analysis of such phenomena as the relative superiority of American firms applicable here, but the European analogy has previously been raised in this country. One need only be reminded that another book dealing with the same subject, *The American Challenge* was received with a great deal of interest. It was serialized by *The Australian* and had a visible impact on such groupings as the Australia Party and certain sections of the labour movement. *The American Challenge* was written by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, leader of the French Republican Party and a spokesman for the bourgeois movement for European unity. Mandel's book was written as a counter-polemic by one of today's main exponents of the political economy of socialism, and well known for bringing the subject up-to-date through his two-volume *Marxist Economic Theory*.

While US imperialism has lost the absolute superiority it held in the immediate post-war period, it undoubtedly still commands a relative superiority over West European or Australian imperialism. In his introduction, Mandel states that only analysis of the "technological, economic and military upheavals and social revolutions which have taken place in the last twenty years on global scale" can explain this loss of absolute superiority. Similarly "the supremacy of the USA is to be explained by the laws which Marx revealed a hundred years ago, the laws of competition, accumulation and concentration of capital—not some vague spiritual force". Quite obviously owing to the larger size of their domestic market, the large sums spent by the US government on research, and similar reasons, the American companies have an advantage. One does not have to be a Marxist to accept this case. There is of course the semi-hysterical case put forward by some "friends of the people" about "inflation buying". The motivation of those friends will be dealt with later on, but briefly, their case

Ernest Mandel

runs something as follows: owing to the severe inflation in America, the dollar becomes comparatively cheaper. It can then be used to take over European companies because it is an international currency and can't be devalued. The matter is of course quite complicated but Mandel's refutation is very simple: most of the money used for economic expansion comes from European financial institutions. American companies provide better securities and pay higher rates of interest.

The takeover of major European industries, while not being wholesale at this stage, does worry the European ruling class. They are not particularly motivated by nationalism. They are only concerned with profits and accumulation. At this stage however, far more is owned on one side of the Atlantic than the other. This uneven sharing of the risk (and profits) annoys the European bourgeoisie quite a bit. They have reacted by merging firms on both national and European scale, and are now considering a European state to protect their profits, as those on a national scale are not strong enough. Of course in order to do this, these "friends of the people" are asking their respective working classes for class collaboration to combat the American menace. This is the theme of *The American Challenge*.

What has developed is a new stage in inter-imperialist rivalry: a stage where a new battlefield for accumulation is not in the third world but in the advanced capitalist countries themselves. It confirms Lenin's analysis about increasing contradiction between the imperialists themselves (see in particular, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, p.189-191). Lenin also said in his important work that "the territorial division of the world among the biggest capitalist powers is complete". Most of

the third world enjoys formal independence, but in reality it is divided between the main imperialists: for example Latin America is the US private domain. This leaves the imperialist countries as the only remaining battlefield. This of course doesn't mean that the third world is no longer being exploited, or that the contradictions no longer exist. On the contrary, they are being intensified. The contradictions the imperialists encounter are different. They have to face the rising tide of the colonial revolution.

As far as those states who broke away from the capitalist system are concerned, the interpenetration of capital hardly affects them at all. There has been the modest export of capital from West to East in Europe. Overall, they constitute one of Europe's privileged markets. The sole exception is probably China.

China, of course, isn't one of the US privileged markets. The companies vying for China are neither "Euroean" nor American; they are Japanese. Because of its specific purpose this book does not emphasise the rise of Japanese imperialism but it is sufficient to mention that since its publication, a Japanese company became the world's leading producer of steel.

Japanese imperialism is already a serious rival and threatens to become even more so in the future. Its interest in China is relevant to Australia as Japan is our best customer and any increase in Sino-Japanese trade might call for improvement of Australia's relations with China.

The most important question raised by this book is the question of economic nationalism. The Australian bourgeoisie, like their European counterparts, is using nationalism to try and get closer collaboration from the working class. That's their strategy to try and combat the interpenetration of capital. They find their task made easier by working class formations: "Today it is worth remembering that not only social democratic, but also communist and even Maoist organisations think in social democratic terms of flying the flag of national independence in the era of late capitalism in the highly industrial-

ised nations of Western Europe, where the fight for this independence has reached its climax and fulfilled its historically progressive role one or two centuries ago". (p.107)

Australian conditions aren't vastly different. Certain people in the ALP have suggested that foreign investment be restricted when it contradicts the national interest, i.e., when it contradicts the interests of the national bourgeoisie. But even Whitlam and Co. are outmatched by the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) in their nationalism. Both in *Vanguard* and in pamphlets such as *Australians Develop Struggle Against US Imperialism*, they argue their incredible case: US imperialism is the number one enemy of the Australian people.

Apparently there is something about American capitalists which makes exploitation by them much worse than that of Australian or British capitalists. In the CPA(M-L) view, Australian capitalists are no longer the enemy of the working class, but a potential ally: "the smaller businessmen, even bigger businessmen, have no reason to love the US masters. There is a great anti-American basis for unity amongst workers, farmers, students, businessmen, Aborigines". Class analysis is being abandoned for chauvinism. The important point they miss is that the only thing these businessmen have against the US companies, is that those companies block the Australian capitalist from exploiting the Australian worker. The Australian-American Alliance is not the alliance between an American tiger and Australian sheep. The Australian imperialists have their own interest in the exploitation of Indo-China; they don't have to be forced into an alliance with the strongest imperialist power in the world. Their interests are the same as of the US bourgeoisie; they are not the same as of the Australian workers.

The way forward for the working class lies in abandonment of both its foreign and "own" bosses, in the overthrow of capitalists, and the building of a socialist world.



THE ANTI-WAR UNIVERSITY

In May 1970, two government actions - the invasion of Cambodia and the massacre of students at Kent State - touched off the largest student general strike in history. The invasion of Cambodia by U.S. forces represented a decision by the Nixon administration to extend and intensify the war in Southeast Asia. The murder of the Kent students symbolised the attempts of the ruling class to silence one of the most dynamic and effective opponents of Washington's war plans, the student movement. The combination of these two events, which were followed by the gunning down of Black youth in Augusta, Georgia and at Jackson State in Mississippi, triggered a nationwide student upsurge which threw the entire country into a major social crisis, producing shock waves which have not yet subsided.

The size and scope of the campus actions were unparalleled. By May 6, over 80 colleges were closed and two state university systems were declared closed by the governors of California and Pennsylvania. National Guardsmen were called out in Illinois and Kentucky while police battled demonstrators in many other areas. At its height (the week of May 9-16), the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, headed by Clark Kerr, reported that major protests occurred on 1454 campuses (out of a total of 2551) and that 550 campuses had strikes which completely halted the normal functioning of the schools.

One of the most significant features of the upheaval was the creation of new forms of struggle by the mobilised masses of students. For the first time in history, striking students "opened up" their schools as antiwar universities. Students began reconstituting their schools, turning them into instruments of struggle against the war. Taking control of school facilities, students used them for reaching out to involve other sections of the population in the antiwar movement. The process of attempting to reach out beyond the campus demonstrated an understanding by students of the need to link up with more powerful social layers in order to win their aims. This understanding represents a new advanced consciousness among thousands of students about the student movement's role in fighting for social change.

The form of organisation which spontaneously emerged in the struggles of May was the broad-based, representative strike committee which called and presented proposals to mass meetings and coordinated strike activities. At many schools, these committees involved the entire university community and served to organise the new functions of the antiwar university.

These important new forms of struggle have become permanent acquisitions of the student movement because, while the strikes were only temporary, they lasted long enough for the concept of the antiwar university and democratic strike councils to engrave itself in the consciousness of the millions of students who took part. Future upsurges will tend to follow the pattern established in May.

One of the first to develop the concept of the antiwar university was the University of California at Berkeley. As soon as Nixon announced the invasion of Cambodia,

PATTI IYAMA

Patricia Iiyama, a 26-year old Japanese-American has been a student leader at the University of California, Berkeley since 1961. She was a member of the Student Senate and the executive committee of the Free Speech movement. She has for several years been a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. She has just completed a tour of Australia sponsored by the Socialist Youth Alliance.

This article is the text of a paper presented at the National Anti-war Conference.



the Faculty Peace Committee, which had been virtually defunct for several years, reconvened to formulate proposals to bring before the academic community. The Academic Senate, the official body of tenured and untenured faculty members, held an emergency meeting on Monday, May 4. They called for a university convocation on Wednesday, May 6 and suspended classes for the rest of the week.

Over 17,000 people (out of a student body of 27,000 and a faculty of 1200-1500) attended the Wednesday convocation and voted unanimously to reconstitute the University. Part of the proposal for the antiwar university reads:

This campus is on strike to reconstitute the university as a centre for organising against the war in Southeast Asia. We are curtailing normal activities for the remainder of the quarter. We pledge our time, energy and commitment to stopping this war. We will open the campus to mobilise our resources - our knowledge and skills, our manpower and facilities. We will organise not only against the war, but against the structures in society that facilitate that war. And we will organise to end our university's complicity with that war.

This was a new kind of strike. The demand had changed from "on strike, shut it down" to "on strike, open it up". The total university community was involved in this reconstitution.

The normally-scheduled classes were the first area of reconstitution. Classes were either cancelled completely (with many professors basing grades on work completed so far or holding office hours

so that students still could continue their studies) or "reconstituted" so as to be relevant to the war in Indochina. I was teaching two classes for Asian-Americans at the University of California at Davis, and the classes voted overwhelmingly to use class-time to organise a slide project on the war and its effects on Asian-Americans and to write an explanatory pamphlet on the war. I based peoples grades on the projects that were handed in. Many professors did the same. If professors did not feel that they could in all conscience give grades for work done under reconstitution, they often gave pass/not pass grades to students taking their courses. This enabled students to do anti-war work without having to worry about competition for their grades.

When classes were reconstituted, they were organised by departments for participation in the antiwar universities. The Drama and Comparative Literature Departments organised productions of anti-war plays that were played all over the campus. After a few days, however, they were performed at shopping centres, parks, even in the streets in the community. The Economics Department organised projects to study the economic causes and results of the war, at home and abroad. Even the Business Administration and Engineering Departments, which had never previously been touched by the radicalisation on the campus, organised leafletters to go out to their communities (such as the financial district on Montgomery Street in San Francisco), explaining why they were against the war and trying to convince their colleagues to oppose the war also. The Sociology, Social Welfare and English Departments daily took teams door-to-door in the East Bay Area to win people in the community to their point of view. The Art Department took over the entire Art Building and began to silk-screen anti-war posters designed by art students to raise money for the Strike Committee which had been set up to run the university. By the end of May, over 100 different kinds of posters had been silk-screened on Art Department materials. Other groups organised leafletting of factories during shift changes and lunch breaks and of high schools in the area. Many people also campaigned for "peace candidates" and for the Hatfield - Mc Govern Amendment, which would supposedly limit the President's power in military matters.

The strike, or reconstitution, was implemented by the Strike Committee, which was a body with 2 representatives from each department or group involved in the strike. It met almost every day and called mass meetings once or twice a week at which it presented proposals, it also had a steering committee which was elected by the strike committee and was empowered to make decisions when the Strike Committee was not available. The Strike Committee took over all seven floors of the student centre, Eshleman Hall, and utilised Eshleman as Strike Central. The student government allocated most of its budget to the strike. The school newspaper, *The Daily Californian*, became the strike newspaper, printing articles on various aspects of reconstitution and announcements about changes in courses, distribution schedules, performances etc. Since

the University of California has a waffle line (free telephone exchange wire) to all of its campuses and since the Strike Committee had access to the telephone in Eshleman Hall, the Strike was able to contact other universities both in the state and nationally to exchange information on how the various strikes were progressing and to coordinate the strikes' activities. The Strike Committee also freely used the mimeograph machines in Eshleman to put out leaflets for free, for any department (the various departments usually financed their own leaflets). Money from the student government was used to print up several pamphlets researched by law student seminars in sociology and history about the war in Southeast Asia.

The anti-war university has so much support that even sororities and fraternities usually the last hold-outs for the status quo, joined in. The sororities in particular took an active role; at the beginning of the strike, several of them served as leaflet distribution centres, and as the strike progressed, a few of them opened their doors as day-care centres so as to free mothers to participate in the anti-war movement. Several departments recruited so thoroughly that the professors and students took turns with the secretaries in doing the filing, typing, etc. in order to free the secretaries for antiwar work.

The Third World (Black, Chicano, Asian-American and Native American) students on the campus played a key role in reaching out to the community. They were in many instances to reach out and to organise in their own communities against the war. The Asian-American Studies Department sent out a series of speakers with a slide show on the war in Indochina to convince the conservative Asian-American community that the war must be ended immediately. The Chicanos began organising a Chicano Moratorium in Oakland, where there is a barrio (Chicano ghetto) and 1000 Chicanos marched to "bring our carnals (brothers) home now". The Blacks began to leaflet their own community in South Berkeley.

In addition to reaching out to the surrounding community to educate and persuade about their antiwar stance, the academic community raised certain demands about the University. They demanded the elimination of restrictive rules regulating the social, political and personal lives of students - e.g., changes from grade system to pass/not pass; development of individual majors instead of having the choice of the traditional ones only. Another major demand was to end campus complicity with the war machine. The Academic Senate took its first political stand and adopted general university sentiment when it voted to go on record in opposition to the invasion of Cambodia; to sever ties with Livermore and Los Alamos Radiation Laboratories, which do research on nuclear weapons and chemical warfare; and to give no credit for Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) courses. The antiwar university also linked up with and organised support for the struggles of oppressed national minorities, women and the working class by adopting demands for funding of scholarship programmes, Third World studies and Women's Studies.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



child-care centres (funded with money originally earmarked for ROTC), and support to various strikes.

This development of the anti-war university demonstrates that the radical vanguard is not alone in its deep hatred for the American imperialist war in Southeast Asia and in its willingness to oppose it. Virtually an entire generation is involved. At the beginning of the Strike in Berkeley, two hundred eleven - twelve and thirteen - students from Willard Junior High School marched in to the middle of a rally to join the reconstituted university.

Thus, the development of antiwar universities confirmed in action the Young Socialist Alliance's strategy for the student

movement - that is, the use of the university as a base to organise other sectors of the population into anti-capitalist struggle. This proved to be an attractive idea to masses of students once they had gained a sense of their own power in the first days of the strike.

The student upsurge also graphically illustrated the power of independent mass action. The student strike, which arose completely independently of the "dove" capitalist politicians, forced Nixon to adapt his plans and helped educate masses of people that they can succeed only by taking action on their own without relying on the capitalist politicians who

pose as their leaders.

Another aspect of the strike as massive independent political action was the rejection on the overwhelming majority of campuses of any ultra-left action of forms of organisation which would narrow the base of the strike, such as limiting participation in the strike committee to the traditional campus radicals. This stands in sharp contrast to the SDS - led campus struggles of 1968-1969.

The pattern established in May illustrated the potential for the next upsurge to succeed in drawing in the participation of the organised working class, high school students, the Third World communities and masses of women. The

May events produced the first significant break in the trade union bureaucracy's monolithic backing of Nixon's war policy. This break expressed itself, for instance in the labor-student demonstration of 25,000 called in New York City on May 21 at the initiative of trade union officials as a response to "hard hat" attacks on antiwar demonstrations. While the May strike fell short of touching off a generalised social upheaval, it came close enough to let the ruling class see the outlines of a social revolution in this country. They were so frightened of what they saw that the threat of another May has become a permanent factor for them to consider before making any major moves in their continuous campaign to crush the world revolution.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: A MASS MOVEMENT

Only socialism can provide the material base for the liberation of women, and because of this the struggle for women's liberation is a revolutionary one, intimately linked to the struggle for socialism. However, this is not to say that the struggle for women's liberation is not a revolutionary struggle in its own right (something denied by some political groupings calling themselves revolutionary). The struggle will neither begin nor end with socialist revolution. It must be waged now as well as during the transitional period which will follow the revolution, until the time when women have gained their full freedom and equality and can progress with man, from whom they have, for so long, been alienated, to the construction of socialism.

Any movement seeking a change in women's roles, a degree of liberation for women, attacks the family structure upon which capitalism rests and poses demands which capitalism cannot meet or can only partially meet. Capitalism cannot accommodate the liberation of women and the vast social changes which must accompany this.

The struggle for women's liberation is revolutionary because of this, and because it brings women to an awareness of these contradictions. It raises their consciousness of their own oppression and leads them to a realisation of the nature of the society under which they live and the form of society which could fulfil their needs. Likewise it is revolutionary in its ability to mobilise large numbers of women against the system. Women's Liberation does appeal to masses of women, especially working class women, as was indicated by the composition of the August 26, 1970 demonstration in New York which focussed its aims on demands for equal job and educational opportunities, abolition of

New York, August 26, 1970.



JUANITA KEIG

abortion laws and 24 hour child care services.

This form of action - bringing large numbers of people into the street around specific demands and putting direct pressure on the government - is a strategy already proven correct in the anti-war movement, where the powers of the government have been substantially limited. It also plays an important role in unifying the movement, emphasising the solidarity of women and spreading its aims to wider circles of women, giving them confidence in the realisation that their problems are shared by large numbers of other women. It is, in itself, a form of consciousness-raising.

Such forms of action are in no way to be seen as being in contradiction with small group organising. Both areas of work are essential to the growth and success of the movement. The chief function of the small consciousness-raising group is to educate, to help women to gain confidence in their own abilities as speakers, writers etc., and to raise the consciousness of women about their oppression. Another practical and important function of the small group is to print educational literature for distribution to interested people, especially women. These groups can also play an important role by organising public forums and debates around the question. These serve to educate others (particularly men, who are mostly excluded from women's liberation meetings) to trash out differences within the movement and to help break down prejudices resulting from misunderstanding, distorted media publicity etc. Small groups can also

wage small-scale campaigns around discrimination issues.

However, the capacities of individual groups are limited when it comes to organising for mass action. For this, a broad coalition of all women's groupings is needed. Such a coalition may include not only Women's Liberation groups from local areas, universities etc., but groups who campaign around specific issues of concern to women, e.g., abortion law reform and abolition groups, as well as women not attached to any organisation or group.

In order to achieve unity within such a broad spectrum of women it is necessary to formulate basic central demands around which everyone can agree.

These must be carefully chosen. Firstly they must be actual demands and not merely slogans. Concrete demands have a much greater impact and bear greater political pressure than vague sloganising. Secondly, they must be popular and relevant to women's needs such as those of abortion on demand, equal pay etc., and thirdly they should be the sort of demands around which most groups can agree regardless of political differences.

A coalition built on this basis must be non-exclusionary. Sex lines can cut across class lines as all women are victims of oppression as a sex. No women should be excluded on grounds of class, politics or membership of an organisation considered to be "male-dominated". Apart from the fact that all organisations of mixed membership are male-dominated and therefore 99% of women come under this category, this attitude is in fact a negation of the whole concept of women's liberation. Women should be encouraged to take a more active part in other fields. To condemn a woman for participating in

other organisations is to suggest that she is not capable of doing this.

The broad coalition must have a mechanism for democratic decision making and for delegating responsibility for organisational tasks. In some sections of the movement there exists a great revulsion against the application of such elementary procedures as electing chairwoman, having an organised agenda and taking votes. As any who have attended meetings with no organisation will be aware, the meeting is usually dominated by two or three more articulate individuals whose consensus is usually found to be the consensus of the meeting. This does not guarantee everyone the greatest decision-making power but ensures that decisions will be implemented in the most undemocratic fashion, with no-one being responsible for their implementation. The woman who screams loudest against having a chairwoman, usually ends up being the de facto chairwoman herself.

The need to organise mass actions is often disputed by some women whose perspectives seem to extend only as far as small group discussions once a week. This, they claim is getting "to the heart of things". This, in other words, is how one liberates oneself. Mass actions, they say, can't hope to get across to people in the multiplicity of ways in which women are oppressed. This attitude is basically an elitist attitude geared to keeping the movement small. We are seeking to reach the most effective way of reaching new layers of women is via mass action. We are not trying to be members of an intellectual vanguard or small groupings of women who all agree with one another. We are trying to build the biggest, broadest movement possible.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

CONTINUED
FROM PREVIOUS PAGE



To do this we must organise and we must educate simultaneously. To reject organisational forms is to reject the need to grow, and to think that liberation is achievable by the individual. Although some people have arrived at what they consider to be a personally satisfactory life-style, it is a fallacy to think that the complete and total liberation of women can be achieved under capitalism. No-one can be liberated until all are liberated, until society is reorganised in the interest of all.

The demands around which we organise on a mass scale must inevitably challenge the capitalist state. However, in the meantime we must not confuse the identity of the enemy. Many women strike out at what they consider to be the immediate enemy - men. This is often the first natural response of women when they become aware of their oppression. However, it is our role to raise their understanding so that they become aware of the need to fight the real enemy - class society. Men should be encouraged to familiarise themselves with women's problems and to curb chauvinistic tendencies in their own behaviour. Men can be a vital ally in the struggle and must be won over to the cause, not made antagonistic or kept ignorant. They are also victims of their conditioning and suffer, although differently, from the same distortion of human relationships as women, under capitalism.

There is enormous scope for women to organise themselves in universities,

schools, factories and offices - in fact in all places where women come together in large numbers. Women can be introduced to the concept of women's liberation and made aware of women's liberation by pointing out, in each case, the areas in which they are discriminated against, e.g., education, wages, double work load, fields of work closed to women. Housewives, though often harder to reach, can also be involved. The boring, repetitive nature of their work, their loneliness and economic dependence, and the limitations imposed on them by lack of child-care facilities, often make them the most ardent supporters.

At universities, where women are frequently the most conscious of their second-class role, campaigns can be waged around university-financed child-care centres, a curriculum of women's studies, and an end to all forms of sex discrimination on campus.

The forms that the women's liberation movement can take are many, from the consciousness-raising group to the public forum to the coalition organising large areas of concentration. Clearly, however, if we are to have any effect in achieving the demands of women we must ensure that our underlying strategy is one which is at involving the largest number of women in conscious action to end their oppression.

CONFERENCE

Sydney's first Women's Liberation Conference was held over the recent Australia Day Weekend. Despite the relatively short period of preparation for the Conference, a large number of papers was presented, on topics ranging through The Need For Women's Liberation, Organisation, The Role of The Family, Male Supremacy, and Women in Education. Attendance was exclusively female, and the high degree of participation might well be attributed, in part, to this fact. Enthusiasm was high and people seemed more receptive than usual to all points of view raised.

A large proportion of the time of the conference was devoted to discussion of new forms of organisation within the established groups, and at least one new group was to emerge at the conference. (see below).

Although there was extensive discussion on the organisation and activity of small consciousness-raising groups and "project groups" there was a tendency to neglect the other vital aspect of building the movement - that of organising united mass actions to press for women's demands, and co-ordinating all groups in

a strategy for action. However, a regular general meeting of all groups was agreed upon, and this co-ordinating group we would hope, would have such a perspective.

There was also discussion of the role of the National Anti-War Conference organisers in assigning people to present papers. Although several women had submitted papers, there was a disgracefully small number given speaking time. A letter signed by some ninety-odd participants of the Women's Liberation Conference was sent to the Moratorium Co-ordinating Committee to protest this, and, as a result, more consideration was given to women speakers. This is just one small example of the kind of discrimination, conscious or otherwise, on the part of such predominantly male organising bodies, that women face within a movement they consider partly their own.

The conference was certainly successful in terms of encouraging participation in discussion and in bringing together active women to work out strategies for the future. It was only the first of the many required to build this revolutionary movement.

NEW GROUP

A new women's liberation group with a definite emphasis on building a "large movement", emerged at the recent Women's Liberation Conference in Sydney.

The group, Sydney Bread and Roses, explains its composition and policy in a leaflet published at the Conference:

"Its members have all participated in the discussions on women's liberation within the framework of groups that existed before the Conference - the university groups, the Working Women's group, and the Glebe group. We share a perspective of women organising to create a large movement, and therefore have been developing ideas around how best to promote this.

"While we see small consciousness-raising groups as being important, we think that these have a tendency to act as 'safety valves' for the release of individual tensions arising out of our conditioned acceptance of the view that women are inherently 'second class citizens'. Having at least realised that what seems like personal failure to attain the goal of the 'Feminine Mystique', of the 'ideal woman', is shared by other women, is the first step to feeling solidarity among ourselves. That we want to change the quality of our lives means that we have

to act in solidarity and grow as a movement."

"In small groups it is not difficult for everyone to 'have a say', but in a large movement every individual needs to be guaranteed their right to be heard. To ensure a greater democracy we accept as a working basis traditional forms of decision-making procedure which serve to indicate what all people feel about questions which require action." Bread and Roses meets at 7.00 p.m. at the Trade Union Club, 111 Foveaux Street, Surry Hills, on the following dates:

- Tuesday, March 23 . Topic: "The Abortion Campaign in Review" - Judy Malcolm.
- Wednesday, March 31 . Get Together - informal discussion at 44 Parkham Street, Surry Hills.
- Tuesday, April 6 . Topic: "Psychiatric Treatment and Women" - Dr N. Yeamons.
- Tuesday, April 20 . Topic: "A medical practitioner on 'Child Care'".

DIRECT ACTION

Direct Action is the journal of the Socialist Youth Alliance, an organization formed in August 1970. To quote from our first issue's introduction:

"Direct Action is not a paper 'for the whole Left'. It is the paper of a particular segment of the Left, with a distinct and defined political position, and will attempt to present the position of the Socialist Youth Alliance in a clear and coherent way."

"To publish a paper without an organisation to build and be built by it is political irresponsibility. It is to play with politics. Only when a paper has an organisation to build, and that organisation has a programme to guide it, does a little left-wing venture such as ours take on any meaning."

The programme referred to is outlined below. Our programme is not just for show: we for its implementation. To quote further:

S.Y.A. AIMS



1. SYA stands for socialism with workers' control. It holds the perspective that socialism can and will be achieved in Australia and other advanced capitalist countries. The mass upsurge in France in May/June of 1968 shows that this goal is not only theoretically desirable but practically possible. The working class will lead the struggle for socialism which will be achieved by the direct implementation of such transitional demands as workers' control. Workers' control of the factories, and similarly control of the schools by the staff and students, will be fundamental to the new socialist society. Thus SYA must endeavour to intervene wherever it can in workers' struggles. While recognising that the initial upsurge amongst youth in capitalist countries today occurs first amongst student layers, we recognise that it is only the working class that has the social weight and the ability to bring about a socialist society. However, in Australia it is a fact that the majority of the workers still support the ALP. They still have illusions about parliamentary democracy and the existence of a reformist party like the ALP with electoral support from the working class and structural links with the trade unions, remains one of the main obstacles to the working class achieving consciousness amongst rank and file workers. SYA, as a socialist youth organisation, can participate in this activity, being an organisation encompassing university students, high school students and young workers.

2. SYA stands for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and the immediate repeal of the National Service Act. Since its formation in 1967, Resistance, now SYA, has been at the

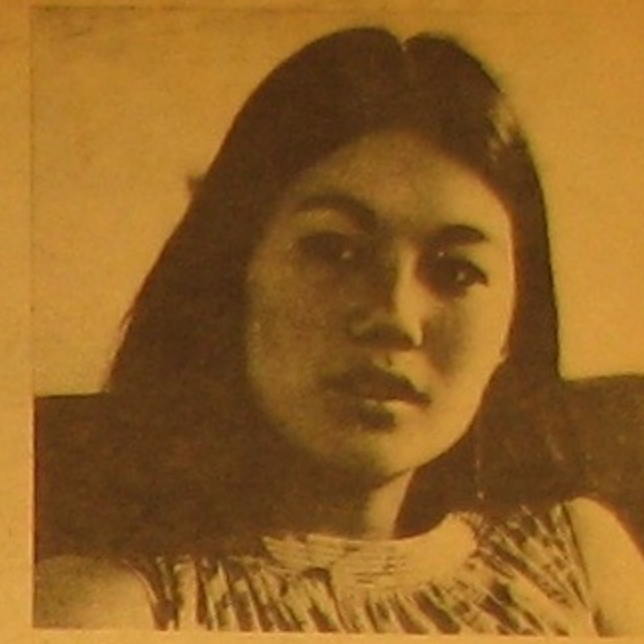
This month's plaything seems to be Althusser, and of course, the opportunists as well as the armchair revolutionaries clutch at this latest straw, in the hope that here may be yet another relieve that will allow the intellectuals and the opportunists to postpone once more into the still unripe and distant future, the central task facing revolutionary socialists - the construction of an organisation."

CONFERENCE

We will be holding our second National Conference in Melbourne over Easter. Observers will be admitted if their application is accepted. If you wish to go - apply now. (See back page.)

LETTERS

This paper is open for letters from our readers. However they should not exceed 400 words. If they do then we reserve the right to abridge them ourselves or to return them for the writer to abridge.



TOUR

Recently we have sponsored a tour by Patti Iiyama, a member of the Y.S.A., and S.W.P. in the U.S.A. As well as attending the National Antiwar Conference in Sydney, she spoke in Canberra, Brisbane, Melbourne, Hobart and Adelaide where she spoke on the Antiwar Movement, the Coming American Revolution and Womens' Liberation.

forefront of the struggle to have all troops withdrawn from Vietnam immediately. While other sections of the Left vacillated with demands, such as "Stop the Bombing, Negotiate", Resistance pointed out that the only demand which would mean an end to the war was immediate withdrawal. With Johnson's "peace offensive" the antiwar movement was caught off balance because it mistook "negotiations" for a ceasefire. Nixon is trying further manoeuvres with his "Vietnamisation" plan. This only means a prolonged war and as in the past, SYA will be leading the struggle against this stalling by demanding that all troops be withdrawn now.

3. SYA supports the Vietnamese Revolution and all national liberation struggles against imperialism throughout the world. We support the Cuban and Vietnamese Revolutions because these are justifiably the main inspirations for socialists throughout the world. Cuba has shown that revolutions in the colonial world are able to achieve national liberation only to the extent that they lead unimpededly into a socialist revolution against both foreign imperialism and domestic capitalism. The Vietnamese Revolution is showing that the people of a small colonial nation, fighting for national liberation, can stand up in years of struggle against the most powerful imperialist country in the world.

4. SYA is against the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China and supports the struggle for socialist democracy in these countries. These states which have abolished capitalism and should be supported for it, are nevertheless dominated by privileged bureaucratic groupings which must be removed before socialism can be a reality. Socialism

means not only the abolition of capitalism but the full flowering of workers' democracy the elimination of special privileges for the few, and a society of abundance for all. We condemn the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia which trampled on that country's right to self-determination and put a temporary halt to the development of political democratisation there.

5. SYA supports the struggle for women's liberation. The movement for women's liberation which has emerged so rapidly, constitutes an extremely important addition to the other social struggles going on today, and represents an historic opportunity for the socialist youth movement. The oppression of women as a sex is inextricably tied to class society and its institution the family. Private ownership of the means of production and the right of property inheritance provide the foundation for the oppressed status of women in class society. In addition, under capitalism, women are used as a "reserve of labour" to be hired when needed and returned to the home when the economy slows down.

6. SYA supports the struggles of oppressed national minorities. The oppression of national minorities in capitalist societies takes many forms - social, economic and political, and often is an integral part of the capitalist system. Full freedom is of course only possible once capitalism has been eliminated but even then, the possibilities for the social, political and economic oppression of national minorities can, and does exist. It is the duty of socialists to support all struggles of national minorities, not only so we may link them up with, and thus strengthen, the anti-capitalist struggle, but to support the basic right of minorities for self-determination as a principle.

bread & roses women's liberation

Women, in this society, are the victims of an education system which channels them into the roles of mother and housekeeper. Women are expected to achieve less at school, to leave earlier, to enter jobs less skilled than those held by men, and to leave them more readily. The common attitude is 'Why educate a woman? She's only going to get married.' In the work place women suffer from severely limited job opportunities (how many women apprentices do you know?), unequal pay, and rigid working hours which make it difficult for a woman with young children to gain employment. Restricted to the mind-numbing routine of housework, women's abilities are stunted and their lives curtailed.

Bread and Roses seeks an end to these injustices. It is developing a programme of action related to what it sees as the fundamental causes of women's oppression, even if that action involves challenging the very institutions on which society is based.

Bread and Roses invites all women to join it in its fight.

- I am interested in joining the Bread and Roses group - please send me further information.
- I am interested in receiving notifications of future Bread and Roses activities.
- I enclose a list of the names and addresses of other women who, I think, would be pleased to be informed of Bread and Roses activities.
- I enclose a donation of to help cover costs.

Name Phone

Address

Post this slip to Bread and Roses, c/- 9 Wood Street, Glebe 2037, or ring 660-4226 for further information.

The Red Mole



Revolutionary internationalist Marxist fortnightly, edited by Tariq Ali.

News, discussion and analysis for the revolutionary left: full coverage of the international anti-imperialist struggle and the struggle of the working class and radical youth in Britain.

For a subscription to The Red Mole, fill in the form below:

Please send me THE RED MOLE for the next 3/6/12 months. I enclose \$ (cash or money order only please).

Name

Address

THE RED MOLE, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1, England.

SUBS: 1 year: \$11.00 (airmail) \$6.50 (ordinary)
6 months: \$5.50 (airmail) \$3.30 (ordinary)
3 months: \$2.25 (airmail) \$1.65 (ordinary)

SYA NATIONAL CONFERENCE



MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY APRIL 10-11

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT SYA BELOW

JOIN SYA

If you oppose the Vietnam war and conscription - if you want a socialist Australia - if you support the struggle for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, Russia and China, the struggle for women's liberation and the struggle for national liberation throughout the world - then JOIN THE SYA.

I would like to join SYA
 I would like more information on SYA
 I would like to attend the National Conference at Easter.
 I enclose \$ subscription to "Direct Action" (\$1 for 7 issues)

Name

Address

Postcode Phone

Post to SYA, PO Box 581, Sydney South, 2000, or to the branch in your State.

CONTACT SYA

NATIONAL OFFICE: SYA, PO Box 581, Sydney South, 2000.

SYDNEY: SYA, 105 Reservoir Street, Surry Hills, 2010.
 Phone 211-2748

MELBOURNE: SYA, 140 Queensberry Street, Carlton, 3053.
 Phone 347-3507

ADELAIDE: SYA, 287 Rundle Street, Adelaide, 5000.

CANBERRA: SYA, C/- PO Box 9 Mawson North, ACT 2607.
 Phones 48-6717(Ian) and 86-3085 (Louise).

HOBART: SYA, C/- Alban Johnson, 11 Norfolk Crescent, Sandy Bay, 7005. Phone 25-2563.

PERTH: SYA, C/- Noeline Burtenshaw, 122 Ardross Street, Mt. Pleasant. Phone 64-2037.