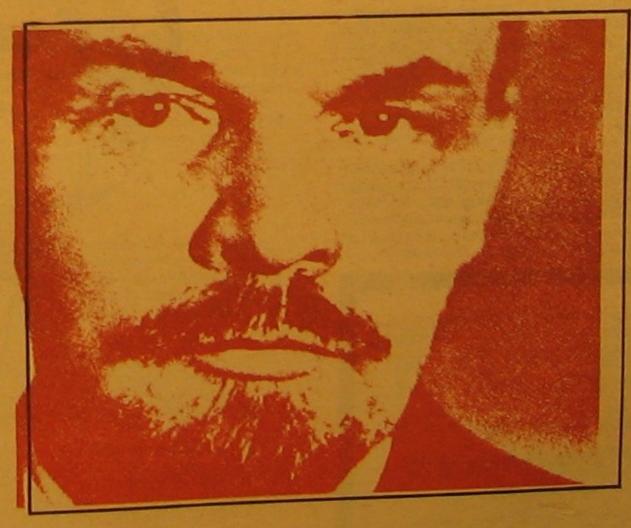
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PUBLISHED BY SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE NO. 9 AUGUST 1971 10 CENTS INTHIS ISSUE:
REPLY TO
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Would this man invite Richard Nixon to Peking?



BEHNDNIXONS PEKINGTR

We reprint below an article from Intercontinental Press (July 26). The views expressed in it are a sharp contrast to other views on the left here. The Maoists' ultra-revolutionary stance is shown up for what it is- merely hollow posing. The Communist Party's views expressed in an unsigned article in Tribune are so short-sighted and frankly right-wing that even some of the bourgeois commentaries have been more radical in approach. Joseph Hansen outlines the only correct appraisal that revolutionaries can make of the situation.

"Premier Chou En-lai and Dr. Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's Assistant for National Security Affairs, held prestige and greater weight. The talks in Peking from July 9 to 11, 1971. Knowing of President Nixon's expressed desire to visit the People's Republic of China, Premier Chou En- materials. lai on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, has extended an invitation to President Nixon to visit China at an appropriate wise approved entry into the US, of date before May, 1972.

President Nixon has accepted the invitation with pleasure.

"The meeting between the leaders of China and the United States is to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides."

Peking radio broadcast the text of the above announcement without comment. Simultaneously in Los Angeles, Nixon, obviously elated, read the statement personally on a special nation-wide television and radio hookup on July 15, adding some comments:

... a major development in our efforts to build a lasting peace in the world . will not be at the expense of our old friends .. not directed against any other nation."

The announcement climaxed secret diplomatic moves involving Roumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, the French Foreign Ministry, and the Yahya Khan dictatorship in Pakistan.

The final move was Kissinger's 11-day "fact-finding" tour around the world, which, it is now obvious, was camouflage as expendable, a conclusion that may for his real objective.

Arriving in Rawalpindi, Kissinger vanished from sight, "indisposed with a stomach ailment". As has now been announced, a Pakistan International Airways plane flew him to Peking where he spent 49 hours, 20 of them in conference with Chou En-lai.

The most vital topics discussed with the Chinese premier by Nixon's envoy will probably remain closely guarded state secrets. However, the implications of Mao's invitation to Nixon and Nixon's acceptance are fairly obvious.

First of all, it can be taken for granted that the Nixon administration will no longer oppose the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

Secondly, at a point when he judges it will do the most good for his campaign for re-election in 1972, Nixon can be expected to announce formal US recognition of the Mao government. His

acceptance of an invitation to visit Peking constitutes informal recognition. He could hardly visit hosts that do not

For US imperialism these are not so much concessions as gains. The policy of blockading China became counterproductive long ago, and Wall Street has had many reasons for wanting to shift to a more flexible approach. In fact, the change has been advocated for years by a sector of the American ruling class.

For China, US recognition constitutes a substantial advantage. In the arena of world diplomacy it means enhanced economic gains will be considerable, the most immediate being widened access to the world market and enhanced possibilities of obtaining badly needed

Already the Nixon administration has listed a series of commodities that can now be shipped to China and has likepreviously banned Chinese goods. Tourism could prove to be a considerable source of foreign exchange if Peking cares to develop it.

Dismay in Taiwan

Among the immediate reactions to Nixon's announcement, some were to be anticipated. In Taiwan, the Chiang Kai-shek puppet regime lodged a

"strong protest", following an emergency meeting of top officials. Premier C. K. Yen said, "This could lead to a tragedy far more serious than that involved in the fall of the Chinese mainland" to the Communists in 1949. The "more serious" tragedy, of course, would be the necessity of fleeing from Taiwan.

In Washington, Chinese Nationalist Ambassador James C. H. Shen, denounced Nixon's planned visit as a "shady deal".

Chiang Kai-shek and his son and-heir Chiang Ching-kuo have been waiting to be "unleashed" as part of a US invasion of China ever since they fled from the mainland more than two decades ago. Now they fear that Nixon regards them well be accurate.

Similarly in Saigon, some of the puppets began talking about a "betrayal"by their patron in Washington.

In the United States, the extreme rightists ent up a few trial balloons. Senator James L. Buckley, the Republican-Conservative of New York, in his first major criticism of the Nixon administration said: "At home it will inevitably strengthen the hand of those seeking accommodation with the Communist world at almost any price", and in Asia "the grand scale of this overture to Peking will be anything but reassuring to those who have to live with the aggressive reality of mainland

It is not likely that the ultra-right, which includes the once-powerful China Lobby, will meet with much response. Buckley, for instance, overlooks one of the key slogans now obviously being prepared for Nixon's 1972 campaign: "He won China".

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Republican Machine Elated

The reaction of the Republican machine can be judged from the immediate responses of some of its key leaders.

Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, the House Republican leader, said: "The prospect of a visit of President Nixon to Peking will be singularly significant in the pursuit of world peace.

"I would expect, for instance, that the one subject the President and Chou En-lai would discuss is the convening of an Indochina peace conference".

Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the Senate Republican leader, said that now "Hanoi is bound to be looking over its shoulder wondering how much longer China would support its war effort".

Jacob K. Javits, the liberal Republican senator from New York, who is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a "dove", said that Nixon's announcement "forecast the real likelihood of a troop withdrawal from Indochina by the time of the President's trip before May,

As for the Democrats, Mike Mansfield, who holds the powerful position of Senate majority leader, said that Nixon's announcement "could very substantially help to end the Vietnam war". He added that "China may well be the third party, or one of the third parties, behind what has been happening at the Paris peace talks this month".

Mansfield was referring to the seven-point plan submitted by Nguyen Thi Binh calling for the release of American prisoners of war in exchange for the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam by the end of 1971. This plan was endorsed by Peking.

Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, the 1968 Democratic candidate for the

presidency, voiced the official position of his party. He commended Nixon for "this important diplomatic initiative" expressed the hope that Nixon could vis Peking "in the very near future", and expanded eloquently on the meaning of all: "Such a visit could be of immense importance in bringing about a speedy end to the war in Vietnam and of layin the groundwork for an extended period of peace and development throughout all the world and especially Asia

The essence of the Democratic party view was expressed by an unidentified machine politician in Washington: "The Democratic nomination is worth \$5 less than it was yesterday".

The Trotskyist View

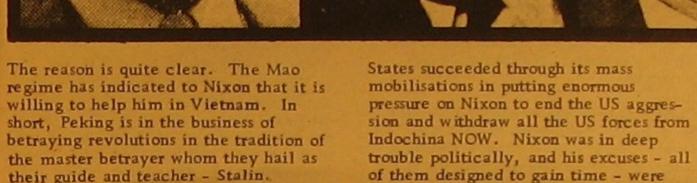
Those who have faithfully defended the Chinese revolution against its foes among whom the bitterest and most powerful have been the imperialists of the US - will feel deep satisfaction that at long last Washington has been compelled to recognise that the People's Republic of China does exist.

The normalisation of relations has been a primary objective of all defenders of the Chinese revolution since the victory in 1949. On a world scale, the sections and sympathising organisations of the Fourth International, for instance, hav stood in the forefront of the struggle to win recognition of the People's Republi of China from all the capitalist countrie

But while rejoicing over the momentous Is foreign policy, revolutionists are bound to examine the circumstances which this has occurred; for the question naturally arises - why the change at t particular time? What led Nixon - w remains little changed from what he in the fifties, a reactionary of the McCarthyite school - to begin quipple about his taste for Chinese dishes, particularly those prepared by Choul lai and Mao Tsetung?



The anti-war movement in the United



The proofs could not be more palpable. Peking came out foursquare against the people of Bangla Desh who rose almost unanimously against the dictatorship of Yahya Kahn. Peking supplied arms and money to the dictator to crush the rebellion; and it openly denounced the people of Bangla Desh for striking out

Peking followed precisely the same course in the case of the rebellion in Ceylon. Chou himself went to the most brazen lengths to associate Peking with the Bandaranaike regime and against the rebels. He put money on the line in the form of a most generous loan; he offered arms to be used against the rebels; and he denounced the rebels.

for their freedom.

Not even Nixon could misunderstand that language - if he had not completely grasped the meaning of Mao's consistent policy over the years of seeking alliances with "progressive" sectors of the colonial bourgeoisie, a policy that helped pave the way in Indonesia for the gain for China represented by the turn it debacle of 1965 and the slaughter of as many as a million Indonesian Com-

> Quite likely, Mao and Chou spelled out in plain terms what they are prepared to do in Vietnam; otherwise why the secret diplomacy?

Another Genava Conference?

Even while Kissinger was in Peking, another diplomat, unaware that Nixon's agent was in town, was given a briefing by Chou En-lai that made front page news throughout the world. Gough Whitlam, leader of the Australian Labor Party cabled Prime Minister William McMahon of Australia that Premier Chou had informed him in a conversation that the Mao government was willing to participate in a new Geneva conference. The Australian embassy in Washington relayed the information to the State Department on July 14.

It was at the Geneva conference in 1954 that the Vietnamese were cheated of their victory over French imperialism. The country was divided in half and the basis was laid for installing a puppet regime in Saigon.

The clear implication of Chou's conversation with Whitlam was that the Mao regime is willing to participate in a new Geneva conference that would still leave US imperialism a beach-head of some kind in Indochina.

This is precisely what Nixon has sought to achieve - some kind of Korea-type settlement.

Peking, could of course, put enormous pressure on Hanoi for such a deal, since a good part of the arms and supplies required to keep up the struggle against the US aggression comes from China, or through China from Moscow.

Blow to the Antiwar Struggle

It remains to be seen whether Chou's proposal to stage another Geneva conference is accepted by either Hanoi or the freedom fighters in Indochina. The counter-revolutionary effects of Mao's invitation to Nixon were nonetheless immediately apparent.

When the representatives of the Vietnamese people at the Paris talks proposed their seven point plan to exchange the American prisoners of war for an early withdrawal date, the heat was really on. Nixon's last excuse had been blown up.

getting flimsier and flimsier.

He was saved by the invitation to visit Peking. Setting the date of the visit for next spring gave him a new breathing space. He has an excuse for prolonging the war at least until then. In ten months a lot of people can be killed. And then Nixon will see ...

The anti-war forces in the United States, which now include a significant sector if not a majority - of the troops in Vietnam, came under quick fire.

Since the announcement of the trip, the communications media have been flooded with propaganda about the immense step allegedly taken toward peace. Nixon and Mao will reach a settlement! Everything can now safely be left in their powerful and competent hands! No more need for mass actions

Have the Tables Been Turned?

Will Nixon's diplomatic coup convince the American people that peace is now in the bag? Will it soften the class antagonisms that have grown sharper and sharper as the war dragged on?

This remains to be seen. The impatience with the war, with Nixon's lies, with the domestic economic and social consequences of the costly and bloody adventure, is very deep in the United States. Significantly, within a day of the announcement about a May deadline for the trip, the White House was spreading the word that Nixon might go to Peking much earlier - possibly by the end of December or early in January.

In any case, it is certainly the hope of the ruling class that the tables have now been turned on the swelling anti-war movement, thanks to the good offices of Mao and Chou. The long-standing rift in the ranks of the ruling class over the war was healed as if by a miracle.

The New York Times, which only weeks ago published the Pentagon Papers, precipitating an unprecedented showdown between the press and the administration, shifted 180 degrees overnight and with the next edition after Nixon's broadcast was praising the president to the skies, and beginning the task of creating new and more likable images of Mao and Chou. Light has finally been seen at the end of the tunnel!

Nixon likewise scored heavily at the expense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

All the evidence indicates that they were not consulted in advance. They were handled by Peking as expendable in reaching a deal with US imperialism.

Not without maliciousness, Anthony Lewis observed in the July 18 New York Times: "As for the Vietnamese Communists, they might not know for some time what deal Peking could be prepared to make at their expense, for some larger purpose

Mrs. Binh, interviewed by Reuters on Friday, said the Chinese would never settle with Mr. Nixon over the heads of the Vietcong.

Was there a touch of self-persuasion in her revolution.

Evidently the New York Times has good reason to believe that it is not inconceivable which US imperialism rejected dealing that Peking would slip a knife into the back even with this conservative caste. of the Vietnamese at the very moment they Washington's refusal to recognise China were within sight of a clear-cut victory over helped maintain the revolutionary aura US imperialism.

Moscow Displeased

The reaction in Moscow was displeasure, as indicated by official silence. The displeasure was not motivated by revolutionary considerations but by the alteration in relations between Peking and the accompanying expropriation of Washington, which now places the Kremlin at a greater disadvantage in its own dealings with US imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucracy has only itself to blame. The Sino-Soviet dispute was precipated by Khrushchev's decision to make a nuclear pact with the Eisenhower administration at the expense of China. The chickens have now come home to roost. US imperialism turned out to be the ultimate gainer. The State Department is finally in effective position to play Peking against Moscow and Moscow against Peking, applying increasing leverage in efforts to widen and deepen the differences between the two giant workers' states.

One of the consequences of Nixon's announcement will be recriminations in top circles of the Soviet bureaucracy. The prestige of Brezhnev and Kosygin will drop to a new low. Perhaps they may find themselves in the unhappy position of being converted into scapegoats, just as they joined in making a scapegoat of Khrushchev.

The Dupes of Maoism

Those most stunned by the current diplomacy of the Mao regime are the currents in the left that have been favourably disposed toward Maoism. The ultraleft posture of the Mao regime was mistakenly interpreted by them to be genuinely revolutionary. They were taken in by the willingness of Peking to offer training to prospective guerrillas and to supply them with small arms in certain countries. The ultraleft language of "Mao Tsetung Thought" bolstered this false interpretation.

The disaster in Indonesia made many of them uneasy. Mao's brazen betrayal of the people of Bangla Desh and the rebels of Ceylon completed the education of a good many others. It is to be hoped that Mao's current wheeling and dealing with Nixon will dispel any final illusions that may still linger here or there.

One of the most ironic aspects of Mao's decision to make a deal with US imperialism is that this was one of the main charges levelled against his opponents in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Mao is now doing precisely what he accused Liu Shao-chi of wanting to do.

To find a parallel it is necessary to go back to the Soviet Union of the thirties, when Stalin butchered a generation of revolutionists and potential political opponents on framed-up charges, of plotting to make a deal with German imperialism, only to end up making a pact with Hitler himself.

China's Bureaucratic Caste

Like Stalin, Mao represents a bureau-cratic caste. This formation in China is not identical in all its features to the

one in the Soviet Union, but it is basically similar. Its chief characteristic is that it places its own narrow, nationalistic interests above the interests of the world revolution, in-"This would be inconceivable", she said, cluding the interests of the Chinese

> This was not seen by many analysts, primarily because of the persistence with of the Mao regime.

The Peking government undertook defensive measures that sometimes had revolutionary consequences, outstanding examples being the military defence of China at the time of the Korean war, and capitalist holdings within China.

It was notable, however, that at home Mao sedulously blocked and rooted out any tendency toward proletarian democracy; while abroad he relied in the main, on alliances with the treacherous colonial bourgeoisie. Mao also sought to organise Peking-oriented movements in rivalry to the Moscoworiented movements founded by Stalin.

This course was in conformity with the nature of the social formation represented by Mao.

The veneer of ultraleftism was not in contradiction to this; it constituted a necessary part under the circumstances.

When - under the blows of the anti-war movement in the United States and elsewhere and the unyielding resistance of the freedom movement in Vietnam -US imperialism finally came to require the services of the Chinese disciple of Stalin, it did not require much to induce Mao to roll out the great red carpet.

In Bangla Desh, in Ceylon, and now in the invitation to Nixon to visit Peking, the underlying nature of the social formation holding power in China was suddenly bared in the most palpable way. The basic reality broke through to the surface for all to see.

Publish the Secret Commitments

The world situation has been altered by the rapprochement between Peking and Washington. Of that there can be no doubt. But this will not change the deeper currents in the international class struggle. In fact, in some areas it may give even greater impulsion to them.

A case in point is the anti-war struggle. The general conclusion among those who have been demanding the immediate withdrawal of US troops from Indochina, and who have been organising mass demonstrations to underline that demand, may well be that now there is all the more reason to insist that the US get out of South East Asia at once.

Nixon's last arguments have been utterly disposed of. Hanoi has proposed exchanging the prisoners of war for a 1971 withdrawal date. With Mao supporting this proposal and evidently now on friendly terms with the White House, a withdrawal can be undertaken at once without risking the life of a single GI. What is Nixon waiting for?

If Nixon still refuses to withdraw the troops, a new question can come to the fore: What secret commitments have Nixon and Mao already made?

A fresh demand may then be heard around the world: Publish the record of Kissinger's 24 hour discussion with Chou En-lai!

MORATORUM MORE OR LESS

When Gough Whitlam left for Peking, his secretary rang the Sydney Moratorium office and conveyed his regrets that he wouldn't be present for the lune 30 action. This is the first time, in the experience of the Moratorium, that Whitlam has regretted missing a Moratorium action, of which there have been seven during the past eighteen months.

What, one might ask, is going on?

Imperialism is not about to withdraw from Indo-China without having first exhausted all the alternatives open to it. After the failure of its invasions of Laos and Cambodia, the lack of support for an invasion of the north, and the collapse of the prisoner-of-war balloon, a Korean or Geneva - type settlement seemed the only remaining alternative. Peking may well have provided the ground for such a manouvre. And for Australian capitalism, Whitlam may well appear to be the most suitable advocate of such an approach.

Premier Chou-en Lai probably spoke to Whitlam on the assumption that he was dealing with the next Prime Minister of Australia. Whitlam always speaks with this in mind. He spoke to the Sydney Moratorium with this in mind. Peking has given Whitlam twelven with notice that the war in Indo-China will reach a political settlement on terms acceptable to Peking, Washington, and the Australian capitalist class, of which Whitlam is most likely to be the next representative.

In the eyes of the above three powers, nere are some very real obstacles to this sort of political settlement. First and foremost there is the question whether the Vietnamese - Hanoi, the PRG, and the NLF - are prepared to accept such a recipe which appears ominously to have a distinctive Geneva Conference flavour about it. We should hope - for their sake, and for the sake of the world revolution - that the

Vietnamese have long assimilated the lessons of 1954.

The second obstacle is the large and still-growing anti-war movement in the United States, which has shown that it can't be co-opted by political opportunists of any party. This movement has played an important role in shaping Nixon's attitudes towards any developments in US policy in Indo-China.

In Australia the obstacle is two-fold, sometimes related, sometimes not. Capitalism will be hoping for a decline in anti-war activity on the one hand and a softening of the ALP's Vietnam policy on the other. The inter-relation of the two forces can best be illustrated by pointing out that the ALP' strengthening position on Vietnam (up to, of course, the Peking visit) corresponded to the rise of the antiwar movement.

Whether or not Whitlam becomes Australia's next Prime Minister is irrelevant to this discussion. What is important is that he's trying. To assure himself of success, he will need to neutralise both the Socialist Left within his own party and the antiwar movement without. At this stage it is extremely doubtful that either of these forces will accept any change in the demand for a total and immediate withdrawal of all US and Australian troops from Indo-China as the only logical solution to the conflict. Such a demand, clearly, loudly, and continuously stated may well provide an unwelcome hindrance to the ALP's acceptance by Australian

This is not to say that the Socialist Left or the antiwar movement should seek to keep the ALP out of the government benches. What is important, however, is to ensure that the principled solution to the war in Indo-China remains to the forefront in any public or private forums, in the streets or in the corridors of power.

If this be achieved at the expense of the ALP gaining power, then that is as it should be.

A Federal ALP victory should not, and could not, be the concern of the Australian antiwar movement. What is of concern is that our demands for a solution to the war be met. If such demands are achieved by means of an ALP victory, then so much the better.

The victory of the demands of the Moratorium is the concern of the Moratorium. If the ALP retains any socialist character, then the victory of these demands should also be the concern of the ALP.

The next few months are likely, therefore, to provide the first real test for the national antiwar coalition. We will see whether the movement is prepared to accept a situation where its presence will be a consistent source of embarrassment to both political parties if it retains its present form (as it should) or if it is prepared to allow itself to be played upon like Nero's fiddle, while US and Australian imperialism stoke the fires for yet another bewitching brew of counter-revolution.

The Moratorium should retain its present strategy of taking its demand for total and immediate withdrawal of all US and Australian forces from Indo-China onto the streets of Australia. All other forces, including the ALP, who agree with this strategy, should be encouraged to participate. No movement stands to gain more from such participation than the Moratorium.

It is in this respect that we differ in view from the leadership of the Adelaide Vietnam Moratorium Campaign. Their insistence on placing a priority on "confronting the capitalist state" and "defying authority" over organising large mass actions around one central principled demand, has provided the South Australian Labor government, and the ALP, with an easy way of avoiding the Vietnam issue. By their espousal of this strategy, the Adelaide VMC leadership suggests that urban guerilla warfare is, at this stage, more effective in smashing imperialism than bringing about a withdrawal of its troops. It is, incidentally, interesting to note the peculiar Maoist concept of a united front, as instanced by the Adelaide VMC's publications. Under the heading "VMC Policy - Theory and Practice", we find the following

"Q. Are there other Imperialist countries besides the USA. "A. Japan, Russia, Britain and France are the most important of the other Imperialist powers."

Not only can one marvel at the crude political analysis in such statements. but feel somewhat dismayed at the thought that such dedicated unitedfrontists find it necessary to seek some sort of official imprimatur for their quaint theories, thereby imposing these views upon the whole "coalition" Which raises the questions: how much a coalition is the Adelaide VMC, and haven't the Maoists got a journal of their own?)

We have extreme doubts that the recent "peace moves" by Peking and Washington will result in a meaningful conclusion of the conflict in Indo-China We think it more likely that these moves are designed more to confuse public opinion than to facilitate the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. In the same way, the latest McMahon proposals to bring the ground troops home by Christmas, instead of being a genuine effort at seeking peace, are rather a belated admission that these forces will have had no military effect on the final outcome ever since they were committed there. What is important militarily is the presence of a massive US airforce with the capacity

to make a wasteland of the whole subcontinent and the support of thousands of ground troops employed as an allpervading police force. The war will not be settled to the satisfaction of the Vietnamese until all such forces are removed.

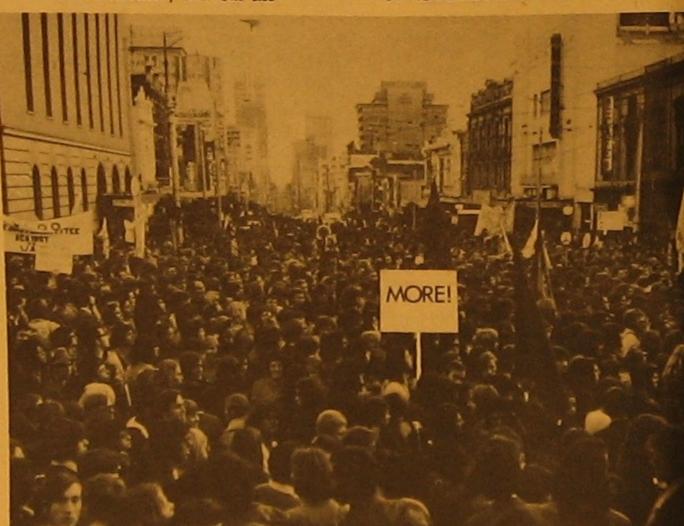
During the last few months the war has been fought mainly on the political level. The presence of any Australian forces is important in this regard - it would be a further blow to US policy for Australia to announce its complete disengagement.

The government has not announced this, nor has it announced its intention to. The Moratorium should therefore continue to press this demand.

Seen in the above context, it was a drastic error for the Sydney Moratorium to allow the speakers' platform at the June 30 rally to be occupied by so many AlPpoliticians, particularly John Ducker, whose record is one of unrestrained hostility towards the

all sectors of the movement, and not merely the dedicated hard-ore.

Devolopments in Melboume are perhant place in the program and activities of more incredible than any other centre. the movement. This is a step in the when you consider that 80,000 marched wrong direction. Appealing to people on June 30, that the ALP has always supported the Moratorium (hence the greater working-class participation) and the movement has a far more viable have in the unions, the ALP branches, and the Moratorium locality groups. With all this going for them, the Melbourne leadership wants to postpone any further mass action until next year. Their li-30 Meeting at the Richmond Town Ha did adopt a proposal for a mass street demonstration on October 1, but then used a previously adopted structural proposal (that such proposals require ratification by area groups, and then come back to a mass meeting) to ensur that the matter can't be finalised until six weeks' time, which is three weeks after the date upon which the next mee ing of the National Co-ordinating Com ittee will decide on the next nationally co-ordinated mass action.



Mo atorium. It was also a mistake for the Adelaide VMC to allow a situation to develop where a'counterrally" was able to attract 8,000 people on July 31, and have them subjected to the sanctimonious posturings of Gough Whitlam, as the principal speaker.

Such moves might well have given the ALP leadership false hopes of their ability to co-opt and contain the Moratorium. We should do our utmost to dispel this hope, whilst pointing out that all who have a record of agreeing with our demands and strategy are welcome within our ranks, on an equal basis with the forces presently represented. That is the point- we don't go to them, they come to us. The maintenance of the Moratorium's independence from electoral manouvrings is of paramount importance.

Another mistake made by the Moratorium in Sydney was the over-emphasis on the slogan Stop Work To Stop The War to such an extent that the timing of the rally made it mandatory upon all Moratorium supporters to stop work or else they would have missed the rally. The validity of a strike strategy is not in question here; we take issue only with those who were so blinded by the revolutionary nature of such a strategy that they ignored almost completely the traditional base of the movement - workers who will march but are not yet prepared to strike, secondary students, and, to a lesser extent, tertiary students. What should have been done was to schedule the rally later in the afternoon to allow it to proceed beyond business hours, thereby encouraging participation from

a mobilisation on October 1 with a ma on the US Consulate, was of course iniated by the Maoists, who hold the view, apparently, that the Australian bourgeoisie has never oppressed a sol Vietnamese. Both the Maoists and the reformists have cause for rejoicing. reformists, through procedural man ion, have avoided the necessity for nowledging the October action 13 1 mass action, and the Maoists will ha their little march, wide open to poll provocation, and during which they once again call for the establishmen of a broad united front comprising Australian capitalists and workers to smash US imperialism (and, dare we its running dogs?).

The Maoist motion had been in the for some time before the mass meet This is probably what provoked Dr. Caims to begin the proceedings with vicious red-baiting attack on the Mac and, by implication, the whole of the far Left. He accused them of stand for violence in the antiwar movemen and sneered at revolutionaries in get The good Doctor, of course, presel himself as a man of peace. His att was in the best tradition of Senator Po McCarthy. It seems hardly worth mentioning that all three of Melbou Moratoriums have been the most P of gatherings, even when the police attempted provocations. The real p who stand for vi olence and who proit daily in Vietnam is the Australian ruling class. Red-baiting merely f. itates the government's continuance its aggression in Indo China. It's eve becoming unfashionable for the Libera to kick the commo can, let alone se styled leaders of their greatest mass

The resolution carried, which called for a "communist" party to adapt to such individualistic action is pathetic. Next the meeting considered the question of reforming the structure of the VMC. As reported in "Direct Action" No. 8 SYA had moved to democratise the whole decisionmaking apparatus. Our proposal would have increased the weight of the activists in the VMC by putting the mass meetings on a firm basis. This motion, the only one consistent with building a mass movement, which would have led to the movement being controlled by those who are in it, was defeated by a motion which substantially leaves things unchanged. The Committee based on organisations remains the real force. Thus the VMC remains in the deathly grip of an unholy alliance

> have no objection to that as long as certain things are pointed out. When SYA did point them out we were met by a leaden silence. One of the points is a call for the US government to 'set the date" for the withdrawal of the troops. As we said: SYA has previously opposed this idea. It is a sell out proposal and the attempt of its advocates to justify it by reference to the PRG's even point plan" is completely dishonest. . . . They are forced to make certain diplomatic manoeuvres. Can anyhonest person doubt that if

they had a choice they would press for immediate and unconditional withdrawal as against "setting a date", The best service we can render them is to remove the government's room for manoeuvre and force it to get out immediately."

We stressed that the imperialists were

opposition. In the antiwar movement,

nobody who supports withdrawing the

troops and aid immediately should be

excluded. Despite our dislike of Dr.

Caims' politics we think even he has

everyright to be a member of the coal-

ition. We wish his passion for "peace"

self-determination: Dr. Caims endorsed

unless they are reversed before too long.

The first agenda item at the Richmond

meeting was "Draft Resistance". In a

leaflet distributed at the meeting SYA

to elevate "draft resistance" to a central

to support draft resisters won't mobilise

"Out Now" does. In the one case the

masses are reduced to auxiliaries to the

basically individualistic protest of the

draft resisters. Opposition to the draft

(while correct in principle) doesn't focus

directly on the war; it takes the pressure

On the other hand "out now" is a demand

which can unite broad masses against the

Another argument is that smashing the

problem. The methods of the draft res-

isters won't end the draft. They only

revolutionary movement is to enter the

army and attempt to disintegrate from

ment has gone into the army and has

within. In America the anti-war move-

found a growing response there (the April

led by hundreds of Vietnam veterans who

24th demonstration in Washin gton was

had played a big part in revealing the

Let the draft resistance remain the

but they must not impose it on the

must remain mass action around the

The meeting voted to adopt three

resolutions on draft resistance. Their

effect was that draft resistance is now

endosed by the VMC. This retreat

politics, from politics which can get

the Maoists and the Communist Party.

VMC's activity. The rest put opport-

rity, before principle. In particular,

unistic considerations, fear of unpopula-

us out of Vietnam, was endorsed by

SYA was the only group to speak

between the CP and the CICD.

Left. A striking and instructive

of the CP moved that the VMC

Richmond Town Hall reveded volumes

about the real politics of the Melbourne

example was provided when Mark Taft

pulicise the PRG's "7 point plan". We

against this being made part of the

from mass action, from principled

program of "Out Now".

'allied" forces).

systematic atrocities committed by the

concern of part of the antiwar coalition

whole coalition. The central strategy

reach a small number of youth, most of

war, and put direct pressure on the

government to get out of Vietnam.

This may be true but it evades the

whom will go into the army. The

correct and classical tactic of the

a fraction of the people that the demand

were matched by an equal passion for defending the right of the Vietnamese to

decisions at Richmond that will

put its position:

completely vitiate the Moratorium

hoping to use the Chinese Stalinists to bring the NLF to the conference table . In short, they were trying to engineer a sell out. In such circumstances it is imperative that the anti-war movement make it clear that it will not accept such a "peace based on the denial of the right of self determination of the Vietnamese people. Neither Dr. Caims with his passion for peace (at any price), nor the partisans of Chairman "Some sections of the coalition are trying Mao, nor the Communist Party, nor a single other person said one word

The National Co-ordinating Committee is to make recommendations for future action at its meeting on August 21, when it is hoped all centres will have discussed the various proposals raised at the recent national consultations. At this stage Melbourne has, subject to ratification, decided upon a draft off the government to get out of Vietnam. resistance campaign, a campaign to have the ACTU call a four-hour general strike on the war issue, and some sort of a mass action on October 1. No doubt Adelaide will decide in favour of at least the last two proposals. Sydney has so far only decdraft will end Australia's part in the war. ided in favour of the general strike proposal, and, as we go to press, we are unaware of any decisions yet made by other centres. Our views on the first proposal do not need re-stating. We are in favour of the second proposal, so long as its perspective is not exclusive of a proposal for mass action some time this year. We quote again from the SYA Richmond leaflet: "Tocsin" magazine has argued that the central programmatic demand should be an appeal to the working-class: 'Workers! Force the ACTU To Call A Genrald Strike Against the War!" Unquestionably, massive strikes in industry would exert a decisive pressure on the government. However, involved here is an underestimation of the power of the movement we have already built, and a misconc eption as to how the working-class will move in force against the war.

> Already, certain results (all be it not yet decisive) have been achieved (MacMahon's latest manoeuvre reflects this pressure). The American movement like our's, has not yet involved large numbers of industrial workers - although April 24th showed a marked rise in working-class participation - but has achieved obvious successes: Nixon has bee forced to talk about "withdrawal" and has had to abandon the idea of pouring in huge reinforcements; the imperialists were forced to watch the best units of the puppet army get cut to pieces in Laos, for fear of another domestic explosion like May 1970. This should make the "Tocsin" comrades think a little about the power of a movement such as ours. It would be a tragic mistake to abandon the existing movement (with its largely student and youth composition) and its chances of growth by throwing a major part of our resources into factory agitation. etc. Certainly, direct steps must be taken now to involve more workers, but the best way to achieve this in the long run is by making the present movement even bigger and broader. The workers will be drawn into it as individuals first and later there is the possibility of their action as a

The present movement must never be

sold out for something we might have.

The main purpose of this lengthy editorial has been to emphasise the need for the Moratorium to embark upon a nationally co-ordinated action before the end of the year. We therefore support the third Melbourne proposal where that proposal seeks to do just that. But considering the fate inflicted upon it by the structural manouvre we feel there will not be enough time to set the wheels in motion, and therefore favour a later date. We also disagree with the second part of the motion, the destination, which will severely limit the massive participation required. A mobilisation called for later in October and all through November would not be wise, considering that the mass base, the students, would be involved in examinations. Taking all this into consideration, we favour a day in mid-December. December 10 is a Friday.

THE ERICSSON S DISPUTE John Miles

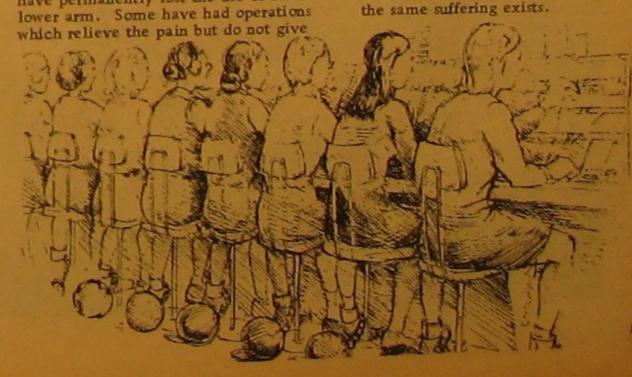
Newspaper, radio and television reports have led people to believe that the dispute at Ericssons was caused by union officials trying to force workers to join a union. The management at Ericssons, on the other hand, was depicted as "defending freedom of choice" every claim for compensation in the law against the dictatorial tactics of the Trades Hall Council. Those who have first hand knowledge, know that this picture is a grossly deceiving one. L.M. Ericssons Pty. Ltd. are a Swedish owned company who manufacture relay

equipment and cables for telephone exchanges. They hold a large number of government contracts for this work. Nearly all their process workers are women, who are employed on a casual basis. That is they can be sacked without notice. The basic rate of pay for adult female process workers is \$1.12 an hour or \$45 per week (before tax). However under Ericsson's bonus system a few women have been almost doubling their basic pay This sounds quite reasonable, what right has a women to complain when she can earn \$70 to \$80 a week if she works hard enough? An explanation of the social background to these facts will help to show why there is very good reasons for complaint. First of all, where do these women come from, and what are their private circumstances? Some are married with husbands who are also industrial workers in the Latrobe Valley, and may only intend to work a year or two to pay off a house, or just three months to buy a new washing machine. Some are single girls filling in time till they get married. Some are unmarried mothers working day and night to support themselves and make a home for their children. At ericssons the number of unmarried mothers is much higher than one would expect. The reason is simple. These women have nearly all come from Melbourne to work in the Latrobe Valley because they cannot afford to live in Melbourne. They applied to the Housing Commission for accommodation and were told that there but that they could obtain work and a Housing Commission house in the Latrobe Valley. A number of houses are empty in the valley, due to a local slump in the labour market, after the completion of Hazelwood Powerstation. Towns like Morwell, Traralgon and Moe are therefore becoming a dumping ground for unmarried mothers and factories like Ericssons are becoming employers of a work force which is extremely vulnerable to unfair treatment, coercion and expoitation.

Under Ericsson's bonus scheme groups of women work on specific jobs, and there is a standard time set for each job. If you can do the job faster than the standard time you are payed a bonus for the time saved, at the hourly rate. If you cannot do the job in the standard time you are simply payed the basic hourly rate, and if you are continually slower than the standard time you are sacked. Standard times are reviewed regularly by management to make sure the number of people earning a bonus does not become too great. Nevertheless some women more especially those with urgent financial problems, make large bonuses because they work 60 to 70 % faster than the standard rate. The work involves thousands of wrist and finger movements, stripping cables, tightening nuts, taping wires etc. At very high work rates severe strain is put on the ligaments of the lower arm. The end result is a very unpleasant disablement known locally as Ericssons elbow", which is caused by dislocation of ligaments. Several woman have permanently lost the use of their lower arm. Some have had operations which relieve the pain but do not give

them back the use of their hand . The management of Ericssons has refused to recognize that this problem exists even though as many as eighty claims for compensation have been made in one week. What is more Ericssons fight courts. It is worthwhile pointing out that the female work force is partly to blame, for allowing a situation like this to exist. Working class solidarity is all too rare anywhere in Australia, but it is even less common at Ericssons. For example a married women who only intends to work a few months to pay for a car, may just not want to see the plight of her fellow worker, who has lost the use of her hand, cannot afford to sue the company for compensation and is unmarried with a child to support. The fact that only 400 out of a work force of 3, 400 had the guts to come out on strike, clearly illustrates the selfish individualism of many of Ericsson's worker workers. Ericssons have put one or two disabled women onto "light duties" but the vast majority are simply sacked without any compensation. Even those who get compensation receive less than a third of the wages they are used to, and tese payments are automatically stopped if they take another job. When claims for compensation come to court the ETU pays legal expenses for its members but it will not pay legal expenses for non union members. The ETU has been dissatisfied for several years over Ericssons attitude to trade union activity and the large number of Ericsson's employees who are not union members. Although the ETU says that a closed shop " is not the real issue", and it obviously is not, the fact remains that if Ericssons does become a closed shop three thousand women who at present are not members will have to pay their union dues. With \$30.000 a year at stake it is hard to believe the ETU are not interested in a closed shop. The dispute lost sight of the real issues and became a power struggle between big business and the Trades Hall Council. Ericssons refused to budge on the real number of compensation claims. They refused to allow union officials the right to enter their factories and victimised union members. In retaliation the Trades Hall Council black banned Ericsson's factories and threatened to shut down the power stations in the Latrobe Valley. Ericssons retaliated by buying their own electrical generator and sueing the Trades Hall Council for losses caused by the black ban. At the time of writing it appears that Ericssons have backed down to some extent and the black bans have been lifted.

The deep rooted social problems which were the real cause of the trouble at Ericssons are not likely to be solved by any compromise reached by management and union officials. Unmarried mothers will still be dumped in the Latrobe Valley. Encisons is still the only chance they seem to have of providing for themselves and their children. While Ericsson's bonus system exists, "Ericssons elbow" will also exist. Even if compensation becomes a right instead of having to be fought for through the courts, the plight of the victims will still be a severe one. Compensation payments in Australia are particularly miserly. While industry is owned by private individuals and operated with the objective of making the largest possible profit, this sort of treatment of people will continue. Today respectable "middle class" Australians speak of the atrocious factory condition of the nineteenth century as if they are gone for ever, and yet right here and now, in the midst of our great sham prosperity,



LANDRIGHTS

LAKE **TYERS** Jenny Ferguson

Aborigines and American Indians although in different parts of the world, are stepping up the fight to regain land taken away by hundreds of years of white oppression.

For the past five years now the Australian government has been trying to entice the Aboriginal people off Lake Tyers by offering them \$9,000 to purchase a house outside the settlement, but on the condition that they do not return to Lake Tyers, except to be buried there. The government knew it would cause great hostility between those who wished to leave and those who wanted to stay and fight for the land. The government hoped to divide them and weaken the support in the fight to keep Although the Aborigines are not united, and in Lake Tyers. The people who left the settlement found that the \$9,000 no where now covered the cost of a house and land, and so were left owing a considerable sum. The male wage earners indication that some sections at least can see as semi-skilled or unskilled labourers were further the power in uniting as a force against their handicapped by the racial prejudice in this society and found it very difficult to obtain work, making it impossible for them to integrate into a white community and support themselves or their families on the same basis as the rest of the working class.

Lake Tyers, a settlement covering 4,800 acres. will be handed over to the 93 Aboriginal people living there on Sunday July 25th. This has come about simply because the Aboriginals who stayed on the land refused to be sold out by the government; and during the last week over one hundred Gippsland Aboriginals marched through the streets of Melbourne to present a petition to the Governor asking that Lake Tyers be put in a trust so that the land could not be sold to outside interests, and further stressing that the settlement belongs to all Aboriginals not just those living on the reserve.

Although the government has promised the Aboriginals an equal share of the land to farm, and an all Aboriginal Management Committee to make sure the sale of land is only made to other Aboriginal people, it seems at the moment the present number of people able to work the land is about a dozen, the rest consisting of pensioners, widows and children. There are np child-care facilities provided for mothers, no schools, hospital facilities or other community

facilities even though the government is supposed to have spent half a million dollars on the property.

It is going to be a long hard fight even with government grants or loans to make the property self-sufficient for the people's needs. The income for last year from sales of hides, cattle, and timber was around \$4,000 - not enough to support one family let alone the many expenses that have to be paid for the up-keep of the

Over the past eighty-five years Aboriginal settlements in Victoria have dwindled from over thirty to a couple. The government over this period has done practically nothing for the people. In most areas of Australia they are hidden away in the outback, or in the case of Victoria have been confined to one or two areas. An indication of their plight is the appalling health facilities which contribute greatly to the fact that 112 out of 1,000 Aboriginal children die under one year of age, compared with the Australian average of under 20 out of 1,000.

the past have been reluctant to organise against their oppression, the fact that they took a firm stand and fought for Lake Tyers is a good oppressors. Valuable lessons can be drawn from the native Americans who have similar origins, and are around the same size in proportion to population as the Aborigins. They have just begun to organise into a movement and take up the fight to regain their dignity and lost heritage.

Recently they occupied Alcatraz, a deserted prison island, for nineteen months and were only removed by U.S. marshals who invaded the island under the pretext that navigational aids need needed to be restored. During negotiations between the authorities the Native Americans were assured that nobody on the island would be arrested or taken off. The authorities not willing to comply with their own agreement. sent U.S. marshals onto the island, who wrecked the living quarters, scattering rubbish everywhere. Later the chief of General Services Administration conducted a tour of the island for newsmen in an attempt to portray the inhabitants as undesirables and irresponsible people.

In a dramatic retaliation to the government's seizure of Alcatraz, Native Americans invaded an abondoned Nike Missile Base in Richmond. California. Over one hundred settled in thirteen vacant homes on the base which they planned to convert into a cultural centre and Native American University, but the government removed them from here also.

In a similar situation in Chicago, fifty native Americans from the Chicago Indian Village took over a defunct missile base. After the occupation police surrounded the base and locked the inhabitants in, but took no further action. A public meeting will be held to decide the fate of the site.

The majority of Native Americans are now city dwellers. The conditions they face in the reservations however are even worse than those they face in the city ghettoes. On most reservations unemployment is around 50%. On reservations incomes average less than \$1,500 - in some others much less. This, along with disease, contamination and a life expectancy twenty-five years below the national average creates the sort of dehumanising climate which makes Native Americans leave the reservations.

For the Aboriginals and Native Americans the struggle to retain their own culture and improve their living conditions is only beginning. Their struggles as oppressed national minorities needs the support of all Socialists.

Bob Strong

Before the European came to Niugini, there was no concept of individual ownership, nor of land as a commodity. Land belonged to the whole group, and the villagers' rights are those of user only.

However, recently the colonial machinery of administration began to grind in an effort to further the capitalist economic situation prevalent in Niugini. It sought to press forward its land bills at the lune sitting of the House of Assembly. The

1. The Customary Land Adjudication Bill 1971

2. The Land Control Bill 1971 3. The Registered Land Bill

4. The Land Titles Commission (Papua New Guinea) Bill 1971.

A well written piece of paper that would bring so-called development (to the individual in society), but in fact is a direct action of undisguised imperialism in an effort to enhance the capitalist system in preparation of inevitable "self government and inder "lence".

Passage of the legislation has been me turbulent criticism and rejection both 6 the members of the House of Assembly well as from many unexpected source outside it. Pressure had been exerted h delay the bills, so as to give more time study their implications.

Over the years, economic threat to traditional lands of the people has pro duced deep seated suspicions from all sophisticated villagers on matters regarding land.

This has not been the first time the Administration has tried to foist an alie system on the people to replace customary tenure. It has been a recurring theme and we can be certain it is no their last effort.

As it is, the Administration has much stake and the undeniable interest it ha shown on the land question points to th fact that it will benefit from the overthrow of traditional tenure.

Faced with defeat, the Administration will present an amended version of the Customary Land Adjudication Bill at the next sitting of the House in August.

The Administration has tried to charge the present land tenure system from the of customary title to one of register

This, in itself, is totally alien to the fact that all land interests are vested the village as a community, in which right of a person to dispose of land is recognised. Now, to aid the Adminis tration's form of development, it is proposing that the people obtain legal title, to the land that is theirs, just to facilititate capitalist economic development. They argue:

"It is a truism that the economy of the Territory is to a great extent directly linked with the proper exploitation of the land resources available to the people" (sic).

The Situation -

The Administration's decision to put forward the four bills came about with the influence of a visit to Niugini by S. Rowton Simpson, a member of the tormer British Colonial Service.

Following his visit, a delegation fro Niugini, consisting of the Territory's Registrar General and two research officers (all expatriates) visited Keny

There they met another former member of the British Colonial Service, and alt they came back, they drafted the current legislation, no doubt influenced by what they observed. The land

1. The Customary Land Adjudication Bill - to provide a system for finding ownership rights over customary land that this can be registered. Systema adjudication will be undertaken, not sporadically, where investigation is carried out to register every parcel land. "For reasons of economy"!!! adjudication record is then made up. This is a detailed work the area of each parcel of land, the sons with rights to the land and any relevant information. (To be made available to the right people). Are of land will then be recorded in the names of individual persons (or in the names of not more than six persons is owned jointly or in common).

2. The Land Control Bill - to provi control of land transactions over registered land. These transactions clude sales, transfers, leases, morts and subdivisions etc. Even though trol will be decentralised to different land control boards, it inevitably of the way to corruption after indepen if we take the example of the expeof Kenya and other former colonial

3. The Registered Land Bills - to P for the registration of ownership or n akin to ownership of land, the types which are as follows:

a. absolute ownership - for all pracpurposes the same as freehold interes under the present law.

b. leasehold - substantially the sam a lease under the present law-

c. various charges, easements, re-strictive agreements and profits. It based on similar legislation operatin Kenya and the British Solomon Island Protectorate.

4. The Land Titles Commission (PENG) Bill - provides for the changes in function of the Land Titles Commission upon the introduction of the other three bills.

Alienation -

As we have seen, capital cannot be invested in the production of crops under the plantation system, without alienation of land with productive potential.

Land alienation began with the occupation by the Germans.

Then they did not find much difficulty obtaining land because the villagers did not understand that purchase would involve permanent loss of land rights.

Heavy alienation occurred around the best fertile land with ready access to transport along the coasts.

When the Australians took over, they were mainly interested in the German economic assets left behind.

No question of the return of plantations to the villagers occurred to them.

German plantations were allocated to Australian companies and to returned servicemen. Inevitable resentment on the part of the Niuguinian resulted, as it was realised the newcomers were here to stay and that the best land areas were alienated.

This serious economic threat thus produced suspicion in the villagers on matters related to land. Distrust and anxiety resulted from dealings with the Administration.

This anxiety has often appeared with regard to the Tolai people on the Gazelle Peninsula as economic development in that area has alienated the best lands. Disputes there have a direct link with previous land alienation and is a focal point in the struggles of the Mataungan Association with the Administration.

Government Interests -

Because of the inappropriateness of traditional land tenure systems for modern commercial farming, the Administration hopes to expand indigenous smallholder developments by legislation, where the individual entrepreneur is freed from the decisions of village authority and moral obligation to his wantoks*, and at the same time given a permanent title to the land he is using.

The Administration is keen to establish individual titles to land planted with tree crops for cash, because from the legal point of view, the indigenous entrepreneur is not in full control of the land he has planted, due to village customs.

Attempts to separate land from the communal village land, to date. have so far been unsuccessful due to village suspicions of Administration dealings, and also because the current legislation will legislate some out of their natural birthright whereupon they would have to become wage earners or join the circle of the urban proletariat.

Partly the Administration has been successful. It has created a type of Niuguinian committed to the cash economy and this new rise of entrepreneur must exploit the communal lands, adding thereby to the village crises.

Efforts of the ambitious to get control of land have added to the tensions arising from land matters.

The pattern of inheritance is disrupted and the village mores violated. The tradition of sharing with ones relatives is swept away in order to make a successful entrepreneur.

In its attempt to facilitate economic development of land resources by introducing a system of registered land titles, it will also assist expatriate individuals and companies to exploit the situation. Undoubtedly, foreign investment will be 'stimulated".

"There can be no doubt, too, that the aim is to use the new system to reallocate all the best mineral, industrial and agricultural land rights by law to wealthy (capitalist) interests before control of land administration is handed over to an indigenous government of the future. It is a piece of neo-colonialism". Robertson.

* relatives.

WITH ASA

JIM McILROY

At War with Asia. Noam Chomsky Fontana 1969, 1970

Chomsky seems to have moved on from the position presented in his last political book "American Power and the New Mandarins", to a recognition of the economic and ideological underspinnings of imperialism as the framework for understanding US involvement in Indo-China. Thus, he now links up his analysis of Indo-China with American penetration of the whole Asian, Latin American and African world, obversing the logical and historical linkages.

His new book is a biting and penetrating appraisal of the war, and a strong attack once again on the 'experts' who act as advisors ideological underwriters of American genocide in Indo-China. His attack is mounted with the relentless logic of careful documentation, now supplemented by personal observation, interview

Chomsky's best work is done in combatting the view that each new step of escalation, each new invasion, another 'error' of policy, an unfortunate consequence of an involvement initiated by misguided but well-meaning men. Nixon exploited this view in his defeat of the Lemocrats, but then proceeded to carry out the most savage escalations and repressions. What Chomsky documents here is amply validated by the recent Pentagon Papers' disclosures: a continuing and calculated policy of increasing involvement in order to suppress social revolution in Indo-China.

Obversely, Chomsky also combats the view, which threatened to emasculate the anti-war movement, that the war, really was ending, that Nixon had accepted the 'inevitability' of withdrawal of all US forces. In fact, Nixon is only playing the numbers game of troop withdrawals in order to pacify his domestic opposition(having totally failed to pacify the Vietnamese) In the essay "After Pinkville" Chomsky quotes General Westmoreland(or Wastmoreland' if you like): (p. 72)

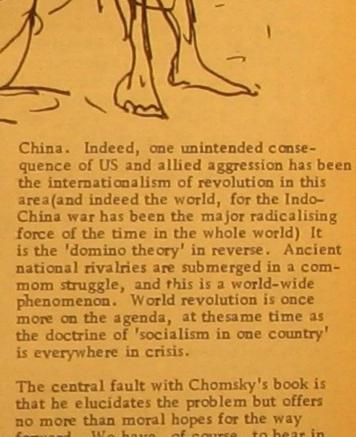
"I see an army built into and around the integrated area control system that ex-

ploits the advanced technology of communications, sensors, fire direction, and the required autonomic data processinga system that materially assists the tactical commander in making sound and timely decisions."

This is the new low-cost, long-haul strategy'- the technological escalation' which is turning Indo-China into one vast 'automated murder machine', a laboratory for the counter-revolutionary wars of the doctrine of 'socialism in one country' the future. In reply to those who feel terribly fatigued from marching in so many demonstrations, Chomsky can only The central fault with Chomsky's book is reply: "... those who programme the B- that he elucidates the problem but offers are not bored, and as long as they continue forward. We have, of course, to bear in 52 attacks and the 'pacification' exercises their work, so must we."

For men like Professor Huntington and Professor Kahn, who play academic games in that his painstaking case is hard to shake with the lives of millions, the solution to off by even the most wavering, liberalthe problem of Indo-China resistance is simple, as Chomsky notes: "(In order) to crush peoples' war, eliminate the people." resents is one of the grave problems of im-In Huntington's view, America must carry perialism at this time: the growing radicalout a policy of 'urbanisation' in Indo-China isation of the intelligentsia, seeping right so that the peasants can experience the joys of the American 'urban revolution'. This revolution has already been partly achieved as Chomsky describes in his pic- But leading intellectual figures are being ture of the poverty, disease, overcrowding and corruption in Saigon, with twice the population density of Tokyo. Another and forced by the inescapable realities of benefit of this 'revolution' is the corruption the Indo-China war and racism, in particwhich permeates right to the top- three leading South Vietnamese Generals were recently implicated. The sense of alienation and general malaise which pervades this parasitic capitalist society is presumably another aspect of the 'urban revolution' so far, to primarily identify the enemy so which the US is sponsoring all over the world, and which Huntington would like to see furthered.

Elsewhere, Chomsky quotes Sihanouk, claiming that US aggression has created a new unity amongst the peoples of Indo-

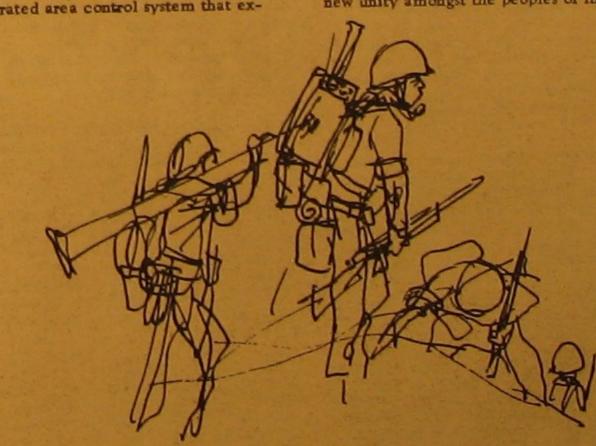


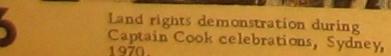
mind, Chomsky's context of operationhe is aiming primarily at the 'liberals'and in this sense, he is a true subversive minded'democrat'. But the trend which Chomsky's own personal development repto the heart of the academic establishment although primarily affecting students so far.

plucked out of those hermetically-sealed ideological labyrinths- the universitiesular, to come to terms with reality and their consciences A number of younger and older academics have begun work undermining old orthodoxies. The function of men like Chomsky and Marcuse has been clearly that others have found the necessity for action inescapable, and have then proceeded to go further in analysis and action.

What appear firstly as 'moral problems' to people steeped in the aloof, theoretical liberalism of academia, become more and more clearly basic and necessary products of the system itself. The process of radicalisation which for the working class must take primarily a practical form:ie., the form of hard experience, for the middle class intelligentsia(students particularly) takes first an abstract, theoretical form, and only later, through gradual involvement in political movements in political action, is the totality slowly uncovered. . And then it is necessary to look to democratic and effective organization to develop this theoretical and practical thinking further, through political experience.

Similarly, in Australia, what began as a burst of moral outrage against the war in Vietnam and conscription, which produced a proliferation of organizations and currents is beginning to settle down into clearly defined positions. The test of staying power is now seriousness, effectiveness and the ability to mobilise radicalised youth, in particular, through a consistent and clear-sighted analysis and program.





Police prepare to charge members of the Mataungan Association at



Feminism and Te Female Eunuch by Even Reed

"The notion that ... intellectual confrontations will by themselves bring about ... fundamental changes in

at liberty and communism without strategy or revolutionary discipline."

- GERMAINE GREER

The Female Eunuch (McGraw-Hill Co., 349 pp.) is a contribution to the continuing dialogue on the problems of women's liberation. Germaine Greer, the author, is from Australia, received her PhD in Cambridge, and is now living and teaching in England.

out there the comparison ends. Millett's indictment of patriarchal male supremacy and the glorification of sexual brutalities against women by famous male authors made her unpopular with male reviewers. Greer takes a different approach. She caters to men and castigates women for the sexual of our times. Her book has received a warm reception by male literary critics and others who are still smarting from the wounds inflicted upon their egos by Millett.

Thus in an April 20 review, Christopher Lehmann-Haupt of the New York Times barely recovered from the shattering. experience of reviewing Millett's book, calls this "The Best Feminist Book So Far" Since "it is everything that Kate Millett's book is not," he wishes that the timing of the publication of this had been such that it could have caught the lightning that struck Sexual Greer is a model for those who want more sex and less tics from women writers in the minist movement.

nore objective appraisal is given by of the New Lock Radical minists, in the April 25 New York Times k Review. "It is brilliantly written, rky and sensible, full of bile and sight, " says Kempton. However, "her nok is a conglomeration of fact and eculation and polemic which is almost impletely devoid of policy proposal or the feminist movement." What women need now, says Kempton, "at rogrammes for revolutionary change and of these, Germaine Greer offers

Greer, who favours revolution and even mmunism, excuses this deficiency in e introduction to her book. It was not signed to answer questions, she says, t merely to ask them in a more proper ray (p.12). However, she does set forth er positions if only in passing. For example, "it is not true that to have a evolution you need a revolutionary heory", (p. 295). Her attitude on nmes for action is no less negative. She belittles or does not even the most elementary demands women in the current struggle, such as adequate centres and women's right

oreer's crusade is largely restricted to furthering the sexual revolution of the k must be rescued from the traffic between powerful and powerless, nasterful and mastered, sexual and cutral, to become a form of comnication between potent, gentle, eople, which cannot be ished by denial of heterosexua (p. 8). She believes that or rescued if enough women ogamous marriage, slam the the nuclear family behind them ut they don't all ers to become fulfilled as women. propositions are scarcely bold or oundantly discussed in the women's iberation movemen

Greer invites radical women to appraise her book and pred that "The most telling or come from my sisters of the left, the These will be directed toward her, she says "because of my fantasy that it might be possible to leap the steps of revolution and arrive somehow at

liberty and communism without strategy or revolutionary discipline." (p. 12)

As one of the sisters of the left who has been singled out for special attention by the author in her critical review of feminist literature, I accept the invitation. Here is my answer as a der best-selling book has had an impact feminist, a Marxist, and an anthropologist like that of Kate Millett's Sexual Politics - concerned with the matriarchal period of

The Female Eunuch

Although the word "eunuch" is defined as "a castrated male person", Greer claims that it is the woman who is castrated. Frigidity in women, unconnected with any frigidity or impotence in men, lies at the bottom of the joyless sexual relations between the sexes today.

"Cherchez la femme" is the expression commonly used in the search for a female scapegoat. Now this feminist from England proceeds along a similar

"Sex for many has become a sorry business", says Greer, a fact few will dispute. It is also no secret - even without the use of electronic devices in laboratory experiments to demonstrate that the most "enfeebled" sex relations occur in the "ideal marriage", where it is "dull sex for dull people". However, according to Greer, the situation is scarcely better outside the bonds of holy wedlock. Although today "more girls permit more(joyless) liberties" than ever before, they seem to be getting as little satisfaction out of it as the married women. Thus, she complains, not only homosexuality but "group sex, criminal sex, child violation, bondage and disare flourishing apace. But "simple sexual ... and the Wicked Womb. Considering energy", presumably meaning heterosexual the ignorance in which women are sex, is badly deteriorated (pp. 3

What is the source of this sad state of disrepair in the sexual realm? Green recognises that women are "contoured by their conditioning" to adopt the passive feminine posture that is agreeable to men They are badly brought up under "authoritarian" family and other forces especially by mothers in the case of female children, so that they arrive at maturity not understanding, and even fearing and loathing their own bodies. After marriage, something happens to the love that the pair started with; the husbands neglect the wives or the wives freeze up at the insipid lovemaking doled out to them occasionally

At the end of all this descriptive material there is little in Greer's book to pinpoint the root causes of these sexual disabilities She hints that the problem is social, when she exposes the ineffectiveness of seeking relief from psychologists, who might lessen some of the more galling conflicts but cannot provide a solution to the problem. In fact, as she says, those psychiatrists who seek to place the blam on the woman herself rather than on society, are playing a "confidence trick" on the women. "Psychologists cannot fix the world so they fix women," she says

Yet this observation does not lead Green into an analysis of the real source of the sexual dilemma - the capitalist system which breeds profound alienations in every realm, including the sexual. In this patriarchal, male-supremacist society, not only are men and women sexually alienated from each other, but the "contouring" of women alienates them from their own sexuality and makes them the passive objects of male sexuality.

Greer, however, skips over the capitalist social system to criticise its institution of marriage and the family. "If marriage and family depend upon the castration of women, let them change or disappear". (p. 89). But this institution is an integral socio-economic unit of the capitalist

structure and can only be replaced through this female frigidity: "know-how about a revolutionary change in the structure itself. If a few women favourably situated can indulge in personal defiance of this institution, the great mass of women cannot free themselves in this manner. Their economic dependency obliges them to remain chained to the institution that according to Greer, "castrates" them.

Under these circumstances, Greer's analysis of what is to be done is extremely superficial. Women should stop submitting to a conditioning which is so injurious to free and happy relations between the sexes. They should reject the ideal marriage as their goal in life since it is only "standard, lowagitation, cool-out monogamy". If women are to retain their humanity, "they must hold out not just for orgasm, but for ecstasy". (p. 34). A good sexual goal, most women will agree, but how is it to be achieved?

According to Greer, women cannot wait for the social revolution that may or may not change things. Her advice to each individual housewife is to begin not by changing the world, but by reassessing herself". (p. 4). Greer therefore begins not with politics and sociology, through an investigation of the structure of capitalism which is the underlying determinant of female victimisation, but with biology and an investigation of the female organism. Moreover, "Female sexuality has always been a fascinating topic"

She accordingly examines the Body proceeds through all its parts: the Bones, the Curves, the Hair, the Se kept with regard to their bodily organ and functions, many of them will probably find here some elementary facts and helpful hints, along with some

Other chapters in the book discuss romance, love, marriage, the family, as well as the soul, the abuse, the misery, and the resentment of women. ch of what is presented has been said before by other writers in the feminist movement, it is worth repeating for newly awakening women. More women will learn how they are exploited in the merchandising of beauty preparations and other consumers' In general, Greer is quite pessimistic goods, and perhaps more will reject the myth of the Eternal Feminine, which produces the stereotype of the husbandhinter and man-catcher.

Unfortunately, after digesting this pastiche of descriptive and prescriptive materials, homilies, lectures and advice to the lovelom, many women will find themselves no wiser than before on the question of how they can shed their ignominious posture as "female eunuchs". The net result of the piled up data leans more toward castigation than Illumination.

In the chapter on Misery, for example, we learn that this leads to Resentment. But the chapter on Resentment tells us this is no way to deal with misery. Female revolt takes curious and tortuous forms, and the greatest toll is exacted by the woman upon herself," says Greer. She holds up the alarming picture of the wife who drives her husband away by "destructive carping" and "fighting off his attempts to make love to her, because somehow they seem

But this raises the question: why would a woman fight off the lovemaking of her husband if the lack of it produced the carping in the first place? "Frigidity Is still a major problem, " she says - not for men but for women. She even draws a profoundly pessimistic conclusion about

"... Greer has not yet caught up he feminist struggle and the respect we have for our own sex. Greer's reflexes are onditioned by the old patriarchal, male supremacist ideology which taught wombrespect men but not themselves." the female structure and orgasms will not change it". (pp. 277-278). In the end then, the smorgasbord served up by Green

which men find so delectable, provider little nourishment for women. What good is all the advice about the temale body, curves, sex, etc., if, as Green hints, women are locked into a permanent stage of frigidity

Frigidity isn't the only thing that make women such a difficult problem for me (the "male burden" in this sexual area is the counterpart of the "white man's burden" in relation to the colonial peoples). For, according to Greer, it seems that the same women who are so frigid are also low enough to use their su as a means of punishing and "blackmailing" their husbands.

"Much wifely frigidity is the withdrawald a pleasure as punishment, although this is never admitted, " says Greer. Indeed she knows this at first hand by the behaviour of the wives of her male colleagues in the British university circles. With these women "sex is granted to the husband as a reward for something accomplished or as a consolat ion for some setback. The blackmail & that there is nothing in it for her, so that her husband feels both bestial and grateh when she allows him the use of his conjugal hole". (p.287).

Greer does not investigate the possibility that the manner of use or even misuse turned them frigid in the first place Disgust, she indicates how this might often does, come about. In many case the man regards the woman "as a receptable into which he has emptied sperm, a kind of human spittoon, and turns from her in disgust." (p. 250).

Whether or not this occurs in the univer circles Greer frequents, we do not know. Such an investigation into the women's point of view would presuppose some sisterly collaboration between Greer and the wives of her male colleagues, which is not the case. Speaking frankly about the coldness between them, she says, "As a female lecturer at a provincial university, I have to tolerate the antici of faculty wives, but they are fairly easy to ignore". (p. 127).

about the capacity of women to collaborate, much less to feel affection for one another. Women, shi says, congregate only to "bitch" or backbite an absent member of their group. To be sure, women pent up " petty homes doing petty chores, often become petty minded. But what socia forces have made them this way? Ac ing to Greer, it is the fact that they female eunuchs, plus a defect in sel love that lies at the bottom of this "impotence" of women to love one another.

A brotherhood of men seems more conceivable to Greer than a sisterhood women. While men "nip down to the local", or collect coins, or find other pretexts to get together for fun, won not rejoice in the company of other women. "Of the love of fellows (re sisters) they know nothing. They can love each other in this easy, inneces spontaneous way because they cann love themselves". (p. 138). This beyond simple description to condem

It is odd that this downgrading of is stressed at the very point of the ment. Perhaps her visit to the United States will show Greer that multitudes of women are already coming forward and joining together in considerable excitement at their reunion after so many centuries of patriarchal dispersal and isolation - and this is only the beginning.

Sister Greer, however, is unconvinced that women can ever trust one another-"Those women who boast most fulsomely of their love for their own sex (apart from lesbians, who must invent their own ideal of love)", she says, form relationships with other women that are usually 'disloyal, unreliable and tension-ridden, however close and longstanding they may be". (p. 138). Doesn't this echo the propaganda used by men for ages, to keep women in their cages?

Although women get most of the heat, men are by no means exempted from Greer's criticisms. She does not hesitate to point out their defects and chastise them for their bad behaviour. In her section on Hate, for example, she writes, "Women have very little idea of how much men hate them". (p. 245). One reason is that men have been conditioned to despise women who "give" themselves without insisting on marriage. "Any woman who goes to bed with a man for the first time knows that she runs the risk of being treated with contempt", she says (p. 252). The situation is even worse with prostitutes, who "must undergo the bestial rituals which civilised men find necessary for sexual release", and she adds: "The unfortunate girls found strangled with their own stockings and raped with bottles, are the victims of male fetishism and loathing, and yet no woman has ever cried out after such an outrage on her sex, "Why do you hate although hate it clearly is".

253). Greer misses the main point. Women today have gone beyond merely voicing their outrage - we are creating a movement of liberation that all women are invited to join, not merely in talk but in actions.

Greer, however, is concerned with explaining why men are not to be totally faulted for their weaknesses and defects. For one thing, "Men do not themselves know the depth of their hatred. It is played upon by inflammatory articles n the magazines designed for morens with a Chance irility problems which sell for high prices in transport cafes." (pp. 247-248). Greer winds up with the following

Then, again, the women themselves are o blame, she feels, since they are too stupid and awkward to arouse the respect and love of the young men. "Any Saturday afternoon in a provincial Saturday afternoon in a provincial English town, " she writes, "one may see groups of girls clad in the uniform of their accepted image standing about the streets feigning to ignore the groups of boys who express clear scom for them. Their susceptibility combined with insipidity and dishonesty, offers them no ground for genuine intercourse with their male contemporaries". (p. 78).

This disdain for the young women shows that Greer has not yet caught up with the feminist struggle and the respect we have for our own sex. Greer's reflexes are still conditioned by the old patriarchal, male supremacist ideology which taught women to respect men but not themselves.

Despite her displeasure with masses of women, Greer undertakes to improve matters between the sexes through an from academic circles. Since they are members of the brainy sex, she does not give them instructions about their bodies as she does to the female sex; she aims to reach their logic and reason.

On this lofty level, Greer argues: "The castration of women has been carried out in terms of a masculine feminine eered all the energy and streamlined it and practice. We believe that bas into an aggressive conquistatorial power, reducing all heterosexual contact to a sadomasochistic pattern". (p. 6). Translated, this means that men who enjoy male supremacy in society

bring about. . .fundamental changes in social and sexual relations is a liberalistic or reformist doctrine."

- EVELYN REED

have also carried their brutalities against women into the sexual realm - a proposition that Kate Millett has documented with great skill and honesty. If Greer agrees that men are sadistic toward women, how will an appeal to men's reason change the social causes that gave them their power in the first

Greer skirts around the socio-economic foundation of capitalist society that made women inferior to men; she ascends to the psychological stratosphere where she arrives at a misty, pacifistic conclusion Ve learn from her that just as Eros and Thanatos (Love and Death) are hooked together, but are at war with each other so is the masculine-feminine polarity. Men are identified with aggression-war death-sadism; women with peace-lovemasochism. In her chapter on Womanpower, she debates this dubious scheme an involved polemic with Otto Weinings the misogynist, whose work few psycholo ists take seriously. The net result of her argument can be summarised in the plea-Greer addresses to all woman-hating men give women a chance and they will soon demonstrate that they are fully capable of earning the genuine love and respect of men.

Greer goes on to amplify this entreaty because she is concerned not merely w love in the bedroom but also with peace and love at large. "We cannot survive in the environment of male sadism and female masochism, a universe of aggressors and victims," she writes (p. 85). Presumably, through a proper appea to men's intellect, they will cease their punishment of women and perhaps even follow their lead on the path toward a brave new world of peace and love. "If women can supply no counterbalance to the blindness of male drive, the aggressive society will run to its lunatic extremes at ever-escalating speed. Who will safeguard the despised animal faculties of

compassion, empathy, innocence and sensuality?" (p. 108). In short, as certain pacifist anti-war slogans put it: "Make Love, Not War," and "Give Peace

exhortation: "Womanpower means the selfdetermination of women, and that means that all the baggage of paternalistic society will have to be thrown overboard. Woman must have room and scope to devise a morality which does not disqualify her from excellence, and a psychology which does not condemn her to the status of a spiritual cripple". (p. 108). Agreed. That still leaves open the question: how do we go about achieving this goal?

Feminism & Marxism

There is nothing wrong with appealing to man's intellect any more than with giving instructions to women about their bodies curves, sex, etc. For it sometimes happens that men are as ignorant about what goes on in their minds as women ar about their bodily organs and processes. It might even be advantageous to turn around; give men instructions about their bodies of which they are also in great need and appeal to the intellect women. Either way, however, it mu borne in mind that such rationalistic, reformist methods are strictly limited scope and function.

The notion that petitions, lectures and intellectual confrontations will by the selves bring about the desired fundamental changes in social and sexual relations, a liberalistic or reformist doctrine. Marxists have a different method great social struggles, and that these require a revolutionary strategy and tactics Even more disastrous, "If she feels that if they are to be victorious. Consequently, she must also retain her sexual identity to say, as Greer does, that Marxists are

"doctrinaire", is a version of the liberal's device for disregarding or denying this necessity. Liberals are no less "doctrinaire", except that they hold to a non-revolutionary dectrine which seeks to amend rather than abolish the status quo.

struggle includes fighting for immediate, neurotic? progressive reforms in every realm, including the realm of women's liberation. That is why we are in the forefront of the fight for such basic measures as the repeal of all laws against abortion; for the setting up of twenty-four-hour child-care centres under rise against those insidious forces and is the control of those who use them; for equal education of women with no tracking: for equal jobs and pay for women. However women may differ in their political views, we think we can all make it, there is no reason why she mobilise as women around these demands, shouldn't". (p. 128). and thereby win greater control over our own bodies and lives.

Greer, however, is opposed to reforms. She counterposes individual defiance struggles of women in the social and political arenas. Women don't have to nobilise in actions. All they have to do is to defy a curious male figure she calls the Omnipotent Administrator. "The ltra-feminine must refuse any longer to countenance the self-deception of the Omnipotent Administrator, not so much by assailing him as by free in herself from the desire to fulfill his expectations." (p. 8)

is Omnipotent Administrator s, Greer's advice to women is: The world will not change overnight, and widual women agree to be outcasts, es, perverts, and whatever the choose to call them . . 325). In other words, be anything u wish on an individual basis; just mobilise on a mass basis for

Her prejudice against actions can be seen

ost clearly in Greer's chapter on Work, the shows that the discrimination, omen in England is, if anything, worse han in the US. There is the same racking of women in education and nortening of their schooling. Women's Nonetheless, she sees little or no value women getting together to fight for their rights on any level, academic, trade union, or legislative. In fact, on these questions, she is not only negative it hints that the difficulties women suffer from are mostly their own fault.

in education, for example, she holds that the fully educated woman is the exception rather than the rule, largely because of the problems of female puberty. "The odds against the average pubescent girl pursuing her education are long, however, because of the loss of enterprise and energy which accompanies female puberty"

Apparently, boys do not suffer from this affliction in the vital realm of affliction in the vital realm of education

Greer shows the relentless pressure p m the young woman by her famil which is usually more intereseeing her safely married than in b ing a scholar. But Greer herself is highly ambiguous on whether or no women have the intellectual capaci or the same kind of higher e that is taken for granted in the ca ought feminimity and education "seldom brilliant," she says to recognised as being as good as a man. by being feminine, the conflict of

desires can have radical effects.

Finally, Greer gives the clincher: 'The prejudice that academic women are neurotic is justified in actual experience if not in theory". (pp. 128-129), What young woman would want to fight for a higher education against all the deterrent The Markist programme for revolutionary forces, only to come out a desexed

> Betty Friedan documented this manipulation and brainwashing of young women far more effectively and with Considerable passion in The Feminine
> Mystique. That book inspired women to rightly held to mark the inception of the second wave of the feminist movement. Greer has nothing more to say on the subject than "if a girl feels that she can

No less negative are Greer's observations of feminist struggles in the political and industrial fields. "The sad fact is that prejudice and discrimination cannot be through an experimental life style to mass legislated out of existence". In any case, women themselves are to blame, since they are afflicted with inertia and are 'not interested" in the problems of their oppression and exploitation. In politics, women are often more "anti-feminist" than men, says Greer, and cites a UNESCO report by Maurice Duverger, written in 1955, fifteen years ago (p. 114).

> Women are also held responsible for the lack of struggles in English Industries. cause of the "claims of home", women ail to unionise themselves, says Greer, and those who are unionised are not active in their unions. But she disdains even those actions which have been taken or contemplated. On the question of setting up nurseries to relieve women of the claims of home and family, she is positively amused. "The intrusion of ser and children adds a tinge of frivolity to the arguments: in fact, an employer who faces problems of organising hisemployees' children as well as themselves, might we be inclined to discriminate more and more (pp. 114-115). Let's pity the poor employer carrying the female burden.

As for a mass rally in England called for women's equal rights in 1969, which "attracted no more than a thousand", according to Greer all these militant women succeeded in doing was to make themselves very unattractive to men. The activist women are forced in such an eventuality to make up for their rareness by an increase in raucoumess invoking the mockery and sabotage of their own sex." (p. 115). Presumably American women will learn from the failures of their English sisters not to start any actions unless they are guaranteed in advance to be very large and attractive to men.

Professional women in both countries are also castigated. Of the teaching profession to which Greer belongs, she says, "In the higher educational establishment in which women are segregated, there is a curious air of constipated revolt". But he does not furnish her female colleagues with any guidance on how to pass from constipation to movement. Rather, we learn that the real reason for their pligh is that they are female eunuchs. women teachers are not married, and of not have any very significant intercour with the opposite sex." The "extreme repressions" they practise on themselve are the indicator of their "impotence this regard." (p. 292).

Greer regards herself as an exceptions case, proving that women can get in life through their own individual talents, without organising in light units which only make them raucous unattractive to men. "I do receive equal pay, " she informs us; "I was appointed in preference to male com-

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Feminism etc.

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

petition and nothing can prevent me from of the matriarchy, the ancient combeing promoted in the natural course of events. Guiltily I must also admit that I did not toil particularly hard to attain what academic distinction I have". (p.

Greer offers other "success stories about women" to prove that some women can make it in a man's world without losing their femininity Naturally, the examples she gives are not women known desirous of reconstructing our own to be feminists or out in front fighting for women's liberation. They are "canny and creative women", primarily in the business world who are helping men make lots of money and even making in the light of historical materialism. lots of money on their own.

Asha Radnoti, for example, "graduated with honours in politics, philosophy and economics from Oxford", worked her way up the ladder to become a portfolio manager for a big Canadian investment firm "with day-to-day responsibility for the investment of more than four million pounds". Miss Ishbel Webster, after twelve years of aerosol depilator work, has now patented her own formula called "Spray Away". Marjorie Hurst "is a millionairess and joint chairman of Britain's biggest secretarial agency", which just about rules her out as an organiser of secretaries in the women's liberation movement. Fashion designer Mary Quant is so feminine, despite her financial success, that she "has had her pubic hair shaved into a heartshape by her adoring husband." Among the dozen or so American women successes who "have conquered male chauvinism" in the business world, are Jane Trahey, 1969 "Advertising Woman of the Year". (pp. 129-130). Greer's listing of these token successes is reminiscent of show-window Blacks in white supremacist capitalist America.

To Greer, the feminists fighting for women's liberation stack up poorly alongside the female careerists in the business world. She praises Betty Friedan as a woman of 'considerable reputation and attainments, and acknowledges that her NOW movement which first organised feminist groups on a national the political establishment.' However, she has a low opinion of these accomplishments.

It is true that Friedan works within the existing system. But at least she has the merit of helping to organise women against specific inequalities. And this recourse to action is worth more than mere verbal declarations in favour of revolution. The ultraradical Green, however, sneers at the results of the actions taken by NOW and other organised groups in fighting against discrimination.

In her attitude toward theory, Greer is flagrantly contradictory. In one place she asserts there is no need for revolutionary theory to achieve liberty and communism. In another she looks to 'inventing a new mythology' made up of borrowings from such eclectic sources as 'mystics like Lao-Tse, scientists like Whitehead and Needham and Merleau-Ponty, ' and 'brilliant speculation from Norman O. Brown, Herbert Marcuse, Borges. (p. 106)

She is no less vague as to what women should do specifically to promote their freedom. Insofar as an alternative to the Marxist programme can be pieced together from her pages, she urges women to withdraw from the system and do their own thing. Greer's own thing is a private Utopian fantasy. She dreams of an extended family setup in a farmhouse in Calabria, Italy, where her hoped-for-child (a male child) can be brought up with a few others also bom without benefit of wedlock by their mothers, in a household served by a local peasant family (p. 232). This anarchistic, individualistic solution may be possible for a few comfortable professional women, but it is hardly a realistic solution for millions of poor and oppressed women.

Matriarchy: Gut issue of anthropology For half a century or more the question

munistic society uncovered by the pioneer anthropologists, has been ignored, played down or concealed. Few students were encouraged to add to the findings made by Bachofen, Morgan and others; instead, they were taught the official line that such a system had never existed. Now the women's liberation movement has rekindled interest in this subject among many women history. Many have rediscovered Engels' Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, the basic text that analysed the findings of the early anthropologists

My book, Problems of Women's Liberation A Marxist Approach, adheres to this viewpoint. It is a compilation of articles and speeches presented over the past sixteen years that defends and amplifies the matriarchal structure of preclass society. Such a study of the past can open doors for women today who are trying to fathom how and why we have been reduced to the 'second sex'.

Greer attacks my book, primarily because it combines Marxism with anthropology. 'Unlike other theorists,' who confine themselves to Marxism alone, she thinks I have been duped into falling for 'Engels' dubious anthropology.' (p. 296)

Her criticisms appear in the two last chapters of her book; one on the uselessness of Rebellion, and the other on the uselessness of Revolution. Greer scoffs at my "naive attempt' to show that the struggle of women against oppression is part of the class struggle. Her arguments are couched in typical Marxist doctrinaire terminology, buttressed by phony anthropology and poor scholarship, she says. It is bad enough that I pinpoint, in her phrase, the 'deliberate sinister ploy of money-hungry capitalists' to exploit women. Even more ridiculous is my contention that such victimisation of women did not exist in ancient society, the period of the matriarchy. It is a great pity', she feels, that my book is 'unusually well-distributed and may be influential ... for much time will be wasted debating invalid conclusions."

By this Greer infers that the study of the main stages of social evolution is a waste of time and can shed no light on the changing status of women in history. 'It is not necessary for feminists to prove that matriarchy is a prehistoric form of community or that patriarchy is a capitalist perversion in order to justify our policies, because the form of life we envisage might as well be completely new as inveterately ancient. We need not buy dubious anthropology to explain ourselves...

Prominent male reviewers, like Lehmann-Haupt in the New York Times eagerly quoted from and endorsed Greer's position a graceful Bacchante holding a thyrsus on this issue. Max Lerner, in his April 28 review in the New York Post, even offered of hippiedom and drug culture of our up a prayer of thanks for her criticisms. 'I am glad that Miss Greer is sensible on the currently fashionable topic of the return to the matriarchy... To which I say Amen.

The fact is, Marxists have not dealt with the prehistoric form of the community in order to advocate a return to that primitive condition of life and labor. The - the transition from the matriarchy to the purpose was to give a scientific explanation patriarchy. 'The character of the Maenads of how and why primitive collectivist society differed from class society culmin- mistaken ideas prevailed, ' says a summary ating in capitalism, to shatter the myth that what we endure today is unchanging and everlasting.

The message in my publication is in line with these revolutionary implications. As women, we can learn from our ancestresses, the leaders in founding the first sisterhood and brotherhood of humanity. We can learn that we were not always the 'second sex', that relations between women and men have been and can be quite different than they are today, and that we can aspire to and help create a superior social system in place of the present capitalist jungle.

Curiously enough, Greer makes no comments on the contents of my book nor does she give the essence of my position. She directs her attention exclusively to the illustration on the cover, a female figure from an Attic vase. She claims it is not 'a goddess symbol of the matriarchy, ' as the

caption says, but 'a graceful Bacchante with thyrsus and dead wildcat. Evelyn Reed would have been horrified if she had realised that her work was decorated with the symbol of hippiedom and drug culture, flowing hair, snake diadem and all. ' (p. 297) The question at issue, then, is what does this figure signify and is it appropriate to the contents of my book?

The figure in question is a Menad (Maenad, Mainad), also called Nymph, defined as a lesser divinity, also called Priestess, also called Bacchante, worshipper of Dionysus and Bacchus. All the Greek goddesses, nymphs, and innumerable other females in groups, such as the Nurses, the Fates, the Cahrities, the Muses, etc., including the Menads, stem from the matriarchal era before the gods and goddesses were born. At that time they had only the simple designation of 'The Mothers, ' which meant not simply the mothers of new life but the mothergovernesses of social and cultural life. Reduced to their most basic symbols, the women in groups are often called 'Mother Earth' or 'Mother Goddess'.

The insignia that the Menad in the illustration wears, from the snake diadem to the thyrsus in one hand as Mother of Vegetation or Agriculture, to the cat in the other as Mother of Wild Animals, hark back to her matriarchal origin. Her encirclement by the moon is another symbol of the matriarchy, for the earth goddess is also a moon goddess.

Thus the figure in question is not merely

thus also became known as Bacchus T Menads were connected with the rites of the Dionystic agricultural cult.

Although it may not be explicit in the large body of data available on the culof Dionysus, in my view this signifies that women were passing through a drastic social change. They were no longer looking to one another for joint leadership and guidance in the activitie of a communal society. They were now performing rites for a solitary male who arose as a matriarchal culture-hero but was becoming a patriarchal god.

This is one of the signals that the patriarchy has overtaken and will soon crush the matriarchy. In the final stage of their metamorphosis, the Menads wil become the 'Bacchae' or Bacchantes, the 'worshippers' of the god, their lord Bacch Here in refracted form we can see the the downfall of the women. Originally free, proud and independent, women have ever since been down on their knees before their male lords on earth a in the heavens.

As transitional figures in the period of the death agony of the matriarchy and the rise of the patriarchy, the illustration is entirely appropriate on the cover of my book. For the Menads are also called 'the frenzied ones' or 'the raging ones.' They forecast that in this period of the death agony of patriarchal class society, new 'raging ones' will arise to participate in the revolutionary events ahead. Women, getting up off their knees will help settle accounts with a rotten, racis

and dead cat. Still less is she a symbol times. To a historical anthropologist she is representative of the matriarchy whether or not Greer thinks she should be admitted into the ranks of the goddesses.

More than this, the Menads are among the most interesting of the female figures in ancient Greek myth-history since they tell us something about that critical period was long a subject upon which the most article about them. 'The accounts of them given by poets, mythographers, and historians were all mingled together, and were, moreover, mixed up indiscriminately italist rulers can easily assimilate and with the representatives of the cult of with the representatives of the cult of Dionysus in art, while, again, these artistic products were not submitted to any process of critical analysis. ' (Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Hastings; 1910, viii, From the standpoint of the feminist

The connection between the Menads and Dionysus provides a clue to their changing For many millenia the mother and the mother and the feminist struggle as for it. Consider For many millenia the mothers and their daughters, equipped with digging sticks, cultivated the ground until, with the rise of a new economy rooted in agriculture, men were liberated from their former occupation as hunters to become farmers and stock-raisers. It was in the course of these developments that a male culturehero made his appearance in history and evolved into Dionysus. This god is most closely associated with the grapevine and

sexist capitalist social order whose time is up.

In her introduction Greer says, 'Hopel this book is subversive. 'She hopes it will 'draw fire from all the articulate sections of the community. ' She even says if it is 'not ridiculed or reviled it will have failed in its intention. ' (pp. 11-12) An appeal of this intensity cannot be ignored.

Greer's book will not be - and has not been - regarded as subversive by the powers-that-be merely because of her denial of the Holy Family, 'her 'denigration of sacred motherhood,' or her 'inference that women are not by nature monogamous. (p. 11) The cap even sensationalise such criticisms these days when they involve no more than individualistic expressions of defiance.

movement, however, Greer's query is relevant. Adding up all the castigat and scornful remarks scattered through the book, she seems to be as much again the following items which are illustrative

Item: 'The concept of liberty by such liberation (as organised action) is vacuou at worst it is defined by the condition of men, themselves unfree, and at best it left undefined in a world of very limited possibilities. P.4. (Moral: If even men can't all live like humans, women must stay where they belong at the end of the

Item: 'Insofar as such movements demand of men, or force men, to grant their liberty, they perpetuate the estrangement of the sexes and their own dependency.' P. 8 (Moral: Do you want to turn men off for the sake of liberty - or will you settle for love?)

Item: 'It is a kind of female rebellion to eschew cosmetics and the business of attraction ... Such unremarkable and unconscious forms of rebellion against the feminine role are old and ineffectual. Pp. 292-293. (Moral: Feminine attractiveness to men isn't all that bad; look at Greer's awful example, the Englishwoman 'who was famous for farting and belching at table.')

Item: 'It is dangerous to eschew sex as a revolutionary tactic because it is inauthentic It has already shown very clearly, how and enslaving in the terms in which it is now possible, when sex is the principal confrontation in which new values can be worked out. ' (P. 295.) (Moral: Never mind what Greer said previously in her book, 'pussy-power' to 'manipulate their menfolk' out strongly in favour of these tours by - use it.)

Item: 'The chief means of liberating women is replacing of compulsiveness and compulsion by the pleasure principle. .. It is possible to use even cooking, clothes, cosmetics and housekeeping for fun. P. 324. (Moral: The feminine role isn't all that wrong; take the 'anxiety quotient' out and replace it with a little 'spontaneity' and it's fun.)

ion in their circumstances by training obvious case of confusing reaction or process to be followed is the opposite; women must humanise the penis, take the steel out of it and make it flesh again.' (p.315)

Item: 'Men are tired of having all the responsibility for sex; it is time they were relieved of it. And I do not mean that large-scale lesbianism should be adopted, but simply that the emphasis should be taken off male genitality and replaced upon human sexuality. ' Pp. 315-316. (Moral: Take the heat off the Misters - and load it on the sisters.)

Greer's capacity for double-talk can perhaps best be seen in the last paragraph of her book. On the one hand, she tells women that in pursuing their freedom they happened in North and Latin America, will also free men. On the other hand, she advises sympathetic men not to support the freedom struggle of the women man and facilitated by the development because it is only a middle-class movement. She writes:

The first significant discovery we shall make as we racket along our female road to freedom is that men are not free, and they will seek to make this an argument why nobody should be free. We can only reply that slaves enslave their masters, and be securing our own manumission w may show men the way that they could follow when they jumped off their own treadmill.

The next sentence is presumably addressed to the men: 'Privileged women will pluck at your sleeves and seek to enlist you in the 'fight' for reforms, but reforms are retrogressive. The old process must be broken, not made new. Bitter women will call you to rebellion, but you have too much to do. What will you do?' (pp. 328-329, end of book)

One of the most striking achievements of the new feminist struggle is that women are viewing - and reviewing - their social, political and sexual problems through the eyes of an awakened female sex. But Greer's outlook remains infected with the sick femininity imposed upon us by patriarchal society; she keeps one eye cocked upon what men will say, think or do, about our struggle.

This is hardly a posture that can be called subversive. But more importantly, if, as Greer says, mass revolutionary struggle is unnecessary, and even reforms are "retrogressive", her book is demonstrably not subversive of patriarchal capitalism, or of the dominant position occupied by men in it.

What kind of service, then, does Greer's book perform for the women's liberation movement? It contains a number of sprightly expressed truisms about the conditions of life for women today, with which most of us will agree. But insofar as she presents no proposals for changing these conditions through common struggle, the feminist cause cannot be benefited by a writer who is a "female eunuch" in revolutionary theory and

APARHED

John Ebel

The Springbok Tour

The tour illuminates in many ways, the essential nature of a capitalist society. all forces of reaction unite, when it comes to defending the basic values of the capitalist system.

Thus the Australian government has come its willingness to provide military transport for the rugby players. This fact should not come as a surprise to anyone. After all, the Australian government supports and vigorously carries out aggression against the people of Vietnam and Niugini, as well as practising a systematic cist policy towards the Aboriginals.

South Africa - The Racist Past

Item: 'That women should seek a revolut- The occupation of what is today called South Africa, began in the middle of the themselves as a fighting force is the most seventeenth century. The settlers who at first started occupying the coast came from rebellion with revolution. ' P. 313. ('The Holland, and were joined later on by the French and the Germans. From thereon, we see the white colonists expanding and meeting with fierce resistance from African tribes, whose land they were expropriating. Africans living in the shanty towns and in The whole history of eighteenth and nineteenth century South Africa can thus be seen as this conflict characterised by the barbarism of the white settlers, and the resistance of the African people.

> However, toward the end of the nineteenth century, it became obvious that the Africans were no match as far as questions of warfare were concerned. The white settlers were equipped with the latest weapons which capitalist Europe was able to produce at the time. And so we see as Australia as well as other countries, superior technology wielded by the white of capitalism in Europe emerging triumphant and subjecting the conquered people to oppression, degradation, exploitation and often genocidal massacres.

South Africa Today

At the beginning of the twentieth century, South Africa, although still predominantly an agricultural country, was undergoing a radical economic change, by the exploitation of diamonds, gold and other mineral resources. Demand they are opposed to racism. In reality, for African labour increased and thousands they trade and supply military training were forcibly brought from rural areas into and equipment to the racist and townships. Urban life for the African worker brought oppression and degradation. reasons for this are fairly obvious. All For Africans, the law today regulates every aspect of their living.

Since 1948 the doctrine of separate development has guided the government of South Africa, resulting in segregation becoming more rigid. In 1968 the African constituted 69% of the population, The African people are waging a revolutwhile his share of the nation's personal income in terms of cash was only 18.8%.

Laws govern work which blacks may perform. In fact, "job reservation" excludes most non-whites from skilled and semi-skilled work. Unions for nonwhites are illegal; strikes are also illegal and incur penalties of up to five years' imprisonment.

so-called reservations, apart from experiencing daily oppression, suffer from malnutrition, and 70,000 are brought down by tuberculosis each year. A survey conducted in 1966 indicated that almost half the children born in a typical African reserve died before reaching the age of five.

One of the many aspects of legal inequality is in the field of education. The per capita expenditure on education of African children is less than 1/8th of that for white children. The education given to Africans does not allow most of them to go even beyond the primary

Thousands of people rot in South African prisons today, most for infringing one or more of the numerous racist laws, while some are there for wanting to abolish apartheid and its basis completely.

The Way Forward

The United States, the United Kingdom, France, Japan, Israel and Australia, among others, have entered into a holy alliance with South Africa. Their respective ruling classes all claim that imperialist regime of South Africa. The are a part of a world chain of capitalist exploitation. They want to maintain and defend this system of oppression by any means possible. The links of that chain are being broken today from Vietnam to Bengal to South Africa.

ionary struggle with the aim of overthrowing the South African ruling class and its imperialist friends. Their aim is to institute workers' power in South Africa. Today there are several revolutionary organisations using the techniques, methods and experience developed by successful revolutionary movements throughout the world.

Apartheid represents one of the final and most horrible phases of the death agony of capitalism. It is the means by which the forces of counter-revolution try to stop the advancing world revolution which aims at liberating people ofcolours and all races. The system of apartheid is led by men who were members of the Nazi party, and who today carry out their ideals. These sporting ventures represent a very important factor in reinforcing their myth of superiority. They must be fought by militant mass action, by people who fight injustice and oppression everywhere.

DOWN WITH RACISM!

DOWN WITH CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM WHICH ENGENDER RACISM!

VICTORY TO THE AFRICAN REVOLUT-

POLICE DEFEND RACISTS

Steve Painter

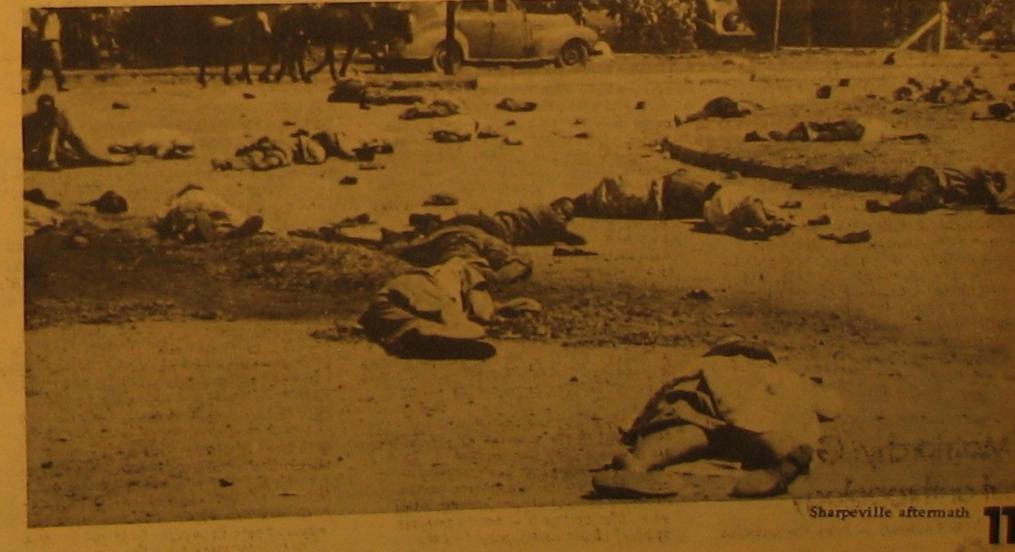
The first three days of July gave Melbourne people their opportunity to show the South African racists (and hopefully the rest of the world) that not all Australians are in favour of the conservative, white imperialist axis which appears to be forming between the governments of South Africa and Australia- probably two of the most backward governments in the world in their handling of non-economic aspects of human progress.

into Melbourne without being seen by too many people, on the morning of July 1. They immediately were sent to their hotel and were only allowed out for a few train- The Springboks were subjected to sporadic ing runs (and in the case of Hannes Marais to allegedly bash up a demonstrator- allegedly because the case is still sub-judice) test against the presence of the foreign On Saturday July 3 they went to Olympic Park to play football- because that's what they came here to do, not to talk about

The South Africans succeeded in slinking the way in which exploitation of millions of blacks made possible the existence of such fit, healthy specimens of manhood.

> harrassment from the time they arrived in Melbourne, but the really effective proracists began in the Treasury Gardens on

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



MELBOURNE **DEMONSTRATION**

the morning of Saturday 3 July. A march ment-to the point where even getting a left the Treasury Gardens and proceeded night's undisturbed sleep becomes somegathering strength as it went. By the time tected by enormous numbers of police. the march left the city it probably numb-

question which had probably not occurred to most people must have troubled many minds: "What do we do when we get there?" However, the presence of a wellequipped sound truck created the illusion that the march had been well- organized, and most people probably trusted to this fact. It is worth noting at this stage that a large proportion of the marchers appeared to be people who were not experienced demonstrators. Many had probably been mobilized by the Moratorium three days before. This being the case, they would have come along to the anti-A partheid demonstration expecting that arrangements cause it showed the world, and the South for the effective organization and protect- Africans, that large numbers of people ion of the demonstration would have been are angered by the oppression of black

The experienced demonstrators half-expected the police to turn on a confrontation for the benefit of Bolte's and Mc Mahon's law and order campaigns. These expectations were justified. As the front lines of the march reached the stadium they found police lined up several rows deep(both mounted and on foot) waiting for their order to be provoked'. They did not have to wait for long. Provocateurs at the front of the march, backed up by the more gullible elements of Melbourne's pseudo-anarchist fringe) looked more like apples than the legendary rocks spiked with nails. The police reacted to this signal in their customary manner and began to bash and arrest

At this point it became clear that the m march had been abominably poorly organized. There were almost no marshalls to fill the gap in organization left by the disabling of the sound truck and people were left milling around in a state of near panic for several minutes, while the pole attacked at will. This was not the only outcome of the lack of organization for the demonstration; a large part of the blame for the ease with which provocateurs were able to give police their excuse to attack must go to the organizers. The Halt All Racist Tours organization which called the demonstration, knew that July 3 was going to be big but no steps were taken to ensure that the tone of the demonstration would not be determined by a few provocateurs. The org-(mainly Worker Student Alliance and SDS) the Movement Against Apartheid, a lessons from the organization of the Moratorium marches, probably three of the most successful demonstrations Melbourne has seen since the Second World War. At least the organizers of the Moratorium always make sure that the front ranks of the march are composed of experienced marshalls.

subjected to an unceasing torrent of abuse which caricatured the nature of apartheid. This must have contributed to the nervous tension among the Springboks which even Instead of using this rally as a platform to eyes of the world the spectacle of enormous ive of a small band of sabateurs who

ors succeeded in dictating the terms on which South African sporting teams can visit Australia. If Vorster's racists want to continue to come here they must be CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE prepared to stand up to constant harrassthrough the centre of the city, impressing thing of an achievement. If they want to Saturday morning shoppers by its size and play football or cricket they must be pro-

Despite the overall success of the demonstration inside the ground, it did have As the march approached Olympic Park a some negative aspects. Throughout the afternoon the police kept up the indiscriminate bashings and arrests which they had begun earlier and they were excused in doing this, in the eyes of the bourgeois press at least by the fact that increasingly as the afternoon wore on the crackers and smoke flares were thrown less often onto the ground and more often into the ranks of the police. Such actions, while understandable due to the brutality of the police, made no contribution to the demonstration against apartheid.

July 3 was a successful demonstration bepeople in South Africa. It exposed to the eyes of the world the links between the conservative Australian government and the South African racists. These results would have been achieved if no people had been arrested. As it was 250 people were arrested and 163 have been charged with various offences. Already some people have been given gaol sentences of up to two months on the strength of evidence which even the bourgeois press finds it difficult to dress up respectably. Besides this, many young demonstrators will be placed on bonds which will make the consequences disastrous if they are arrested began throwing crackers and missiles which again in the near future; in addition many young people will be fined. The cost of HART's failure to organize effectively will sap some of Melbourne's radicals of their enthusiasm and economic ability to people indiscriminately. They also seized support progressive activities for some time the opportunity to disable the sound truck. The cost need not have been so great.

JOHN HAMMAT

The anti-apartheid movement in Adelaide was initiated by a united front at Adelaide University. The movement spread as several groups were formed in various spheres such as the churches and at Flinders University, and the Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Committee was set up to coordinate the activities of the diverse groups, with the aim of stopping the Springboks' tour. However, the largest anizations dominant in the HART coalition portion of the work-load was taken on by appear to have learned absolutely no lesson campus-based organization.. Confidence in the movement grew when the State government refused to allow the Springboks to use state transport and unions took direct action, blackbanning a hotel which served the South Africans.

The testing-ground of the movement was the demonstration on June 19, held in order to bring the nature of apartheid, Eventually about 4,000 demonstrators got and its relation to the sporting tours, to inside the ground and staged a very effect- the attention of the public and to mobilive demonstration. For the entire duration ize mass support to stop the tours. About of the game the South African racists were 700 marched behind a street theatre group

the bourgeois press commented on. Besides mobilize further support and to disrupt the this, television cameras recorded for the match, everything was left to the initiat-

the South African racists. The demonstrat- tic) actions to stop the game. This was one of the faults of the organization-that instead of building mass support, guerilla tactics were relied upon to to achieve the On the night of the match, about 2,000

demonstrators out of a crowd of 6,000 attended the Norwood Oval. Immediately the match began, there was a continuous barrage of smoke bombs, flares and crackers and incessant whistling and chanting. There were numerous individual attempts to invade the playing area, but the invaders were quickly stopped by the 600 cops and rugby marshalls who ringed the oval. The cops and vigilantes lost no opportunity to put in the boot, so that of the hundred or so arrested, several were carried off the field on stretchers. Although the match was not stopped, the demonstration could be regarded as successful because of the numbers mobilized and radicalized.

FRANS TIMMERMAN

Tuesday, July 6, marked the first really large demonstration in NSW against the South African rugby tour. About three thousand protestors assembled around the south-eastern end of the Sydney Cricket Ground to see what they could do to stop the tour.

On entering the ground, spectators soon became aware of a continuous barrage of whistling produced by at least half of the demonstrators who had obtained tin

Clouds of brown and pink smoke rose from the field as a result of smoke flares being thrown from the crowd near the barbed wire fence. Meanwhile, other protestors chanted various anti-apartheid slogans. But it was quite obvious that it was goingto be difficult to get onto the playing field. There were three strands of barbed wire on top of the picket fence, and, inside the fence, there were several hundred police- some dressed in overalls and asbestos gloves in order to carry away the

Several attempts were made to get onto the field, but those who breached the fence were soon hustled away into paddy wagons. Whenever the players came close to where the demonstrators were standing the barrage of flares, crackers, tin cans and fruit increased enormously. But only one flare reached the playing area.

Later in the match, three women and a man managed to run onto the playing area and the match stopped for about two minutes. They had runfrom the other side of the ground where the police lines were relatively thin.

The following Saturday, July 10 police numbers had increased by a couple of hundred. This match, between the Springboks and a NSW side, was not stopped until the final minutes of the game. when a man ran onto the field from the other side of the ground. The match continued after a minute of so.

During this game, the police showed little restraint. They attacked the crowd, dragging protestors through the barbed wire fence into the paddy wagons. For every missile that was thrown, a person was arrested. Police turned a blind eye numbers of Victorian police protecting clandestinely planned ingenious/if roman- chanting protestors. This match to drunken rugby supporters who bashed

produced a new development in police tactics, namely the deliberate fram of well-known political agitators, M of these people were arrested on min charges. But later, at the police statis they had additional and more serious charges added on. One desk sergeant was heard consulting his supervisors on the phone as to how to proceed against one of the demonstrators. Altogether, about 140 people were arrested at the

The first test match Australia vs South Africa was played on Saturday July 17 This time police strength inside the fence was again increased and additional police were placed outside the fence in order to keep people right away from the

By now, demonstrators had realised the futility of flare throwing and only four were thrown. Nobody was able to get on to the playing area. Protestors mainly concentrated on whistling and chanting slogans.

About a dozen people were arrested at the match. But prior to the match, several private houses were raided by police, and several potential demonstrators were arrested. The failure of tactics used has made many demonstrators re-evaluate their position. The University of NSW group, for example, has little faith in missile throwing, and now thinks that mass demonstrations in the streets would be a good

whistles to help disrupt this match between the Springboks and the Sydney side.

LES BUSZYNSKI

Manuka Oval is a small oval with concrete stands and a wooden picket fence seperating the oval from the spectator area For Wednesday's match it had been transformed into a prison camp. A seven foot barbed wire fence was constructed over the picket fence. Police stood behind the fence glaring at everyone walking past. Police, in a second line, stood behind these. On the ground, special blue-overalled police with big white fire mittens stood ready for a barrage of smokeebomb Police stood in front of the fence, motion ing all those who came too close, to move away. Extra police stood and mingled with the crowd, supported by rugby union vigilante groups and plain clothes cops.

The anti-apartheid group formed into a small section of the crowd and the police lined up to watch. Everybody blew whistles. Someone threw a smoke bomb An overalled cop grabbed it and buried it in a pile of dirt. The police moved in and amidst great disturbance marched few demonstrators away. The police list up amongst the anti-apartheid group, sergeants standing behind and coming forward to point out demonstrators to special constables. More arrests soon followed. Often it seemed as though the cops restrained themselves in just pinning an arm behind a back or in grabbing legs and throwing headlocks. What would have happened without all the attention focused on this one section of the crowd and with the great line up against us can be left to the imagination.

Noone made it onto the oval. Two broke loose after being arrested but were quickly jumped on by the second line of cops. To all concerned, with the numbers of police and all the precautions taken, it seemed as if the whole thing was intended as a display of 'law and order'.



The Paris Commune and revolutionary internationalism

Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly La Gauche, gave the following speech May 16 to the 30,000 demonstrators assembled at the Mur des Federes in Paris for the Fourth International's commemoration of the Commune (see The Militant, June 11, 1971). It was against this wall that the counterrevolutionary forces, who invaded the city from Versailles, carried out their mass executions of Communards after the Paris Commune fell in May 1871. Mandel's speech was published in the May 28 issue of La Gauche. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

The Paris Commune opened the historical era of proletarian and socialist revolutions. It offers us history's first example of a real dictatorship of the proletariat. It enabled Marx and Lenin to round out the Marxist theory of the state. Those who aborted two socialist revolutions in France, in June 1936 and May 1968, cannot hold their heads up in front of the Mur des Federes. Only the revolutionists who work untiringly for the victory of new socialist revolutions, in France and throughout the world, can celebrate the centenary of the Commune by carrying on its work.'

The Paris Commune gave a brilliant demonstration that proletarian dictatorship can be combined with the broadest workers' democracy involving freedom of action for all currents in the workers' movement. Those who have just stamped out all vestiges of workers' democracy in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; those who deny the East European working masses any freedom of action in the trade union or political fields; those who continue to hold our comrades Kuron and Modzelewski in prison, despite the fact that the magnificent mass uprising of the Baltic port workers confirmed these comrades' diagnosis of Polish society and largely adopted their programme of action; those who justify a privileged bureaucracy holding a monopoly of power - these people cannot hold their heads up in front of the Mur des Federes.

Only the revolutionists who fight for a state run by democratically elected workers' councils, like the Commune, who fight for a low cost state administration where no functionary will be paid more than a skilled worker, can celebrate the centenary of the Commune by carrying future general staff of the world revoluton its work.

Despite the little time at its disposal and the timidity its Proudhonian leaders exhibited toward the Bank of France, the Paris Commune inaugurated the era of expropriating the expropriators by decreeing socialisation of factories abandoned by their owners, and by establishing a system of workers' selfmanagement in them. This system was anticipated, moreover, in a prophetic article by Eugene Varlin, leader of the First International in France. In 1870 he wrote of the revolution whose outbreak he foresaw: "In order to be definitive, the generations - it has been transformed into coming revolution must not stop with simply changing the label of the government and passing a few minor reforms . . . Society can no longer let control of the public wealth, the product of collective labour, be decided by the whim of birth or success. This wealth can only be put to use for the benefit of the collectivity" (Les Societes ouvrieres", La Marseillaise, March II, 1870.

Despite its Jacobin-nationalist character, the Paris Commune opened a new chapter in the tradition of proletarian international- forms of organisation and struggle ism. It thus provided an initial example of the process of permanent revolution. It is well known that it chose for its banner the red flag of the worldwide republic of labour. It is also well known what a prestigious role was played by foreign revolutionists like Fraenkel and Dombrowski. Less well known is the fact that 65 years before the Spanish revolution of 1936, the Commune naugurated the tradition of workers' rigades, creating a Belgian brigade and a French-American brigade. Several thousand foreign revolutionists and workers lought in the ranks of the Commune orces; the Versaillais arrested more than 1,700 so-called foreigners in the course of

memorating the Paris Commune. the battles. ally elected strike committees reporting regularly to general assemblies of the The remarkable thing about the audacity strikers. If the workers learn how to run of the Paris workers is that the fundatheir own strikes, they will learn all the mental problems they took up in March

May 16 demonstration of 30,000 in Paris, organized by the Communist

League (French Section of the Fourth International) and other groups, com-

1871 have not yet been solved to this day. We know the main reason for this. It does not lie in the immaturity of the objective conditions nor in any lack of vigour in the mass struggles. It lies in the absence of an adequate revolutionary Such an organisation is indispensable to concentrate the enormous spontaneous energies of the working masses, with all their inevitable and healthy diversity, on one central goal - overthrowing the bourgeois state, eliminating private

ownership of the means of production,

their own state.

creating a democratic government of the

workers running their own economy and

In the wake of the Communards, the great socialist revolution of October 1917 in Russia, the Communist International in Lenin and Trotsky's time, endeavoured to accomplish these tasks. The Fourth International has taken up the same task, embodies and carries on the same tradition. Of course, it is still weak, it is still only the initial nucleus of the future mass revolutionary international, of the ion. But it exists, it lives, it is struggling on five continents and in more than 40 countries.

After today's demonstration, no one can doubt any longer that the Fourth International has thousands and thousands of well organised and battle-tested cadres. It is important above all, to realise that over the last several years, the Fourth International has undergone a real metamorphosis. From a small nucleus whose numerical weakness restricted it essentially to propaganda activity - to transmitting the programme to the new a revolutionary vanguard already capable of taking the initiative, of drawing masses of people behind it, of influencing the course of events.

In the strike wave sweeping Europe since May, 1968, the sections and activists of the Fourth International have pursued basically a threefold objective:

1. To popularise the experiences of the most advanced workers' struggles - both in the kinds of demands put forward and the adopted - and to spread these regionally, nationally and internationally.

2. To propagate the idea of challenging the authority of the bosses, the struggle for workers' control, and get it rooted in the working masses. It is through challenges like this that the workers will acquire the consciousness and practice necessary for them to take control of the factories and socialise production when future general strikes and revolutionary explosions develop.

3. To encourage setting up organs to lead strikes that are controlled by the mass of the workers, that is, democraticmore quickly tomorrow to run their own state and their own economy.

All this activity of the Fourth International has ceased to be limited to publishing periodicals and tracts. I recognise here in the crowd, our comrades who gave the impetus for electing strike committees at Paillard in French speaking Switzerland, in the first major strike in that country for 30 years. I recognise the Belgian comrades who gave the stimulus for electing the strike committee at the Vieille-Montagne factory in Balen Wezel in the Antwerp Campine. I recognise the French comrades who provided the thrust for similar experiments. This is the real picture of the Fourth in workers' struggles. I recognise the comrades who were among those who initiated the election of shop delegates at the FIAT plant in Turin, the starting point of the movement for workers' councils, so important in Italian big industry.

I recognise in the crowd the German comrades who were the driving force in organising a vast movement of apprentices that enabled the working youth in their country to determine its own demands and become a force in its own right in the unions. I recognise the comrades of Luxembourg who were a driving force in the recent mobilisation of high school students in their country against repression. I recognise the British comrades who are playing an exemplary role in organising solidarity with the victims of their own imperialist bourgeoisie - the Irish, Ceylonese, Pakistanis, and Arabs. I recognise the French comrades who, along with all their other activities, have revived the real communist tradition by their campaign against repression in the armed forces and by their bold actions against tendencies to reconstitute a fascist movement.

And finally there are all those who, because of material difficulties or repression, cannot be among us today, but who testify no less to the international rise of the Trotskyist movement. There are our comrades in the United States who who murdered the workers, women and gave impetus to the impressive anti-war children of Dacca. The Bengali Commune mobilisation of April 24, which assembled will punish all your crimes mercilessly! 800,000 demonstrators in the streets shouting: "Immediate and Unconditional In Europe, the young revolutionary vanguard Withdrawal of US Troops from Indochina". has also heard the message of the

trying to fuse the revolutionary forces scattered throughout the island - the insurgent rural youth, the city proletariat, preparing to avenge the victims of the and the plantation workers - into a single bloc. There are our Indian comrades who them Karl Liebknecht, Rosa and all the have begun mobilising the most exploited victims of the counter-revolution, those of all the exploited sectors on the land to killed by Hitler and Franco, and the win their liberation - the poor peasant untouchables in Bengal who are now beginning to occupy the lands of the rich and organise themselves.

ning to win broad influence within the new the Worldwide Republic of Workers' peasant movement and the student move- Councils.

ment, with the aim of preparing the masses of their country for the armed struggle to seize power. There are our Argentinian comrades who have written a magnificent page of revolutionary audacity by their role in the insurgent working masses of Cordoba. There are our Greek comrades, the "hard core" in the prisons and concentration camps. The military dictatorship will not release them, and at the same time they have to defend themselves against supplementary terror by Stalinist goons. There are our Spanish comrades of the Liga Communista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League), who are giving impetus to the struggle for boycotting the fascist union elections, in a united front, I believe, with other far-left groups.

International today. It is still a modest organisation by comparison with the audacious goal it has set itself - achieving the victory of the world socialist revolution. But it is already a combat organisation capable of incisive actions co-ordinated nationally and internationally.

Comrades, the overall crisis of capitalism is continuing and deepening. This system which refuses to die is incapable of solving any of its fundamental contradictions. The critical decline of the dollar is the latest glaring demonstration of the economic contradictions rending the capitalist system. The heroic Vietnamese masses, who, aided by the anti-war movement in the US, are driving American imperialism inexorably to defeat in Indo China, have given a brilliant demonstration of the social and military crisis of capitalism. This defeat is the harbinger of new revolutionary tempests throughout South East Asia.

Listen, listen to the bell that is tolling in Indo China, you Versaillais in Djakarta, your hands red with the blood of 500,000 Communists and revolutionists! It is sounding the death knell of your abject dictatorship; it heralds new and victorious Communes in Indonesia!

Listen to the bell that is tolling in Indo China, you hangmen in Karachi, who massacred the dock workers in Chittagong,

Vietnamese revolution. It has steeled There are our Ceylonese comrades who are itself for combat. It is forging the instrument of victory - the revolutionary party and the revolutionary International. It is Mur des Federes and Le Chatelet, and with Bolsheviks shot by Stalin. With the help of our old friend the mole, this vanguard will dig the furrow tomorrow in the soil of our planet, the furrow that will lead from the Paris Commune, triumphant at There are our Bolivian comrades, already last, to the French Socialist Republic, to influential in the unions, who are begin- the Socialist United States of Europe, to



Norwood Oval, Adelaide

LETTERS ETC

Letters are welcome on all topics but keep them short (300 words) and state whether your name should be published.

Dear Sir,

If most of the local writing in Direct Action gives one the impression of ideology struggling against the facts, it takes an article in one's own field to bring this out fully. For me, this was Sol Salby's article "Genocide in Bangla Desh" in the July issue. Since Salby had space for his untruths and half-truths, might I have more than usual letter space to correct them?

i) Pakistan is not as Salby suggested a significant customer of Australia. In 1969-70 (a bumper year), the \$16.4 m million Australian sales to Pakistan amounted to 0.41% of our exports. (In 1968-69, it was 0.22%). West Pakistan's wheat production has been the success story of "The Green Revolution", and the Australian wheat exports Salby refers to have little future.

Nor is Pakistan's formal membership of SEATO an indication of close relations with Australia. It is a joke that has just about ended.

One might add that for different reasons, including its left-of-centre political climate, Pakistan receives little Australian aid. In this respect, it is ridieulous to make an analogy with Vietnam. The fact is that Australian-Pakistani relationships are not close.

ii) Salby: "Anything that could be interpreted as support to Bangla Desh is against the interests of imperialism in the area ... As in Indo-China the Australian government is going to back the most reactionary dictators to put down revolutionary movements!

Fact: On April 22 - at a time when the Awami League was banned in Pakistan (as it still is), branded as "power-hungry and unpatriotic", and you know how viciously suppressed - at a time like this McMahon told Parliament his government's position was that "there should be no more loss of life, and the Awami League should be able to represent its

"Its people": for once McMahon got things precisely right. It's quite obvious that this statement would have been deeply offensive to Yahya Khan and the Islamabad government, who had been proclaiming for a month that the Awami League no longer represented anyone except "miscreants and traitors". The Western reaction, which was generally milder then Australia's, was interpreted in Islamabad as hostile.

If Sol Salby was seriously concerned about the Bangla Desh genocide and the Australian government's reaction to it, he only needed to read the daily papers. to get his facts right. If the Australian government were going to back Yahya Khan, they would have responded to his appeal for foreign aid: in fact, they have withdrawn Australian aid. The analogy with Indo-China Salby draws with Indo-China is complete fiction, and more like the reverse of the truth.

iii) Salby continues: "The ability of the Australian government and other imperialist powers to stop the killing has never been questioned ... cutting off the aid to Yahya will render his government useless within a few weeks. As things stand now the aid looks like being

If only this were all true. The really horrifying fact is the West Pakistani rule - whether Yahya's or Bhutto's - may be able to survive a long time on the Chinese and Arab aid it is receiving, particularly if it repudiates its \$3000 million international debt. This would prolong its inevitable crash, particularly if the U.S. and its allies protect their narrow self-interest by resuming aid, which is certainly possible.

As facts stand, Western aid began to be cut off from the time that Yahya looked like refusing to accept the 75% vote for the Awami League in East Pakistan. By mid-April, it had almost entirely stopped. times, In May and June there were a number of articles in the Australian press (let alone specialist weeklies) which referred to the withdrawal of aid. Salby's article was clearly written in late June, by which

time it had been cut off for 2-3 months. I find it incredible that anyone could publish an article on such a tragic atrocity without even bothering himself to find out just what had happened. It says a lot for the psychological power of ideology.

iv) The reason Indira Gandhi "prefers to sit on the side-line" as Salby callously puts it, is not so much that " an independent East Bengal could lead to an upsurge in West Bengal and other parts of India", which is rater dubious, but mainly rooted in the complexity of Indo-Pakistani relations. Indian military intervention would change the fighting from a freedom struggle to another Indo-Pakistani war. It would then be more difficult to secure the international support vital to the Bangla Desh cause. A second important factor has been simple misjudgement, in which India was not alone. No-one anticipated that the atrocities would continue after the end of the tree weeks' war. No-one anticipated the Pakistan government would set itself so firmly on a suicide course. China, for instance, having taken sides only when it was clear who would win the war, has maintained silence on the issue since the flood of refugees began to enter India.

You don't have to agree with Mrs. Gandhi's policy of restraint (and I certainly don't) to recognize that it has taken a lot of political courage. The Indian newspapers give every evidence of this. She has in fact risked an upsurge in West Bengal to give five million humans who have fled their homeland refuge, food, and shelter in a state already desperately poor, overcrowded, and underemployed. The Congress-dominated West Bengal government has been one casualty, as the tensions caused by the refugee flood lead West Bengal closer to a revolutionary situation.

There is much more in this article that needs correction, but the falsities above bring out the principle that went into it. It is what Sartre describes as "the euristic principle; "search out the whole through the parts" has become that terrorist practice: liquidate particularity". In the same essay (Marxism and Existentialism, 1960), he writes: "Over the years the Marxist intellectual believed he was serving his party in violating experience, in neglecting embarrassing details, in grossly simplifying the fact, and above all in conceptualizing the event before having studied it" (my emphasis). It seems that nothing's changed.

I have no particular desire to get it in for Trotskyists. Mandel's article in the middle pages of the July issue provides as welcome a contrast to Salby's falsifying simplicity as one could hope for. But if the New Left is going to imitate the Old in dumping reality for ideology, there's no point in it being on a Left at all - because our main task at present is to get people to recognize reality. Including, it seems, yourselves.

Tim Colebatch.

I have no idea why Mr Colebatch decided to differentiate between the 'local" writing in Direct Action and any other content, nor do I claim to know the motivation for his letter. I am, however going to concentrate on replying to his allegations. Just one general point: Mr. Colebatch does not substantiate any of his "facts" with a single reference and this makes the task of refuting him a slightly unusual exercise.

Mr. Colebatch's point: In the short time I had between receiving the letter and the deadline for Direct Action , I could not check with the Wheat Board Head Office in Melbourne the future of these sales. I seem to recollect a statement by the Chairman of the Board, Dr. R.A. Callaghan claiming that Pakistan and the United Arab Republic could replace China as main customers. Anyway the important point agreed to by our correspondent is that Australia and other western countries act in their self interest at all

The reference to SEATO baffles me as our correspondent seems to agree with my analysis: "The Australian ruling class didn't give much consideration to the

reactionary murderous regimes like Yahya Khan's. As for Mr. Colebatch's other assertion about Australia's aid to Pakistan, during the 20 years in which the Colombo Plan has been operating Pakistan was third to only India and Indonesia in the total amount of aid it received. While the sum total of \$46, 753, 000 is not particularly high this is explained by the low total of \$320 m. of the scheme. (Current Notes on International Affairs, March 1971 o. 119, Published by the Department of Foreign Affairs.) Finally for an assessment of the relations between Australia and Pakistan let me quote the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Bury .. "Pakistan, a country with which we have, for 23 years, enjoyed close relations"... "Pakistan is an old friend of Australia". (Speech in Parliament on April 6th, 1971 reported in Current Notes on International Affairs for the month of April.)

tact that Pakistan is member of the

There is nothing left-of-centre about

in SEATO."

Commonwealth or even its official ally

Next come the quote from Mr. McMahon: the "Australian Financial Review" of the 23rd of April had a different version of the Prime Minister's speech than Mr Colebatch: "We express the view that there should be no more loss of life and that the leaders of the Awami League should be given full authority, civility to represent their people in the constitutional assembly of Pakistan. (my emphasis S.S.) McMahon got things precisely right-instead of supporting the action that the Awami League supporters were taking he supported retreat moves. Instead of supporting the defenders of Bangla Desh he advised its leaders to go and sit in Parliament and talk about it. This at the time when the Awami League was no longer interested in sitting in the Pakistani Parliament but in an independent Bangla Desh. There is no more genuine opposition to Yahya in this statement than there was opposition to racism in his Anti-Apartheid statement. (And we all know what he did in practice). The complete quote has quite a different flavour to it than Mr. Colebatch's shortened version. Perhaps this is what the Euristic principle is all about?

The next important point is the ability of Yahya to keep West Pakistani rule without imperialist support ie. with only the support of China and some Arab countries. Once again the assertion that this is possible is not backed up. The opposite case was put very clearly by Benjamin Welles writing in the May 14 issue of the "New York Times":

" 'China is spending about \$200-million yearly helping North Vietnam', a financial official said. ' It hasn't that much left over for Pakistan. It could never, for instance, pick up the entire \$450-million yearly that Pakistan relies on from the 11-nation consortium to keep going' " (Reprinted in Intercontinental Press, May 31, 1971. There is no question even in Mr. Colebatch's view that the Pakistani economy is in a very poor shape and could not stand on its own feet.

I am baffled as to which newspaper I am advised to read. Being an avid reader of quite a few, I am just as confused as to what constitues a specialist weekly (Far Eastern Economic Review?) our task is not to falsify reality but to
The information I used came from the recognise reality. Includ-The information I used came from the British "Guardian" as reprinted in the "Australian". On June 11 it was report-

ed that the eleven nation consoritium met in Paris in April and decided to withhold any action. On the 19th it w reported that the consortium will meet in early July to stop the aid to Pakistan

The actual meeting took place long after the previous issue of Direct Action was on the streets. Other references are the New York Times Review (Australian Edition) dated 18.6.71 and Roland Robson writing in the BBC publ ation, "The Listener"29.4.71. On May 20th Benjamin Welles reported in the "New York Times". "The United States and Britain are reported to have agreed to head an international effort to shore up the precarious financial position of Pakistan." This is a selection taken more or less at random. Furthermore the most important member of the consortium, the USA hasn't stopped aiding the Pakistani dictator. This was made evident by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Christopher Van Hollen testifying on June 27th before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on refugees. (Intercontinental Press (19.7.71). There is also ample evidence in other newspapers. The "Washington Post" explained editorially, "Here we have a classic example of how the system really works; hidden from public scrutiny, Administration officials have been supplying arms to Pakistan while plainly and persistently telling the public that such supplies were cut off" (July 5th). Is Mr. Colebatch going to blame this on the power of ideology?

Mr. Colebatch quickly contradicts himself in the next two paragraphs claim ing that the possiblility of an upsurge is rather dubious and then declaring the existence of a revolutionary situation. Either way he dismisses the revolutionary potential off hand. Let a Pakistani speak for himself. Tariq Ali, a revolutionary socialist from West Pakistan, writing in the Dublin daily "Irish Times ... The role of Bengal as a whole in the history of the Indian sub-continent has been that it has given a political lead to the rest of the country. The old adage "What Bengal does today India does tomorrow, " has a certain relevance which Mrs. Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, understands perfectly well. That is why she makes demagogic noise stressing her sympathy for the Bengali people. She is forced into such a posture to appease West Bengal which is also on the boil."...few are in doubt that a united Bengal would be very rapidly confronted with the permanent revolution ary process."..."the perspective of Bengal as a red base preparing to take social revolution deep into the heart of

India becomes a spectre haunting the United States and its client regimes in Asia." (6.4.71, reprinted in Intercontinental Press 26.4.71). Mrs. Gandhi is acting in her self interest and that of her class just the same as when she supported the coalities government in Ceylon in sending helicopters to help supress the popular up rising there.

Sartre seems to be referring not to Marxist analysis but to the Stalinist falsifications of history. It has been a bourgeois trick for a long time to gloss over the differences between Stalinists and Trotskyists. We agree ing it seems yourself.

Sol Salby

WALES ARCADE FELEASE LL IRISH

Irish solidarity demonstration, Melboume.

DIRECT

Dave Holmes

On Saturday morning, July 24, two comrades selling Direct Action in Bourke Street in Melbourne, were approached by a pair of traffic police. They told the SYAers that they had a specific assignment to move them on. Apparently unless one has a "licence", it is "illegal" to sell. SYA has applied for a licence, but although this was more than six weeks ago, no substantive reply has been received. It seems that this delay is not an accident: one of the policemen frankly said that we'd be unlikely to get a licence "for that", i.e., a revolutionary paper. It seems there is one standard for the bourgeois dailies like the Herald and the Sun and another for the left wing press.

By use of legal technicalities, the council hopes to remove from the streets, a paper whose revolutionary socialist views are totally opposed to those of the ruling class of this country. However, if the council can do this to us it will be encouraged to apply the same methods to other groups and individuals whom it views with disfavour.

The arguments the officers advanced seemed more to be weak excuses for carrying out their orders. They admitted we weren't getting in anyone's way; when wing groups and individuals in Melbourne this had been established they said we could be prosecuted for "soliciting". The absurdity of this is seen when we realise that standing in the street handing out pamphlets is quite "legal" (ever since a big campaign some years ago); if we stood in the street and gave the paper away it would be all right! Clearly, the council is just using the law as a tool to achieve the desired end - getting Direct Action off the streets.

SYA doesn't intend to passively accept this situation. If necessary, we shall wage a political campaign to establish our right to sell on the same basis as the pro-establishment papers.

Dave Holmes

It was inevitable that, sooner or later, the police would show a more direct interest in SYA in Melbourne. So when they came to our Carlton headquarters a few weeks ago it was no surprise. Around noon of July 4- the day after the demonstration against the Springboks, and a few hours before the July 4 demonstration against the US consulate- five men claiming to be from the arson squad searched our headquarters. They claimed to be checking out a report of a gelignite bomb' planted on the premises.

However, 'saving' us from a bomb' was clearly far from their minds. They seemed much more interested in our politics. One man searched for the bomb' in an almost unfurled banner, the wording of which seemed to be the main item of interest. Another man ransacked a resident's room strewing papers and clothes all over it. He made no effort to tidy up the mess, and when one comrade remonstrated with him he was asked if he wanted a fist in the mouth. They took copies of our leaflets without the least pretence of asking us about it. One of them took our phone number(did they really not know it? When we asked for their search warrants we were told it wasn't needed in an'arson' case. (Of course!

Presumably our'visitors' (just which section of the police they were really from is really only of secondary interest.) had several objects in mind. Firstly, and especially after the events of the Springbok demonstration, the police were interested in our relation to the July 4 demonstration: they asked if we were going, were we organizing it, etc. Secondly they had not paid us a visit before and must have been curious (whatever their other sources of information,) about a new socialist youth group.

Thus their visit was a raid to spy on us and harrass us. Another raid three days later makes this crystal clear. On the next Wednesday afternoon the 'Drug Squad' presented themselves at our door, this time with a warrant. They had reason to think we had drugs on the premises and were a haven for 'rumaways'. They more or less admittedtheir information came from the police (the 'Arson Squad') Again, even if they were more civil. they showed as much interest in our political program and organisational structure as in 'drugs'.

More is to come ... One day, a week or so after the second police raid, the PMG(?) rang us and asked if we were having any trouble with outgoing calls; someone had complained(?!) and they would send a technician around the next day. At about 9.00am on Thursday morning(15 July) someone called but was so nervous that he left before anyone could answer the door, leaving a card, asking us to call a certain number. We hadn't done this when 15 minutes later the phone rang and a man said he believed we were having trouble with the phone. We denied this, but he said that a technician would come around anyway. Then, another person called. He opened the door before he knocked. (This was 10am) When a comrade asked for his authorisation he produced a PMG card. We then told him we were not convinced, that we thought something 'funny' was going on, and that he'd have to produce a written and specific authorisation from the PMG, He seemed stunned by this and did not deny any of our suggestions. So far, the PMG have not tried again to 'fix' our phone.

Clearly, all this adds up to part of the surveillance of and harrassment of left-Certainly, we can expect further visits from them. However we do not intend to be intimidated and will defend ourselves as energetically as is necessary to guarantee our right to carry out our political

It is true that the essential aspect of bourgeois democracy is its bourgeois aspect, the fact that it is a capitalist system. Regardless of the specific form of rule it adopts(parliamentary democracy, fascim, military dictatorship etc) capitalism is a reactionary and socially bankrupt system that threatens the very future of mankind: it must be abolished if there is to be any meaningful social progress. However, the democratic aspect does have a certain real content. These rights are the fruits of long and often bitter struggles; capitalism has been forced to grant them by popular pressure.

Democratic freedoms, such as the right to strike, the right to hold unorthodox, even revolutionary views, are an extremely valuable aquisition. Capitalism, in its era of crisis is less and less able to tolerate these concessions, and continually tries to circumscribe and erode these rights. Every attempted erosion of them by the ruling class must be combatted as vigorously as possible. A failure to do so will only facilitate that severe repression that some in their naivete believe is already

Members and supporters of SYA welcome the formation of Melbourne's Workers' Control Group (WCG). The re-emergence of this long-neglected demand is yet another reflection of the sharpening class struggle in the country. The WCG have issued a bulletin- "The Shopstewurddealing with the question of workers and the anti-war movement.

"Shopsteward", we feel, failed to recognize the essentially transitional role of both the Moratorium and Workers' Control movement. The bald statement 'The demand for workers' control is not a demand for comanagement with the boss, nor merely the right to veto certain decisions taken by the boss, it is a movement to replace the boss with the workers. while containing basic truth, fails to make explicit how workers' control is to do this. "Shopsteward" repeats the same truth when it refers to the anti-war movement thus, 'this must be transformed into a real opposition to capitalism and imperialism -the root cause of the war! Again the WCG comrades neglect to articulate just how the Moratorium is to be transformed

into a real opposition to capitalism and imperialism'

To state that the huge Moratoriums of May and September 1970 where hundreds of thousands of Australians rallied to call for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of imperialist troops from Indo-China was only a symbolic gesture is to be guilty of nothing less than infantile, psuedo-left impatience.

"The Shopsteward"calls for a new strategy for the Moratorium a worker-based strategy which is genuinely anti-imperialist. Readers of "The Shopsteward" can not be blamed for feeling confused when the above strategic proposition is preceeded by the statement that 'The Vietnamese war, world politics and politics in general by all who took part as quite a success, are by and large external to the workers' immediate job situation and his life situation' Would the author of "The Shopsteward" prefer "Smash US Imperialism" as a mobilizing slogan or would he prefer that workers not be approached until 'power', -whatever that means, is 'decentralized into the hands of the workers and socialism emerges triumphant.

We feel that the imperialist nature of the war (and for that matter exploitation of the working class) should be explained widely by revolutionary socialists. We also feel that propaganda is but one aspect see Direct Action No. 8), and although of our work. The mobilization of Australians and particularly workers around issues which a) concern them closely and b) bring them into organized opposition to capitalism itself, is surely the prime task of a revolutionary party. Such a party- totally ignored by "The Shopsteward" and Latrobe Universities for Sol Salby, -is indispensible in the application of the workers' control movement.

We look forward to the growth of the Workers' Control Movement and anticipate appeared on the Saturday night news. that in practice, workers themselves will modify and make real this tactic.



Dave Holmes On Sunday July 11, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne which marked the beginning of the English colonisation of Ireland, a small solidarity demonstration was held in Melbourne. The demonstration was organised by the SYA with the participation of the Connolly Association. It was in solidarity with the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination, and was part of a worldwide solidarity campaign.

At the City Square, Rod Quinn (for SYA) and Trevor McCandless of the Connolly Association spoke. A resolution adopted by the meeting called for self-determination for the Irish people, the withdrawal of all British troops immediately, and the release of all the political prisoners. The meeting declared its solidarity with the Irish people in their struggle against British imperialism. The demonstration concluded with a short march to the British High Commission, where a copy of the resolution was left.

The local press took little notice, although the "Sun" carried a brief report. On TV, Channel Two gave some coverage to the action in their late news.

PALESTINE

John Percy

The demonstration on July 10 held in Melbourne in solidarity with the Palestinian peoples' struggle, was regarded especially-in view of the fact that it is the first such action on the question.

Over 100 people marched from the Trades Hall to the City Square, where they were joined by more for the rally there.

The demonstration brought together members of the Palestinian community and young student and worker activists.

This was the first demonstration organised by the Palestinian Australian Solidarity Committee (for report of its formation, it was at short notice, 12,000 leaflets were distributed, posters were produced, and further publicity appeared in other left publications. To build up to the demonstration, the Socialist Youth Alliance organised meetings at Melbourne Israeli-born socialist from Sydney. Although receiving very little attention in the press, the demonstration was well covered by television, and reports

Speakers at the rally were Nassif Hadj, an Arab student, George Bengalis from the CPA, Kevin Healey, Socialist Left, Rod Quinn and Sol Salby from SYA, and Ray Watson and Albert Langer from WSA.

The meeting was also attended by a large group of radical Zionists, some of whom were rather provocative. Most people sensibly refrained from getting involved in the heated exchanges that they tried to start, and the meeting proceeded fairly smoothly. The Zionists were especially vituperative towards Sol Salby, regarding him as a "traitor", and tried a little intimidation later, taking mug shots and challenging him to reveal his address. The position of these so-called radical Zionists is extremely contradictory. We were aware that some were in the Communist Party, but some turned up on Saturday wearing Mao badges, and it appears that there are quite a few in the Worker-Student Alliance. It is a puzzle how these "radicals" reconcile their "radicalism" with the oppression and expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs with the counterrevolutionary role Israel plays in alliance with US imperialism.

Future actions planned by the Palestinian Australian Solidarity Committee, include mass public meeting on September 10.

It is hoped to get extensive trade union support for that meeting. A leaflet has also been produced condemning and exposing the recent attacks on the Palestinian guerrillas by the reactionary Hussein regime in Jordan. As well as this, telegrams were sent to the other Arab governments, demanding firm action against Hussein's massacres, and a clear statement of their position. The recent events underline more clearly how the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people will only succeed through a continuous struggle against the reactionary Arab regimes, as well as against the Zionist state. It emphasises also the unity of interests of the Zionist and reactionary Arab leaderships on one side of the barricades, and the Israeli and Palestinian workers and peasants on the other. The only solution to the problems of the Middle East is a socialist federation of all people in the area, with complete racial, religious and cultural freedom.





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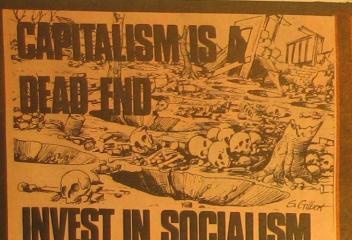
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