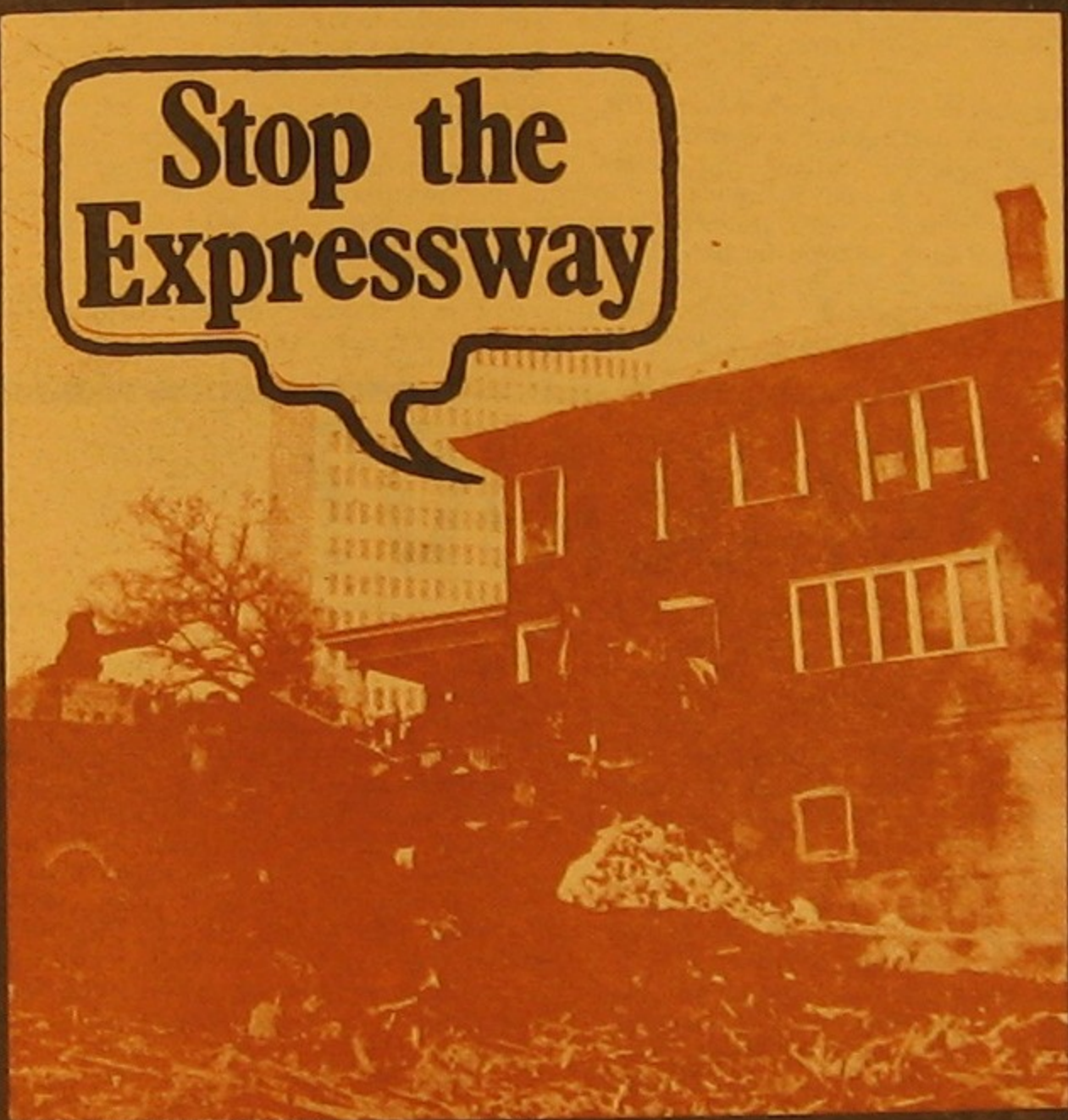


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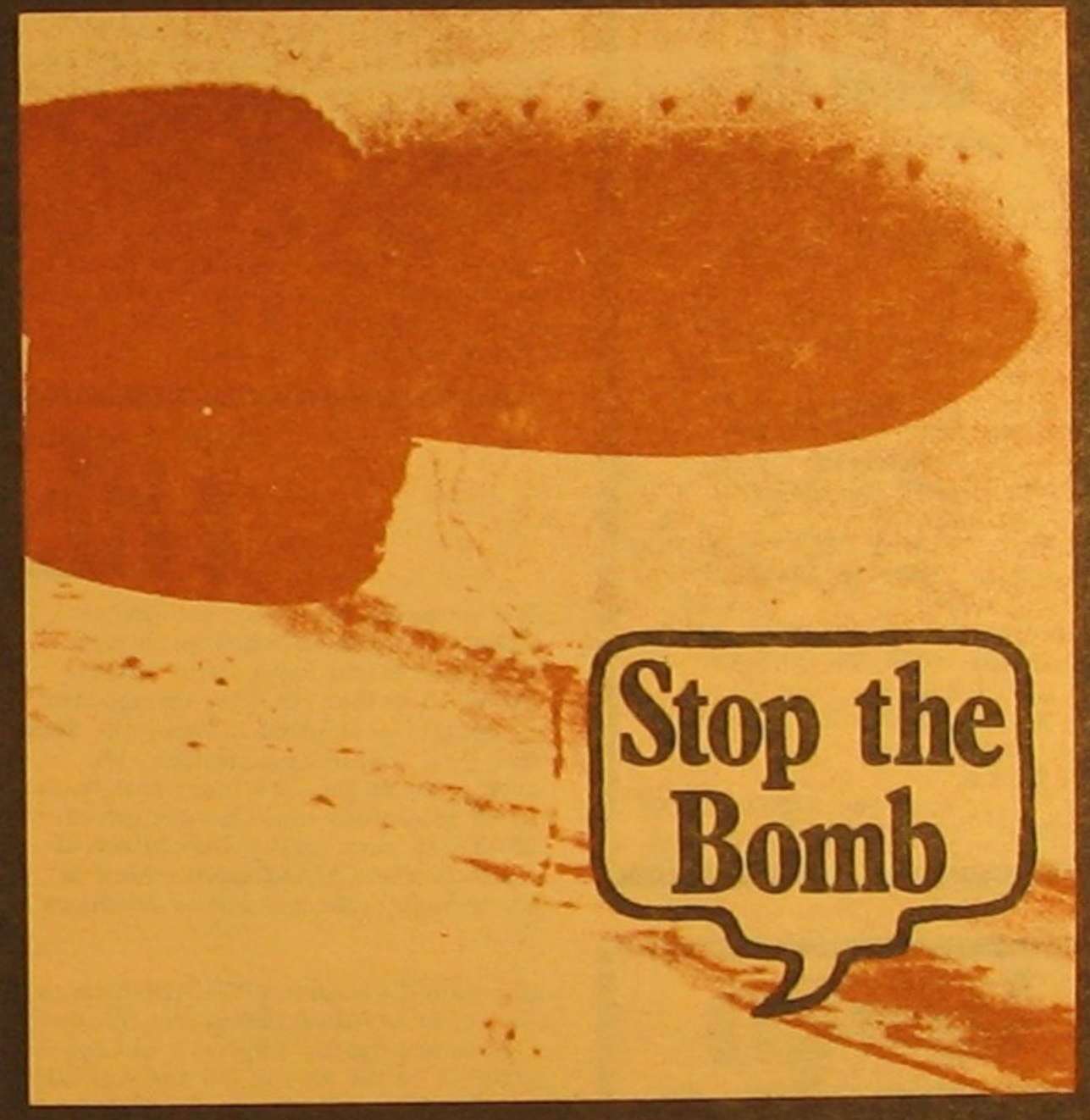
A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER
NO. 22 JUNE 30 1972 10 CENTS



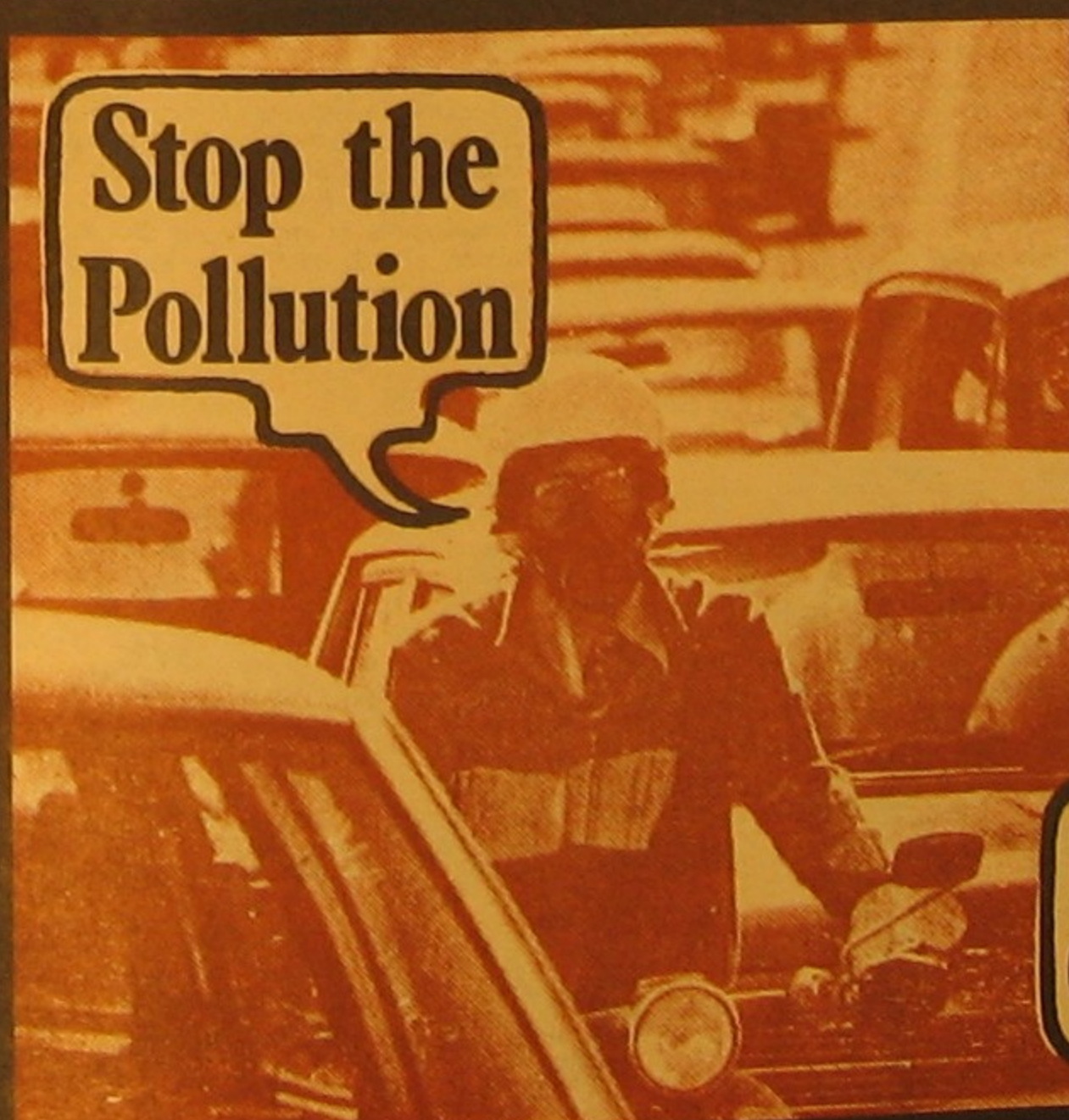
Stop the
Concorde



Stop the
Expressway



Stop the
Bomb



Stop the
Pollution



Stop
Capitalism!

DIRECT ACTION

No. 22, June 30, 1972

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EDITORIAL

THE POLLUTION CRISIS

In the welter of condemnation of the environmental crisis that is becoming more and more apparent to the community, exemplified during the last few weeks by the outrage at the French Concorde project, a nuclear device in the South Pacific and the joint Anglo-French Concorde project, there has been considerable emphasis on the irrationality of such ventures, and the protests against them have mainly argued for a return to sanity on the part of the people who plan our society. Whilst it is possible to accept that Concorde and bombs are irrational in the broad sense of being opposed to the welfare of humankind, it is necessary to realise that a certain rationale for such projects does exist within the confines of the irrational capitalist system: for in the final analysis, can we really feel an outrage at capitalists acting as capitalists unless we accept that it is capitalism itself that is outrageous?

As socialists we don't expect capitalists to act in any way but that which is outrageous to the development of the quality of life. When we speak of pollution and the despoliation of the environment we dare not limit ourselves to speaking out against the most obvious manifestations like the Concorde and the bomb. We must also draw public attention to the incredible wastage of human endeavour in the mindless production of useless commodities that make up the dream world of our "advanced" industrial society, in the total wastage of human intellect and ingenuity in the marketing and advertising of these commodities, and in the continual repet-

ition of this cycle which must never bear within it an approximation of the real needs of life lest its own criminal dynamic be diverted from its murderous course. To protest against nuclear radiation and sonic boom and not to mention the horrible toll of life in the mining and construction industries - to name but two examples - is nothing less than hypocritical.

We should not waste our time in appealing for a little humanity from the perpetrators of international misery, the international capitalist class. We can only ever expect them to act in their interests. And therein lies the solution to the problem: the working masses can only ever expect society to be run in their own interests when they have the control over the means of production that are presently in the hands of their exploiters. When it is the working masses that have to bear the brunt of a misdirected industry, it is possible to anticipate that if these masses controlled the industry themselves, then they would make sure that the industry served their betterment as a whole, and therefore didn't produce the grisly byproducts with which we are so familiar.

To the claim that is capitalism that fouls things up, the apologists of capitalism reply: but there is pollution in the Soviet Union. True enough, but it is necessary to understand that the prerequisite of the elimination of pollution is the elimination of capitalism, and this the Soviet Union has done. What will guarantee the elimination of pollution, however, is the implementat-

ion of workers' democracy, which the Soviet Union has not done. At present there is escused a privileged bureaucratic class which maintains its position in direct opposition to the needs of the majority of the people, and plain everyday pollution is an unfortunate byproduct of this denial of workers' democracy.

There is at least one illuminating aspect in the current attention being paid to the Concorde and the Pacific tests: could we ever hope for a more eloquent rebuttal of the claim that in this society it is the individual who is responsible for the greater part of the destruction of the environment? How on earth could even the basest of litterbugs ever hope to compete with these Anglo-French masterminds?

For a further answer to the "Pollution is People's" argument, we need only return to our earlier exposition: the individual who controls the means of production is the person who is responsible for the consequent destruction - or otherwise - of the environment. When all individuals control the means of production, only then can they be held responsible for the consequences, and only then can we expect a meaningful collective responsibility to be exercised.

THE END OF SEATO?

It's not before time that the leaders of Australia's bourgeois press have decided to pay a little critical attention to that creaking springboard of counter-revolution in Asia, the South East Asia Treaty Organisation. We should not forget, however, that these same gentlemen made ample use of SEATO in many past justifications of Australian and allied intervention in the unhappy subcontinent of Southeast Asia.

Nor should we assume that the dismantling of an obsolete instrument of oppression necessarily implies a change in attitude on the part of US and Australian imperialism. The armoury of international capitalism contains a multitude of weapons designed to maintain political and economic hegemony over the underdeveloped countries, and the absence of a treaty covering a specific strategic territory has never restrained the Pentagon or its lackeys from the utilisation of any of the means at their disposal when they consider their interests are threatened in any way. We need only recall the military invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 and the use of Central Intelligence operatives to crush the guerillas in Bolivia in 1967, or the use of the same forces to bring about

a coup d'etat in that same country in 1971, to remind us of imperialism's resolve to maintain its power at whatever cost wherever it matters.

The United States has a history of over a hundred years of intervention in countries which it has deemed to be of strategic importance. Its initial willingness to use direct military force, as in Cuba at the turn of the century, soon turned to reluctance as the very presence of marines in occupied territories became counter-productive by providing an easily identifiable target for local nationalist forces. Then began the diplomatic offences a la Franklin Delano Roosevelt, where local power was allowed to appear to be in the local legislature, but in fact resided in the nearest US Embassy and through it in Wall Street.

Variations on this theme have existed throughout the United States' economic domain, only to be periodically interrupted by military coups d'etat whenever the local rulers were pushed by the masses into attempting expropriation of foreign holdings or implementing even limited programmes of agrarian reform. When the resultant military dictatorship produces a reaction from the masses, the CIA engineers a coup or an election of a

"safer" demagogue, and the cycle more or less repeats itself once again. The skilful decapitation of the anti-Japanese liberation struggles during and after the second world war, and the successful containment of mass revolutionary feelings in Peru, the Philippines, and even in Chile, to name but a few countries, are an indication of the increased sophistication of the methods by means of which imperialism maintains its dominion throughout the Third World, and its savage aggression in Indo-china indicates its determination when more subtle methods of persuasion have failed.

In the light of this historical experience, we would be deluding ourselves if we assumed that the possible scrapping of SEATO meant anything more than yet another change of tactics in an overall strategy of imperialist exploitation of a large part of this globe as possible.

In earlier days we ignored the protestations of Australia's editors that our intervention in Indo-china was justified in terms of our membership of SEATO. There is therefore no reason to take note of any claims that there is now any significant change taking place in the foreign policy of either America or Australia.



U.S. Marines arriving in South Vietnam, March 1963.

GAINS FOR SOCIALISTS IN CAMPUS POLL

BY MILES STUART

The election just concluded at the University of New South Wales has registered an increase in the socialist vote. Elections were held for the positions of Undergraduate Representative on the University Council, President-Elect of the Students' Union and members of the Students' Union Council. (SUC)

The purpose of the Socialist Youth Alliance campaign was to present a socialist alternative to the opportunism which has dominated student politics in the past. The alternative programme put forward by the SYA candidates proposed to take action.

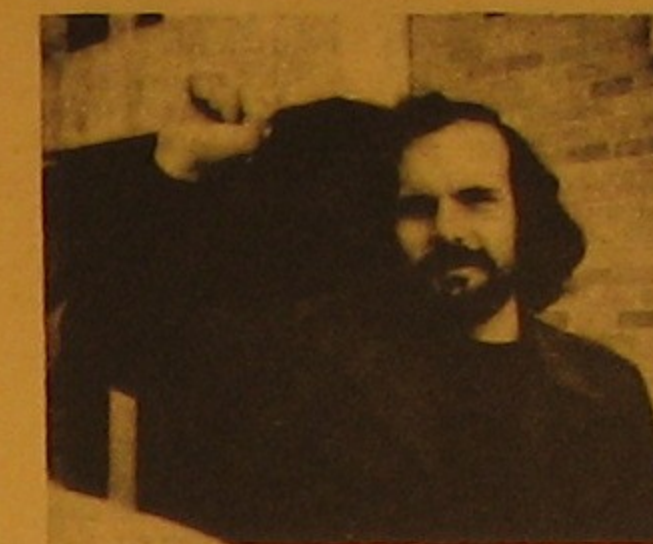
Using all means possible, including leaflets, posters and the student newspaper "Tharunka", a publicity campaign was launched. Emphasis was placed on the role of the University in society and those election issues which were really crucial (rather than "welfare" issues). Student unemployment, free contraception, campus complicity with the Indochina war were some of these issues. One of the more significant local issues concerned the Faculty of Military Studies at the Royal Military College, Duntroon, which is part of the University and which implicates the University directly in the barbarous war in Indochina. Another local issue was that of Opus Dei - an antiquated reactionary religious lay order connected with Franco's fascist cabinet in Spain - which controls Warrane College on campus. Opus Dei recently expelled three students for breaking one of its petty regulations, viz, the admission of visitors of either sex into the residential section is forbidden. (Under mass pressure the expulsions were later revoked.) Another issue, that of complete civil rights for overseas students who are being harassed by



Sol Salby

the Immigration Department, was also taken up solely by the SYA candidates.

In the University council elections Frans Timmerman, editor of Tharunka and a member of SYA gained, after distribution of preferences, 805 votes which adjusted to the Kensington vote represented about 40% of the campus vote. The election was won by the incumbent liberal candidate R. Rawson. The presidential election which had a comparatively high return of votes had five candidates, four of whom considered themselves to be left wing. They represented: SYA, independent left, ALP left and a hippy-commune type left. The SYA candidate Sol Salby, a member of the editorial board of Direct Action, gained 710 first preference votes and was far ahead of any of the other left-wing candidates. The election was characterised by the lavish spending of the right-wing candidate P.J. Drummond who is reported to have spent \$150 on his campaign. It was also characterised by red-baiting distorted attacks on SYA, equating its position with



Frans Timmerman

the bureaucratic castes in the Soviet Union and China. Another right-wing production was an 8,000 copy leaflet using the Drummond motto "the student union is for students" carrying the authorisation of the local Peace with Freedom (DLP/NCC) heavy Martin Shanahan. The Salby vote was higher than the first preference figures in 1971 when the current president Ed Quay (a left liberal) was elected with under 700 votes. This suggests that one of the reasons for the record high vote was the red baiting campaign. The figure of 710 follows the trend established in the previous two years by Frans Timmerman when he stood for the same position. The socialist vote was 167 or 5.5% in 1970, and 253 or 12.5% in 1971. The vote in 1972 of 710 represents about 25% of the vote, an increase of 430% in two years! The high right wing vote of 1392 represented a once only effort and it didn't even carry into the Faculty election which was conducted simultaneously. Every SYA candidate polled higher in his respective faculty than the extreme right-wing candidates of the DLP.

Despite the fact that P.J. Drummond won the election after the second distribution of preferences, the gains made by socialists were quite significant, especially when all SYA candidates were elected to represent their respective faculties on the SUC. (Actually three SYA members stood for election but SYA might have four members on council as an independent radical feminist candidate is interested in joining SYA.)

There are some valuable lessons to be drawn out of the 1972 Kenso campaign. The most important one lies in the clarity of one's programme. Various centrists tried to persuade the SYAers to hide several aspects of their programme. That is, to present a less militant left wing programme and introduce socialist ideas only after one had been elected. Not only is such an attitude unprincipled and wrong - one can't carry through a programme for mass action without mass support - it is also ineffective.

Overall, SYA members and the independent radicals who presented a complete programme did far better than those "left-wingers" who didn't.

The most important lesson has already been understood by some students. To quote from Sol's platform: "Socialism, of course, is not going to be brought about by election of socialist candidates. However, such an election can give a tremendous momentum to the current radicalisation proceeding on this campus. Voting for the Socialist candidates is only the first step to achieving a better society. So take this step and join us in our struggle for a Socialist Australia and a Socialist world." One student has already applied to join the SYA and others are contemplating such action.

FREE SPEECH FIGHT

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

Despite continued protest the fight to sell Direct Action freely on the streets goes on. The unashamed provocation by the "powers that be" can not be ignored and must be vigorously fought at every step. In Melbourne the City Council has taken legal proceedings against one Direct Action seller and a seller of the Communist Party newspaper Tribune. Both were charged with obstruction under an archaic city by-law and are to appear in court on July 5.

In Adelaide five individual fines were imposed upon Direct Action sellers, the non-payment of which will mean gaol terms for those involved. Such an eventuality is very possible given the weak financial base of Direct Action and the sellers involved.

Needless to say such reactionary laws are not used against the bourgeois newspapers whose sellers "obstruct" and "solicit money" as much as do sellers of Direct Action etc. These laws are quite obviously being used to inhibit, even prevent, the dissemination of left wing publications. It is precisely left wing publications that are financially incapable of withstanding a concerted assault by the law.

In Melbourne the council has consistently refused to grant sales permits, thus giving it the opening to lay charges whenever

it considers expedient. In Adelaide some permits have now been granted - but only after the fines were imposed and at that only under pressure. Ironically the Adelaide council has recommended to State Government that the reactionary law prohibiting women to sell be annulled, but again only after the fines had been imposed.

The "democracy" of the upholders of the capitalist order displays itself as nothing more than a sham when the needs of capitalism increasingly come into sharper conflict with the most elementary democratic rights, particularly when those rights are being used by socialists, the working-class and radical movements.

Nevertheless we do not hold cheap the democratic rights won in the past - these conquests of earlier struggles by progressive forces must be firmly defended against all attacks.

It is with this in mind that the following statement has been issued by the Free Speech Committee, a body established in Melbourne to protect the fundamental rights of free speech and the right to sell. If you wish to add your name to the campaign or to contribute to the financial costs inherent in legal proceedings could you return the clip-off to: Free Speech Committee C/- 136 Queensberry Street, Carlton, 3053, Melbourne.

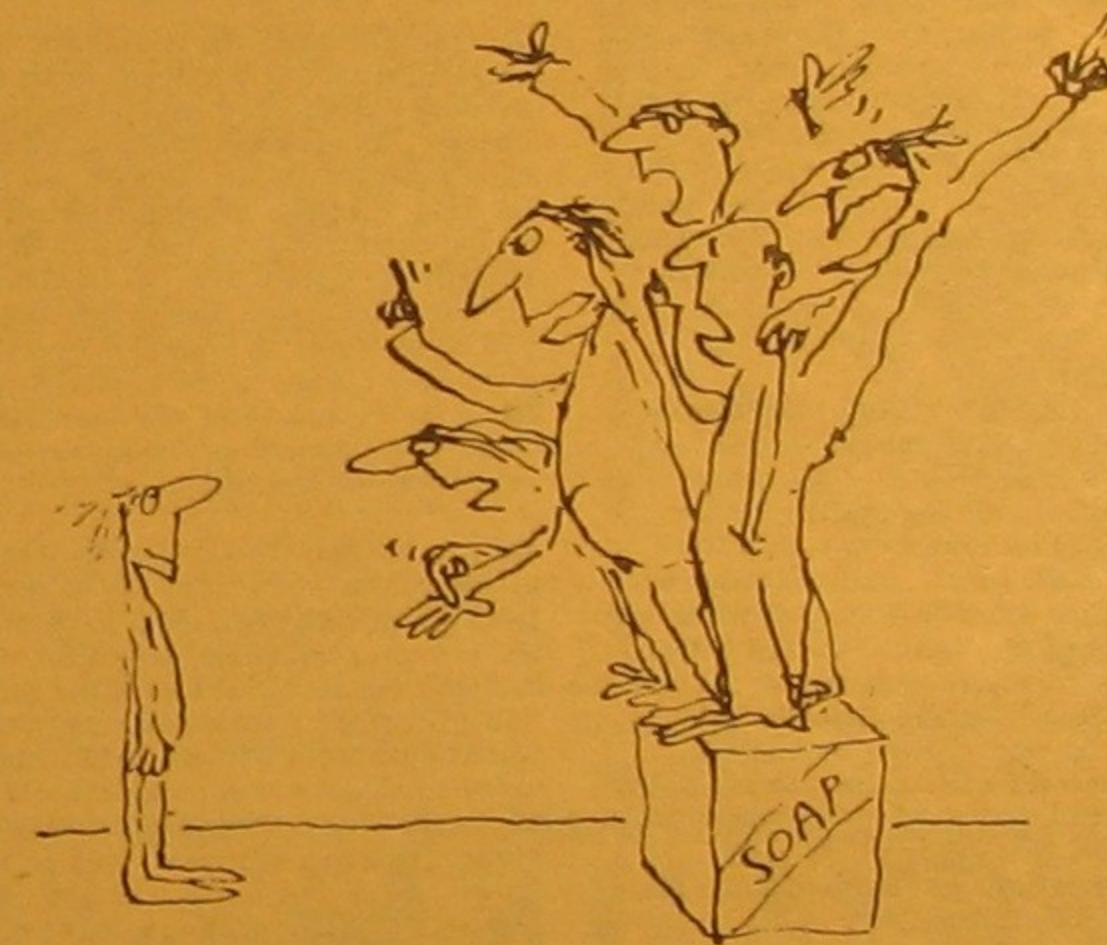
back down when it attempted to use an ancient Council By-law to prevent political groups handing out leaflets in the city. Now they are using another such by-law to try and prevent the sale of newspapers and periodicals by these groups.

Although not necessarily agreeing with the content of these publications, their right to an unhindered distribution of their ideas must be strongly upheld.

I endorse the above statement and strongly condemn the actions taken by the Adelaide and Melbourne Councils.

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....

I enclose \$1, \$2, \$5, \$10, \$20 to the campaign launched by the Free Speech Committee.



440 NEW SUBS COLLECTED - OFFER EXTENDED TO REACH 500

We have fallen short by 60 in our drive for 500 new subs. In the time we set for the completion of the drive we have collected 440 new subs.

| AREA | SHOULD BE | NEW SUBS | QUOTA |
|-----------|-----------|----------|-------|
| Sydney | 150 | 191 | 150 |
| Melbourne | 150 | 115 | 150 |
| Adelaide | 60 | 40 | 60 |
| Brisbane | 60 | 17 | 60 |
| Hobart | 30 | 22 | 30 |
| Canberra | 20 | 11 | 20 |
| General | 30 | 44 | 30 |
| | 500 | 440 | 500 |

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DIRECT ACTION FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

TROTSKYISM AND THE ALP

by Dave Holmes

Recently, the Central Executive of the Queensland ALP decided to proscribe what it called the "Trotsky movement" and asked the Federal Executive to do likewise in other states. The grounds cited were its alleged "anti-ALP" attitude and "infiltration" of Young Labor branches in Queensland.

This is an alarming development. What is meant by the "Trotsky movement"? There are several groups who claim (with varying degrees of justification) to be Trotskyist. Does the ban apply to all of them or only one? Who decides what constitutes membership in the "Trotsky movement"? How did the Central Executive decide this "movement" was "anti-ALP"? As far as we know there has not been any open hearing where any accused individual or group could put their case and defend themselves. Surely the membership and supporters of the ALP have a right to hear the viewpoint of both sides?

It would seem that the real issue is not that the Queensland ALP is in danger of being taken over by its enemies, but is that of party democracy, i.e., the right of left-wing oppositional tendencies to exist within the party, put forward their views and attempt to win over the majority. The reformist leadership is clearly trying to witch-hunt dissidents out of the party. Hence the looseness and lack of definition of the term "Trotsky movement" (the easier to label opponents with it) and the absence of any grounds for the "Anti-ALP" tag.

The Queensland ALP leadership's act is only a beginning, and the object is not only "Trotskyists" but all shades of left-wing dissent. We know, too, that the party brass in other states, especially Victoria, is looking for ways to silence its left-wing critics within the party. In Victoria, Ian Turner has been given an attorney's brief for the prosecution. In "Labor 71" (27/11/71) he presented some preliminary research, wherein the Socialist Left (SL) was characterised as "Trotskyist". We venture to predict that "Trotskyism" will be one of the charges when eventually moves are made against the SL.

It is no accident that these moves are being made at this time. With the likelihood of a Federal ALP government later this year it is imperative for the leadership to remove from within the party any critics who could identify their betrayal and develop a mass opposition to them. The party regime that the reformist party brass aspire to is that of the morgue. Any left opposition threatens the role they play in crisis-beset capitalism - that of harnessing the masses to capitalism. Mass labor parties exist also in England, Canada and New Zealand. Similar trends can be noted in each of them in their internal life.

The Socialist Workers League, called Trotskyist by the tendencies on the left, after the name of Leon Trotsky who launched on a world wide scale the struggle against the Stalinist corruption of Marxism-Leninism, understands why Trotskyism has been, and is, an issue in the ALP. The development of a class analysis of Australian society and the mobilization of the working class and its allies for a socialist solution is the greatest challenge before the ALP today. Trotskyism, with its developed class struggle program and revolutionary internationalist strategy is the only consistent theory of socialism.

How shallow and baseless are charges that Trotskyism is "anti-labor" is apparent to anyone familiar with the analyses made and the positions taken by our movement in relation to the mass labor parties here and overseas.

What is the ALP?

The state labor parties (which later federated into the ALP) were formed by the trade unions at the beginning of the 1890s. This project was given decisive impetus by the savage defeats of the great strikes in the early 1890s. The historic lesson that the workers drew from these defeats was that it was necessary for the working class to have its own political party which would defend their interests in Parliament against the parties of the capitalists. The state labor parties were then conceived as the political arm of the trade union movement.

In 1925 in "Where is Britain Going?" Leon Trotsky characterised the British Labor Party as "an invaluable historic achievement, from which nothing can ever detract." The ALP is the fundamental historic achievement of the Australian working class in that it embodies the idea of independent working class political action. The ALP is a step along the road from bourgeois politics to independent working class politics on the way to the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

The loyalty of the mass of the organized working class to the ALP has endured since its inception. The workers see the ALP as their party against the bosses parties. This applies irrespective of the ALP leadership which has invariably been right wing and class collaborationist to the core.

However, if the ALP is a step forward in the struggle for socialism, it is also an obstacle to it. It represents the concept of independent class politics, yet it is led by hardened reformists and cannot be transformed into a revolutionary party. The ALP will never lead the socialist revolution - that role can only be fulfilled by a mass revolutionary socialist party armed with the program of Trotskyism.

It is necessary to understand the dual nature of the ALP, that it is both bourgeois and proletarian at the same time. In its origin and structure it is a working class party, the party of the unions. It was formed by the unions in a period of great defeat for the class. It is organisationally based on the unions, whose predominance is guaranteed over that of individual members from the branches. The unions provide the overwhelming bulk of its funds. Even its official aim (The "Objective") reflects this character.

On the other hand the ALP is not a socialist party. It has never in its entire existence threatened capitalism in this country. Its program and politics are class collaborationist through and through. Its field of action is the parliamentary arena: mobilising the masses in direct struggles is utterly alien to it. The ALP leaders have always been right wingers and have often, at moments of crisis, gone over openly to the capitalist parties (Hughes, Lyons). The ALP leadership has perpetrated numerous and repeated crimes on the working class.

Failure to comprehend this two-fold nature of the ALP leads both to sectarianism and opportunism. Both have plagued the left over the years. The CPA veered between the sectarianism of the Stalinist "Third Period" ("social fascism") to opportunist blocs with the ALP. Many of today's radical youth today see only the sellout Labor fakers and fail to see the historic relation between party and class.

Building a left opposition

Given the relation of the ALP to the working class it is clear that the development of mass consciousness from reformist to revolutionary positions will only occur through a struggle within the context of the unions and the ALP. The workers will

test the ALP and find it wanting. Revolutionary socialists must go through this experience with the class. Nor would the revolutionaries who remain outside the ALP and in opposition to it be able to decisively influence the development of the political consciousness of the working class from reformist to revolutionary conclusions.

Using the method of the Transitional Programme we approach the masses at their present level of consciousness and lead them forward around a program of democratic and transitional demands. Such a program must consist of demands around which to mobilise the class and its allies against capitalism, and demands related to the "internal" struggle against the Labor bureaucracy (for inner party democracy, real accountability of the leaders to the rank and file, etc.)

We give the Labor Party unconditional support as the party of the unions and the working class. That is, we support it against the capitalist parties irrespective of its leadership, and call for its return to power in elections. This support is, however, of a critical nature as regards the program of the ALP. The Trotskyist attitude to the ALP is similar to our attitude to the unions and the workers states - we support the basic class conquests but retain our freedom to criticise the leadership.

We maintain this attitude of unconditional support as long as the ALP remains the party of the unions, the alternative for the workers to the parties of the bosses. The ALP has betrayed the workers many times but it has never betrayed the consciousness of any significant section of the class.

It would be a grave mistake to confuse the growing militancy of the class at an economist level with a step forward in its political consciousness. Impatient young radicals, disillusioned militants and sectarians on the left must understand that the ALP cannot be bypassed nor wished away, that the road to the mass revolutionary party lies through a struggle against the reformist leaders within the unions and the ALP. Revolutionaries must have the long term perspective of building a class struggle socialist alternative leadership in the unions and the ALP, which, armed with the Trotskyist transitional program can take on both the anti-labor bureaucracy and the capitalists.

Only when a revolutionary alternative leadership is constructed, solidly rooted in the mass organisation of the class and capable of fighting the Labor fakers will the workers advance beyond reformism. From this struggle will come the decisive forces for the mass revolutionary party that will lead the Australian socialist revolution.

The Socialist Left

Already, under the impetus of the youth radicalisation and the spur of Federal intervention, a broad left wing has formed in the Victorian ALP - the SL. We see the SL, with its emphasis on extra-parliamentary mass action, as a very progressive development and support it wholeheartedly although critically. We shall carry further articles on the SL and shall make only a few general points here.

The SL is at the beginning of the road to can play in the ALP. It is necessary for the SL to clarify its perspectives on a wide range of issues, i.e., it must adopt a program. At the moment it is a very heterogeneous grouping containing all shades of opinion from reformists to revolutionary socialists.

The crucial tests for the SL lie ahead. It is likely that the right wing will try to curb it before the elections. Quite possibly the method used will be to make charges of... "Trotskyism". The purpose of this would be to obscure the real political differences in the ALP by united resistance of the SL to any attempted repression. We emphasize the united resistance by all the forces of the SL will be able to withstand such an attempt.

Another problem for the SL will arise if Labor wins the Federal elections. Elements in the SL will favour an unprincipled cooperation. On the contrary, it is precisely in such an event that the SL can push itself forward as an alternative leadership for the class.

Labor to power!

The 1972 elections take place in a period of deepening crisis of the world imperialist economy, which is reflected in Australia in the rising unemployment and growing inflation. In all the advanced capitalist countries the capitalists are forced to attack the wages and conditions of the working class. Unemployment, inflation, intensification of labour, attempts to hold down wages, attacks on the union movement are all on the order of the day. However, the developing crisis occurs when whole layers of youth in revolt against the system and when the militancy of the working class is very high.

The Liberal government stands on a platform of an assault on the unions via the "Lynch Laws", and of opposition to all the demands of the mass movements. The ALP leadership has capitulated to the ruling class, adopting a modified version of the infamous Cameron proposals. The ALP has not identified itself with any of mass extra parliamentary movements, although elements of it have. The ALP reforms can be no solution to the needs of the masses.

Whichever party wins office it will be obliged to carry out a similar program. Some sections of the capitalist class even call for an ALP victory. Does this mean that revolutionaries are indifferent to the result of the elections? Do we take an abstentionist position? The answer - No!

We are for a Labor victory and we clearly and unequivocally say this - "Labor to Power". An ALP defeat would be a defeat for the class and its allies, it would mean that the Liberal party had been returned and that the capitalists had resolved to make a much more vigorous attempt to shackle the union and workers militancy. An ALP defeat would mean that, yet again, the Labor fakers would be able to pose as the alternative to the Liberals for the mass of workers. The breaking of the workers from reformism can much better take place with Labor in office than out.

Revolutionary socialists identify themselves with the progressive aspirations of the working class. In the context of support for Labor, without in any way compromising ourselves with the right wing leadership, we can advance our program of democratic and transitional demands to a much wider and more interested audience than usual. We point out that it is precisely the right wing policies of the leadership which make it hard for them to win office.

What should be the main demands socialists advance? The following should feature prominently (although it is not an exhaustive list by any means): a shorter working week with no loss of pay; for a sliding scale of wages; an end to all restrictive laws against unions; immediate implementation of equal pay for all women workers; an immediate end to Australia's complicity in the Vietnam war; no Australian support for US aggression in Indochina; withdrawal of Australia from ANZUS and SEATO; an immediate repeal of all anti-abortion laws - a woman's right to choose; self-determination for black people, nationalisation of all basic industries, transport and financial institutions under workers control.

IN BRIEF

MATAUNGAN FRAME UP TRIAL ENDS

Five Tolais have been sentenced to jail terms over the killing of New Guinea administration official Emmanuel. William Taupa was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment, Anthony Towaliria 11 years, Joseph Tomarum and Lekius Topait 2 years and Otto Kallop 18 months.

Initially 18 Tolais were charged with conspiracy in the killing, but in the course of the trial and preceding legal manoeuvres, 13 of the defendants were discharged; in at least one case charges were dropped because the judge was satisfied that the police had used violence in obtaining a statement.

The judge presiding over the trial said that the killing was a result of the refusal of the authorities to rectify injustices committed against the Tolai people in the area of land rights. He also said that the intervention of Emmanuel and riot police to evict some Tolais from a plot of land to which they laid claim led to "an atmosphere of angry excitement" which created the circumstances "in which such a veneer of civilization as existed was shed."

Whose civilisation?

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS REVOLT

On Friday June 16th, students at Randwick Boys' High School, led by third and fourth form students, struck for one and a half hours. The strike took place over the failure of the authorities to rectify sub standard housing conditions which have led to long standing grievances. The situation recently has worsened due to victimisation of students and use of corporal punishment by the school staff.

The students struck, refusing to return to their classes despite the pleadings of the school principal and attempts by staff and prefects to herd them inside. When all attempts to force the students to return to classes had failed, some teachers and prefects began to bash some of the students. One student was bashed by a teacher for attempting to show a students' bill of rights to the press. However the bashing only made the students more determined and united.

The strike ended when the principal agreed to meet a deputation of students. The deputation demanded that the students be permitted to form an autonomous student union to press their demands. This demand was rejected and further strike action is planned.

STUDENT UPSURGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Peter Conrick

The past two weeks has seen a massive upsurge in student demonstrations in South Africa. Bourgeois journalists, quaintly attempting to get to the roots of dissent, have described Afrikaaner resentment against white students wearing long hair and dirty jeans. There can be no doubt that the signs for Afrikaaner nationalism in South Africa are ominous - already the radicalisation of youth that has shaken Western Capitalism is extending into the less advanced sections of white youth in Vorster's racist regime.

The seat of protest has been the English-language universities, principally the University of Cape Town, although there were also demonstrations reported from Johannesburg and Durban. However, as opposition to the Nationalist regime's policy of apartheid intensified, students from the Afrikaans - language university students. This has been one of the important factors in the recent upsurge, for the Afrikaaner universities have long been the traditional breeding ground of white supremacy and the production line for loyal Government supporters.

Why should white students, particularly young Afrikaaners, be in the forefront of protest against apartheid? The reason certainly does not stem from an instantaneous dissatisfaction with the White educational system which, oppressive as it is, does offer remarkably adequate

ADELAIDE MAOISTS CONTINUE TO ADVANCE RESOLUTELY - TO THE REAR

Adelaide's Maoists recently reached a new low in their headlong flight from revolutionary socialism. On Friday June 9th a demonstration was organised by the Committee Against Foreign Ownership of Australia. This new form of demonstration brushed aside diversionary issues such as Vietnam in order to get at the heart of the problems facing Australian revolutionaries - "the takeover (of Australian industries) by American imperialism and Japanese militarism."

Approximately 60 patriotic Australians marched against such takeovers (wake up Australia, remember our glorious heritage!) In contrast to the Maoists usual confrontational tactics, the tone of the march was non violent and peaceful. As a pre demonstration leaflet explained, "... demonstration will be peaceful. This is not a step backwards from previous militant demonstrations, but a step towards relating to the existing political levels of the people (surely not the patriotic bourgeoisie?) incorporated in the united front."

A characteristic of non Marxist political tendencies is their inability to learn from history. The Maoists have learned nothing from the fate of their comrades who pursued similar policies of collaboration with the "progressive" bourgeoisie in Indonesia in 1965 and China between 1925 and 1927. In each of those cases, the bourgeoisie turned and massacred thousands of their working class allies.

STILL SOME LEFT.

Australia's only whaling company, the Cheyne's Beach Whaling Company, is likely to oppose a 10 year ban on whaling proposed by the United Nations. The ban is proposed because some species of whale are nearing extinction. Business is Business however...

POLITICAL ISSUES FOR WHOSE BENEFIT?

Twelve workers on a Mainline Constructors Pty. Ltd. building site in North Sydney have gone on strike following the sacking of a worker who attached a banner advertising the Black Moratorium to a crane. A spokesman for the company said that it was not appropriate for a public company to involve itself in political issues... Unless there's a contract involved?

NATIONWIDE BLACK MORATORIUM BUILDS FOR JULY 14.

The Black Moratorium is the most significant event so far in the struggle of black people for their rights. The projection of mass demonstrations in major cities points the best way forward for black struggles. A mass movement cannot be bought off with token reforms; it will go all the way!

The Moratorium for Black Rights is calling on people to stop work on July 14 and demonstrate in support of the following demands:

- 1) Absolute ownership, including mineral and forestry rights, of all reserves and traditional areas to be vested in the hands of black communities associated with these areas.
- 2) Full compensation for all land seized since 1970.
- 3) The right and power of black communities to control their lives and their land.
- 4) Support for all black struggles for:
 - a. An immediate and massive Health Programme to eliminate infant mortality;
 - b. Full employment on at least award wages;
 - c. Decent housing and no evictions;
 - d. Black studies and culture in education;
 - e. Real equality of opportunity in education;
 - f. An end to all discriminatory legislation (e.g. Queensland Act).

Into the streets July 14!
Self-determination for the black people of Australia!

ESSO-BHP STANDS FIRM AGAINST ATTACKS ON THEIR RIGHT TO DESTROY THE ENVIRONMENT.

Despite resistance from unions and conservation groups, Esso-BHP has commenced work on their ethane gas pipeline under Port Phillip Bay. A similar pipeline under Botany Bay turned that bay into a sewer with almost no marine life when it burst twice within a month during last year. Esso BHP claim that their pipe will not burst, however overseas evidence provides no support for such an assertion. They know that no matter what lies they tell in order to have it laid, the pipe will be virtually impossible to remove once it commences operations.

In response to the company's arrogant refusal to stop work on the pipeline, the Builders Labourers Federation has imposed a black ban on all Esso and BHP construction work in Victoria. One effect of the black ban is that a crane on top of the soon to be completed BHP building in Bourke Street will remain there indefinitely, since only builders labourers can dismantle it.

PERTH BLACKS SET UP ABORIGINAL CONSULATE.

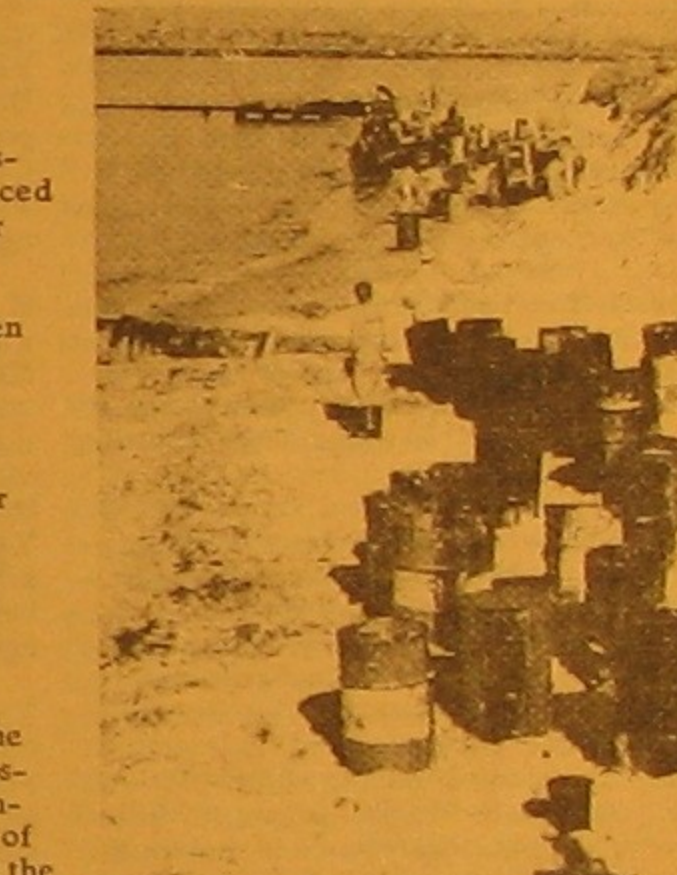
A group of aborigines have set up an aboriginal consulate in a tent on the laws of the Western Australian Parliament House. The aim of the protest is to force the Western Australian government to make available money for housing of aborigines. It also exposes the failure of the ALP government to take any effective action for the elimination of discrimination against aborigines in all spheres of life - particularly housing, education and employment.

SOCIALIST LEFT UNDER ATTACK IN TASMANIA.

The Socialist Left, founded in Tasmania four months ago, is under threat of expulsion from the ALP and the Labour Youth Organisation. Fifteen unions have warned the ALP not to move against the S.L. and radicals in the YLO.

The eruption in the YLO occurred after right-wing delegates walked out of a recent conference, leaving the left in control. The weekly newspaper 'The Review' carried a report of the walkout and the threatened expulsions in its June 24-30 issue. In the report they named the 'pro-anarchist' Labour Press group and the 'pro-anarchist' Socialist Youth Alliance. Most people who are even moderately well-informed about the left in this country know that Labour Press is a sectarian organisation claiming to be Trotskyist and SYA is a Trotskyist youth organisation.

For an accurate report of the events in the Tasmanian ALP and a defence of the right of socialists to work in the ALP, see next Direct Action.



Oil scraped off the beaches of Botany Bay after pipeline break last year.



THE ENFANT TERRIBLE

(The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on May 31.)

The attitude assumed by the Kremlin in face of the May escalation of the US imperialist aggression in Vietnam constitutes one of the most brazen and treacherous betrayals of the world revolution in the entire history of Stalinism. The depth of this betrayal must be grasped by the international revolutionary vanguard and all the friends and supporters of the Vietnamese revolution.

Having proved incapable of throwing back the Vietnamese in their heroic advances on the battle fields of South Vietnam, having been forced to withdraw the bulk of the US ground troops because of the stiffening opposition to the war among the American people, having been unable to maintain the pretence of "Vietnamization" of the war because of the spreading disintegration of the armies of the Saigon puppet regime, Nixon decided in cold blood to escalate the war to a qualitatively higher intensity in order to force the Vietnamese people to bow to an unfavorable compromise despite their resounding military victory. On May 8 Nixon announced that he had ordered all the harbours of North Vietnam to be mined and all transportation lines to be bombed up to the border of China.

In the history of imperialist butchery, the destructive power unleashed on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam since May 8 is of unheard-of proportions. The bomb load released by four squadrons of B-52 bombers is equivalent in destructive blast to a Hiroshima-type atomic bomb. The number of bomb craters in Vietnam was recently estimated at 26,000,000. The cratering of the land destroys it for agricultural production. This loss is on top of the loss of vast areas subjected to defoliation and to crop-destroying chemicals.

Imperialism will not stop at anything in its efforts to drive home its message to the people of Vietnam and of the world: better to destroy a country than to see it break out of the "free world" of capitalist exploitation.

While these colossal crimes were being committed, subjecting one of the most courageous peoples in the world to genocide, the Kremlin chieftains clinked champagne glasses with war criminal Nixon, as if they were toasting his deeds in Vietnam. They pictured their summit conference with Nixon as a "great success", a big step toward "world peace," while Nixon, with the callousness of a professional executioner, continued the most ferocious and barbarous acts of aggression and violence ever to be vented on the workers and peasants of a small country.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is part of the so-called socialist camp, whose security and inviolability the



ON THE BETRAYAL OF THE

VIETNAMESE AT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT MEETING

masters of the Kremlin have so many times guaranteed in the most solemn terms. Claiming the existence of an imperialist threat against the Czechoslovak workers state (which they never bothered to try to prove), they sent 200,000 troops into that country in August 1968. Their real reason for the invasion, of course, was to suppress the efforts that had begun there to replace Stalinist police rule with socialist democracy, a change that would have strengthened - not weakened - the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia against any threat of capitalist restoration.

But in the face of the unprecedented mass of napalm, antipersonnel bombs, and patterned bombing nearing the nuclear level that are being applied day after day on the cities and towns of North Vietnam, the masters of the Kremlin limited themselves to a few routine press releases - to be used by pro-Moscow Communist parties for face-saving needs - while they publicly toasted the imperialist aggressors!

It must be brought to the attention of the workers and peasants of the world that Nixon is able to use obsolete B-52 bombers only because the Soviet bureaucrats refuse to arm the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with the modern fighter planes that could wipe the B-52s out of the sky. Yet they have sold such fighter planes to several bourgeois governments in Asia, beginning with the Sadat regime in Egypt.

The same goes for various types of sophisticated weapons. The Soviet bureaucrats deny them to the Vietnamese people but freely distribute them to half a dozen bourgeois governments in various parts of the world.

Even the amount of ordinary weapons is kept down to a trickle by the Soviet bureaucrats. The deliveries made by all the governments of the "socialist camp" do not reach 10 percent of what they send annually to Egypt. The cost of the aid is under 1 percent of the total annual

military expenditures made by the US in Vietnam.

This provides an indication on a material level of the betrayal committed by the Stalinist bureaucrats against the Vietnamese revolution.

Brezhnev and his cohorts have even hidden from the Soviet people the fact - revealed by the Hanoi press - that Soviet seamen were killed by US bombs in Haiphong even while Nixon, who ordered the bombing, was being wined and dined in Moscow.

Apologists of the Stalinist bureaucracy argue that the Kremlin had to act this way in order to avoid a dangerous escalation of tension and a confrontation between the US and the Soviet Union that could lead to World War III. This argument is completely mendacious.

History has shown again and again that to concede to an aggressor does not lead to easing the situation in the long run; instead, it encourages the aggressor to engage in escalation. In the United States today the mood is such that the vast majority of the American people would never back the White House in gambling on a nuclear showdown. The American people are sick and tired of the war in Indochina. They would never agree to risk a global conflict for the sake of maintaining a military toehold in Indochina.

By standing firmly and telling Nixon that his new escalation of the war constituted an attack against the entire socialist camp and that persistence in that attack would result in the Vietnamese army, navy, and air force being supplied with all the means necessary to turn it back, the Soviet leaders could have stopped Nixon in his tracks. By refusing to take any concrete steps to halt the aggressor, the Kremlin leaders fall into the position of accomplices in the crimes of imperialism against an allied workers state. They thereby lay the base for a still more explosive situation.

Once again the fatal logic of the policy of "peaceful coexistence," of "socialism in one country" stands out in the clearest way. In order to save the international status quo from unsettlingment by a victorious revolution, the Kremlin bureaucrats cynically acquiesce in the massive bombing and genocidal destruction of North Vietnam. At bottom in their own self-interest, for a successful revolution in Vietnam could encourage the growing political opposition inside the Soviet Union and perhaps help detonate a revolutionary process that would sweep them from power and restore the socialist democracy that Lenin and Trotsky stood for.

As for the Maoist bureaucracy, it is unable to do more than issue feeble press releases protesting the bombing of North Vietnam. Having themselves accorded Nixon a royal reception last February, they cannot even take full advantage of the betrayal committed by the Moscow revisionists. The truth is that by engaging in a "cordial" summit meeting with Nixon they helped make it easier for the Kremlin to abandon all restraint in groveling before the commander in chief of the U.S. war machine.

The complicity of the Chinese and Russian regimes in the Pentagon's crimes in Vietnam can arouse a sharp reaction among the masses of the Soviet Union and China. That would change many things. However, in face of the tight police control over the communications media it is not easy to spread the truth in either land.

Among the rank and file in the Communist parties in the capitalist countries the situation is different. They are not sealed off from the facts or from the influence of the vanguard that has been staging international demonstrations for withdrawal of the U.S. armed forces and free exercise by the Vietnamese people of the right of self-determination.

The Vietnamese are continuing their struggle with unparalleled courage and determination, and are still scoring successes on the battlefields. With the help of the laboring masses in other countries, they can still win their revolution despite all the fury of the imperialist beast.

The Fourth International calls upon all its members and sympathizers, upon all communists and socialists throughout the world, to devote the utmost energy to helping to organize massive protest demonstrations against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

Bring the strongest possible pressure to bear on the Communist parties by speaking the truth about the latest Stalinist betrayals. Help pillory the Moscow and Peking regimes! Compel them to provide adequate material support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

NATIONAL WOMEN'S LIBERATION CONFERENCE

A national women's liberation conference was held in Sydney over the long weekend of June 10-12. Held at the YWCA headquarters, there were approximately 150 women at each session, a large proportion being from interstate. Most sessions of the conference were broken up into workshops of approximately fifteen people, and several were held in nearby Hyde Park.

At the beginning of the conference, women heard reports from interstate sisters about the growth and activity of the movement in each state. An activist from Perth, Western Australia gave a very comprehensive and inspiring report of the new movement there, where they had an initial meeting of 200. She told of their experiences in running electoral candidates and their agitation so far, around the issues of abortion and child-care centres.

Following these reports, the conference decided to break up into workshops around the following topics—

- * Alternative life styles to the nuclear family— theory and practice.
- * Abortion and birth control.
- * Unmarried mothers and deserted wives.
- * Legal rights of women and the right of women to know their 'rights'!
- * Childcare facilities.
- * Women at work and unemployed women.
- * Social attitudes to women.
- * Education and women.
- * A Bill of Rights for women.

These continued in the afternoon and a report back concluded the day's sessions.

On Sunday the conference again broke into workshops to discuss—

- * mass action and its relation to where women are at the moment.
- * Is direct action an appropriate sphere of activity?
- * theory and reasons for action,
- * What comes after mass action?
- * radical feminism/ socialism,
- * women's liberation and lesbians,
- * women's liberation and its relation to political movements parties,
- * women and power.

This was followed by a report-back session to the whole conference.

Monday was given over to discussion, again in workshops, on—

- * strategies for jobs/work
- * future activities,
- * national coordination between groups
- * strategies for future action.

The numbers attending the conference and the general enthusiasm that prevailed throughout the weekend was evidence of the power of the ideas of the new women's movement, and of the desire of the most conscious women to get together and to take action against their oppression.

However, there were several negative features about the conference. Firstly, it was projected as being chiefly a conference for activists or "women in the movement". This was because the dis-

Women in Revolt

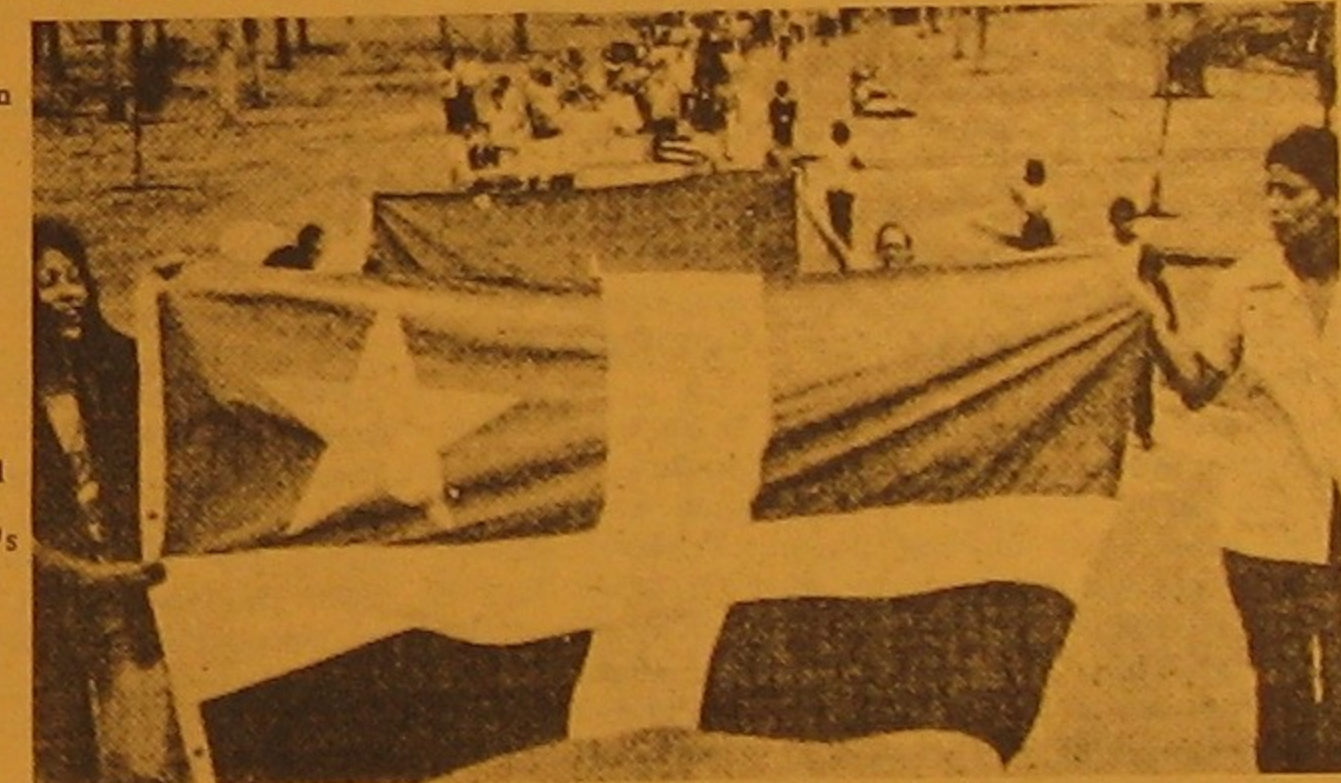


ussion at the conference would supposedly centre around perspectives for the movement, organisation, and some of the theoretical questions posed within the movement—which would not be so directly relevant to newly conscious women. This meant that very little publicity was given to the conference, except in newsletters of the movement and by word of mouth.

As it turned out, the workshop discussions which dominated the conference would have been entirely suited to the needs of new women. It was just an expensive rap with people from interstate. The conference was marked by a lack of organization and a lack of any perspective for what was to come out of the weekend's discussion.

This conference could have been used to introduce many women to feminist ideas for the first time, and it could have been a vehicle for organizing and planning national campaigns over the next months.

Although this conference may not have served as the boost to the movement that it could have, the prospects for building a strong and active women's liberation movement are great, and possibilities exist more than ever before for mobilising masses of women around the demands for their basic rights.



Puerto Ricans march against Miss USA contest

"PROPERLY DRESSED" SOVIET WOMEN

In the past few months items have appeared in the Soviet press that give a glimpse of Soviet women's rising consciousness of their inferior status. Contrasted to women in Australia, Soviet women enjoy more formal, legal equality, greater access to job opportunities, better child care, and free abortions.

But at the same time, women in the Soviet Union are expected to perform the duties of housewife and mother in addition to the jobs many hold outside the home. To justify this dual role, the Soviet bureaucracy exalts the role of "motherhood" and the family to absurd extremes. The bureaucrats' efforts to maintain outmoded norms of "feminine" behavior even go to the extent of forbidding women to wear pants on some jobs.

According to the May 20 "Christian Science Monitor", three women who work at a Moscow computer centre were recently sent home from work by a ministry official because they wore pants. "This isn't a cafe or a theater," the official informed them after taking away their identification cards. "One should come to work properly dressed. There is a ministry order."

The three women - an engineer, a laboratory assistant, and a technician - protested to the trade-union newspaper "Trud". "Good taste cannot be inculcated with an administrative bludgeon," they argued. "In our opinion, if a pantsuit is becoming to a woman and is not wild or of too flashy a color, there is no crime in wearing it on the job, particularly since it is even more comfortable to work in such clothing."

PUERTO RICANS PROTEST MISS USA CONTEST

Recently U.S. businessmen had the audacity to subject the people of Puerto Rico to the degrading spectacle of the annual Miss USA contest. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) responded to this insult by organizing a demonstration at the Ceromar Beach Hotel in Dorado, the site of the event.

According to the May 28 issue of "Claridad", the newspaper reflecting the views of the PSP, hundreds of Puerto Rican militants joined the demonstration. This protest had a dual character. It expressed the demonstrators' disgust with the sexist exploitation of women's bodies and the outrage of pro-independence Puerto Ricans with a Miss USA contest taking place on their soil.

At a rally following the demonstration, Flavia Rivera, a member of the Central Committee of the PSP Political Bureau, told the crowd: "Women are used as a sexual and commercial object and the benefits go to the big corporations that sponsor the event. In the meantime, our people remain immersed in poverty. We can't allow them to continue to use our country for this type of carnival." Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the PSP, also spoke at the rally.



CHILD-CARE CENTRES



By Marilyn Wise

The article we print below was presented as a paper to the National Women's Liberation Conference held in Sydney June 10-12.

When asserting the right of women to choose whether or not to have children, we must not forget the large numbers of women who want the right to have children without penalty, without being relegated to the traditional subordinate and ancillary role motherhood has become. Our society requires that as women bear children, they should also be fully engaged in rearing children, with very occasional help from men. I wish to show that if the rights of women and of children are to be considered, society as a whole, rather than the individual family, should be responsible for the basic care of children.

In our society, the childbearing function of women is a source of oppression because women are forced to remain in the confines of the home in order to take care of their children and the houses in which

they live. Hence, the strong belief that 'a woman's place is in the home'. The strength of this belief is seen in the paucity of proper child-care facilities in our community and the exorbitant cost of most of those that are available (amounting to around 1/4 - 1/3 of a woman's income for one child) at a time when vast numbers of women are engaged in employment away from the home. Patriarchal society, represented by the churches, politicians, industrialists, advertisers, educationalists, psychologists etc., continues to propagate the idea that the 'natural' vocation and way to personal fulfillment for women is to have and care for children and maintain a home for the benefit of their children and husbands. This 'sanctity of motherhood' myth has been fostered by patriarchal society to compensate women for their degrading position in that society for, by being cut off from the mainstream of the economic, political and intellectual life of the society, women are regarded as socially inferior beings. Understandably, many women, seeing the fallacy of this belief and resenting their inferior status, often come to see their biological makeup as an affliction and their children

as instruments of oppression but this is as misguided as the belief in the 'sanctity of motherhood.'

In primitive matriarchal societies, women bore children but managed to remain free, independent and in the centre of the social productive and cultural life of their communities. All adults, men and women, were responsible for all of the children of the society from cradle to grave, providing for all children equally. In patriarchal class society, where women have lost their role as co-producers with men of society's needs and co-rearers of children, their role has become that of cheap and dependent housekeeper, cook, childminder for the male in order to maintain him as an effective productive unit. Moreover, society has taken little responsibility for those who are of no productive use - the very young, the sick, the mentally and physically disabled and the old. It has become woman's social role to care for these groups at no cost to society. Consequently, women are denied the opportunity to involve themselves in the full activities of society. Even though the amount of time spent in raising children has decreased sharply for

most women in this century, and technology has made possible the reduction in time spent on housework, food preparation etc., the belief that women should be primarily engaged in these occupations has continued resulting in boredom and tensions for many or tremendous physical strain from having to maintain several roles - housekeeper, cook and provider. Children also suffer in these circumstances.

When some women are needed in the workforce, limited facilities are made available by governments and occasionally by employers so that they can make use of this reserve army of labour, but no effort is made to care for children of women who wish to involve themselves more in spheres less important to society than production. In periods of economic recession and reduced profitability, women are substituted for men in the workforce as a cheap form of labour, child-care facilities are subsidised in these periods also.

At present then, the raising of children is the responsibility of each competitive, isolated family, regardless of whether society provides the jobs or financial

assistance necessary to do this. Parents should not have to endure the tremendous strains imposed on them, especially on women, in trying to provide for the physical and emotional well-being of their children. Nor should children have to depend on the limited resources of isolated families and of individual women. Society as a whole should bear the responsibility of providing the best possible environment for the development of all children.

In modern urbanised society, a system of free child-care centres, financed by the government but controlled by those who use them would appear to be the most equitable and practicable way to implement this goal. These centres should provide facilities 24 hours a day for all children, regardless of parents' income or marital status, from infancy to early adolescence. So that the child-care centres themselves do not promote the inequalities which are perpetuated by the present system of individual responsibility plus facilities for the few who can pay, they must be equally and well provided for financially by the state. The pursuit of this goal does not preclude as an interim measure, the agitational

demand for child-care centres in factories, campuses and other places where large numbers of women are employed.

However, so that a bureaucratic system like that operating in our schools should not emerge, the trained staff of men as well as women, and parents should decide the types of educational programmes to be adopted in these centres and the child-raising and educational techniques to be used.

Why 24-hours a day? As I mentioned before, the state has been willing to subsidise, on a limited scale, child-care centres from 7am to 5pm in times of labour shortage. However, society still insists that these facilities not be available for other periods of day or night because this would interfere with the mother's role of child-raising. Women are thus prevented from taking part in the entire range of activities of our society - educational, cultural, political and recreational, which men engage in. Thus child-care is seen only as ancillary to women as an instrument of work in industry. In demanding 24-hour child-care, we are not supporting shiftwork by women, or men for that matter, for this is a means

used by employers to maximise their profits by utilising machinery and equipment 24 hours a day, with little regard for the health and welfare of those forced to work shifts. When we talk about equality for women, we do not mean the right to suffer equal exploitation with men. Children of facilities should also have use of child-care facilities after school for recreation and homework, whether both parents are working or not, so that all have a suitable environment in which to carry out these interests.

The training of children from an early age in a social situation can help break down the competitiveness, selfishness, prejudice and authoritarian outlook which the structure of the patriarchal family system helps to promote.

Educational inequalities suffered by children of lower income groups, including Aborigines and migrants, can be removed if these children are given equal educational opportunities and physical care at the pre-school level.

Child-care facilities, provided in conjunction with cheap housekeeping facilities, shorter working hours etc. would

allow women and men more time and freedom to enjoy their children and form stable and satisfying relationships with them. The children themselves would not be seen as symbols of oppression. The social value of housework itself should now be recognised, by the payment of unemployment benefits based on a real standard of living, to women who do not work.

The winning of these demands would go a long way towards helping women to develop as independent beings able to play an equal role with men in social activities. By greater involvement in society, women would have a truer understanding of the nature of society gained by going through the same experiences as men. They would become less of an unconscious ally of conservatism and their power as a social force, weakened by fragmentation in separate homes, would be increased. Women would then be better able to play a part in removing the real causes of their oppression which is the subordination of all people to the profit making of the capitalist mode of production.

THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

PART 2



Trotsky addressing the fourth congress of the Communist International.

This is the second installment of our translation of Pierre Frank's *The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement*.

Chapter 2: From 1923 to 1929.

The Bolshevik-Leninist Faction in the USSR

The revolutionary period opened by the Russian Revolution of 1917 was followed from 1923 to 1929 by an ebbing of the revolutionary tide and a period of relative stabilization of capitalism. The European economy was recovering; American capitalism gained world ascendancy, replacing British capitalism, which experienced its first big crisis in 1926. In China the struggle of the colonized masses against imperialism began its great and tragic course. In the Soviet Union, economic progress was small; a bitter internal political struggle went on, in the course of which the bureaucracy succeeded in shifting the axis of Soviet policy from world revolution to "socialism in one country." In several European countries, Socialist parties were in power, while the Communist International and its sections were in crisis, traversing the first stages of their bureaucratic degeneration.

The first period of our movement extended from 1923 to 1929. During that period, there was no real international Bolshevik-Leninist movement: there was a Bolshevik-Leninist faction in the CPSU, supported by individuals or groupings in other countries, but liaison between them and the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition in the USSR was confined to correspondence. There was no real, collective international elaboration of political thought and action.

From the moment of its birth, the Bolshevik-Leninist faction in the USSR evinced one of the essential characteristics of our movement—internationalism. The faction was created in 1923 on the basis of an understanding of the changes in the international situation; its principal battles in the course of these six years bore as much on specifically Soviet questions as on problems of the world revolution.

The point of departure was the turn in the world situation after the defeat of the German revolution in October 1923. The German CP was losing ground, while the Social Democracy was moving ahead. Trotsky, against whom was arrayed the majority of the Political Bureau of the Bolshevik party (the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin troika), maintained that the international situation had changed from top to bottom, that the revolutionary wave of the postwar period was spent, that a period of relative stabilization of capitalism had started, and that all this imposed new tasks for the Communist International and its sections in capitalist countries—as well as for the problems of building socialism in the USSR.

From 1923 to 1929 the Bolshevik-Leninist faction in the USSR fought on three main questions:

- The policy of the leadership in the USSR.
- The Anglo-Russian Committee (1926).
- The second Chinese revolution (1925-27).

Policy in the USSR

We shall limit ourselves here to a few lines on this question, since it has been thoroughly treated by Trotsky in his *Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals*,¹ and *The Revolution Betrayed*.

The establishment of the New Economic Policy (NEP) after the end of the civil war and the waning of the labor movement had a very great effect on social relations in the USSR, as well as on the ranks of the Bolshevik party.

Political passivity developed in the ranks of the workers. Part of the best revolutionary elements had lost their lives on the field of battle. Another part, which had reached command positions in the Red Army, found executive positions in the state and in the economy, where they applied the methods of command inherited from the army. With the NEP as a base, capitalist elements developed in the cities and in the countryside. The relationship of forces was evolving in a direction opposite to that of the revolutionary period. These factors gave the state apparatus increased independence and power. The entire last portion of Lenin's political activity was devoted to denouncing this danger. We have, he said, a workers state with bureaucratic deformations. Just read his report to the Eleventh Congress of the Russian party to see to what extent he denounced these evils!²

The bureaucratization of the state was accompanied and abetted by a bureaucratization of the Bolshevik party. As a revolutionary instrument, the latter was rusting away.

A layer of parvenus, satisfied with what had already been obtained, gained the upper hand. These social layers and the state apparatus found their most responsive political expression in the Secretariat of the party, in the person of that "old Bolshevik" Stalin.

The last conversations between Lenin and Trotsky were concerned with organizing a faction to conduct the struggle against this party Secretariat. Lenin's last two letters to the Central Committee, known as "Lenin's Testament," point out the danger of a split and propose to dislodge Stalin from the post of party secretary.³

In October 1923 Trotsky, pointing out the mounting dangers, proposed a "new course," to be characterized by a struggle against the bureaucratization of the party and in favor of the following: admitting young proletarian elements, who had proved themselves, into the leading bodies of the party; making these bodies elective; a plan for industrialization; a certain number of measures to set the poor peasants against the kulaks.

In the beginning, this "new course" was not openly rejected by the majority of the Political Bureau; but the latter did nothing to implement it. On the contrary, the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin leadership (at that time these names were mentioned in that order) initiated a violent struggle against "Trotskyism," bringing up twenty-year-old differences between Lenin and Trotsky, long outdated by events, and distorting them to boot. Later Zinoviev and Kamenev admitted they had invented "Trotskyism" for this occasion.

The Moscow Opposition, that is, the first faction gathered together by Trotsky to struggle for a "new course"—this faction which comprised a galaxy of militants of the revolution and the civil war and which constituted the first organization of our movement—was prevented by bureaucratic methods from getting a hearing in the party, after having won some preliminary success in the Moscow cells.

Unbeknown even to some who had participated in starting it, the fight on the question of past differences concealed the struggle of the bureaucratic layers against internationalist revolutionary policy.

Since the policy followed by the leadership of the Bolshevik party slid more and more to the right, in 1925-26 Zinoviev and Kamenev broke with Stalin, who then pursued that policy with Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomsky as allies. The rightist policy was supposed to "integrate the kulak into socialism," which would be achieved "at a snail's pace" (Bukharin); industrialization was denounced as an absurdity ("the peasant needs a cow, not a phonograph," declared Stalin).

The Opposition formed in 1926 by the Zinoviev-Trotsky bloc, forced to meet clandestinely, struggled to impose an industrialization program and a policy directed against the kulak, the Nepman, and the bureaucrat. A five-year plan was finally accepted in 1927 by the Bukharin-Stalin leadership, but the very limited yearly increases projected in the plan indicated the skepticism and hostility of that leadership. Under pressure of the Opposition, another plan was prepared, with higher yearly goals.

Towards the end of 1927 and without any confidence, the bureaucracy launched the first five-year plan. Early in 1928—less than three months after having broken party unity and exiled the Opposition to Siberia—a frightened Stalin acknowledged the kulak danger, broke with the rightist Bukharin faction, made a sudden zigzag to the left, and began an ultraleft policy (the five-year plan had to be completed in four years, agriculture had to be 100 percent collectivized, etc.). Put into practice in a bureaucratic way, by force of decree, and in a brutal manner by a party shorn of any real political life, this orientation brought the country to the brink of catastrophe.

The old Bolshevik party—after elimination of the left and right oppositions—subsisted only as the political machine of the bureaucracy. The revolutionary cadres were exiled or exterminated. From that date on, the bureaucracy's domination increased and its policy developed in a series of zigzags, ranging from the most contemptible opportunism to the most unbridled ultraleftism. In the final analysis, however, its general direction was very strongly opportunistic. The ultraleft zigzags have now ceased.

The Anglo-Russian Committee (1926)

The affair of the Anglo-Russian Committee marks the beginning of the Stalinist faction's policy of dissociating the fate of the USSR from that of the world revolution. It was on this question that they began the policy of putting pressure on foreign governments as a substitute

for any struggle in defense of the USSR. This was particularly through political combinations and in which Communist parties abandoned part of their revolutionary program under pretext of thus attaining masses than they could mobilize by them-

self. The world reaction right after the first world war had already begun and despite the phenomenon of American capitalism. British imperialism's all the more anti-Soviet, inasmuch as the Russian Revolution set an extremely attractive example for the peoples oppressed by the Empire. From a point of view, the English labor movement was of considerable strength. In 1924 the Labour Party had an electoral victory, but had been rapidly overtaken by its Liberal party partners. Around 1926 the left occurred in the English trade unions. The CP was very weak—it still is today—and the Communist International it had activated in the trade unions was rather weak. In order to counter British imperialism, the USSR, Stalin proposed to the Political Bureau of the Bolshevik party that efforts be made to establish a committee of English and Russian trade unions under the pretext of working toward re-union on an international scale. A committee of Russian and English trade unions for the purpose of worldwide trade-union unity was possible, although it presented the danger of being a summit operation, difficult for the rank and file to control. But, for Stalin, the real object of this Committee was to turn it into the "center of gravity against imperialist war," the political center of the struggle for the defense of the USSR. In answer to Trotsky, who was at the time still a member of the Political Bureau and who stressed the necessity of concentrating on the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, Stalin retorted, "What can you do with your English Communist?"

The fight concerning the aims of the Anglo-Russian Committee did not remain merely a battle of words. The danger in Great Britain gave it a tragic content. The swing of the English workers was expressed by a strike for nationalization of the mines, and gave rise to a miners' strike that was supported by the English workers as a whole.

In 1926, a ten-day general strike forced the British Empire's knees. This was the first manifestation of the British capitalism (a crisis that reached full bloom at the end of the second world war). British capitalism was able to pull itself out of this grave difficulty thanks to—and this was the most important factor—the English trade-union leadership's betrayal: the general strike and let the miners continue alone for several months.

The revolutionist with the most elementary knowledge of the Leninist position on the united front, this would call for an immediate break between the English workers and the Anglo-Russian Committee—plus to the English workers to stand up against the leadership. But considering the essential object of the Russian Committee to be the "defense of the USSR," conceiving the latter as a task separate and apart from the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the committee—whose activity for months and years had been reduced to nothing but talk, anyway—in the eyes of the militant members of the English Communist Party the Minority Movement denounced the reformist policy of their unions, the latter had an easy reply that's not what the Russians think—and you will accuse them of being reformists and traitors. They are, in the same committee with us!" disarmed and demoralized the English CP and the Minority Movement, which disappeared as a result.

Months after the general strike, the leaders of the trade unions, having thoroughly exploited the miners' strike (which was no longer of any use to them) for their own purposes, denounced the financial aid proffered by the Russian unions as a betrayal of the workers in the internal life of their organizations, and excused to break up the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition had exposed Stalinist policy on the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee. It started a very strong campaign for breaking up the committee at the time of the betrayal of the

The Second Chinese Revolution (1925-27)

A big upsurge occurred in the revolutionary movement in China in the period 1925-27. The merchant and industrial bourgeoisie, whose political party was the Kuomintang, tried to exploit this revolutionary upsurge for their own purpose—the unification of China. At that time the country was divided into a certain number of provinces governed independently by warlords, who were continually at war with each other to extend their dominions.

In the years following the first world war, a Chinese Communist party had been established around Chen Tu-hsiu, a Peking professor who had been active in revolutionary struggles in China for about ten years. The young Chinese CP lacked experience of any kind, and it was the leadership of the Communist International that bore complete responsibility for the CCP's policies during that period. The Soviet bureaucracy, the political expression of which was Stalinism, was hostile to the development of an autonomous revolutionary struggle—in which the Stalinists had no confidence—by the proletariat and poor peasants. To serve the needs of its nationalistic policy, the bureaucracy favored a policy of alliance with the Chinese bourgeoisie. In order to justify such a class-collaborationist policy, the Stalin-Bukharin leadership elaborated the theory of a "bloc of four classes" for China (combination of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and capitalists—the last named being considered "progressive" in a colonial or semicolonial country), developed the concept of bipartite worker and peasant parties (parties of two classes), and the necessity for a "revolution by stages" with the "democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants" as an intermediate step between capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Put into practice, this policy of class collaboration resulted in ordering the entry of the Chinese Communist party into the Kuomintang. The Chinese CP thus renounced an independent policy and, in particular, opposed the creation of soviets during the ascending period of the revolution; it was also opposed to the development of the agrarian revolution—so that the landed holdings of Kuomintang army officers could remain intact. For months and months the Communist International and its sections praised the Kuomintang leaders to the skies as allies of the proletariat and champions of the anti-imperialist struggle. The head of the Kuomintang armies, Chiang Kai-shek, was particularly singled out for praise, being depicted as the "hero" of the Chinese revolution. (See *L'Humanité*, late 1926, early 1927.)

As the Kuomintang armies neared Shanghai in their march from the commercial South to the North, the workers rose up and seized the city. Their class instinct led them to refuse Chiang Kai-shek's troops entry into Shanghai. But, on orders from the Communist International, the Chinese Communists prevailed upon the workers to allow Chiang Kai-shek and his soldiers to enter the most industrialized center of China. No sooner installed, Chiang Kai-shek set about the wholesale slaughter of the Communist movement of China.

A little later the Chinese Communists, still under orders from the Stalinist leadership of the Third International, resumed the same policy of collaboration with a wing of the Kuomintang, the "left Kuomintang" led by Wang Ching-wei, with the same result. When Chen Tu-hsiu, secretary of the Chinese CP, joined the Left Opposition, he revealed that Borodin, a representative of the Communist International, had declared that "the worker must be the coolie of the Kuomintang."

The Bolshevik-Leninist faction in the USSR conducted a struggle of increasing intensity against the Stalinist policies in China; the peak of this struggle coincided with the peak of the entire struggle by the Soviet Bolshevik-Leninists against Stalinism.

Permanent Revolution vs. Socialism in One Country

The three principal questions on which the struggle of the Left Opposition in the USSR was based can, on the theoretical level, be subsumed into one single question: the struggle for permanent revolution, against the theory of "socialism in one country"; the struggle for maintaining a policy of world proletarian revolution, against the nationalist, reactionary policy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

This fight, begun in 1923, had nothing to do with a power struggle between individuals—as some people, obviously incapable of any political insight whatsoever, still think—or did it have anything to do with a struggle between two revolutionary schools of thought with di-



Stalin, Rykov, Kamenev & Zinoviev.

vergent views on the strategy to follow for the victory of world socialism—as certain bourgeois political leaders and journalists still write, whether through ignorance or through their desire to depict Stalinism as a revolutionary bugaboo. This fight was, primarily and above all, a struggle between two political formations representing two different social groups.

The Left Opposition consciously represented the fundamental historical interests of the world proletariat; the Stalinist faction represented the interests of the party and state bureaucracy, anxious to stabilize, consolidate, and, subsequently, increase its privileges.

Inasmuch as the leaders of that faction had come out of the Bolshevik party, for most of them the slide did not take place on a conscious level—in the beginning, at any rate. But they became prisoners of the social layers whose political spokesmen they were, and in a few years this faction became the most conscious, and the most dangerous, counterrevolutionary force inside the working-class movement.

The climax of the struggle in the USSR occurred on the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, in November 1927, when the Oppositionists participated in the official Moscow and Leningrad demonstrations under their own slogans, with their own banners and placards against the kulak, the Nepman, and the bureaucrat. For months the Stalinist faction had been accumulating framed-up charges against the Opposition, which had been reduced to clandestine activity. The former had especially sought to plant provocateurs inside the organization. To avoid being quietly disposed of, it was necessary to take political action out in the open. The tenth anniversary served as a pretext for the Stalinist faction to consummate the split in the party and exile the Bolshevik-Leninist militants to Siberia.⁴

In the following year, the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union continued its struggle in an organized fashion; its center was set up by Trotsky, in exile in Alma Ata. That was why Stalin decided to expel him from Russia.

After 1929, the Trotskyist Opposition in the USSR, our mother section, found itself more and more cut off from its principal leader, Leon Trotsky; as a result, the axis of our movement shifted. From that time on we had but little information about our faction, which was subsequently crushed by the Stalinist repression.

Some information about the political life of Opposition leaders in the Verkhne-Uralsk "isolator," before the Moscow trials, can be found in Anton Ciliga's *Au pays du grand mensonge* (In the Country of the Big Lie). This information, however, must be taken with reservations—considering that it comes from a man who broke with Bolshevism and passed into the camp of petty-bourgeois liberalism.

The most important document of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition in the USSR for the period under discussion is *The Platform of the Left Opposition (1927)*,⁵ drawn in agreement with the Zinovievists (whose first capitulation took place right after the Fifteenth Congress of the Bolshevik party).

One more word about our faction in the USSR: its leading elements included not only old Bolsheviks whose names are well known for their role in the October Revolution, but also an entire group of young cadres trained during the years of the Revolution and civil war, some of whom were well-developed Marxists who never for one moment capitulated. To be cut off from them was, most assuredly, a great loss to our movement.

(To be continued)

1. Available in English in *The Third International After Lenin*, by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York.—Translator.

2. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 263-324.

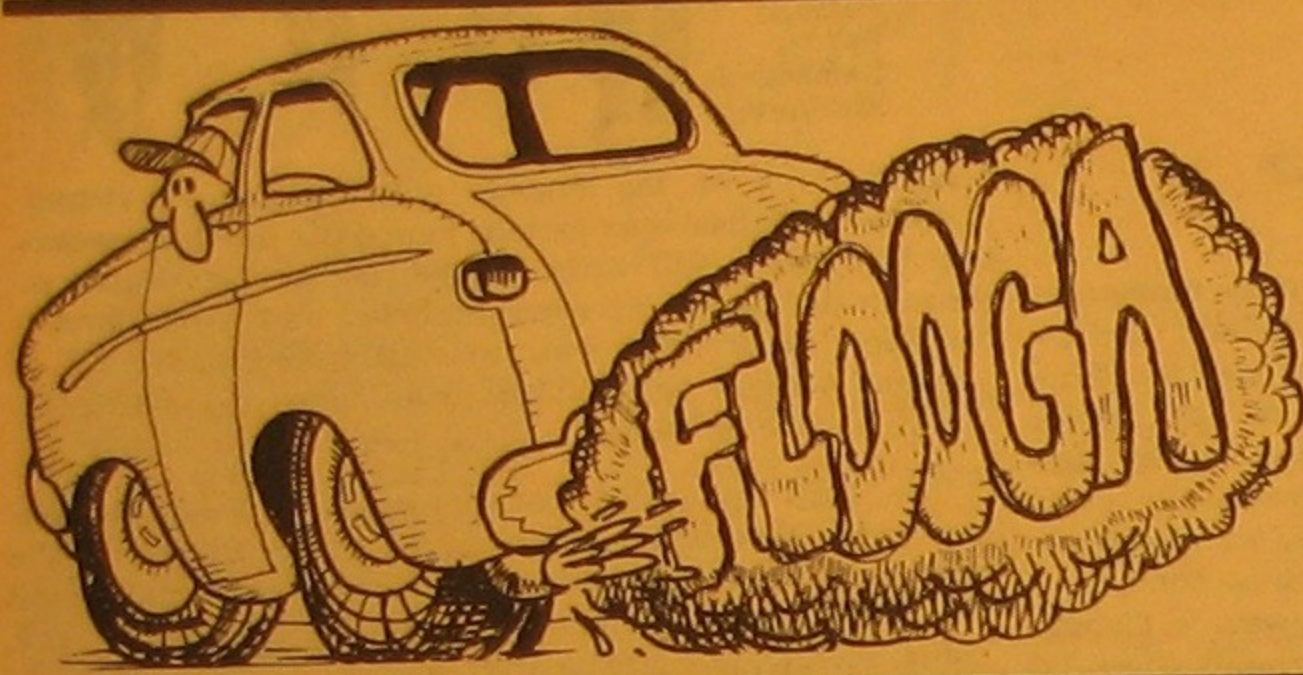
3. These two letters were banned in the USSR. Nevertheless, on two occasions, Stalin could not avoid mentioning their existence. Since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, publication in the Soviet Union of these letters (see Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, pp. 594-96) and other of Lenin's writings, as well as the "Journal of Lenin's Duty Secretaries" (*ibid.*, Vol. 42), has completely confirmed what Trotsky wrote, namely that in the last period of his life, Lenin had sought and obtained Trotsky's support to fight a weakening in the foreign-trade monopoly, the repressive measures taken by Stalin against the "nationalist" faction of Georgian Bolsheviks led by Mdivani, and, above all, to fight the bureaucracy in the party—particularly its political spokesman, Stalin—at the next party congress. Illness, then death, prevented Lenin from so doing.

4. Ten years later, during the Moscow trials, Stalin for the first time made the claim that an attempt at "insurrection" had been involved.

5. New Park Publications, Ltd., London.—Translator.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT BY PIERRE FRANK

Capitalism fouls things up...



1. Stop the Pollution!

"The automobile - the greatest disaster ever to afflict mankind." Not a sentiment for anyone who has ever heard of the Pentagon, but less of an exaggeration than it might seem. It emerged during a seminar on pollution, resources and the "automobile syndrome" held at Melbourne University on May 25.

The statement exemplifies the important failing of most scientific criticism of technology and society - the fact that it is no more than technical. Excellent qualified scientists have felt incompetent to criticise the economic and political system whose infliction on us the automobile is symbolic of so much

environmental abuse and anarchic short-term planning. Conversely, students of politics and ideology have frequently been apathetic in exploring scientific phenomena. The kind of widely informed, integrated thinking necessary for the ultimate solution of these problems must be immediately applied to our criticism of society.

In effect, it was a bitter incongruity to listen to men proposing how the urban chaos of Melbourne might be set in order, and to reflect on how that chaos is sanctioned by Bolte, a man who admits he no longer reads books, and whose response to pollution of the Yarra has been to urge activists to stop worrying and learn to swim.

Consideration of private transport is an excellent starting point for a criticism of Australian urban structure and environmental abuse. The inefficiency of the car is indisputable. The carrying capacity of twenty four lanes of buses or two tracks of trams. Yet it is socially indispensable from the point of view of profit. In 1968 of the twenty companies in the USA with the largest assets ten were directly dependent on the automobile (either car manufacturers or oil companies). Will these multibillion dollar concerns peacefully allow the car to take its rightful place in the historical museums?

Large-scale private transport necessitates gross perversions of urban planning, with large areas consumed in freeways and parking lots. The price of Sydney's Western Distributor - the razing or disturbance of large areas of inner suburbs - clearly illustrates this. In this case, protest in the suburbs involved has resulted. (see interview with Nick Origlass this issue). The toll in death and injury is exorbitant. The most damning criticism of private transport stems from its appalling wastefulness of declining fossil fuel resources. At the present rate of increase of consumption these will only last a few more generations. Yet they should be reserved for the petrochemical industry and for the increasingly necessary production of protein from hydrocarbons and yeast.

Many of the technical problems of rationalising production have already been solved, at least in concept. The reason for the use of wasteful motor vehicles, lies in public transport being expensive, inefficient, and inconvenient so that people are tempted to own or drive cars. The expense of setting up, operating and maintaining public transport

is much less than the total cost of the superhighway system. But as consumerism is an integral part of the present economic system, long range solutions to the problem will be generally ignored.

In order to maximise profit, a manufacturer establishes a factory in an already existing city. The advantages of this are availability of raw materials, workers, markets, and established links to provide any of these not immediately available. Considering the anarchic "planning" of most cities today, this is unfortunate for many - the slum and "urban sprawl" dweller. Decentralisation of the population into cities of about 200,000 has several advantages over the present city structure. The provision in such cities of cultural, hospital, sporting and educational amenities obtainable only in cities much larger is practical.

Such decentralisation has only one drawback - transport and communication problems caused by remoteness from the other centres. The overwhelming advantages are enjoyed by almost the entire population.

These disadvantages alone have been sufficient to keep the flow of development capital to Australian regional centres at a trickle; where these towns have grown, it has been almost entirely due to depopulation of the surrounding countryside. Industrial growth in large cities is cheap, so long as the capitalist proprietors are not forced to pay for the workers petrol, or funerals. In Australia decentralisation has had the nebulous status of a desirable idea for more than a century. But so powerful has the aversion been to the diminished capitalist (as distinct from human) profit it entails that the only significant planned decentralisation proceeding in Victoria at the moment is in effect an extension of the metropolitan area, to Westernport Bay, ecologically vulnerable and a natural pollution trap.

One of the few distinctions which Australia enjoys is an unwelcome and embarrassing one - that of being the world's most urbanised nation. A people accustomed to seek solutions overseas are faced with the need for original innovative thinking. We need to develop new terms and concepts; the 'airscape' of a region, its ability to clean itself up, must be a vital consideration in planning development. Sound ecological principles must determine which factories are situated where, manufacturing what.

There is no question of the danger of allowing vital decisions on the rate, nature and disposition of economic growth (or, indeed, on whether this growth should occur at all) to be made by ill-informed self-interested businessmen. If this power is not taken from them, and authoritative scientific planning bodies set up, this Earth faces a speedy and ignoble death. What Frederick Engels wrote almost one hundred years ago is still disturbingly true today:

"As individual capitalists are engaged in production and exchange for the sake of the immediate profit, only the nearest, most immediate results must first be taken into account. As long as the individual manufacturer or merchant sells a manufactured or purchased com-

modity with the usual coveted profit, he is satisfied and does not concern himself with what afterwards becomes of the commodity and its purchaser."

There are two key obstacles to a drastic reorganisation of production, both of them inherent in the capitalist system. The first is the unavailability of funds on the necessary scale; the second the unplanned character of capitalist production as a whole which precludes any genuine social planning of the kind needed to tackle a job of this size.

This is not to say that concessions cannot be won short of a real solution to the pollution problems. The allocation of social resources under capitalism is in large part decided by the relationship of forces between the ruling class and mass movements for social change. Here is a brief list of measures which should be demanded of the government.

1. Legislation forcing all industries to adopt the most effective methods developed at the present time to reduce polluting

2. Stop the Expressway!

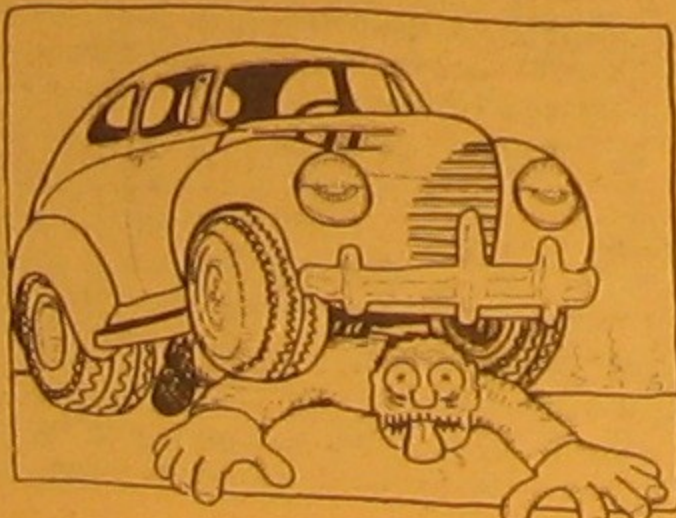
On Monday May 8, a group of people from Glebe held a public meeting in Glebe Town Hall in opposition to the proposed expressways through the area. The meeting was attended by about 60 people, and after general discussion calling for the formation of street committees to involve more residents, and for the upgrading of the railway system, two films were shown. The first of these was a locally-made one on the situation in the Leichhardt municipality, showing work already done on the expressway, and expressions of local opposition. In the second film, made in Carlton in Melbourne, successful community opposition to another project - the building of a warehouse on one of the few clear areas of land in the suburb was shown. In this case, union support of the residents was an important factor. On this experience the meeting at Glebe Town Hall decided to ask for support in the form of black-banning, etc, from the FED & FA, and the BLE, and also the AWU, who are the main unions involved in much of the work.

Direct Action interviewed Nick Origlass, Mayor of Leichhardt Council and leading figure in opposition to the proposed expressway to obtain details of the project and its continuing local opposition.

Q. Could you describe the history of opposition to the expressway plans?

A. The expressway project is 30 years old, and lately, particularly in regard to people affected, there have been sporadic expressions of opposition, eg. Balmain ALP branch on September, 1971 council election, two aldermen raised opposition to the expressway as a campaign plank. Of the six wards of Leichhardt Municipality, five are directly affected by the expressway. This opposition had a beneficial effect in that separate candidates also expressed their opposition to the projected expressways. One of the first decisions taken by the new council was to pass the Mayoral Minute of October 19, the essential point of which was that Council objected to the inclusion of the expressway in the Leichhardt Planning Scheme, and called for its elimination.

The next step was the calling of a public meeting on October 27, 1971, at Leichhardt Town Hall, by the council, to establish the degree of public reaction to the position council had adopted, a thousand people attended - 700 inside,



effects of production - a system of inspection by elected representatives of the working people and a 100 percent tax on profits of offenders.

2. Divert funds from military spending into research and development of effective antipollution measures.
3. Existing public transport systems should be made free and should be enlarged to meet the needs of residents of every city.

4. Expropriation of any industries that refuse to comply with antipollution standards. These industries should then be run as public facilities under democratic management by those who work there.

The ultimate solution to the ecology crisis, however, is evident now. If we wish to have an environment which can sustain life, we must wrest industry out of the hands of those who put profit before survival. The industrial plant that has been created by the labour of the workers themselves in the framework of a revolutionary transformation of society. The new society we must create will be rationally and democratically planned with the active political participation of the great mass of the society, to serve the needs of the human species and the environment we live in. That society is called socialism.

and 300 turned away. At this meeting it was stressed that the expressway would involve the demolition of 2,437 properties and a major uprooting of residents, would introduce the nuisance of noise at all hours, and blinding lighting, and give rise to dust, fumes and wind generation. World experience and opinion now rejects the concept of such projects as being no real solution to the traffic problem, and therefore an unconscious waste of public money. An important part of a rational alternative would be to introduce free, fast, clean and comfortable public transport. This would reduce the trend to private vehicle - mostly one occupant - transport, with all its anti-social, road-clogging and uneconomic aspects.

The meeting decided to elect a committee of four, together with the Mayor to seek audience with the Premier, to convey the public opposition to the scheme and demand its review. Further, an Anti-Expressway Committee was set up, to organise petitions and other forms of protest, and to carry on the campaign.

Q. How has the Committee carried on its campaign?

A. One line of approach that the committee has used is communication to the Department of Main Roads, (DMR) stressing the very evident lack of consultation and even public information commensurate with the scale and seriousness of the changes involved. A motion was submitted to Leichhardt Council by the committee before being forwarded to the DMR. In part, this submission to the council read:

"In order to help us evaluate the reasons for the heavy cost we as a community are being asked to pay we request answers to the specific points raised below.

1. A description of DMR internal structure with special details of how decisions to conduct major urban expressways are handled.
2. Titles of the traffic surveys used.
3. Details of other factors on which planning was based eg. effect of land usage, industrial patterns, social surveys, use of previous Australian or overseas experience, effect on communities in the path, aesthetic details, co-ordination with public transport, either road or rail.
4. Details of how the above information was analysed-including potential amortisation of public transport, and changes in traffic pattern expected both with and without the expressway system.
5. Full details of the economic rationale of the entire system, including the drastic social upheavals and also the potential benefits to be gained.
6. Details of other bodies consulted, such as the office of the Minister for Decentralisation, State Planning Authority, Dept. of Railways and local government bodies, and how submissions from such bodies were assessed and dealt with.
7. A list of what alternatives were consid-

ered, with special reference to those rejected.

8. Details of why these were rejected with comparisons as to the advantage of the present scheme.
9. A descriptive background to the present scheme - the general design philosophy, effect of completed scheme, type of traffic, performance details, specific construction type, why the by-pass scheme as opposed to slicing through communities was not used.
10. Effect of the construction program in disrupting traffic flows, and localities affected during construction.
11. System of land purchase used- legal powers, methods of assessing values, responsibility of the Department to people moved, assessment of financial and social cost of relocating families moved, and special groups of occupants, such as tenants and sub-tenants. What experience has been gained on previous expressways such as the Warringah in North Sydney, and the King's Cross development."

The Council has, as yet, received no answer to these vital questions.

Q. Apart from a direct approach to the authorities, what other things has the Committee been concerned with?

A. The purpose of the Anti-Expressway Committee is to support and direct local opposition to the expressway plans, while at the same time raising the larger social questions of public transport, the nature of planning and its purposes, and the defence of the environment. Accordingly the committee's actions are directed to initiating a multi-phase campaign as a first priority (1) to activate local residents (2) to demand a half to the plan pending a Royal Commission, or in the event of the government's refusal to establish one, to create a People's Commission.

Importantly, the committee has been unable to get public justification of the project - a good indication of the weakness of the DMR's position. The committee aims to keep on having

3. Stop the Bomb!

In full contempt for world public opinion, and more particularly the opposition of the people of the South Pacific, the French government intends to continue along its arrogant path by exploding another fission bomb on Mururoa Atoll. The tests are part of a program of atmospheric nuclear tests, the last of which was conducted in June last year.

This goes on despite the world-wide protests recorded in such countries as Peru, New Zealand, Fiji, Sweden and Australia as well as from the many small Pacific islands, one of which, Pitcairn is ready to evacuate if fallout levels are too high. And against the pleas from the overwhelming body of scientific thought that the tests pose a threat to health of the present and future generations - not merely in the immediate area but on a global scale. As striking is the fact that radioactive material has a cumulative effect so that each new test adds to the stockpile, so to speak, of destructive radioactivity.

The abundant evidence related to the dangers of the French adventure cannot be minimized. It has been proven with relative certainty that the incidence of diseases such as leukemia and cancer above the normal level increases approximately linearly with radio-active particle intensity. Allied with the increase in such diseases is the effect of this form of pollution on the reproductive process, causing mutation in the forthcoming generations. Consider this in light of the cumulative aspects of radioactive particles and the result is obvious. And if more detailed proof is required an examination of how two radio-active isotopes produced by the nuclear explosion, Strontium 90 and Cesium 137, attack the human body is illuminating. Strontium 90 concentrates in bone marrow, kills blood cells and causes leukemia, while Cesium 137 concentrates in any tissue causing chromosomal damage resulting in reproductive abnormality.

According to genetic scientist Dr. K. Dyer (The Australian 12.6.72) the results of the testing will be of a long term nature.

"The radiation is going to be around for 60 to 90 years - even longer in some places - and that's how long radiation induced genetic changes will be taking place in the population.

"But mutation characteristics inherited from these generations will go much

periodical happenings to retain a high level of publicity for opposition to these expressways. Meetings such as that called by the group of Glebe residents in Glebe Town Hall will add to the campaign that is already under way.

Q. Have any concrete alternatives to the expressway been proposed?

A. An alternative has been proposed to the expressways - a ring road further out of the city (perhaps from the other side of Gladstone Bridge to the University of NSW) connected to the city by several miles of rapid transit railway, say 90 mph and stopping every third of a mile. The upgrading of the railway system is necessary for the introduction of a rapid transit system. A number of rail-lines such as the Rozelle goods line could be used to feed into the city circuit. However the government has not done this because the DMR receives huge interest-free grants, while the Railways Department has to pay a large interest bill on top of running costs. This is more economic for them to concentrate on such things as expressways.

- To sum up; because of
1. Overseas experience
2. Their immediate inadequacy, even upon completion
3. The physical division they cause in communities
4. Pollution caused (noise, lights, dust, fumes)
5. The unnecessary dispossession of a great number of residents - the expressways are to be condemned.

There is no quarrel with engineers - they only build and design roads. But their plans are supposed to predominate over the wishes of the community. We are entering a period where people are more willing to protest, and so the campaign must be broadened to develop the concept of people exerting their right over projects concerning their very lives and the environment in which they live.

longer". And as for the argument regarding the "level of radiation" so often used by apologists for the test:

"Any dose of radiation, no matter how small, is going to result in genetic mutations"

Some data collected recently in Adelaide shows the completely non-scientific nature of the above argument used by the test protagonists in claiming "distance from the test site". The evidence shows an increase of 1,600% in the level of radio-activity in Adelaide drinking water since the French tests in 1971. The facts are quite conclusive.

Response to the imminent testing has taken many forms from strike action, economic boycott and terrorism to individuals sailing and parachuting into the test area in order to enforce a halt. Demonstrations in Australia have been seen in nearly all capital cities, the largest of which have been in Melbourne, Adelaide and in Sydney where 1,500 people marched to the French consulate on Thursday 22nd. The Adelaide demonstration amassed about 1,500 people who marched to the steps of parliament house demanding an end to the tests.

We can be quite clear however, that the most effective way to proceed is to organise mass-based opposition to the French endeavours with concomitant strike and black-ban action. Not the mealy-mouthed opposition proposed by the bourgeois politicians such as McMahon who reacts only because he thinks he has to in an election year.

Such arrogance by the French Government in the face of massive disgust, such flippancy where the lives of human beings are concerned, cannot be tolerated.

The development of nuclear weapons in capitalist society today can be seen as flowing from the need to control and inhibit the USSR, China and aim the colonial revolution. It is also an adjunct to the permanent arms economy, a necessary feature of a neo-capitalist economy. Like all nuclear testing and "muscle-flexing" by the capitalist powers this action by the French must be vigorously opposed.

As we can see time and time again the struggle against pollution, in all of its forms is integrally tied with the outcome of the struggle for socialism. To wrest the powerful productive apparatus out of the blood-stained hands of the mad-dog

bourgeoisie is an essential prerequisite not only for the liberation of humankind but also for its physical survival. With the threat of nuclear holocaust or an irreversible destruction of the environment hovering above us we cannot take this lightly. Especially since the present productive apparatus, if turned away from

an object of bourgeois caprice into a tool for the welfare of all human beings, provides the basis for a rational society that can and will satisfy all human needs. We can clearly see what is happening now with capitalism irrationally spending vast amounts of money on what is objectively destructive waste.

4. Stop the Concorde!

Demonstrators protesting the destruction of the environment saw the object of their protest, the prototype of the Anglo-French Concorde touchdown at Sydney's Kingsford Smith airport on June 17. The supersonic transport aircraft toured Australia as part of an international publicity campaign launched by the manufacturers in an attempt to salvage the venture from economic disaster. So for its only buyers have been BOAC and Air France whose respective countries have been trapped in its economic snare.

From the beginning this experiment represented a real danger to the world's ecological system. Yet the project continued. This was essentially for two reasons.

- 1) Firstly, the joint Anglo-French agreement to manufacture the Concorde was part of the price Britain had to pay for entry into the European Economic Community.
- 2) Secondly, the Concorde was to be a showpiece allowing European Capitalism to compete with the United States and the planned economies of workers states.

Such wasteful production in the face of excruciating poverty throughout two-thirds of the world is the hideous outcome of the continuance of the capitalist system and the "free competition". The frightening aspect of this piece of bourgeois extravagance is the potential danger to the environment inherent in its use - the effects of its fifty mile wide sonic boom and the effusion from its engines.

There has been limited scientific research into the total effects of sonic boom. However, it is evident from the exposures made by science so far that the effects are quite severe, primarily on human and animal life as well as on buildings. Hence the Concorde is required to fly at supersonic speeds only over so-called "uninhabited" areas. Of course, this neglects the fact that the "uninhabited" areas are in fact inhabited by animal life or by small isolated concentrations of humans living in obscure places. Perhaps they don't count. The obvious conclusion however, is that flights at supersonic speeds over these areas would mean a direct danger to human beings and ecological disruption of the animal population.

As far as the pollution aspect goes it has been extensively documented that the nitrogen oxides thrust into the atmosphere

and stratosphere by the Concorde exhausts could break down the ozone layer at the stratosphere. By breaking down the ozone layer some quantities of ultra-violet light usually absorbed in this area, could reach the surface of the earth. This would result in increases in birth abnormality and the incidence of cancer.

Both phenomena would have harmful consequences for the earth's ecology and add to the damage already done by the abuse of technology. The world's environment is not to be toyed with in this manner as the results of ecological damage could well pose the question of survival for the human race.

Australia's position in the Concorde furore is in the nature of a test case. If the Australian government grants permission for supersonic land overflight corridors across Australia and allows Qantas to purchase the Concorde, a serious precedent would be set. For, on the one hand, without permission for supersonic land overflight corridors the plane will not be sold. And on the other, without the cross-Pacific runs associated with the Qantas purchase the plane would not sell. This is for the reason that the purchase would imply reciprocal landing rights in Australia, hence forcing other airlines to compete with supersonic flight.

Whilst the debate over supersonic flight continues the Soviet Union should not escape condemnation. Even before the Concorde left the ground a Russian aircraft, the TV-144, had been flying at supersonic speed. This is a further indictment of the nature of the bureaucratic caste which rules the first workers state. By production of what is nothing more than a dangerous showpiece the Soviet bureaucrats have shown that their motives are craven self-interest as opposed to the welfare of the working class within and without the Soviet Union.

The immense amount of money and resources spent on this bureaucrats luxury stands in glaring contrast to the mere pittance given to the Vietnamese liberation fighters who have to withstand the savage onslaught of US imperialism. We know where the interests of this caste lie!

Moralizing about the environmental crisis is not enough. Unless the question of socialism is posed - the question of a rational society, controlled by the producers and producing of the needs of society and not big business - then the environmental question has no answer.



RAIL STRIKE SOLD OUT TO ARBITRATION

By Steve Painter

The recent indefinite rail strike was a part of a long campaign by the Australian Federated Union of Locomotive Engineers (AFULE), and to a lesser extent the other railway unions, for long overdue pay rises. As long ago as August 4 and 5 last year, a 48 hour strike took place over their claims. That strike resulted in interim pay increases of \$6 per week for engine drivers, \$4.50 per week for firemen and a 15% increase in penalty rates for night work. The AFULE claim was for a \$20.60 rise for engine drivers, a \$17.50 increase for firemen, a 25% increase in night penalty rates and an extra weeks holiday pay as a bonus each year. The claim had been before the various state railway commissioners since last year, and it had been the intransigence of the commissioners and their consistent attempts to force the union to work through the arbitration commission which forced the union to take strike action.

A 24 hour strike on the issue took place on April 12 and since that time further strike action has been delayed several times in order to give the commissioners time to consider the AFULE claims. On May 30, the AFULE gave the commissioners until the following Friday to make a satisfactory offer, if they wished to avert strike action. At that time a union official told the press that if the commissioners told the union to go to arbitration strike action appeared to be inevitable, and the union's federal office had been given power by mass meetings to call lightning strikes at any time. At that stage it seemed clear that the AFULE leadership was convinced that they could not achieve anything through the arbitration commission and were firmly

opposed to dealing through that body.

On June 6, the leadership of the AFULE conferred to discuss replies from the state railways commissioners and decided to call an indefinite strike starting the next day. Of course this caused a furore, with the press exploiting to the full arbitration commissioner Neil's demagogic statement that the union was acting irresponsibly and that the public had a right to be angry. It seemed that a full scale confrontation between the commissioners and the union was in the making. Neither was prepared to give an inch; a union official in announcing the strike said, "we are finished with arbitration" and went on to say that direct negotiations were the only way, while the NSW commissioner C.V. May had said earlier: "The final settlement of the dispute must be by arbitration within the confines of the commission."

Almost immediately the strike began, the ACTU intervened to try to end it. Firstly through ACTU secretary H.J. Souter and then later through the president, R. Hawke, the ACTU had talks with the union leaders. As the strike progressed it became increasingly clear that the ACTU was pressuring the AFULE leadership to return to work and to submit their claims to arbitration. The reasons for this are not difficult to discern: this is an election year and barring some major reversal of present trends, the ALP seems certain to win. The Liberal Party, floundering in the morass of its past mistakes has been reduced to making demagogic utterances about law and order - and "industrial lawlessness." At this stage it is in the interests of the right-wing ALP leadership and also in Hawke's

interests to keep industrial unrest to a minimum until after the elections.

The AFULE, after the strike had lasted six days, eventually agreed to return to work, submitting to arbitration the claim for an increase in night penalty rates, and laying aside for the present, the wage claims. Such a settlement seems impossible to explain, given the union officials' and the rank and file's earlier determination to fight the

VIC YLA CONFERENCE

By Peter Connor

The Victorian Young Labor Association is a valuable part of the ALP's electoral machine and a training ground for future parliamentarians. As such it contains a large number out-and-out reformists; and these people constitute the present leadership, which came to power by a narrow majority in February 1971.

But the current youth radicalisation has deeply affected the YLA. This is evidenced by the many left turns which the reformist leadership has had to make to contain and consolidate the rank and file. This has meant that, while aligning itself with the Right and Centre in the ALP, the YLA leadership has taken up Socialist Left policies and pushed them in the YLA itself. There is very little danger in this practice as YLA policy motions rarely see the light of day in the ALP. In this way the leadership was able to consolidate and build on its majority. The SL forces in the YLA could bring up any number of radical policies only to find the right wing supporting them - in most cases, dishonestly. Again, the S.L. forces had a history of bureaucracy to live down so that, quite wrongly, factional struggles took the appearance of the "bureaucratic" left versus the "democratic" left.

However the SL forces took the initiative at the February Conference earlier this year by moving that the YLA adopt an ideological programme to guide its activity. Eventually, two left-wing programmes were proposed. In response to this challenge, the leadership excreted "The Libertarian Left Manifesto for the YLA". Despite pretensions to materialism - "economic determinism" - and despite a liberal spread of left rhetoric, this document exposes the complete bank-

rupty of reformism. The central thrust of the manifesto was the historically-discredited idea of the Parliamentary road to Socialism. During pre-conference discussions, the libertarian lefties posed two main arguments.

Firstly, they argued, pointing to the Socialist bureaucracies in the workers' states, that, although the Parliamentary Road to Socialism had never worked, neither had Revolutions. But when confronted with the Marxist analysis of the Socialist bureaucracies they fell strangely silent.

By Steve Painter

Secondly, they argued that capitalism has become so adaptable that there will not be any more economic crises, leading to revolutionary situations. The "Manifesto" itself shows up the inconsistency of this argument by explaining that "the present crisis" will be resolved "at the expense of the working class" - with the help, it could have added, of the reformist leadership of the YLA. Not one proposal (not one!) to combat the present attacks being launched on the working class.

This piece of drivel was adopted at the YLA's June Conference. It restricts YLA members to canvassing for an ALP Government and to debating 'radical' motions among themselves. However, for the first time since 1971, the right wing lost votes to the Socialist Left. This process cannot help but continue as the complete hypocrisy of the right wing becomes clearer.

Another healthy sign was the throwing-out of a right wing resolution on Vietnam which called on "both sides" to cease acts of aggression. In its place a resolution calling for the total, cessation of aid to the puppet South Vietnamese regime was passed.

against the Teachers' Federation, so far this campaign has included a court action against union organiser Doris Jobling and disciplinary action against M. Graham, secretary of the Illawarra Teachers' Federation, as well as fines against individual teachers.

Unable to repress the wave of teacher militancy with individual victimisations which have in almost every case been met with united opposition from the teachers, the NSW government is being forced to take increasingly drastic - and desperate - action.

NSW GOVT VS TEACHERS

By Steve Painter

In its latest attempt to hold down the rising militancy among teachers, the NSW Public Service Board has threatened to call for deregistration of the Teachers' Federation. Since the beginning of the school year, action by teachers to secure government action on the appalling conditions in some schools and to force adjustments, including the employment of more teachers, to give teachers reasonable working hours, has led to victimisation of many teachers, including sackings, threatened sackings, fines and other disciplinary actions. The government has launched a campaign

BRISBANE WORKERS SIT-IN

By Mike Armstrong

600 workers have staged a sit-in at the Pillar-Naco factory in Brisbane. The sit-in was organised to protest against the projected sacking of 160 workers at the factory. When 91 of these workers were given notice, the sit-in began, with a blockade being organised to prevent trucks from entering. The sit-in, including

the workers officially sacked, will continue indefinitely.

The company says that the sackings were made necessary by declining export orders, but the workers say that tools which they have made are being sent to Jamaica to be used in a new factory there, using cheaper labour.

In this period of economic downturn for capitalism, international capitalist companies are increasingly seeking to maintain their profit margins by moving their factories to underdeveloped areas where labour costs only a fraction of what it costs in industrialised areas. This leads to an attack on the conditions of workers in the developed areas as well as increasing imperialist interference in the affairs of the underdeveloped areas.

LATROBE WORKERS FIGHT FOR 35 HOUR WEEK

By Andrew Jamieson

The capitalists offensive against the working class is in full swing at Yallourn in the La-Trobe Valley, Victoria. About 1,200 construction workers were laid off in retaliation to the decision on Yallourn W. Power Station to work a 35 hour week. However it isn't just a simple case of laying off workers because "they didn't comply with the 40 hour agreement they entered"; it directly involved issues of productivity. To ensure that profits aren't lost and to ensure that they can maintain a political hegemony over the working class, the capitalists must assert their "right" to increase productivity and to use redundancy unemployment and sackings as a baton to keep the Yallourn workers servile.

The situation at La Trobe has special characteristics which have and will play a unique role as the struggle unfolds. La Trobe plays an important part in supplying the states electricity and was set up just for this purpose and many lures were used to entice workers to settle in the area - good housing, good pay, better living conditions etc. However, as the hydro-electric schemes in the Snowy Mountains were developed, the electricity supply for Victoria was coming more and more from the giant complexes in the Great Dividing Range and as coal diminished in La Trobe, conditions at La Trobe deteriorated.

Even the new power plant at Hazeldean didn't alleviate the growing bad housing and living conditions, high living costs, pollution etc. Unemployment in the area rose (up 6% since 1968) and many families were tied down with hire purchase and mortgage debts.

These were the general conditions in which the La Trobe workers lived under and there was growing discontent and unrest which sparked off power stoppages last year that blacked out most of the State. The beginning of the year was marked by a general stoppage on the power stations to strike for four weeks annual leave, a claim which the unions first brought up over 9 years ago.

The State Government seizing on this issue used the bourgeois press to politically isolate the striking La Trobe workers. They themselves imposed power restrictions when other power was available to the State through other power stations. The capitalists were right with Bolte in seizing the opportunity to both isolate the SEC workers and to lay off and sack many thousands of workers as "they couldn't operate factories under the power cuts". However this was just a facade for many workers were not re-employed once the strike was beaten. The real reason for the lay-offs was that it was no longer profitable to employ under the conditions of the international recession and they had to attack the working class by creating unemployment and therefore reserve pools of labour.

The strike itself was beaten by the role that Hawke and others around him

played. Hawke led the workers into arbitration an instrument of capitalism which cannot serve the interests of the working people. He made secret deals with the Arbitrator and succeeded in confusing the La-Trobe workers to the extent of compromises and sell-outs. (for full coverage see Direct Action 15)

Conditions remained poor at La Trobe and Hawke couldn't contain the rising militancy for as long as he would have liked - until the Federal Election. Indeed the latest developments in La Trobe threaten embarrassment for the electoral chances of the Australian Labour Party. It must also threaten Hawke's position as the "middle man" if he cannot effectively control the wave of unrest again. Yallourn workers have seen him once and they are not so likely to accept him again if the situation flares to the extent it did in February this year.

At the present stage, the best way forward for the strikers is to: 1. Pressure unions to launch a huge campaign in defense of the 35 hour working week and to expose the reasons behind the sacking of 1,200 workers. In this way educate and create an understanding through the whole of the working class. 2. Organize teams to speak directly to other co-workers and enable them to solidarize with the efforts of resistance in Yallourn W Power Station against lay-offs. 3. Win support amongst all Yallourn and La Trobe workers, attempting to move them on a class solidarity way, e.g., organising a power strike, pickets against scabbing at Yallourn W and through this a strike committee with

where the tea breaks were usually held (the time and motion expert must have had a real ball). All to save productivity. So the workers took to working 35 hours themselves, and as could be expected, the lay off notices were sent to 1200 construction workers. A meeting was held to discuss the sackings on June 19 and this was attended by about 1,000 workers. At this meeting motions were passed condemning the Metal Trades Industry Association, the SEC and the 19 Contractors running Yallourn W. and another motion demanding withdrawal of the notices within 48 hours, and meaningful negotiations set up to discuss the log of claims. A small minority of around 30 to 40 workers wanted to continue to work a 40 hour week to help persuade the employers to negotiate the claims. However they were howled down and it was over

whelmingly resolved to continue with the 35 hour week until a meeting held on Thursday June 22 to discuss further proposals of action.

they were howled down and it was over

effective propaganda material to coordinate La Trobe Valley action. 4. Don't be misled by Hawke and other unionists who try to channel militancy into arbitration - an instrument of the capitalists. They only help to serve confusion and sell-outs.

English miners have shown the way by their recent strike which they won through organizing an effective counter to "public opinion" in the capitalists' press and through organizing other sectors of the working class in support of their just struggle. They refused to compromise or be sold-out!

NO LAYOFFS ! A RIGHT TO FULL EMPLOYMENT !

NO REDUNDANCIES ! FOR A 35 HOUR WORKING WEEK AND FOUR WEEKS ANNUAL LEAVE !

FULL SUPPORT TO THE SACKED WORKERS FROM THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS !

THE RIGHT TO HIRE AND FIRE TO BE CONTROLLED BY WORKERS THEMSELVES!

PUBLIC SERVICE 7.5%

By Andrew Jamieson

Commonwealth Public Servants were granted a 7.5% increase in salaries when the Arbitrator handed down his decision on June 14. This decision climaxed (or anti-climaxed depending upon how much you value 7.5%) the few months of disputes and haggles between the Federal Government and the Public Service Board on the one side, and the Public Service unions, in particular the Administrative and Clerical Officers Association (ACO), on the other side.

As was reported in an earlier DA, the ACOA sponsored a mass meeting in retaliation to the Governments knock back of a 9% wage increase and at this meeting the only "militancy" was a simple motion condemning the Governments action. The purpose of the meeting had a dual character. Firstly the union officials had to meet the growing unrest in the membership and in the white collar sector as a whole. It attempted to show the members it was prepared to do something in response to the Liberal-CP coalition's 4.6% wage offer and secondly it had to be seen dampening and channelling militancy into dead ends, blind alleys and arbitration - that is why the mass lunch-hour meeting proposed no other action bar going to arbitration; ie. it was willing to place its entire case in the hands of arbitration which has proven time and time again it does not grant the demands of workers.

The union bureaucrats have an uncanny sense in smelling out militancy in its ranks and, to preserve their positions, they propose quiescent measures that only lead to compromise and sell-outs of the members real needs. The Public Service unionists can see what is happening in other white-collar unions such as the Municipal Officers Association and the Australian Bank Officials Association and they know that this militancy can creep in and threaten their own politics and power.

In fact the 7.5% decision confirms that the ACOA and similar unions are prepared to compromise. This miserable amount was below the 9% originally sought and is still below other salary conditions in the white collar work-force. McMahon, Lynch and the PSB ought to have been contented with the outcome, for this complies with their general policy of (1) hitting the working class with the current capitalist offensive and (2) disarming militancy through the management of the union officials. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that ACOA still hasn't proposed any action

on Lynch's proposed anti union legislation).

The wages themselves still remain at a fairly low level when compared to the community as a whole - even sections of the "blue-collar" work-force. This is not just an exceptional Australian situation but a situation which is becoming generalized in the Western capitalist hemisphere.

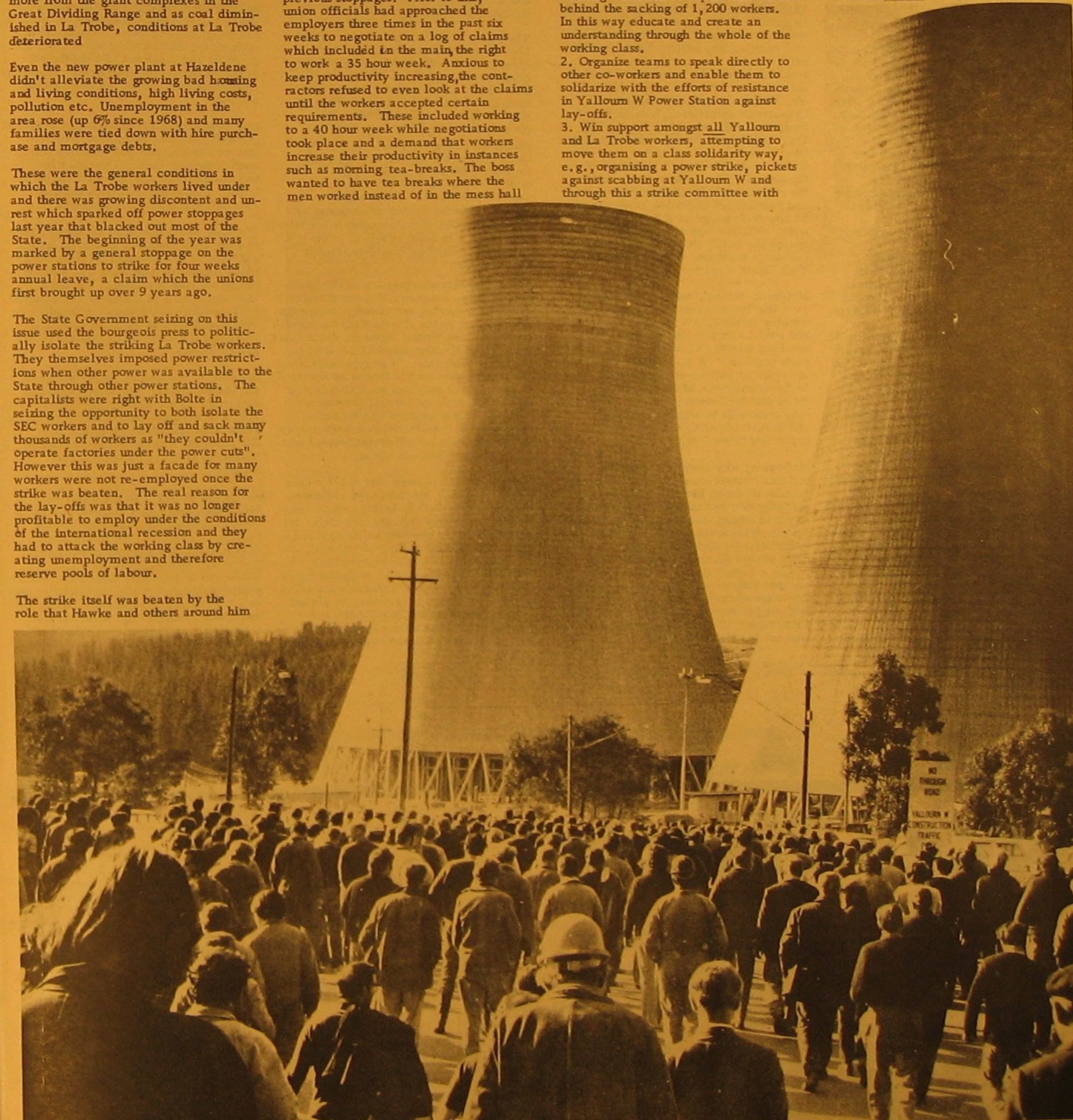
The wage differentiation between white and blue collar workers is decreasing and this is generally shown by an increase in union consciousness in the white collar sector (viz. ABOA and the MOA). As technology surges ahead and its social consequences hits new layers of society, Marx's prediction that more and more people would be drawn into the labour market is becoming increasingly fulfilled. More skilled workers are needed to run machinery and more technicians and engineers are required to perform tasks which, traditionally, have not been their general concern ie. becoming over-specialised in the cells of the capitalist structure and increasingly alienated from the means of production. These engineers (and clerks can be included in this category) have to sell their knowledge, their intellectual labour, on the labour market just as their blue-collar counterparts have had to for hundreds of years. Graduate employment (or unemployment) is an example of the competition that exists when students leave University - they have to pool their labour. Engineers, clerks have even less chance entering the administrative strata and becoming the future capitalist class. For instance in the PS very few clerks "make it to the top" as the structure is extremely bureaucratic. Women because of the institutionalized sexism in capitalist society, have an even poorer show.

It is within this general context and the international economic recession and its effects on the working conditions in each capitalist state that the 7.5% salary increase must be viewed.

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McGovern Shows Its Real Face

"The goal of the American political system is to contain protest and rage within the electoral process, thus keeping it from bursting into the streets as a revolution," wrote New York Times analyst R.W. Apple Jr. May 5. "The goal of the (Democratic and Republican) parties is to provide a vehicle for such protest..."

The kind of "vehicle" Apple has in mind, of course, is not one that provides for the massive expression of desires for social change but in fact precisely the opposite - drowning those desires in the ballot boxes of the two parties that serve as the political mainstays of capitalist oppression at home and imperialism abroad. In a country like the United States, where there is neither a mass left-wing party nor a labor party, this trick can be accomplished by feeding the widespread illusions of the discontented that fundamental change is possible within the existing capitalist "two-party" system.

In the current presidential election campaign, the candidate who is most effectively nourishing these illusions is the liberal Democratic senator from the state of South Dakota, George McGovern.

McGovern's campaign for the Democratic party nomination, which was announced as early as January 1971, has been organized and carried to success in state after state without the backing of much of the official party machine. Instead, it has largely relied on a small army of hard-working, inexperienced young people, most of whom have been attracted to his campaign by McGovern's image as an antiestablishment figure and critic of the Vietnam war. Few political pundits gave the senator more than a slim chance of actually winning the nomination prior to the first primary election last March. But McGovern was already the front-runner by the time of his crucial victory in the June 6 California primary over the other major contender, Hubert H. Humphrey. He now has a total of 950 committed delegate votes, with 1,509 needed for nomination and hundreds of delegate votes still to be decided. It is now considered quite possible that McGo-

vern will win the nomination on the first ballot at the Democratic party's national convention in Miami July 10-13.

Now that McGovern smells success in his quest, he is taking steps to make his "antiestablishment" campaign acceptable to sections of the capitalist class and to those who run or influence the Democratic party - party bosses, Southern Dixiecrats - and to the conservative labor bureaucrats who are expected to hustle the votes in November. "The closer Mr. McGovern comes to winning the Democratic nomination," wrote James Naughton in the New York Times May 19, "the more he looks, acts and sounds like a conventional politician." Having first attracted the support of critics of the system - among them many active in the antiwar, Black, Chicano, women's, and homosexual liberation movements - he now feels secure in shifting to the right. "Our strategy all along was to co-opt the left," observed McGovern's campaign manager, Gary Hart. (New York Times Magazine, May 14.)

McGovern recently told journalists that even the "most committed idealists" working on his behalf "would understand and would welcome any success I have in reaching a better relationship with the party regulars." A prerequisite for success in capitalist politics is compromise. But in the compromise of his supporters' views that McGovern is rushing to work out, there will be winners and losers - and in such wheeling and dealing, the capitalists never lose.

McGovern, who sometimes describes himself as a "conservative," has been energetically devoting himself recently to shedding the "radical" image he has acquired among conservatives and even among some on the left. He told an interviewer in Michigan in May: "I don't accept the notion that I'm a left winger. I don't think it's left wing to say that corporations ought to pay their fair share of taxes. I don't think it's left wing to say we ought to end the war. I don't think it's left wing to say people who are hungry ought to be fed, people

who are jobless ought to have jobs."

McGovern earned his image as a "peace" candidate in spite of the fact that he voted for the Tonkin Gulf resolution that gave Lyndon Johnson a green light in escalating the war in 1964 and in spite of the fact that he voted for appropriations for the Vietnam war as late as 1969. He promises to end the war three months after being elected, and has found his main base of support among those who want to see the United States get out of Indochina.

In the past McGovern has lent his support to the mass demonstrations of the antiwar movement. This year, however, he refused to endorse or speak at the April 22 protests, in spite of the urgency surrounding them in view of the just-announced step-up in U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. "I used to participate in those demonstrations, as you know," McGovern hypocritically explained. "But I've decided the best thing I can do now is run for the Presidency so I can speak out every day, not just on April 22". His campaign headquarters in Boston refused to allow April 22 literature to be displayed there.

Even Nixon's decision to mine the harbors of North Vietnam could not move this "peace" candidate to support protest demonstrations. "Let us not react in blind fury and dangerous demonstrations," he pontificated, "but let us work quietly and firmly to put forward in 1972 a new agenda of peace - and end at long last the futile and destructive war in Southeast Asia."

The war is not the only issue on which McGovern has begun to demonstrate his real views. His manoeuvring on the question of abortion has been particularly adroit. Thousands of women have been attracted to his campaign because they thought he supported full rights for women. It must be said that the candidate encouraged them in this belief. He put out buttons with his name together with the women's rights symbol. And his New York headquarters published a leaflet aimed at women claiming among other things that "to Senator McGovern abortion is a woman's right. He is in favor of repeal of all abortion laws and he condemns forced sterilizations."

During the Nebraska primary at the beginning of May, however, McGovern responded to the mounting antiabortion campaign spearheaded by the Roman Catholic church throughout the United States by stating that the issue of abortion should be left up to the states to decide: "I simply don't think the federal government should be involved at all. I have proposed no action in this field. As president I would propose no action. This is an issue in which the state has sole jurisdiction. I don't propose to enter this area." This position is identical to that of Richard Nixon.

McGovern has acquired part of his reform image by giving his campaign audiences the impression that he favors radical tax reform that would soak the super-rich. He has come to be identified with such concepts as an income ceiling of \$50,000, a 100 percent tax on inheritances over \$50,000, and elimination or tightening of investment tax credits and depletion allowances. On May 22, however, he placed an advertisement in the Wall Street Journal explaining to its capitalist readers that he has not proposed any of these steps.

and while he "supports" tax reform, he reminds the rich who now benefit from generous tax loopholes that it is only way; thus, anything the candidate proposes is designed more to win votes than anything else.

McGovern also reminds the Wall Street bankers that his intentions are only to serve them and their system better: "In travelling about the country, I have found the vast majority of Americans in a rage against the injustices of our present tax system. I believe that their anger is justified and, if not soon rectified, represents a threat to the free-enterprise system in which you and I so strongly believe."

Early in the primary season, McGovern dismissed the issue of school busing to bring about racial integration - an issue the racist demagogue George Wallace has manipulated to considerable advantage - as "number 92" on his list of issues. At other times he endorsed busing. But during the May primary in Michigan, where the antibusing movement is strong, he publicly rejected the cross-busing of children between white suburbs. Following his California primary victory, liberal McGovern has spoken of offering Wallace a post in a McGovern cabinet. Might he have in mind the post of secretary of health, education, and welfare?

The opportunist inconsistencies of McGovern's positions are part of the strategy of American politicians attempting to weave a net big enough to catch the maximum number of votes. This requires the candidate to water down his positions and speak out of both sides of his mouth at the same time. McGovern apparently feels he has not done enough of this.

One commentator compared McGovern's problem with that of another Democratic contender, Edmund Muskie, this way: "Muskie's problem was that he was clearly seen as a guy with vague positions. McGovern has been vaguely seen as a guy with clear positions."

The only candidates who are clearly seen to have clear positions on all the issues are those of the Socialist Workers party: Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice president. The SWP announced their candidacies at its August 1971 national convention. Immediately they began what is the most ambitious and energetic election campaign in the party's history.

In addition to speaking tours throughout the United States, they have combined speaking with factfinding tours abroad - Pulley to Northern Ireland and to military bases in Europe where he talked with GIs about the war and Black liberation; Jenness to several countries in Latin America.

Jenness and Pulley, in contrast to McGovern, have used their campaign to build the mass movements for social change. They stress the importance of remaining independent of capitalist parties and attack the illusion that McGovern or any other liberal can accomplish meaningful change "within the system." Even before he has the Democratic nomination wrapped up, McGovern is beginning to demonstrate the truth of what they say.

The Economic Situation & Our Perspectives

The following article is the general line of a document adopted at the National Committee meeting of the Socialist Workers League held June 17-18. Perspectives were also set for work in the Women's Liberation and Antiwar Movements as well as perspectives for the coming Federal Elections and our orientation towards the ALP.

The present trend in the economy generally confirms the analysis developed in our press and documents over the last period. The Australian situation remains closely linked to the growing long-term crisis of international capitalism. The 25-30 year boom of the post war period has come to an end, and a long term period of decline has set in, characterised by much slower growth rates and ever deepening recessions with weaker recoveries. And, as Mandel has stated, this long term cycle will pose the question of workers power if only an adequate socialist leadership can be provided. It can also result in massive defeats, with capitalism seeking to resolve its structural crisis on the workers' flesh and bones.

The recent period has not shown evidence of the apocalyptic depression which Labour Press continually looks forward to. The world bourgeoisie will use all the weapons at its disposal, even short term small concessions so long as it can preserve its overall position. The victory of the British miners is an example. However, as this example shows, in this period gains can be won by the working class only by a strong and united struggle. The capitalist class, faced with falling profit rates is attempting to permanently shackle and defeat the workers through high unemployment, inflation and smashing the union movement and worker militancy.

The world economic situation remains unstable. The money market oscillates in response to speculation. Gold prices recently jumped \$2 an ounce within a few minutes in response to suggestions of a deal between the US and the Soviet Union on raising the official price. This reflects the fact that imperialism is attempting to stabilise itself by expanding trading and economic-political relations with the workers states who appear happy to oblige. The Soviet Union state insurance corporation recently agreed to underwrite US investments against nationalisation in Third World countries.

The growing competition between the big capitalist countries is reflected in US hostility to the European Common Market moves to strengthen its position by linking up with nearby countries outside the EEC such as Algeria and Yugoslavia. The Japanese bourgeoisie is feeling the pinch of US economic measures.

These international developments are reflected in Australia: CSR and BHP have recently made large export deals with China, Australian mini-imperialism in New Guinea, Fiji, Indonesia, etc. is another attempt to stabilise their position by the Australian capitalists (eg., recent deals with Indonesia by BHP and ICI). However, evidence is ambiguous on the extent to which the Australian bourgeoisie is succeeding in working out its problems at the expense of the workers. Ford announced increased sales in the last period, while GMH declined (and closed their plant in WA). Total retail sales of all goods for the March quarter were slightly up on the December quarter of last year. BHP and a Japanese company both announced plans for new steel plants. Yet APM proposed significant cuts in production. The Victorian Chamber of Manufacturers warned of a possible depression in that state if tariffs were reduced.

The month of May brought an export record of \$494 million. Wool sales are up and wheat stocks are down. There was a record trading surplus in May, but imports were down 10% on last year. The Financial Review labels the boom in exports "perilous". It points out (June 9) that this produces an inflationary pressure and further enriches exporters at the expense of the workers. The Financial Review is clearly worried about the effects of this impoverishment on workers' militancy. The Liberal government's measures have probably produced some short term counter to the recession, but the long term trend is still negative for them. They hope the situation will last out until November at least. Business confidence continues to be low.

The last few months have continued to see a rise in militancy amongst Australian workers. A spate of strikes, most recently among the railway workers, oil industry workers, Latrobe Valley construction workers associated with container transport have all been characterised by strong rank and file militancy which has pressured the union bureaucrats. In the case of the Latrobe Valley construction workers, their action was spontaneous and initially out of the control of the union leaders. It also began to raise the questions of workers control through their decision to work only 3 hours on one day each week, ie. to take a 35 hour week themselves without waiting for the bosses say so. The Clutha miners dispute was another case where rank and file initiative was strongly evident. Union leaders feel very threatened and are forced to take verbal action, although as usual they have immediately set about defusing the situation.

The campaign for the 35 hour week has become a central focus. Clearly, as we have consistently maintained in our set of demands to fight the bosses' offensive, workers see the 35 hour week without loss of pay as a means of combatting unemployment through work sharing, while increasing overtime as a means of responding to even higher prices. It is a never-ending, losing battle. The Age reported that average weekly earnings fell \$7.40 in Victoria during the March quarter - no doubt due to unemployment and reduced overtime. Real living standards are declining. Workers and their families are feeling the pinch. Everything is more expensive (eg. 6% rise in the cost of new houses during the last year in Victoria) The national wage case for a \$2 rise represents virtually a wage freeze. Unemployment continues to rise, but rather slowly, and there are some signs of a recovery in this sphere.

The issue of unemployment has not,

unfortunately, become as central as could have been hoped. The isolation of unemployed workers and the lack of responsibility towards them shown by the unions has tended to defuse any mass campaign on this issue so far. It is still too early to see a general move out of trade union consciousness and a rejection of the reformism of the ALP leadership. Thus it is essential for socialists to work to exploit and deepen left differentiations within the ALP, and develop the independent mass movements which will, as occurred in Victoria, influence these differentiations.

The Australian bourgeoisie is increasingly split over two issues: (1) on its attitude to foreign capital and (2) on the approach to shackling the unions.

On the first issue the ITT-Frozen Foods, Travelodge, etc. takeover bids caused a lot of weeping over the threat to national capital, and brought out chauvinist responses from all quarters, including most of the left apart from us.

This conflict within the Australian bourgeoisie is clearly going to deepen as the takeovers increase (Australian firms are fair game for idle capital in the present world situation). The Treasury White Paper represented a fairly sane attitude from the point of view of the system as a whole.

The clear differentiation between our analysis and the class collaborationism of the Socialists opens up the prospect for us of influencing workers who really cannot see the difference between the exploitation of a US, Japanese or Australian boss.

On the question of shackling the workers, employers are divided over whether to make use of the arbitration system and penal powers to directly crush the unions, or to rely on what Action (the Victorian Socialist Left paper) calls consent agreements achieved by collective bargaining. The attitudes of the Chamber of Manufacturers and the Metal Trades Industries Association reflect these divisions. One section of employers are willing to back both union amalgamations and even a Labor government if industrial harmony is ensured.

Within the labor movement Hawke and the trade union bureaucrats as well as Whitlam and his crew do everything they can to maintain this industrial harmony. Hawke's clear attempt to defuse the railways dispute, his blatant sellout over the National Wage Case and so on are beginning to tarnish his image as a "left" with many workers.

The ACTU has clearly shown itself quite unwilling to lead the workers in a struggle for the 35 hour week or for any significant improvement in wages. This will produce in the long run a vacuum for rank and file militancy and revolutionary leadership to move into, particularly as the Stalinist union leaders have also continually capitulated. But Hawke is still able to redirect most workers into the right channels, and to turn them back towards a Labor government for solutions.

Meanwhile ALP leaders have clearly stated what is to be expected from their administration. Cameron tries to contain the struggle for the 35 hour week by referring to an unmanageable case for it in certain industries only. Crean spouts about the red herring of a 4 day week, and the need to work out a solution favourable to both employees and employers. Workers struggle will continue to increase in the next period even as the labour leaders become more desperate to control it. But the task of breaking workers from these leaders is a big one and cannot be shortcut. While the ALP remains the party of the trade unions and the working class it is the main road to influencing the political consciousness of the workers. Only by the long term project of building a revolutionary socialist opposition in that party can we hope to break the workers from their reformist misleadership.

Perspectives

1. In the heightened political atmosphere of the election period socialists should intervene in the ALP campaign to expose the sellouts of Hawke and the ALP politicians and stress the need to unite around demands which seek to turn back the employers' offensive. Such demands should include the 35 hour week on full pay; equal pay for women now; pay increases adjusted to COL increases; no redundancies; no productivity deals; a guaranteed weekly wage for all; an end to all penal powers; no limits on the right to strike; full rights for apprentices.

2. The 35 hour week campaign appears to be a central focus in this period. Socialists should seek to raise political issues, stressing the need for unity and rank and file initiative. Workers control actions should be supported. Rank and file committees should press for acceptance of these demands.

3. Within the ALP, particularly in the SL in Victoria, socialists should work for a programme of democratic and transitional demands. Given the possibility of action being taken against the left in Victoria in particular, whether or not Labor wins in November, it becomes especially important to influence as many militants as possible in this direction.

4. Socialists should attempt to exploit the disarray and class collaborationism of the Stalinist labour leaders to influence militants with our propaganda.

5. It must not be assumed that the present trade union militancy will necessarily express itself as a mass politicisation or in general upheaval. Strike action has been confined to certain sections so far (in fact, the total number of strikes was less in the March quarter of this year than in the same period of 1971). It is necessary to work to build the political mass movements (antiwar, women's liberation, blacks, etc.) as part of the dialectic of building the revolutionary left in the current period and politicising the workers movement.

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Israeli Threats

Following the killing of 25 persons in Israel's Lydda airport May 30 by three Japanese guerrillas acting for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Israeli government threatened to take reprisals against the Arab people. The day after the shooting, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir issued a strongly worded statement condemning Lebanon.

An official policy statement issued by the Israeli embassy in Washington on June 1 states: "Arab governments carry a grave responsibility for the foul record of murder and maiming of men, women and children... Two governments share a particular blame - the Egyptian and the Lebanese."

The trick here is to hold Arabs collectively responsible for actions such as this shooting. In 1968, when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine attacked an airliner in Athens, helicopter borne Israeli commandos immediately retaliated with a terrorist raid against the Beirut, Lebanon, airport. The concept of collective guilt was made infamous by the Nazis.

The present threats of violent reprisal against the Arab people, who are not responsible for this shooting, must be strongly condemned.

The Israeli rulers and the capitalist news media are shedding hypocritical tears

over the deaths of the 25. Israel is a reactionary settler-state that was established by violently driving the Palestinians from their homeland. The Zionists forced tens of thousands of Palestinians to live in refugee camps. They used terror and torture and massacred hundreds of civilians. In 1967 they took over parts of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria by force of arms. In this campaign they used napalm provided by the U.S. government. In the occupied areas they have employed the most savage methods to suppress the Palestinian people, who are struggling to return to their homeland and to determine their own affairs.

This struggle against the imperialist-backed rulers in Israel is the struggle of an oppressed people. To be successful it must mobilize the power of the Palestinian masses - the workers, peasants, and students. Individual acts of terrorism, such as kidnappings and assassinations, do not help this struggle. In fact, they are an obstacle to building a mass

movement to win a democratic, secular Palestine for both the Arab and Jewish people.

The killing of 25 people, including 14 Puerto Ricans, in the Lydda air port - an action for which the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine takes responsibility - did not aid the Palestinian struggle. The goals of the action were not clear. By killing innocent people who have nothing to do with the oppression of Palestinians, the real enemies were not defined. The assassination of any individuals, including Zionist officials does not help teach the Palestinian masses to have confidence in their own independent powers.

The task of a revolutionist is to isolate the ruling class politically by helping the masses of people to understand and to fight more effectively the injustice and criminality of U.S. imperialism and Zionism.

PERU: MASSIVE UNION SUPPORT FOR ANTIWAR MARCH

The massive antiwar march in Lima, in which US socialist on tour, Linda Jenness, took part, was a "tremendous show of unity on the part of the Peruvian people with the peoples of the world who are struggling for their liberation," wrote the Lima "Daily Express" of May 20. It was the first such march ever held.

"Groups of priests, students and workers, journalists, intellectuals, miners and white collar workers representing various political tendencies formed a united front in order to condemn the aggression being carried out against a small country of the Third World struggling for its freedom and sovereignty," the newspaper said.

The demonstration was organised by a united front of organisations reflecting a wide spectrum of student organisations and unions.

The United Front of "Expreso" and "Extra" workers published a statement in "Expreso" May 20 noting that it had taken part in the march. "Once again the workers of "Expreso" and "Extra" demonstrated their revolutionary militancy," it said. "We want peace for Vietnam, and to this end we demand the immediate withdrawal of the North Americans from Vietnamese soil and the complete cessation of all forms of aggression. The struggle of the people of Vietnam is the struggle of all people who want peace, industrial development and independence."

CASTRO: no plans to meet Nixon

"There is nothing to talk to Nixon about," Cuban Premier Fidel Castro told a news conference in Sofia May 26.

Castro, on a ten-nation tour of Africa and Eastern Europe, was responding to a Mexican newspaper report that said he would meet with Nixon in Warsaw June 1 during the latter's stopover on his return from Moscow.

"We never think about talking with Nixon about anything," Castro said. "What would we tell him? To stop being an imperialist? To lift the blockades of Cuba? To stop his acts of aggression?"



Fidel Castro

25,000 in African Liberation Day March

Between 25,000 and 30,000 Black people, most of them students, massed in Washington, D.C., May 27 to protest imperialist exploitation of the African continent. The action, called by the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, centred on expressing the solidarity of the U.S. Black population with the liberation movements in South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

The African Liberation Day demonstrations, which would have been significant enough simply because of the unexpectedly high turnout, were lent added importance by the internationalist character of the marches. The link between the Indochinese revolution and the African liberation movement was made by speakers and banners, and the dominant chant of the Washington rally was a clear expression of both the nationalist and internationalist sentiments of the U.S. Black population: "We are an African people."

25,000 IN MEXICO CITY ANTIWAR MARCH

More than 25,000 persons demonstrated in Mexico City May 17 against U.S. imperialism and in support of the Vietnamese revolution. The focus of the protest, which was organised by the Mobilisation Committee for Vietnam (Comite de Movilizacion pro Vietnam),

THE WORLD



Antiwar march in Peru

REVOLUTION

was the recent escalation of the Vietnam war by the Nixon administration.

Most of the demonstrators were students at the Autonomous National University of Mexico. The Mobilisation Committee for Vietnam is made up of thirty-eight student and political organisations.

The demonstration was the first in Mexico City since the massacre of last June 10. Unlike that demonstration, however, which was attacked by fascist-like goons in collaboration with the police, this march took place without incident. One of the speakers at the rally noted, however, that "if the government thinks that it has allowed this demonstration to take place out of its generosity, we reply that it is the unity of the student movement that has made it possible."

U.S. SOCIALIST SPEAKER IN PERU, ARGENTINA.

Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party, candidate for president of the USA, has just completed a speaking and fact-finding tour of South American countries. She received an extremely warm reception and sympathetic press and TV coverage. In Lima, Peru, her photo was placed on the front page of the daily newspaper "Expreso". Live TV appearances have also enabled her to reach thousands of local people.

One of the main attractions is that Jenness is a feminist. Women's Liberation groups are just beginning to form in these countries, and such groups are interested in talking with her.

Wherever she has spoken, meeting places have been filled to overflow. On the evening of May 19 Jenness participated in the first antiwar demonstration ever held in Lima. About 25,000 to 30,000 marched 30 blocks through the city shouting slogans against the Vietnam war.

In Buenos Aires the Argentine Socialist Party co-sponsored a packed meeting in a theatre from which people had to be turned away. Inside, banners and placards, mostly against the Vietnam war, covered the walls. TV cameras were present.

Linda Jenness



Jenness's 45 minute speech, delivered in fluent Spanish, was interrupted repeatedly by cheers, chants and showers of confetti from the balcony.

That evening, in the historic city of Tucuman, Jenness appeared for thirty minutes on the local TV station and overnight became a figure known to nearly everyone in town.

DUTCH 'INTERNATIONAL TENDENCY' JOINS FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The following statement has been translated from the May issue of 'De Internationale', the newspaper of the Dutch section of the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency. The IRMT is the grouping headed by Michel Pablo that split from the Fourth International in 1965.

1. After several years of discussing the political line of the world Trotskyist movement and the differences between the various currents, in particular between the current to which it belonged and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the Dutch section of the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency came to reorient itself with respect to the world movement. This led us on the one hand as a result of the disappearances of the issues that led to the 1965 split, progressively closer to the United Secretariat; and at the same time it led us away from the International Tendency, which has abandoned or watered down a series of basic Trotskyist principles, especially concerning the concept of building the revolutionary party.
2. This evolution was expressed clearly in a political way in the document of the October 1971 conference (of the Dutch section). The conclusion of the document "Political Trends and Party Building" stressed the need for reunifying the two international Trotskyist organizations, above all in view of the fact that in the Netherlands this organizational division posed a serious obstacle to taking advantage of better opportunities for growth of the Trotskyist movement.
3. At its April 8-9, 1972, conference the Dutch section moved to make the reorientation more concrete. On the agenda for discussion were the two documents circulated in preparation for the international conference of the International Tendency - the "Manifesto" and "Contributions to a Critique of the Development of the Fourth International and the Organizational Perspectives of the Revolutionary Marxist tendency." Also up for discussion were the following documents of the United Secretariat: "The New Rise of the World Revolution" (the positions adopted at the Ninth World Congress), the "Resolution on the Chinese Cultural Revolution" (adopted at the same congress), and the resolution of the International Executive Committee (December 1969), "Building Mass Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe." The conference was able to agree with the line of the last three documents.

In the first two documents cited of the International Tendency, the conference

noted a further confirmation of the same trend to which we have pointed before - the trend toward abandoning the Leninist conception of building the Fourth International and revolutionary parties in the various countries. This tendency was reinforced in particular by a recommendation for dropping the name "Fourth International"; the absence of a serious Marxist analysis of the development of capitalism today; and the absence similarly of any serious analysis of the evolution of the workers states, a deficiency which led earlier to a false estimate of the de-Stalinization process and the economic development in Yugoslavia.

4. The following facts are clear: The International Tendency is moving further and further away from the International Trotskyist movement and from Bolshevism. It has gotten into a position of sterile isolation from the whole international development of revolutionary Marxism.

By maintaining its link with the International Tendency, the Dutch section would find itself politically and organizationally isolated and its capacities for growth seriously hindered.

Breaking our formal ties with the Tendency can promote the unification of the revolutionary Marxist forces in the Netherlands, and this is a prerequisite for taking advantage of the increased possibilities for serious work toward building a revolutionary vanguard movement.

Therefore, at its conference the Dutch section made the following decisions: - To sever its organizational ties with the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the Fourth International. - To apply for membership to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

April 9, 1972



Angela Davis

U.S.A. ANGELA DAVIS ACQUITTED ON ALL CHARGES.

After deliberating for thirteen hours, a jury in San Jose, California, found Angela Davis innocent on June 4 of murder, kidnapping, and criminal conspiracy charges. Although overjoyed at the jury's verdict, Davis pointedly observed: "A fair trial would have been no trial at all."

Freedom came after a long and arduous ordeal and followed on from the indignation of the entire world being aroused at the government's crude attempts to frame up an innocent Black woman and Communist.

Angela Davis had gone into hiding when charges were filed against her in August 1970, shortly after Jonathan Jackson smuggled guns into a Marin County courtroom in San Rafael, California, and armed three Black prisoners. They then attempted to escape by using a judge, an assistant district attorney, and three jurors as hostages. The judge and two of the three prisoners were killed in the incident. The state began its frame-up of Davis when it discovered that the guns used in the incident were registered in her name.

Davis was arrested on October 13, 1970, in a New York City motel, where she was in hiding. She was held in jail without bail until February of this year, while the state cooked up a case based on the most purely circumstantial "evidence".

The verdict in the Angela Davis case is not only an important victory for all people fighting for social change. It is also a resounding setback for the government, which not only lost its case, but also a bit more of its credibility with millions throughout the world.