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WAY FOR THE SOCIALIST LEFT?

The central question in the coming Federal election is the return of a Labor government. The Liberal and Country parties, the parties of the bosses, must be soundly defeated. The ALP - the historic creation of the workers of this country, formed to fight for their interests against the bosses - must be returned to

A reprieve for the McMahon government would be a demoralizing blow and will give an open go to the employers in their attempts to increase profits by holding back the living standards and limiting the democratic rights of the working people. It would mean certain continuation of the most reactionary policies in relation to all the issues which have stirred popular feeling and action in recent times- opposition to the Indo-China war, the demands of women for their rights, the struggle of Australian Blacks for their freedom, opposition to capitalist pollution and destruction of our environment, and the struggle of workers for better wages and conditions and the right to a job itself.

can to ape the Liberals to show the "moderation" and soundness" of their policies. In other words they merely seek to provide Executive. The report quoted him as an alternative guidance for the system, not a real challenge to it in the interests

It is essential to fight within the ALP to replace this bureaucratic and conservative leadership and develop a socialist programme which meets the needs of the

working class and its allies. In this context the Socialist Left (SL) caucus in the Victorian ALP is a very progressive development. The SL has endorsed all the anticapitalist struggles of the day: it has identified with the struggles of labour, the fight against the Vietnam war, the high school revolt and the struggle of women for the right to

The Federal elections represent an opportunity for the SL to develop this process further. Used in the correct way, the elections give the SL the chance to reach fresh layers with its ideas and to draw new forces into the struggle to build a leftwing in the ALP. While supporting all Labor candidates irrespective of their politics, the SL should seek ways to put forward its programme for the ALP.

But the ALP leadership do as much as they can to ape the Liberals to show the "mod-reported a radio broadcast made by Bill Hartley, an SL leader on the ALP Federal. saying that the SL is "prepared unequivo-cally to put all our efforts behind the

Certainly, the Liberals must be defeated and Labor returned to power irrespective of its leadership. But the struggle to develop a socialist programme must not be shelved. It is precisely at this time that a socialist alternative must be presented. However, the essence of the "Age" report was that the SL would not raise its differences with the ALP leadership during the elections. Furthermore Mr. Hartley is quoted as saying that the Federal Executive meeting "settled the outstanding differences between the Left and the rest of the party". Such a line would if carried out, amount to an abdication of the tasks which confront the SL and a retreat before the right wing

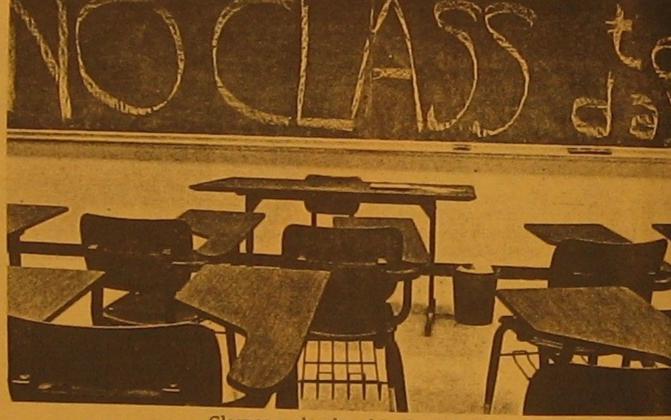
The SL must resist all attempts by the AIP leadership to have it put aside its differences until after the elections in the name of some spurious "unity". That is a sure road to the isolation and defeat of the SI Instead the SL must campaign for the return of Labor to power and fight active for a socialist programme. Only by react ing out to all those forces in motion in anti-capitalist struggle and drawing them behind the Labor party and the SL can the SL survive and advance the cause of socialism. This task cannot be postponed but must be carried out precisely ... now!

L SUPPORT TO THE STUDENT S

With the nationally coordinated High School Strike for students' rights on September 20, the high school movement is taking a giant step forward. Although the youth radicalization has made itself felt in the high schools since 1965 when high school students began marching with the rest of their generation against the Vietnam war, struggles in the schools have so far been limited to individual schools or at best relatively brief citywide campaigns. The strike on September 20 is the first attempt to generalize the struggle on a national scale around the demands for democratic rights for students. It thus represents a leap in consciousness on the part of students nationally with a realisation that only a united struggle aimed at society as a whole can hope for success.

The issues posed by the strike are clear. Students no longer wish to be treated as second class citizens with no rights to take part in the normal activities of society. They no longer can tolerate petty restriction on dress and hair length that emphasize their subservient status. They are questioning the priorities of society that starves education of funds and leads to an unequal system of learning, that emphasizes the competitive nature of "learning". Students want to change these rights. things and as with many other sectors, assert their right to control them and thereby begin the process of gaining control of their own lives from the state.

The way the strike has been organized on such short notice and so late in the school year demonstrates the ability of radicals to absorb the lessons of other movements. The antiwar movement has shown the effectiveness of mounting nationwide single issue campaign organ-



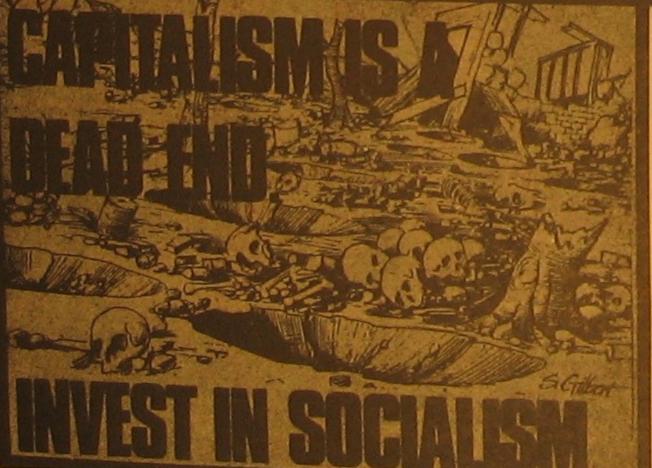
Classroom abandoned in the U.S.A. during antiwar upsurge after the invasion of Cambodia, May 1970.

ized by non -exclusionary coalitions of all supporters of the demands. These lessons have been absorbed and applied to the high school strike for democratic

In spite of the rapid-growing support for the campaign, the Communist Party of Australia has failed to give it due support and publicity. Their activists in the high school movement in Sydney spoke against the newly formed students' union taking up the issue. A report in Tribune suggested the campaign was 'ill timed' and high school publicity has centred round the formation of a union. But what must be understood is that at a certain

point no movement can continue unless it takes action - a structure without action is meaningless. It is a pity the CPA has virtually ignored the campaign. The success and size of the demonstration, the willingness of others on the left to build it will be short of what it could have been

But the action will go ahead and lay the basis for an ongoing campaign. This is but the beginning of the struggle that will continue now on a higher level and be carried on by more experienced and determined activists. The struggle deserves and needs the support of all the left as it seeks to reach out to involve thousands of students.



FUND DRIVE

After six weeks of the Direct Action fund drive we have received \$671. Our target is \$2000 by November 29. Thus we are somewhat behind schedule at this stage.

The \$2000 is to finance our new offices and help put Direct Action on a sound

We thank all those who have so far contributed. Please don't stop. Keep sending the donations in - now! Recently, Direct Action has failed to meet its fortnightly schedule. The basic reason for this has been money. With your support we can overcome this

problem. See clip-off at left.		
	Received	Should
Melbourne	\$319	\$251
Sydney	\$303	\$309
Adelaide Hobart	\$35	\$94
	- 3	\$17
Canberra	_	\$24
Brisbane	_	\$53
Other	\$14	-//
	\$671	\$750

STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE

The killing of seventeen people in Munich fourteen different independent organisatdemanded by their acts of violence
during the Olympic Games has created ions of the Palestinian people (the Black divides and disrupts rather than unites an international sensation. The condemn- September group and the PFLP-Popular the revolutionary forces. ation of the Palestinian guerrillas which Front for the Liberation of Palestine) have followed the shooting has been almost universal, This latest action of the Black September organisation raised several ssues of crucial importance to revolution and machine over the last few years ary Markists.

As socialists, of course, we consider it both the right and the duty of every oppressed people to fight for their liberation. The choice of means to achieve self determination is completely up to the the killings of the Israeli athletes the oppressed people themselves. However, we will be failing in our duty if we neglected to provide our own fraternal criticisms to the Palestinian revolution as a whole and remained silent on this occasion.

Marxism has a consistent tradition and a crystal clear position on the question of terrorism. The kidnapping and killing of individual citizens of any country can clearly be classified as such. We are unequivocally opposed to the policy of individual terrorism. Our condemnation is not based upon moralistic or pacifist considerations and has nothing in common with the hypocritical outcries of liberals and conservative defenders of the status quo against such actions. The Marxist attitude is based on grounds of revolutionary efficacy. Experience and reason alike have shown that this is a counter productive important of them. Yet in the context way of combatting the grip of reaction.

At this stage the impact of the actions of the Black September organisation is quite plain. Clearly the main beneficaries from The press distortions seemed aimed not ment and the Zionist forces. The Zionist propaganda machine has scored one of its major victories. The tide of world public opinion which was swinging in the Palestinians' direction has now ebbed. International opinion has reverted back o its pro-Zionist stance. Never before, as the way so clearly opened for the ionist state to launch a massive attack on the Palestinian people and perhaps ditorials throughout the world have urged the exception of one Palestinian radio he Israeli government to undertake prec- station which referred to the recent sely this course.

ourgeoisie has reached new heights after could only be expected. It follows t the terrorists' action". Meanwhile he ividual terrorism. kept the bombs raining over Vietnam. The Sydney Morning Herald editorial moralised about the use of terrorism as deliberate instrument of policy. Not vishing to single out Arab guerrillas the action and organisation. It seeks to dis-The learned gentlemen who write the to include the use of anti-personnel weapons in Indochina. Or for that matter, industrial and military activity of the the deliberate bombardment with napalm whole of the oppressed. of refugee camps by the Israeli Air Force. Even Prime Minister McMahon discovered It is undemocratic and elitist because that he too was opposed to killing and murder. This stands in sharp contrast to in the Palestinian refugee camps.

The necessity to offer our criticisms of the terrorist methods used by the Black September group is compounded as a result of terrorist tactics being adopted by only a small wing of the Palestinian revolution. Only two of the approximately secrecy, solitude and separateness

adopted these kinds of tactics.

One of the aims of the Zionist propagwas to try and create the impression that there was only one Palestinian organisation which they call Fatch. In this way they try and smear all Palestinians with the activities of minute groups. In the wake of the hysteria which followed Zionists have been nearly successful in their aims.

The Australian press has accepted this view. Probably the most vicious attempt to try and malign all Palestinians occ-Morning Herald of September 7, which implied that Black September was under the control of Fateh. This outright lie was contradicted by the report on the opposite page which stated that very little is known about the small independ-ent organisation, Fateh (the Arabic initials stand for National Liberation Movement of Palestine), still the largest and most important single organisation, is not engaged in this kind of terrorist activities. This was confirmed by a report in the Daily Telegraph of the very same morning which stated . . . but Al Fatah is still the most of Palestinian guerrilla activities, it counts for little and few of the terror acts ascribed to it."

their actions have been the Israeli govern- only at preparing the way for an attack on all Palestinian organisations but a wider target still. The danger looms also for left-wing groups in Europe most of which support the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, Various attempts have been made in recent days to tie them up with the Black September group.

The extent of support for the Black action as glorious, silence seems to be the predominant Palestinian reaction. The hypocrisy of the leading lights of the As we have pointed out in the past this funich. President Nixon was "appalled directly from the intrinsic nature of ind-

Individual terror scorns the masses and disqualifies their capacities by substituting the deeds of a "chosen few" for mass Herald" added the IRA for good measure, rupt or overthrow capitalism and foreign oppression through the detonation of explosives, the destruction of buildings ors rather than through the political,

its reliance upon the conspiratorial

methods of a tiny minority excludes the his earlier silence at the death and misery oppressed masses from conscious participation in the struggle for their liberation. A self-appointed band of saviours arrogates to itself the rights of decision making in the revolutionary process without submitting the course of action to the tests of approval and adoption by the masses. Moreover, the

Much has been made of the fact that those killed were sportsmen participating in the Olympic Games. This is irrelevant. Despite statements from Brundage and his of Lebanon, The Syrian government also friends sport and politics are intrinsically curtailed guerrilla activities in its temmixed. Surely the Chinese Ping-Pong diplomacy and the Springbok's tour of last year must have convinced all and sundry of the falsehood of thinking otherwise.

It is not our role to apportion the blame for the inane loss of life in Munich. While divided what has remained of the Palestit is clear that the West-German police inian leadership even further. acted in an incredibly irresponsible way in trying to save face and is most probab- As late as last month the Palestinians ly to blame for the increase in the death saw another example of the "benevolent" toll this is only a secondary consideration. Israeli occupation. The case of Ikrit The rights and wrongs of last week's events and Bira'am, two Arab villages whose depend on far deeper considerations than residents didn't flee in 1948 but were

The anger and frustration of the Palestinian people which led them to take up this form of struggle is easily understand- homes even though they are Israeli able. For the past twenty-five years the Palestinian people have been suffering under the yoke of the Zionist expansionist was illegal, state. The invasion of Palestine by the the forced removal of the Palestinians from the country and the formation of the Arab refugees. After Israel's attack of June 1967 the remaining portions of Palestine have been occupied by Israel. This led to the formation of more refugees and an increased misery. It is out of ism". this misery of living for twenty five years in tents in the refugee camps, out of the position of having nothing to lose that the guerrillas of Black September have come from.

During the last twenty five years the Palestinians have been betrayed on many occasions by the various Arab governments under which they have been living The governments made many promises but kept very little. The recent calls some of the Arab states. In fact newspaper September group is rather limited. With on Arab governments to curb the activities of the guerrilla movement can be viewed with utmost cynicism. For these governments have done more than anyone else to curb the resistance movement. The lack of any viable Palestinian lead-The first ever Fateh guerrilla to be killed was shot by a Jordanian soldier. The Jordanian army has been responsible for he death of more guerrillas than the Israeli army! The rapid growth of the resistance movement after the 1967 war was sufficient by 1970 to hinder the bourgeois Arab governments in their attempts to achieve peaceful coexistence with Israel. So the reactionary Arab regimes in cooperation with Israel and the United States launched an attack on at extending further their generalisations or the death of some of the hated oppress- the movement. The attack was responded Peking and had no other opponents but the Palestinian and Arab masses, In September 1970 King Hussein of Jordan was responsible for a murderous attack on the Our unconditional support for the Palest-Palestinian people as a whole during which inian revolution is unaffected by our over 30,000 people were killed. The Palestinian revolution suffered further setbacks in July of 1971 when the final remnants of the resistance were destroyed by King Hussein. The name Black September comes from the massacre of September 70. The organisation was formed to revenge the losses of that period. The Black September movement recognises the hideous role of the Jordan- onslaught.

ian government. Its first ever public activity was the assassination of the Jordanian Prime Minister responsible for the attack, Wasfi Tal.

Following the Jordanian massacre similar actions were taken by the government

More recently the "peace" overtures of Jordan, the expulsion of Soviet military personnel from Egypt and the fake elections in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River have demoralised and

forcibly evicted and had their houses demolished nevertheless, gave a good example. The Israeli government refused to allow them to return to their citizens and despite a ruling from the Israeli High Court that their eviction

Zionist movement was the direct cause of One of the most far-sighted explanations of the current events has been provided by a group of Israeli citizens who wrote in 1968 when a prolonged occupation became obvious. They wrote "Occupation begets resistance, resistance begets oppression, and repression begets terror-

> A considerable number of Arab revolutionaries have seen the logical consequences of various forms of action. As we have explained in the past what is lacking in the Middle-East is a mass revolutionary party capable of giving politica leadership and undertaking action in mobilising the Palestinian and Arab such a revolutionary party can, through patient work, struggle towards a revolution in the whole Middle East which will liberate the Hebrew and Kurdish people as well as the Arabs.

ership can partially be ascribed to a deliberate Zionist policy of destroying any developing leadership in its nascent stages. This policy, in existence since the 1930s, is now bearing fruit.

The willingness of the Black September guerrillas for self sacrifice is not in doubt nor is their motivation. Their attempts to free some of the 3, 200 political prisoners in Israel deserve maximum support. We express full solidarity with the campaign to release all the political prisoners, many of which are detained under arbitrary administrative detention.

categorical condemnation of their methods. We urge all members of the Black September group to reconsider the tactics and join those who are already building a mass political organisation of the Palestinian people. On all other people we call to disregard the racist propaganda and defend the Palestinian revolution against the coming Israeli



Palestinian refugees fleeing across Jordan River

Palestinian refugee camp created after June 1967 war

VIETNAM BOMBING REACHES NEW HEIGHTS IN SAVAGERY

BY JON ROTHSCHILD

The U.S. press informed the American public on August 12 that the Indochina war had become completely "Vietnamized." On that day, the Third Battalion of the 21st Infantry was deactivated at Danang Air Force Base. The Third Battalion, according to the Pentagon, was the last active U.S. ground-combat outfit in Vietnam. There are, according to government statements, no more U.S. soldiers involved in the ground fighting in South Vietnam.

Yet on August 11 B-52 bombers carried out what the U.S. command described as the geaviest raids of the war. Some 3,000 tons of explosives were dropped by the giant planes on targets in both North and South Vietnam, Also on August 11, U.S. fighter-bombers launched more than 200 strikes against targets in North Vietnam.

Such records are now short-lived. Exactly one week later, within twenty-four hours of Henry Kissinger's arrival in Paris, allegedly to conduct secret "peace" talks with Vietnamese leaders, more than 370 strikes were flown against North Vietnam. This was two days before the opening of the Republican party national convention at which Richard Nixon was renominated for president amid claims by party leaders that he had brought peace to Vietnam.

On August 26, less than one week after the convention, U.S. officials in Saigon announced that since the start of the newly heavy weapons and equipment. Hundreds intensified U.S. bombing of South Vietnam, of troops are still missing in the rout, civilian casualties had increased 100 percent. An average of 6, 197 civilians were wounded each month during April, May, June, and July, compared with a 2,700 monthly average for the six months preceding the offensive of the liberation

No statistics were released on the number of civilians killed, but U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy, who chairs a Senate subcommittee on refugees, has estimated that at least 15,000 died during the first five weeks of the U.S. escalation after the offensive began.

The continued U.S. air attacks on North Vietnam's system of dikes was not mentioned in the Republican convention's peace rhetoric - and for good reason. State Department denials that the dikes are being deliberately targeted sound increasingly lame, On July 24 Kurt Waldheim, secretary general of the United Nations, said he had "private and unofficial" information that the dikes were being hit. He appealed to Washington to stop it, During the first week of August, a six-member group representing the Stockholm-based International Commission of Enquiry into U.S. Crimes in Indochina visited North Vietnam to investigate the effects of U.S. bombing. Among the team was Ramsey Clark, who was attorney general during the Johnson administration,

Clark reported he had seen a dike, a sluice gate, a hospital for lepers, and a children's school that had been destroyed by U.S. bombs, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers made no attempt to answer Clark's charges, but simply denounced him as a "dupe" of Hanoi.

But the "dupes" are beginning to extend

into the upper echelons of U.S. elected officialdom, On August 6 ten Senators declared that the United States was in fact deliberately bombing dikes. They sponsored a resolution against it.

Despite the genocidal U.S. bombing, the liberation forces are fighting on with the greatest determination. In the battle for Quangtri, North Vietnamese troops have still not been dislodged from the ancient citadel in the interior of the city. "Even the country's two elite units, the marine and air force divisions," Sydney Schanberg wrote in the August 27 New York Times, "are now being chewed up, slowly but enexorably, in an attempt to retake Quangtri town and its fortresslike walled citadel."

During the weekend of August 19-20, as the battle for Quangtri raged, North Vietnamese troops overran Queson, the central town of a valley lying along the approach to Danang, Schanberg described Saigon's defeat at Queson as "only slightly less ignominious than the abandonment of Quangtri province by the Third Division on May 1. The South Vietnamese The effectiveness of the liberation troops at Queson, though under orders from corps headquarters to hold on, because reinforcements were arriving in a few hours, were inexplicably told by their shown by the casualty report released local commander to abandon their positions. They fled precipitously, leaving behind dozens of artillery guns, tanks, armored personnel carriers and other presumable either having deserted or been killed. Many officers have been sacked and are under investigation,

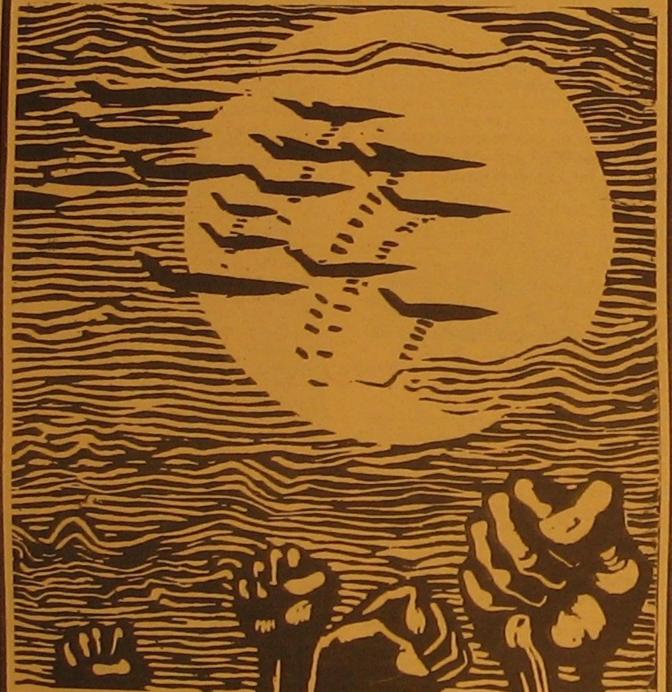
including the commander who was leading the units at Queson, Some are also under

The immediate aftermath of the fall of Queson showed that the Saigon command had learned nothing from its previous defeats. By August 26, Saigon announced that South Vietnamese Rangers had retaken the twon, fulfilling Thieu's boast that "every inch" of territory captured by the liberation forces would be recaptured within three months of the opening of the offensive.

But the Rangers, to their consternation, found the town abandoned. Two miles outside of Queson, the 10,000-man counteroffensive was stalled by heavy North Vietnamese resistance, and the Saigon forces "were said to be taking many casualties from enemy gun positions on high ground along the valley." Again they had been led by their commanders into what has become known in Indochina as the "meatgrinder."

forces' strategy of luring the puppet troops into indefensible opsitions and then mauling the trapped infantry was August 24 by the Saigon command. During the twenty weeks since the offensive began, the Saigon army has lost 15, 610 dead and 50, 909 wounded. This exceeds 10 percent of the acknowledged toll for more than ten years of

In reporting the Saigon figures, the



Associated Press wrote that "authoritative American sources have estimated the death toll in the offensive to be at least 3,000 higher than the official figures."

But even more disastrous for Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy than the massive losses sustained by the Saigon forces has been the political damage to the "pacification" program. The Mekong Delta. most populous region of South Vietnam and for years the showcase of pacification efforts, offers the clearest evidence of

A pharmacist from the delta town of Caibe told Sydney Schanberg, "I don't go one mile out of town. It's too dangerous. The Communists control that area," He paused a moment and added. "I should correct that, I am a timid man, The brave ones go maybe a mile and a quarter."

An article entitled "Back to the Big Muddy" in the August 21 Newsweek gave more information about the situation in the delta: "This sense of shock at the Communist revival in the delta is also felt . . . in Chuong Thien. Of the province's 218 government outposts, 22 were overrun by the Communists and 58 abandoned to them when fighting broke out four months ago. In one particularly nasty incident, an ARVN (Army of the Republic of Viet Nam) battalion of the Ninth Infantry Division walked into an ambush and was annihilated. The battalion's commander, fleeing for his life, dashed up to a farmer's house and asked to be hidden. The farmer, however, was evidently aware of the Ninth Division's reputation for looting and raping the civilians of the area. He took one look at the officer's shoulder patch and shot him dead."

In the context of the Saigon regime's demonstrated inability not only to effectively resist the advance of the liberation forces but even to maintain positions previously believed to be secure, Nixon has shown no sign of significantly reducing the U.S. military presence in Vietnam. In an article discussing the end" of U.S. participation in the ground fighting printed in the August 27 New York Times, Craig R. Whitney wrote, "American soldiers in various roles can be found in all 44 provinces, and it is impossible to drive on any of the main highways without running across a jeep full of advisers or "support troops" taking supplies to a South Vietnamese base."

There are still 39,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam, 12,000 of whom work on air force bases where bombing operations are organized. Another 39,000 troops are stationed on aircraft carriers and othere vessels in the Tonkin Gulf; 40,000 to 50,000 more are based in Thailand, for a total of about 120,000 still directly involved in the fighting.

Specialist 4 John Walling, a U.S. infantryman stationed in Saigon, got a letter from his mother that seemed much more to the point than Nixon's reelection rhetoric. "If you ain't over there," she wrote, "why aren't you here?" Walling himself is a little confused. Somewhat plaintively he told Whitney, "I still can't see where they can say we aren't

YALLOURN: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

BY ANDREW JAMIESON

The nineteen contractors operating the construction of the multi-million dollar project at the Yallourn West Power Station have, once again, displayed their outlook in attempting to lower the living conditions at the Latrobe Valley workers by laying off 1,000 Yallourn West construction workers,

The project itself is 12 months behind schedule and it is reported that one contractor has lost about \$1,000,000 profit due to the stoppages and other industrial action taken on the plant. So it is essential, in the eyes of the profiteers, that no further losses or delays occur particularly in this period where the drive for profits has become more intense in Australia under the pressure of sharpening international competition.

Yallourn West construction workers,

having already suffered one major attack through lay-offs (see the article in Direct Action No. 22) have counterposed ards. again the issue of a 35 hour week as a response to the capitalist offensive. The cry for a 35 hour week with no loss of pay has been the rallying point for many sections of the working class and as this would reduce profits it has been bitterly opposed by the capitalist class.

The deterioration of the living standards of Victoria's "Ruhr" over the past decade has significance, as the possessing class is now attempting a new showcase in its attempts to defeat working class rights. Stemming from the appalling condition of housing, employment, pollution and even political and social isolation, Latrobe workers have been a militant force and the ruling class is preparing yet another showdown in order to illustrate what can be expected should workers attempt to defend their living stand-

The recent proposals for more power stations announced by the Hamer Government will not raise the standards at La Trobe Valley. It is merely an attempt to lure more workers to La Trobe under the pretence of "decentralization" and making La Trobe an attractive alternative to workers based in the city of Melbourne,

The recent lay-offs at Yallourn West have been the culmination of industrial action taken by construction workers in support of a new site agreement, which included the demand for a 35 hour week. Employers, wanting to increase productivity, handed out a week's notice stating that individuals who didn't take part in "unjustified industrial bans" could be

reemployed.

Immediately the dispute went to arbitration but talks broke down, with the contractors wanting to introduce a 39 hour week plus a dismal \$4 extra per week and another \$2 per week in 12

This was, quite correctly opposed by the union as it meant negation of the solidarity of the union around the 35 hour week i.e. scab labour could be employed and workers would be deprived of about \$16 a week in over award payments if they were more than an hour late for work

In retaliation to the lay-off the union has placed a black ban on the Yallourn West Power Station.



NEW ZEALAND WOMEN MARCH FOR THE RIGHT TO ABORTION.

Actions for repeal of the abortion laws took place in 5 New Zealand cities, July 28. Marches were held in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, and in Palmerston North an information booth was set up in the square.

to be held in that city, drew 150 support- Britain estimated to be beaten starved ers. Because of the enthusiasm generated and neglected by their parents. the meeting following the march decided to form an Abortion Action Committee to In 1970 the NSPCC made a survey of continue to build support.

In Christchurch, where weather was bad, bout the same numbers marched as in Aukland, Carrying a flaming torch amongst the the banners and placards, the marchers proceeded to the University Hall where Myrna Lamb's pro-abortion play "But What Have You Done For Me ately?" was staged. In Dunedin, 50 eople marched despite short notice and ainy weather.

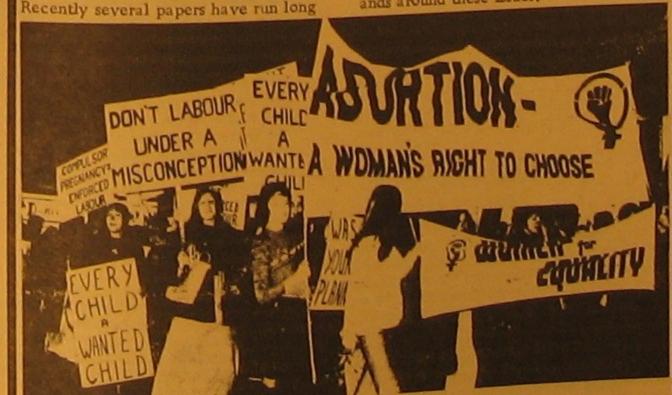
A lively band of 300 marched through Wellington's streets, followed by oppon- when a particularly gruesome case comes ents of abortion numbering about 500. Despite the intrusion of so many opponents the march for repeal of the abortion laws But the writers of these articles can offer was enthusiastic and attracted sympathetic no explanation for this phenomenon. ttention from women along the way.

The opposition, organised by two male miversity students from the campus Cath- parents, but treat the question as if it lic Society, was quite obviously mobilised through the churches and through human behaviour in need of policing, Catholic high schools, whose uniformed pupils made up a large part of the counter- The point is, however, that this is just march. Family groups were well in evi- one aspect of the misery of people in dence and dozens of young and bewildered capitalist society and is an aspect which children trudged with their parents under is linked in many ways with the struggles mass-produced placards reading "life not of women - for abortion, for child-care death" and "abortions kill babies". Some for work and equal pay which all of the anti-abortionists were so unfamiliar challenge the role of the nuclear family. ith the issues that they picked up proabortion placards.

In Wellington, the work of the Abortion causing economic hardship that they are Action Committee had been hampered by bashed and beaten. As long as children lack of publicity; the newspapers did not are regarded as the private property of print its statements and most of the posters their parents and under their control (no and stickers put up by the Committee's matter how sick and unstable these paren upporters were destroyed or covered by inti-abortion material. However, at the their aggressions and frustrations. ally following the march, spirits were high and a powerful sound system enabled speak-The nuclear family in our society is a ers to be clearly heard above the chanting narrow, conflict-ridden, inward-looking

Speakers included Brian Edwards, Labour omic necessity. candidate for Miramar; Jaqueline McCluggage, secretary of the Wellington Women's It is in this atmosphere of insecurity, Liberation Movement; Irene Kennedy, who ambivalence and often outright hostility spoke as a woman who had had an illegal that children grow up, helplessly depend-abortion; and Gillian Goodger, a high ent, and vulnerable to all kinds of physic school feminist. Towards the end of the al and psychological abuse. ally, David Shand, Labour candidate for Wellington Central, took the microshone to criticise the opposition's lack of tolerance and to state his support for a movement which would rid society of he backstreet abortionist. The actions on July 28 showed that in spite of heavy odds, the abortion campaign is moving ahead and is continuing to grow into an mportant national movement,

ATTERED BABIES



uckland March for Abortion Law Repeal on July 28

articles on maltreated children or "battered babies". This resulted from the release of statistics related to this by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, in Britain,

This organisation claims to have dealt with approximately 100,000 reported cases of child neglect and child cruelty over the past year and this is only a tiny The Auckland march for repeal, the first fraction of the number of children in

> 292 reported histories from their social workers' case books. Most of these cases of cruelty were committed against very young children and many of these children had a history of successive beatings and injuries.

There was also a far greater incidence of these crimes amongst lower income families.

Articles on this subject appear periodically in the daily newspapers when the findings of a new survey are published or to public attention.

They talk about the need for increased attention to this problem by the government and harsher punishments for the were some inevitable aberration of

It is when children are unwanted - when they are seen as instruments of oppression may be) children will bear the brunt of

of the few dozen opponents who remained. institution, often tring people to intolerable personal relationships through econ-

Only when child rearing is a social responsibility, when women can choose freely when and if to bear children, when children are no longer regarded as privat property when economic and social depri deprivation are eliminated will child battering cease.

This phenomenon emphasises the urgency of the struggle of women for their demands around these issues.

ANTI~ABORTION FORCES ORGANISE

BY LEITHA NILSEN

Struggles for liberation on all levels are almost always met by a counter-reaction from elements within the existing social structure. As it is with struggles for national liberation so it is with women's liberation. The call for the repeal of all Politicians who work within this structure abortion laws and the launching of a cam- will not be easily persuaded to attack its paign to this end, has resulted in the anti- foundations. abortion forces rearing their ugly heads. Abortion constitutes an extremely volatile Some sections of the feminist movements issue. It represents the initial step in the have suggested that since bourgeois socliberation of women in contemporary soc- lety may legalize abortion for the purposes iety. It challenges the total role of wom- of population control, the issue no longer en in the social structure by allowing them requires a concentrated mass struggle and them control over their own bodies and thus determination of the form and direction their life will take. A struggle for the repeal of abortion laws illuminates the fact that women are no longer prepared to accept a code of morals and social norms determined not by themselves but by the state and the church.

The anti abortion forces launched their initial counter attack with a public meeting held at the Coburg Town Hall, in Melbourne, a few weeks ago. Their central slogan was the "right to life"essentially portraying the foetus as a living human being and thus placing the rights of the foetus over those of the pregnant woman. Four speakers were present, two doctors, a Roman Catholic priest, and a Lutheran minister, all of them An independent mass movement, calling them men, blantantly illustrating the contempt they held for the role of the woman's decision in the issue of abortion. The keynote of the meeting was emotionalism, perpetrated by slides ranging from aborted foetuses and perforated wombs; to statements like "abortion on demand will lead to euthanasia and the gas chambers of Germany" and "abortion is denying women the right to exercise their functions".

Proponents of the "right to life" hold tantamount the life of the foetus, with abortion being equated with murder. In most cases, on this issue, there is an inevitable move towards the condemnation of any acceptance of sex in all but the narrow confines of marriage and for the purposes of procreation. Generally arguments of this type include a moral judgement and condemnation of those indulging in any kind of sexual behaviour, other than that prescribed, and especially a moral judgement of the woman who becomes pregnant outside of marriage,

The argument that abortion is murder is an emotive distortion. The foetus is not a human being. It is wholly dependent upon the mother for life and cannot exist outside the womb. It is part of the mother's body, not a single entity in itself.

Moreover many of those who espouse the "sanctity of human life" in relation to the and 'you were around at your conception' foetus, demonstrate very little concern for those children already born or for those women who die from backyard abortions. In many cases their hypocrisy is intensified by their acceptance of, or oblivious attitude to those thousands of people slaughtered in modern technological warfare.

In essence these arguments against abortion are used to obscure the basic facts: that is the rights, the safety and the life direction of the women involved.

The right of abortion must be fought for. A belief that the government will repeal the laws is an exercise in self delusion. All political parties, and many religious groupings have made a vigorous effort to to claim their right to decide what they suppress the question of abortion. Attem- will do with their bodies and their lives

pts to lobby individual members of parlfament on the question of abortion is an act of political naivety. Abortion challenges the whole structure of capitalist society and its basic unit, the family.

can be left to the "forces of evolution".

Such an attitude is a dangerous fallacy. allowing abortion opponents an unchallenged field and permitting exponents of population control an avenue to suppress women merely in another form.

The question of abortion law reform as opposed to repeal echoes these sentiments. Reform, and the restrictions and limitations contained within its fabric, is a tactic aimed at limiting women's rights and retaining the decision making in the hands of the state. If politicians and clergy cannot maintain the outright illegality of abortion they will attempt to impose as many restrictions in its path as possible.

for the repeal of abortion laws, free from reliance on parliamentary parties is the key. A campaign organized around abortion law repeal can create a large impact on Australian society. Abortion is an issue with which most women can identify. By forming a coalition of varying groups and individuals a mass campaign can be initiated,

mobilizing broad layers of women in a struggle against government policies. An abortion campaign can give impetus to the the feminist movement as a whole and negate the myth that women are incapable of mobilizing as a political force.

Abortion is the first step in the liberation of women in society. It must not remain a basic democratic right, available to all women, at any time.

The latest publication of the anti-abortion forces in Melbourne is a glossy black and white 12 page brochure called "Abortion", featuring a foetus on its front cover labelled "53 months, 12 inches"

Published by the West Preston "Oppose Abortion Committee", it is filled with larger-than-life photographs of foetuses and newborn babies interspersed with snappy captions like 'you weren't just a blob', 'if you can't come at the god bit',

With its semi-hip, chatty style it is obviously designed primarily for youthful readers- with obtuse quotes from G.K. Chesterton, Bob Dylan and a Sioux indian of unknown identity.

Finally, on the back page of the booklet is an appeal to all "concerned with human life"- "people, youth, teachers, local and parish councils and archbishops"(2) to organize against abortion.

This type of expensive, if crudely produced propaganda is being distributed in large quantities at this time, especially prior to the elections. It is further evidence of the need for women to organize

NIXON'S SUMMITRY WAR IN VIETNAM

detailed analysis of the present stage of the Vietnam war by Joseph Hansen, a leader of the world Trotskyist movenent. Hansen explains Nixon's current war strategy, the meaning of lixon's visit to Peking and Moscow, nd the need to continue building lass antiwar actions in the streets. rder now! - 14c. (including postage) rom Socialist Books, P.O. Box 151, Glebe, 2037.

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The growth of neo-capitalism in Australia has led to an increased need for highly trained people. In the post-war period this expressed itself in an enlargement of the old universities and the building of new universities. In more recent years there has been an explosive growth in the number of Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs). This growth has reected itself in student government. D The National Union of Australian University Students (NUAUS) has admitted many of the student bodies of these CAEs into membership and two years ago changed its name to the Australian Union of Students (AUS). Numerically the union now has over thirty constituent bodies and over 140, 000 individual members.

AUS national conferences are held twice a year and are usually referred to as February council and August council. The conference venue was St. Kilda's George hotel, which is better known in Victoria for its strip shows rather than as a conference venue and was a legacy from the old days. Perhaps conferences of thirty people could have been held there. With one hundred people packed tightly into the hall and the terrible accoustics chaotic situation developed. The chaos was worse than anything expected out of any such conference.

5 The delegations, which were limited in their size to five only two of which could have occupied the table at any one time, generally reflected the character of student politics of the current period. Unlike the United States where CIA financing led the overwhelming bulk of student politicians to shy away from the national body, the AUS reflects local campus politics fairly accurately. Thus the majority of delegates were of left-liberal persuasion with support for the ALP being the predominant political line.

The underlying importance of AUS becomes apparent when you realise that only one Trade Union (the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union) has more members than AUS. While it is true that unlike workers students can't fundamentally change the course of society, the potential significance of AUS to the student and mass movement can't be overestimated.

the elected bodies of student government tend strategy. SYA members have contested to see their position in a bureaucratic fashion, elections on several campuses presenting a wingers and DLP stooges have one thing in common. They all see the holding of an office as worthwhile in and of itself. In fact influence on the proceedings. with other politicians - for personal benefits, or for minor reforms - the essence remains are at best of secondary consideration. At short-term factors which concern them. The only long term considerations they have in mind are higher and better positions, whether in the student movement itself or an outside parliamentary or journalistic career.

caucuses in the traditional labour parties

are under attack from conservative lead-

erships, In Canada, the New Democratic

pressures to bear on the left-wing "Waffle"

caucus of the NDP so that it no longer is

a caucus within the party, but an affiliated organization outside the party.

Similarly, the Socialist Action League

Workers League in Australia, has been

proscribed from the New Zealand Labour

Party. Actions along these lines are also

being taken by the leadership of the

Australian Labor Party. In Queensland,

the "Trotsky Movement" has been pro-

scribed. The Socialist Left in Victoria

is increasingly coming under attack,

And in Tasmania, both the Socialist

Left and the Labor Youth Organization

In Direct Action No. 23, we pointed out

that the State Executive of the Tasman-

ian ALP decided on June 26 to reduce

the number of Labor Youth branches

from 11 to 6. They did this "because

there were too many". The fact that

vative) one-family towns way out in

the bush doesn't seem to worry them.

an article saying that the charters for

all LY branches have been withdrawn.

And charters for new branches will not

be granted before the State Executive

In the October Newsletter, there will be

there are branches of the ALP in(conser-

are under attack.

(SAL), a counterpart to the Socialist

Party (NDP) leadership is bringing great

MOVEMENTS

BY SOL SALBY

cisely those forces which they opposed. Representative Council. Although the Com- one.) munist Party of Australia does stand candidates in student elections, their candidates, like Brian McGahen in Sydney University, don't disclose the fact that they support the CPA,

The only socialist organisation, actually the only left-wing organisation, to have been represented at August Council was the Social- or two or one or no.... STD phones. The ist Youth Alliance. SYA members present included Frans Timmerman and Sol Salby (University of New South Wales) and Barry Simpson (Monash). In addition delegates from the Western Australia Institute of Tech- International sessions. nology (WAIT) and Canberra College of Advanced Education (CCAE) expressed support Some of the topics and motions discussed at for the SYA campus strategy. The reason SYA the conference were: The vast majority of those who are active in was represented can be seen as a result of its The reformists, left-liberals, centrists, right socialist alternative and a socialist programme. The Abschol department is going to concent- (c) Immediate cessation of all other rep-

student government extremely important. The main group to operate on campus is with Freedom' operates through a chain of worst they are irrelevent. Typically it is only clubs variously called Democratic. Democ-short-term factors which concern them. cessfully to turn back the tide of the new radicalisation, using their clandestine "Fighting Fund". Their attempts in gaining positions in campus election have been remarkably unsuccessful. The only exception

and left control of student government to pre- when the balance of power shifted from the right-wingers of the past to left liberal forces. While this has been the position of most ultra- The only known delegates of the extreme right ence was one of the few received by left forces there are exceptions. In La Trobe right-wing were one from Macquarie Univers-University the sectarian politics of the local ity and one from UNSW. (The proportional Maoists have led to their defeat and consider- representation method at UNSW gave SYA two need for international antiwar action. able loss of influence on the local Student delegates, the left-liberals one and the DLP Later on the conference endorsed the

chaotic. (One session lasted non stop from on November 18 will clash with many 2 pm Thursday till 6 am Saturday a total of students' exams the impact of solidaring and their platforms aren't based on revolution- 40 hours without any break!) Trivia dominated actions on the movement in the US was ary politics but on reformism and social work, most of the business sessions. Amongst the considered by everyone to be sufficiently large number of examples, probably the best important to disregard the difficulties one was the half hour devoted to a debate whether AUS head office should have three "happy motion" moved recommending a carrier CEYLON pigeon service, truly indicates the level of debate. The only sessions where trivia didn't The following motion was carried overpredominate were the Abschol, National, whelmingly by August council? That AUS

Their success enabled them to be elected as rate from now on solely on Aboriginal scholar- ressive measures." The motion was moved delegates to the conference and have some ships. The only exception to this decision is by UNSW and seconded by WAIT. in Queensland where its going to retain all its Obviously at this stage AUS can only act they see it as the only worthwhile aim.

Their political life consists of making deals.

In marked contrast to some of the ultra-lefts

Blacks do not consider its attitudes paternalist- members in order to educate and inform

ic and trust the local Absolul organization. the forces of reaction consider influence over ic and trust the local Abschol organisation. In all other states a Race Relation Board is the same. The mass movements of the anti- 'Peace with Freedom', the campus arm of the less as well as Niugini and Anti-Apartheid. A left-liberals of various shades. Most going to handle the previous Abschol activit- AUS is still dominated by reformist and full time black officer is going to head this likely it is going to be so for the forseeable board. This motion was a compromise between future. So far achievements of socialists those who wanted a race relation board with have been limited, but decisions such as only one paid officer, saving on the two Ab- the ones outlined and similar ones such as schol and Niugini officers and those who wanted to continue the old arrangement and have a full time black officer. Speaking to the compromise motion, UNSW delegate Left-wing tendencies on the whole have tended benefited from the backlash against the Mao- will be facilitated by the new set-up. The to dismiss student government as either reform- ist sectarian politics. Recently in the elect- Niugini officer, the Abschol officer and the ist or bureaucratic. Consequently they have ions for the governing body of the University Editor of National U are all joining the rank never presented any alternatives to the students of Queensland Union (UQU) the DLP lost again of the unemployed as a result of severe budget of the radicalisation,

During the international session lob-Benson, from the National Peace Activ Coalition (NPAC) in the United States addressed the conference. John was vising Australia on his way back from la where he represented NPAC in a series mass rallies. His address to the confelamation, as he succinctly explained Nixon's strategy in Indochina and the action call by NPAC. (Reprinted in DIRECT ACTION 25 August 24, 1972) Conference sessions were extremely long and While it was recognised by all that action involved, and move ahead to build the November 18 action.

condemns the Sri Lanka (Ceylon) government repressive measures, including the arbitrary arrests of over 10,000 people including many students. AUS demands (a) Cessation of all trials (b) Immediate release of all political

people about the repression in Ceylon.

the support for the September 20 High to become a more and more important

the six new branches will not exist before November, and the eleven old branches will cease to exist in October.

However, for a branch to be represented at the 1973 State ALP conference, it must have been chartered before October. Which means that there will be no Labor Youth representative at this conference.

But why is the ALP leadership trying to silence, to kill Labor Youth? The answer

lies in the fact that due to the new radicalization (see the lift-out for more on this), the main field of strength of the Socialist Left lies in LY. And the ALP bureaucrats are getting worried as its influence grows: recently, Labor Youth has helped publicize some of the corruption of the ALP, as well as supporting movements like the anti-war movement and the Tasmanian Education Action Group (which is organizing the Sept. 20 High School demonstration).

the utmost, Labor Youth is bowing slightly to the tremendous pressures placed upon it by the State Executive. At its LY exec, meeting on August 27, the existing secretary-treasurer, a Socialist Left supporter, was replaced by a leading member of a conservative break-away from Labor Youth. The reason for this is that the right has instilled a fear in the left that it is small, and will easily be "killed". So LY is conceding earlier victories by re-habilitating the fakeleft. The result being that the ALP State Executive has again made a step forward in its attack on the left.

bureaucrats are continually trying to forget their working class base, a base the party hained out of the defeats of the working class in the 1890s. This was blatantly shown when these bureau crats did all they could to sell out the SEC and oil strikes of earlier this year Under pressure of the working class, the ALP adopted a basic socialist objective; an objective that some now wish wasn't

For those who want a labour and socialist

ards of the workers is through inflation.

PERSPECTIVES FOR

Contrary to arguments that the struggles of workers are the cause of inflation, it is clear that the cause is to be found in the public debt. The monopolistic price structure derived from the continuing capitalist concentration and centralization, under the spur of growing international competition, and the government financial outlays necessary to protect monopoly profits and underwrite the research and development of the corporations.

Inflation is a chronic problem of capitalism in its death agony and leads to increased wage demands by the working class once it recognises the phenomenon. These demands are necessarily enforced by strike action in practice or threatened.

Also inflation leads to a deterioration of competitive advantage for the Australian bourgeoisie and to general instability of the capitalist world monetary system.

The following is an abridged version

at the 3rd National Conference of the

The last year has been a year of crisis

for imperialism. In one country after

another the revolutionary struggle has

intensified. Upsurges in Ireland and

Bangla Desh were the must prominent

while the Indo China aggression of the

sign posts of the struggle and mean-

U.S. has continued. This central

problem for U.S. imperialism con-

tinues to have enormous effects on

Nixon has continued to pursue the aim

the antiwar sentiment of the American

of military victory. He has manoe-

uvred with different "plans" to lull

people and with different military

manoeuvres but with no success. The

invasion of Cambodia in May 1970

led to an unprecedented upsurge of

antiwar sentiment and to the hasty

withdrawal of U.S. troops. In Feb-

ruary 1971 the Laos fiasco put paid

to Nixon's propaganda about Vietnam-

units were smashed and drove home to

izing the war. The "crack" ARVN

all that Nixon was attempting to

The continued withdrawal of U.S.

"saturation" bombing has also been

victory for Nixon. So he has sought

this in his trip to Peking. He hopes

for a repeat of the 1954 Geneva dip-

paved the way for conceding the gains

As a result of the continued military

expenditure in Indo China the growing

crisis of the U.S. economy has been

with its trading partners as the U.S.

attempted to alter the international

The growing power of the European

and Japanese industry at last forced

(in effect) a revaluation of the dollar

The Australian bourgeoisie has watched

adjustments relying as it does on Japan,

To maintain its position it has attempted

crisis. The main way that the bourgeoisie

has put the squeeze on the living stand-

U.K. and U.S. for 50% of its exports.

to make the working class pay for the

from the sidelines while this process

has taken place but nevertheless has

been forced to make some sharp

and consequently for the capitalist

world a recession.

accelerated. This forced a showdown

monetary system to its own advantage

lomacy where Peking and Moscow

of the Vietnamese revolution.

unsuccessful in guaranteeing a military

troops and their replacement by

extend the war.

the rest of the world.

SYA in Melbourne last Easter.

CAPITALIST CRISIS

of the major political document adopted

The bourgeoisie has forced a recession this has not been enough to put real pressure on wage demands. If the recession continues we can expect working class retaliation against the threat of mass unemployment. So far the combativity of the working class has meant intensified struggle against redundancies and in defense of their wage demands.

The bourgeoisie has attempted to counter this with laws aimed at shackling the unions but so far has shied away from the massive confrontation required to implement these.

Under the new conditions of capitalism, trade wars, monetary crises, and recessions will increase. Regardless of the tempo or scope of such events, which are unpredictable, the intensification of interimperialist competition on the world market means that the bourgeoisie must find a way to maintain its position in the world market. This can only be done by attacks on the wage gains, standards of living, organisations and rights of the working class. In the current turbulent political atmosphere such attacks can result in intense struggles and rapid radicalisation of a decisive section of the working class.

Substantial social reforms and concessions can be wrested from the ruling classes in the struggle that lie ahead. But the intensification of competition on an international scale prevents the growth of any long term series of social reforms large enough to decisively reverse the radicalisation of increasing sections of the Australian people set in motion by the social struggles of the last period

THE CONTINUING RADICALISATION

In the last year the process of the radicalisation has continued to deepen. Other issues have been raised and new movements have come forward: the revulsion against capitalism's destruction of our environment and the ecological system on which the life of humanity depends. The prison revolts, the gay liberation movement against the legal extra-legal oppression of homosexuals. The radicalization has likewise had repercussions in professional, cultural and artistic circles.

The essence of the demands for prison and judicial reforms has been an affirmation of the dignity and humanity of the prisoners. The recognition by most young radicals of the prison struggles as part of the movement and their sympathy and identification with the prisoners' demands is a further gauge of the radicalization.

As with prisoners, bourgeois society views homosexuals as outcasts.

The gay liberation movement has raised a series of demands against the way homosexuals are treated by bourgeois society. These include insistence of equality before the law like other citizens, with full rights in all respects; that their private lives be their own, free from legal or police restraint; against police entrapment practices; for their acceptance as equals in all spheres of social

The gay liberation movement was strongly influenced by the opposition of the women's ese people are "determined to fight liberation movement to the commercial exploitation of sex, the reduction of sex to something other than a free human relation, the reactionary and stifling sexual norms of bourgeois society, and the psychological distortions of sexuality and sex roles in a class society based on the nuclear family system. The women's movement began to see that the antagonistic attitudes towards homosexuals are simply another facet of a sick social order. Broad layers of young people are becoming opposed to sexual oppression of any kind.

Another sign of the deepening radicalization is the growing rejection, first by the youth and then by wider circles, of the cultural values and authority of bourgeois society. This is reflected in all the arts, and in many other ways. It includes the proliferation of underground newspapers with a generally radical bent, and a new thirst for and interest in radical books and literature of all kinds.

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

The anti-war movement, carried out through months of intensive propaganda and action, in April, May, June, 1971, culminated in a massive outpouring of people on June 30th. Although not the largest Moratorium it was clear by now that the movement against the war had the overwhelming support of the Australian people, and that the cost of the continuing of the continuing growth of the radicalpresence of Australian troops in Vietnam was too high for the Australian government both in terms of the radicalisation of further layers of young people and their active involvement in political opposition and also in terms of the dampening of the Liberal-CP coalition electoral prospects.

The announcement of withdrawal by the Australian government led to a defusion coalitions attempted to assess the new situation.

But the tragectory of the anti-war movement has amply confirmed the line our tendency has consistently applied in building the movement. In the past seven years we have fought to build the anti-war movement as a single issue, non exclusive united-front type movement centered on mobilizing mass street demonstrations, the central demand of which was the withdrawal of all U.S. and Australian troops from Indochina. The effectiveness and potential power of independent mass mobilisations around a burning social issue has been clearly demonstrated.

The success in forcing a withdrawal of Australian combat troops dealt a blow to ultraleftists who have attempted to substitute themselves for mass action, to the sectarians who sit on the sidelines scolding the mass movement, and to all variety of reformists and liberals who pessimistically questioned the effect and need for the mass actions and saw the movement only in terms of electoral advantage.

The War Goes On . . And Nixon's in Peking: The possibility of another Geneva sell-out has never left the minds of the Vietnamese people. Despite promised aid from China again this year, the Vietnamese realise that the chances of a settlement of the war between China and the U.S. are strong.

The Vietnamese Workers' Party Daily 'Nhan Dan' commenting on Nixon's visit to Peking wrote that the Vietnamuntil complete victory, till the U.S. aggressors have to reconcile themselves to defeat" and that "Nixon's policy also consists of trying to powers in an attempt to make smaller countries bow to their arrange-

As long as the anti-war movement has not won its central aim of withdrawing all American and Allied forces from Indo-China immediately, there should be no talk of multi-issue coalitions. Our continuing task is to organise action around the demand of immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops and equipment from Indo-China now.

ANTI-APARTHEID UPSURGE

Close on the heels of the antiwar action came a mass upsurge in the radicalization precipitated by the presence of the South African football team in Australia The struggle against Apartheid has been a constant theme in the consciousness of radicals in this country but the size and spontaneous nature of the upsurge throughout Australia was unprecedented.

With the cancellation of the cricket tour by South Africa the confidence of the radicals to win some of their aims was increased and was a clear indication isation.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The last year also saw the further expansion of the Women's Liberation Movement.

More and more feminist groups have been set up across the country but this organof the anti-war movement as the anti-war ized activity is only a dim reflection of the interest about the ideas of Women's Liberation and the mass potential of the movement.

> On November 20 in solidarity with international action for the repeal of antiabortion laws women in Sydney and Melbourne organized marches. Given the short notice at which the actions were called the 300 participants in Sydney and the 500 in Melbourne certainly began the process of organizing the feminist movement on a mass basis.

Concurrently a call was made for actions

CONTINUED PAGE 8

meets in the first week of November. So

from the National Affairs session was the motion concerning abortion. Previous had as its policy under "Female Lib the abolition/liberalisation of all about laws. On this occasion it was moved that AUS supports the activities on a scale of the Women's Abortion Co for the immediate repeal of all above laws. This motion was carried overed mingly with very little debate as mon delegates agreed that abortion is a "no an's right to choose". The call on all constituent bodies to support the cam and give it financia aid means that the campaign is set up on campus it co receive aid and make a successful stan immediately.

slashings. National U, the AUS paper going to come out any more excent

Probably the most significant motion and

special issues.

ABORTION

ANTIWAR

School strike show the potential of using AUS to obtain social change and support the mass movements. As the radicalisation proceeds student government is going sphere of activity for socialists. August council has shown that politically directed intervention can help continue the process

Although all this should be supported to

1972 is an election year, and the ALP

Australia the ALP cannot be avoided, A socialist alternative to the present right wing leadership must be constructed in the ALP. The trend towards a full scale witchhunt of socialists in the party reflects the fear of the leadership of this development.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

around the country to coincide with International Womens Day in March. S. Y. A. women played a major role in preparing these actions in all centres.

The movement so far has already had an impact on the political consciousness of the country. This has been reflected by the massive media reference to the movement, the hysterical attacks and smears on it.

The March 11 actions have demonstrated the potential of mobilizing women around democratic and transitional demands that both attack the pressing manifestations of the oppression of women and that lead in the direction of the complete liberation of women.

This mass mobilization approach points the way forward for the movement. It is the revolutionary alternative to any tendencies to turn inward and stagnate in a small-circle existence; or to reject. feminist demands under the guise of adopting an "anti-imperialist" or "workers" orientation, which have surfaced in some currents in the movement.

The basic demands of the women's liberation movement form a strategic blue-print for the development of a transitional program for women's liberation.

Free abortion on demand is based upon the elementary and democratic right of women to control their own bodies. This right is of direct and immediate concern to most women, and a life-and-death question for thousands of women every year. The thrust of this demand cuts sharply into basic and deep-going cultural, social, and religious prejudices against women and is aimed at the subordinate and dependent role women have been subjected to since the rise of class society. The part of this demand that calls for free abortion on demand goes beyond democratic demands, raises the concept of socialization of medical care, and answers a need of the most oppressed and exploited.

Reactionary forces, mobilizing against the women's movement in opposition to this demand, are attempting to prevent victories concerning abortion. The political struggles around abortion will be one of the important battles of the entire next stage of the women's liberation movement.

The demand for free community-controlled in ever wider numbers of black people. twenty-four-hour child-care-centres avail. From the organisations necessary to run able to all, answers a pressing need of millions of women, especially working women. At the same time it highlights the importance of and society's responsibility for the rearing of the young.

Demands that centre on pay, educational and job opportunities, and legal rights for women equal to those of men are democratic demands that challenge capitalism's are being made upon the working class of the subordinate and dependent status of women which has its roots in the historical rise of the patriarchal family system. They Black people who have never been able put forward a concept indispensable for ment for women's liberation; that is, the full and complete worth and dignity of

The women's liberation movement has already had a profound impact on the current radicalization, not only by adding another sector of militants to the struggle, but also through the implications of its critical analysis of the historical role of the institution of the nuclear family. This institution, which has its origins in the rise of class society, and which in one form or another has been a necessary feature of all class societies, plays the central role in implanting in infants and children the ideology and character structure necessary to maintain the hierarchical, exploitative, and alienated social relations intrinsic to capitalism.

The women's liberation movement thus brings to light and helps counter some of the deepest prejudices and attitudes among the ideological and moral props of class rule. It raises problems of the alienation of humanity whose solution lies in the establishment of a workers state and the building of socialism. It deepens the struggle to expose the moral bankruptcy of the ruling class and to heighten the moral authority of the fighting mass movements.

By participating in this movement, women are transforming their views of themselves, affirming the essential dignity and worth that has been denied them through the entire period of class society. An integral part of the fight against capitalism is the fight against the racism and

sexism built into the ideology of capitalism. This discovery and rethinking by women of their history and worth has paralleled the same phenomenon among the oppressed nationalities. It has spurred a reawakened demand for knowledge and understanding of their oppression - its history, causes, and the road to its elimination. It previews a similar process that will take place in the workers' radicalization.

The responsiveness of our tendency to the rise of the new feminism has been another important test of our movement Our ability to embrace this movement as our own, to participate in it and learn from it, and to help lead it in the direction of the mass independent mobilization of women around democratic and transitional demands stands in sharp contrast to the default of all our opponents who claim to be socialist or communist.

THE BLACK STRUGGLES

The last four years have seen the gradual emergence of the black liberation movement on an organised level. In about 1968, the first moves by black people to break with the various semi-official bodies which had been working for reform and integration began with the takeover of the Melbourne Aborigines Advancement League (AAC) by a black power group and the breakaway of the National Tribal Council (NTC) from the white dominated Federal Council for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI). Since that time growing numbers of black people have been reaching the conclusion that only direct political action will solve the problems confronting them.

The Black Moratorium and the events around the Black Embassy in Canberra stand as the high water marks of the black struggle at this stage. These events provided more clearly than ever before, a national focus for the struggles of black people. Previously events such as the Gurindji walk off, the Yimkala land rights case, the Brockman defence campaign and the November 23 1971 demonstration in Brisbane had indicated that black militancy was on the rise; national coordination of this militancy around the Black Moratorium and the Black Embassy gave enormous impetus to the movement and involved many black people in political action for the first time in their

We favour more such action because they, more effectively than any other type of litical work, have the potential to draw mass mobilisations and from the increased consciousness created by the mobilisations themselves, will come the cadre necessary to build a black political party.

It is our duty as revolutionary socialists to unconditionally support the organisation and functioning of a black nationalist party. In an era where increased attacks economic and political institutionalization and concessions resisted by the capitalist class, not an inch will be given to black people. In fact repression will increase. to organise in a political way before will inspiring and mobilizing a powerful move- encounter attempts by the ruling class to crush their efforts at organisation. This will be done with both political and economic considerations in mind. For the super exploited, organisation as a political force is extremely dangerous to the ruling class.

We unconditionally support the efforts of black people to rid themselves of their oppressed position in this society. We will wherever possible work to build mass movements in support of black struggles. At the same time we recognise that black liberation cannot be achieved short of the overturn of the capitalist system. The demands of the black movement should be directed against the capitalist system which is responsible for the oppression of blacks and not merely "racism" in its abstract form, divorced from the capitalist power structures. Demands which flow from this perspective are:

1. self determination for blacks 2. the granting of all land rights claims 3. immediate repeal of all discriminat-

ory legislation 4. an end to all economic and social discrimination against blacks, whether by wage injustices, restrictions on living standards and job opportunities or by restrictions on freedom of expression, freedom of movement or freedom of association.

HOW THE RADICALISATION HAS AFFECTED THE WORKING CLASS

The specific major areas of struggle that have characterized the developing radicalization so far - students, women,

antiwar movement have occurred, in the main, outside the framework of the union movement and in no case have been led by any section of organized labour Nevertheless these movements have already deeply affected the consciousness of the working class. According to government statistics, of the total work force in Australia in 1966, 27% were under 25 years of age and of this percentage 74% were women. Add to this the increase in people with some tertiary education in the 60's and we can see the enormous potential movements amongst the youth, women and students have for attracting and influencing the body of Australian workers.

The available evidence shows the depth of antiwar sentiment in the working class. The Melbourne moratorium campaign in particular mobilized thousands of workers from all sections of industry It is clear that the movement against the Vietnam war which began on the campuses has been able to extend its support to the working class.

In the same way the rising feminist consciousness will find reflection and expression among women workers. The essential character of the increasingly youthful workforce is that it is being pervaded with the perspectives that the young workers bring with them from their growing up in the radicalization

GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE UNIONS

The wave of strikes in the last year demonstrate that the working class is not prepared to sacrifice its standard of living to pay for the capitalist crisis.

With the current recession the ruling class hopes to sap the will of the organized working class to defend its real wage rates against inflation with rising unemployment But the workers so far have not been cowed. Indeed far from detering militancy, the industrial laws and the actions of the bourgeoisie and their labour apologists have resulted in a rising class consciousness where workers are rapidly coming to realise that their interests can only be protected in the current crisis by their own united strengt Also, rather than resorting to the traditional strike weapon, workers are now often experimenting with a variety of forms of action which raise the political question of who controls of job, the worker or the actions themselves and they are sold out by the union bureaucrats, two valuable lessons are learnt: workers don't need the boss to run their lives and they had better not trust the union leadership to make a fight.

The fight for a sliding scale of hours and wages must be counterposed to all attempts by the capitalist class to "solve" the problems of unemployment and inflation by moving toward wage controls.

The active intervention and threat of intervention by the government on the side of the employers, and against the unions, underscores the fact that key economic issues today are increasingly fought out on a political level

The labour bureaucracy is a conservative, petty-bourgeois social layer encrusted on the unions. It acts as the central transmission belt for bourgeois politics into the working class and remains the chief obstacle to transforming the unions into revolutionary instruments independently fighting around the key political and social issues facing the working class and its allies Far from mobilizing union power behind the important political and social issues of the radicalization, issues that deeply affect their members, the labour officialdom does everything in its power to keep the workers tied to as narrow and reformist a social program as possible

The impact of the developing radicalization educational institutions today are a growon the union movement and the political- ing proportion of the working class with ization of the workers arising from their economic struggles continue to be molecular processes. There has been no major challenge to the bureaucracy as a whole at this stage There is not yet discernable Students, because of their unique situation of the sould be the overthrow of their increased social weight can of the conservative bureaucracy and its replacement by a leadership based on a

LABOR TO POWER!

What should be the strategy of socialists in this election year? Although little

distinguishes Whitlam and his techno. cratic elite from McMahon and Co, the ALP in the eyes of the mass of the Australian working class, still represents them and their interests. The ALP remains a party based on the working class, and we should unconditionally support it in opposition to the anticlass parties by urging a vote for it.

It is important that the working class live through the experience of a Labor Government and see all its cherished hopes evaporate before the fanatical zeal of the Catholic Actionists on the o hand, and the class collaborationies with their ministerial titles, cars and white-tie dinners, on the other Only then will the advanced section the working class learn to put their true in themselves alone and not in some polished Labor faker; only then will n realise that socialism, the only way to share the earth's wealth fairly must come through the united actions of the workers themselves and not through the wind-bags of the Parliamentary Labor

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RADICALISATION

There are two main objective bases for the new radicalization:

Firstly the crisis of imperialism manifested by the growing gap between the rich and the poor nations, the successful revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam and the over-all political instability in the colonial world that threatens to erupt into successful social revolutions. Imperialism is forced to attempt to halt the spread of revolution by direct intervention and this has been a prime factor in radicalizing youth in both the advanced capitalist countries and the colonial countries:

The most dominant political theme aroun which these new youth have been radicalized is in fact defence of the Colonial revolutions, Imperialism's counteroffensive which began against the colonial revolution in the 1950s and culminated in the war in Vietnam and was responsible for the crushing of the left in Indonesia, the imposition of military dictatorships in Latin America by direct intervention and covert intervention in the political affairs of almost the whole of the 3rd World, founded in Vietnam. Here the offensive was turned back and imperialism suffered a protracted defeat which led to social crisis at home and a loss of prestige throughout the world.

For Australian radicalizing youth Vietnam was the key issue. From 1964 onwards an increasing number of youth and students were mobilized against the war in a campaign which drew in such wide sectors of the population that the demand to withdraw Australian troops was eventually acceded to by the government.

The second major basis for the new radicalization is the increasing proletarianization of intellectual labor. Capitalism in the period of the "3rd Industrial Revolution" requires large numbers of better educated workers for all levels of industry and trade The university and technical institutions have consequently undergone an enormous expansion along with these changes in the nature of the work force.

These changes are indicated by the reduced wage differentials between white collar and manual workers, increased unionization and militancy of these new "white collar" layer, a rise in similarities of consumption and of social status of the work force with a growing similarity of working conditions and together have led to an increasingly homogeneous proletariat.

Thus the expansion of the educational institutions has led to a change in the status of students. No longer can they all be identified as future members of the ruling class. They are a social layer nothing to sell but their (intellectual) labour power .

any organized tendency toward the form- are able to gain a quicker understanding the goal of which in the union movement, of the ills of capitalist society and because become a real (if temporary) vanguard class-struggle program aimed at the ruling a powerful revolutionary upsurge as in for the working class as a whole and trigger May 1968 in France.

FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST POLICIES ment generalized the radicalization, spreading it both geographically and into The mass actions of this antiwar movelayers of the population other than the students. From a credibility gap on the war question, suspicions and doubts about

of the government widened lingness to challenge the authorvailing institutions and to reject more of the norms and ideology

vement continued to develop bs and flows, new struggles Issues such as the oppression and pollution of our environfurther fuelled the radicalization beration movement against the of homosexuals, the prison be struggle of pensioners demoneral important facts:

is no layer too oppressed to no reactionary prejudice and too sacrosanct and deep-rooted

ons of each new layer of the movement have raised greate he fundamental values of

is and deepens interest in

as about the reconstruction of home the conclusion that

independent struggles will merge as the radicalization ements mentioned have drawn inspiration and tact-

om one another. But each omy and an independent y do not develop in unison As one radicalizing area ogh a period of relative quieothers can leap ahead; and from w struggles new lessons are learn e absorbed and applied by the ighout the uneven, somet. wthm of the radicalization al trend has been constant. to deepen.

bservation and participation ment sectors of the unfolding n, the following generaln be drawn about its character ng for the S.Y.A.;

these movements has essent pendent character and course tside the stifling control of ureaucracy.

adicalization beginning in ties disdained the Stalinism of school. The CPA youth organm were toward the "new Left",

the start of the radicalization naim of the antiwar movement. for withdrawal of Australian is inside its ranks with debate omd this policy - it being dropped then taken up again by the leadership once it was found to ith the overwhelming sentiments

an influx into the ALP of some In Victoria it gave added he development of a left wing n to the reformist and capitula les of the ALP leadership. The on forced much of the leadership ad respond to the politics of the ments and to attempt to channel in into the party's electoral act-

thas been unsuccessful in pullmass movements into line with the the bureaucracies.

adence of the radicalization is est guarantees that it will conor be derailed through dependmist leaders. The radicalhave refused to subordinate ds or wait for the struggles of re embarking on their own.

dence offers unparalleled s for our tendency. We te fully in the mass movead them in an anticapitalis e recruiting to our own It is only we who, because plary revolutionary traditions are able to win the best of g youth and answer all their all the past of the socialist

lese movements has been, leady, able, and willing a direct action in the streets attles and to organize mass pro-

test demonstrations against the authorities and administrations.

This approach is in line with our method of action which seeks to have the masses themselves involved in their struggle. It further guarantee of the independence he mass movements as the inevitable ust of mass demonstrations is away from promise and parlimmentary channels.

The process of radicalization began in other areas prior to an extensive upsurge and politicalization of the working class. But the issues raised by the social struggles of the 1960s have begun affecting the thinking of the entire country. And the radicalization already has certain characteristics -- the size and weight of the student movemen the extent of antiwar sentiment; the depth of feminist consciousness, the challenges to the class, racist, and sexist assumptions that furnish the ideological glue of bourgeois domination--which are of enormous importance in assessing the potential polcization of the radicalization.

The existence and growth of this radicalization ind educate a Marxist cadre that is active and influential in the movements as they arise, that fights for leadership against the claims of all our opponents, is decisive in building the leadership necessary if the oming struggle for power is to have a viet.

 A distinction must be made between idicalization and a revolutionary situation The current radicalization, numbers of people, under changes in international and national ditions, have begun altering their attitudes about important questions, beliefs, values social, personal, philosophical, political economic, cultural-is not at the point of becoming a pre-revolutionary situation is a precondition and preparation for it the borders of a revolutionary situationcan be reached only when the politicalizati and radicalization has extended to decisive sectors of the working masses, and when a evolutionary upsurge and mobilization objectively poses the basic question of what class should wield power.

While a radicalization can develop and prevail over a period of many years and even decades, prerevolutionary or revolutionar situations, where the contending of forces directly confront each other, are short duration. We can predict neither the class nor the appearance of a prerevoluyism or Maoism, Partially as a respon- ionary situation. But it is clear that the A has adopted "liberal" communist prospects for its favorable outcome will be and has changed the name and natimproved, the deeper, broader, and bigger youth organisation to seek to get the prior radicalization has been, the of the radicalization. But mone greater is the number of politicalized and is allowed them to change the basic revolutionary-minded militants previously nd gain hegemony over the mass developed in the mass movement, and the more receptive the masses have become to radical solutions.

adapt to some extent by adopt- The potential speed with which such a sitnation can appear was graphically illustrated by the May-June 1968 upsurge in France Vietnam. But this led to a con- that suddenly placed the question of power squarely on the agenda. The key question at such a juncture is whether a revolutionary socialist leadership has been created that is capable of taking the leadership of the workers' upsurge away from the reformists and centrists and of moblizing the masses in revolutionary struggle for state power.

> The fundamental economic and political contradictions of capitalism that underlied the radicalization have an international basis. The basic dilemma faced by our rulers today is that as they try to halt the world revolutionary process and to meet the growing economic competition of their capitalist competitors, they come into increasing conflict with the mainten ance of social stability, ideological authority, and class peace at home. This gives deep international as well as national roots to the radicalization.

The current radicalization takes place in a period of ascending world revolution. In spite of major defeats like that in Indonesia and setbacks and temporary stalemates like those of the past decade in Latin Amer ica, the colonial revolution continues to press forward. The monolithic character of world Stallnism has been shattered. Not only has the political revolution made important advances in Eastern Europe, bu its first shoots are becoming visible in the Soviet Union. In the advanced capitalist countries, there is a new wave of struggle. and radicalization.

The tendency is increasing for the example and lessons of the struggles in one country or area of the world to spread to others, as has been seen in the international scope of the student radicalization, the rise of the antiwar movement, the active appearance of the national question in advanced capitalist countries, and as is now occurr-

ing with the struggles of the women's liberation movement.

The use of anti-Communism to stop the radicalization, of foreign adventures to inflame war patriotism, of war spending to generate prosperity, of government attacks to silence protesters, of racism to conservatize privileged sectors of the working class, and of sexism to support reactionary prejudices and ideology cannot be relied upon to reverse this radical ization. Quite the contrary, opposition to the material, social, and psychological effects of war, inflation, repression, racism, sexism, and red-baiting are the central motive forces of the radicalization itself. These ruling-class weapons, combined with limited reforms and concessions, can and will bring about pauses and partial setbacks. Yet exacerbation of the fundamental underlying contradictions of capitalism feeding the radicalization will propel it forward.

in all stages of building our organisation our cadres must be alert to, recognize, prior to the radicalization of major sections of the progressive demands of oppressed groupthe working class is of vital importance to the line progressive demands of oppressed groupthat they disrupt the unity of the working ings that appear as the radicalization develops, that they disrupt the unity of the working class. The way our opponents recoil from We champion the fighting movements of all oppressed social layers and advance and the independent thrust of these struggles develop their key democratic and transitional demands as part of our own. The revolutionary vanguard consciously uses its participation in these movements to draw the lessons necessary to bring evolutionary-socialist consciousness s broad a layer of militants as possible

The coming revolution will incorporate the democratic and transitional demand that flow from the various independent movements that have arisen in the cour of social struggle as well as those that will arise as the radicalization deepens. It will give an enormous impetus to the further development of these movement until their demands are met in full in the course of the construction of socialism,

In view of the decisiveness of the construct ion of the revolutionary party, our most important objective in involving ourselves deeply in these mass movements and absorbing their lessons is to recruit the best militants and help them to assimil ate the program and traditions of Trotskyism, special oppression they suffer as a result of and gain the political experience necessary to become integrated in the expanding Trotsky ist cadre.

The changing relationship of forces onthe left, which, while far from settled, is turning in our favour, is of decisive im-

At the beginning of the radicalization in this country, our tendency was a handful of scattered and isolated individuals. It was extremely difficult for a revolutionary marxist alternative to be presented to the radicalizing youth and it has taken the initial stages of the radicalization til now to get to the position of organizational cohesiveness and spread that enables us toplay a role in all the struggles as they emerge. We are now the strongest tendency amongst the youth of all-those calling themselves socialists. This is extremely important as it is still amongstyouth that the greatest immediate potental for recruitment to Trotskyism lies,

OUR OPPONENTS ON THE LEFT

Most of our opponents, reformists and ultraleft alike, make three basic errors in their approach to the current radicalization:

1. They cannot recognize the class struggle as it unfolds. They do not understand the nature of the radicalization itself, its chief characteristics and new forms of struggle, Instead of embracing the new forms and progressive demands of these struggles, they tend to be repelled by them. Instead of seeking to extend the independent and revolutionary thrust of these movements, they seek to channel them into reformist directions, to oppose them in a sectarian manner, or to dissipate their potential through ultraleft gimmicks.

2. Partly because of this and partly because of a dogmatic projection of their limited understanding of the radicalization of the 1930s onto the current struggles, they do not understand the dynamics and depth of the radicalization, how it can extend into the working class in the future, and how it can lead to a revolutionary upsurge, They misunderstand or reject all the key aspects of revolutionary strategy based on a transitional program for participation in and acceleration of the radicalization.

3. None of them understand the political and organizational character of the kind of party that must be built to lead the struggli for socialism to victory. Furthermore, the tend to approach the problem of building

a mass party as if they already were that party whose central problem is the disposition of its mass forces. We see ourselves as concentrating on those essential cadrebuilding steps without which there will be no basis for the construction of a mass revolutionary workers' party.

THEY REJECT THE MAIN DEMANDS OF THE MASS MOVEMENTS

Most of our opponents refuse to adopt the central progressive demands of the largest components of the radicalization -- student, antiwar, and women's liberation movements--as part of their own. All, to one degree or another, are repelled by, uncomfortable with, antagonistic toward and fail to understand the logic and depth of all these movements.

One argument both the reformist and ultralefts use against full support to these new class. The way our opponents recoil from means in practice disregarding the interests of the more oppressed workers and pandering to the prevailing prejudices and narrow in terests of privileged layers in the working class and of the trade-union-bureaucracy:

Revolutionists call for unity in action of the working class against attacks by the class enemy. But we fight to break up the "unity" that is founded on subordination of the historical interests of the class as a whole to those of the more privileged workers, to the anti-working class interests of the union bureaucracy, and to the capitlist class.

evolutionists do not call for unity of the working class based on the narrow parochia terests of the more privileged strata of orkers, or on the current level of polit ut for unity on a This orientation equires full support to the struggles of a he less privileged workers and oppresse sectors of the population, against the the racial, sexual, and generational divisions fostered by the ruling class. In reality, far from threatening the real unity needed by the working class against its class enemies, the struggles of the oppressed nationalities, the women, the youth are all helping to deal powerful blows to the ideological barries that racism, sexism, the unity of the working class on a class struggle program,

The reformists and ultralefts alike argue that the struggles that have so far emerged in the current radicalization are basically "petty-bourgeois." Thus the demands and driving forces of the radicalization at this "petty-bourgeois" stage are ephemeral and will be overcome at the next stage when the workers enter the struggle.

They are wrong on all counts. The demands and struggles of the students pointing toward the struggle for the red university; the demands of the antiwar movement for immediate withdrawal of the imperialist army from Vietnam, the social and political demands of women for their liberation, are all directed against the interests and authority of the ruling class and in the interests of the

working class.

Far from diminishing the importance of these movements, the radicalization of deeper layers of the working class, which will occur in part around these political issues, will give them tremendous impetus, When this occurs, these movements will have the most powerful and decisive reinforcement of all, the entry of a great majority of the working class into struggle against the common enemy, the ruling class. And each of them will gain powe ful new proletarian forces.

Only a leadership applying a transitional program that includes the progressive demands of all the oppressed, and tested by previous struggles, will be capable of leading the working class and its allies in victorious struggle for the establishment of a workers state.

oth our reformist and ultraleft opponents exhibit a tendency towards economism in their ultimately pessimistic view of the role of the workers in the radicalization process. They see struggle over wage and job issues, in isolation from the political issues and notive forces of the radicalization, as the sole way the workers will be brought into struggle. This is, tied to their misconception -- and hope -- that independent movements like Black nationalism and leminism will somehow fade away when the

CONTINUED PAGE 10

"real" struggle begins.

The issues that have already been raised in the current radicalization are not peripheral to the process of social discontent; they are central to it, and, in combination with struggles by the workers over wage utionary practice today - the transitional and job issues, will lead to the politicalizat- program and its application to the struggles ion and radicalization of the working class. erupting today. And the independent and uncompromising demands of these various movements will be an additional aid to the workers' struggles against the efforts of the reformists to channel the burgeoning radicalization into the dead end of class collabor-

In face of the radicalization, the reformists and ultralefts are basically conservative. They fear the struggles of the developing radicalization, the revolts of the least privileged, just as they fear the revolution itself. This is reflected in either their sectarian abstention from the living movements emerging in the process of the radicalization or their participation only to divert, blunt, and in essence oppose the demands of these movements, their uncontrolled initiatives, and their independent political thrust,

OF THE WORKING CLASS

At bottom, this conservatism betrays a deep lack of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class and an ignorance of the essential nature of social revolution. Our opponents do not think that the young, militant workers who will revolt are capable of ever becoming antiwar, feminist or profeminist, and selfreliant. If that were true, the workers would also be incapable both of mobilizing the oppressed masses to overturn capitalism and of shouldering the immense task of constructing socialism.

Thus at bottom our opponents are utopians. They really do not believe that the ranks of the workers can do the job. And in ence on other forces--the sectarians their mechanical political fantasies, and the reformists in "taking office" in parliament.

When the reformists or ultralefts proclaim that the forms and issues of the radicalization are detours, aberrations or obstacles to the working class taking power they mean in actuality that the radicalization threatens to become more and more of an obstacle to their desire to keep the class struggle in reformist channels or to control it according to a preconceived scheme. The audacity in the transitional approach

will recoil from the future spontaneous, who seek to utilize them to divert the udacious, and uncontrolled mobilizations masses into safe parliamentary channels. of the working class because they will be abstaining they will do everything they can with proletarian methods of struggle - not to keep the workers within reformist channels.

The sectarians (those who have not become the crassest opportunists) will scold the workers, recoiling from the new forms, language, and initiatives of the political radical-, ization of the working class just as they have done with regard to the current move-

In the character of their political response and line in the face of the rise of the new radicalization we have been provided with a preview of how our opponents will react to the radicalization of the working class.

And it is here that we can see the form of a mistaken idea of the coming radicalization of the working class and what our tasks should be in regards to it. Some of our opponents see the only possible form this radicalization could take is in response to a recession of the size of 1929 and in terms of the radicalization of the 30's.

However, the important question at this stage is not predicting what forms the workers will create in their future struggles; or how many and which unions can be transformed into revolutionary instruments. The key thing to understand is that building the independent movements that have emerged in the new radicalization, and deepening their struggles, is part of the process of the radicalization of the working class and the preparation of its right for political independence; and that the struggle to transform the unions includes fighting within the unions for support to the central demands of the independent struggles rising in the current radicalization.

Everyone of our opponents without exception adopts opportunist attitudes and positions in practice. The Communist Party (ies) vacillates in its support of the independent character of the antiwar movement; its union leaders sell out vital struggles it refuses to face its past. The Labour Press group deny any support to the antiwar or women's liberation movements. The Maoists flip-flop from ultraleft confrontation rhetoric to absurd support for the progressive" bourgeoisie.

THE TRANSITIONAL

Fundamentally these tendencies fail to understand the vital question in revol-

The real solution to the problem of bridging the gap between the masses and our program of revolutionary socialism is to be found in the proper application of the transitional method taught us by Trotsky. The method is not complicated. It consists in approaching the masses at whatever level they may stand and in drawing them through progressive struggles and explanations toward a higher level of thought and action, that is, in the direction of socialist revolution.

If we think this through carefully we can see that the first linkup must be determined empirically. Moreover, our own wishes, or our own level of class consciousness, must not be permitted to influence our judgment as to the real nature of the current concerns of the masses or the issues on which they are prepared to go into action. Since the deology of society as a whole is shaped by the ideology of the ruling class, we must be prepared to accent situations in which the masses, or a sector of the masses will respond only to slogans of quite limited nature. Or, to put it in more revolutionary terms, we ought to look for such situations.

If one were to place some of these slogans in the logical sequence of history rather surprising labels could justifiably be placed on them. In the case of democratic slogans which are so important in the struggle against fascism, or against dictatorial regimes of lesser malignancy, oragainst the erosion of democratic rights in countries that still proclaim adherence to bourgeois democracy, it would be necessary to call them "bourgeois" or petty bourgeois.

That should not cause us to hesitate to use practice they substitute reliance and depend- them. In fact an audacious and aggressive attitude in this respect lies at the heart of the Transitional Program and the method it teaches. We are unable to choose the field of battle. In the class struggle, battles break out as a consequence of forces over which we have no control at the present stage of our development. We, as revolutionary socialists, have no choice but to engage in these battles, otherwise we will not grow but will wither on the vine.

consists in attempting to wrest these slogans

bourgeois methods, which consist today at best of parliamentary shadow-boxing,

It may sound paradoxical, but in an imperialist country, in the stage of the death agony of capitalism, revolutionarysocialists can find themselves utilizing proletarian methods of struggle in defense of a slogan that belongs logically to the epoch of the ascending bourgeois revol-

If we call democratic slogans "bourgeois" or "petty bourgeois" we have to add at once that all this really means in the context of the times is that it has fallen to the revolutionary-socialist movement to defend the great historic gains, or historic objectives, of previous revolutions, such as freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom to organize, freedom to control one' own body. If the proletariat and its allies are prepared to defend the democratic gains or democratic slogans of the bourgeois revolution, this is a very positive beginning. We can join them in that and proceed from this relatively backward ideological level to help the workers reach full class consciousness.

In the final analysis, the decisive question is the construction of a mass Trotskyist party, S.Y.A. though organizationally independent is linked hrough a common program with the Socialist Workers League, the nucleus of the cadres essential to the building of such a party.

S.Y.A. is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, the World party of the socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. At the last world congress of the Fourth International a resolution on "The Worldwide Radicalization of the Youth and the tasks of the Fourth International" was adopted for discussion.

The concluding section amply summarizes the nature and role of the Socialist Youth Alliance:

Three interrelated tasks are indicated by this analysis of the sweep of the radicalization of the youth. These are:

(1) To win the leadership of the radical youth capable of leading the working class to in the spheres of both ideology and action. (2) To build strong Marxist youth organizations. International are as yet too small to lead (3) To draw new cadres from the youth to replenish the ranks and supply fresh energy to own banner in a decisive struggle for power. the leadership of the sections of the Fourth International.

All the class collaborationists and reformists out of the hands of the bourgeois politicians The Trotskyist youth have greater possibilities order to equip them for the greater task of leading substantial forces in action than of winning leadership of the revolution any other tendency in the radical movement. elements among the working masses. To In several countries they have already proved fulfill that function adequately, the youth frightened by their lack of ability to tightly Note carefully. No matter how one charact- capable of initiating and directing movements recruits must thoroughly assimilate the dominate that movement, but far from erizes democratic slogans, we fight for them of considerable proportions and significance. organizational concepts of Bolshevism and One example is the worldwide campaign

FAN THE FLAMES OF DISCONTENT

if you oppose the Vietnam war and conscription, if you want a socialist Australia, if you support the struggle for women's liberation, the struggle for socialist

democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, the struggle for national

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liberation throughout the world- join the SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE,

undertaken in defense of the Vietnam revolu-Another is the role played by the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire in the historic May-June 1968 days in France. A third is the ideological influence of the Fourth Internation alists in the movement led by the National Strike Council of the Mexican students.

No tendency can hope to root itself in and gain political leadership of the radical youth that does not fully and audaciously participate in the front ranks of its ongoing struggles, whatever shortcomings they may have. At certain points the youth movement can only progress through action, and the absence of action can condemn it to prolonged division and sterility. The Trotskyist youth must set the example in practice, as well as in theoretical concepts and political pronouncements.

However, there is an abundance of activism of readiness to struggle and sacrifice among the ranks of youth. What is most lacking in the new generation is theoretical training, political clarity, and a correct line of struggle This side of the revolutionary-socialist youth movement is of decisive importance for its further development. Growing recognition of this will become registered in the widening influence of Trotskyism. The superiority of the Trotskyist movement over its opponents and rivals comes from its sound Marxist foundations, its Bolshevik traditions, its programmatic comprehensiveness and correctness, its adherence to socialist internationalism. These features likewise constitute its chief attraction to radicalizing youth.

While spreading the ideas of Trotskyism among the youth with whom they particapate in united combat, the Fourth Internationalists must seek to construct a revolutionary Marxist youth organization that will systematically educate its members and followers in the methods, doctrines, and positions of the Trotskyist movement from its origins. All the results of activity among the youth can be jeopardized if the organizational requisite for this educational work is neglected.

Work among the youth is not an end in itself. It reaches fruition in the impetus given to the construction or reinforcement of the revolutionary parties that will be victory. The sections of the Fourth the masses in their own name and under their

Their task now is to win and educate decisive numbers of the radical youth in its methods of constructing politically homogeneous and democratically centralized parties. The construction of such parties in the struggles that are erupting is the only means of overcoming the crisis of leadership which is the central contradiction of our

Government authorities the world over, whether in the advanced capitalist powers, the workers states, or the colonial world, are becoming increasingly concerned over the unrest among their youth which is becoming more and more unmanageable. Their worries are justified. This rising generation has already manifested a tremendous potential for radical activity and a powerful will to change the status quo.

Whoever succeeds in winning the allegience of the most intelligent and devoted activists among the rebel youth holds the key to the future. For they will play a major role in making history and deciding the destiny of mankind for the rest of the twentieth

Insurgent students in a number of countries have already shown how their initiative in confronting the established powers can serve to stimulate struggle in other sectors of society. The young workers will be in the forefront of the movements to break the grip of the bureaucratic machines in the unions and will set an example for the older generations in their militancy and interest in revolutionary politics.

The Fourth International cannot afford to default in what is its central task today winning and assimilating the best of the rebel youth. A good start has already been made in a number of countries. It is now imperative to build on these achievements. This requires better coordination of the activities of the youth groups of the different sections and closer collaboration on such projects as antiwar and defense campaigns, and the development of new openings for the movement internationally.

The aim is to enable the Fourth International and leader of the youth, who are called upon to advance the world revolution.

7,000 DEMONSTRATE IN NEW ZEAL-DAGAINST VIETNAM WAR

m July 14 more than 27,000 New Zealinders marched in the country's main Ities to demand that the U.S. get out S.E. Asia immediately and stop the ombing of Indochina. The demonrators also demanded a total end to ew Zealand support for the war.

Trade unionists; Labour party M.P.'s, branches, and supporters; Christian intiwar groups; and university and high school students participated in the me numbers as they have in the past.

Women Against the War" contingents vere organised in Auckland, Wellington nd Christchurch. A new feature in uckland and Wellington was the organisation of Polynesian contingents ho marched under banners bearing such slogans as; "Polynesians against Racist Wars." In Christchurch a lively and vociferous Gay contingent took part n the march, organised by the recentformed Gay Liberation Movement that city.

The July 14 Moblisation was called by National Antiwar Conference, held in auckland April 22-23, which was stended by 400 persons from all over he country, from different sectors of ociety, and from various political roups. The perspective adopted by the onference was completely vindicated w the massive and enthusiastic turnout nd by the most popular of the archers' chants : "Out Now! Out Now!

ROTEST IN BANGLADESH

Thousands of Bengali workers have demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Sheik Mujibur Rahman in a demonstration against skyrocketing



rices and government corruption. The Washington Post" reported a demonst- Five defense attorneys withdrew from ration of 20,000 in chilly rain.

Addressing the meeting, the National Awami Party leader, Mr. Bhashani, accused the government of living in ivory towers of luxury while thousands starved. Since June the prices of food and clothing have increased three or four times while those of cooking fuel have loubled or tripled. Bengalis and foreign observers agree government MPs are loarding relief food or selling it on the black market.

Shashani's solution is a coalition govern- "Don't keep blaming the government ment. However the real answer lies with the workers and peasants themselves "We admit our failings but we expect aking power, removing the parasites, and beginning to build a socialist economy.

PEKING DENIES BANGLADESH SEAT

China, in its first use of its Security to admit Bangladesh to the United Nations protest action issued by prominent n August 25.

Last year the Chinese regime supported ahya Khan's brutal efforts to crush the revolt that led to the creation of Bangla- MALAGASY REPUBLIC IN "STATE lesh by granting \$300,000,000 in economic and military aid to Pakistan. This was in the midst of savage bombing aids against North Vietnam and it ncluded 60 Mig-19 jets badly needed in Vietnam for use against American B-52s. The country is facing severe economic

The formal reasons given by Peking for its action were that Bangladesh was defying U.N. resolutions calling for ithdrawal of all foreign troops from Sangladesh and for the repatriation of prisoners of war. Apparently more string- Action No. 21) ent rules hold for applicants than for a member like the U.S.A. that regularly violates the charter of an outfit that it elped to create and that it still domin-

eking's veto clearly violated Bangladesh's right to self-determination. For while it might be asked what workers states like China and the Soviet Union re doing in the imperialist-dominated



U. N. in the first place, any country that wants to join it should be allowed

RISING PROTEST OVER WITCH HUNT TRIALS

to do so.

Forty-one Sri Lanka youths accused of participating in the April 1971 uprising are being tried despite protests by defense attorneys and growing opposition by trade unions and civil libertarians. The youths

least 10,000 are still being held. Attorney General Victor Tennekoon charged that the youths were responsible for civilian deaths during the uprising. The government apparently hopes to use the trial to shift the blame for the mass-Prime Minister Mujib acres committed by Bandaranaike's

are the first of the 18,000 seized for

allegedly engaging in the uprising. At

security forces onto the young rebels. the trial in protest against rulings that no defense arguments questioning the legality of the proceedings could be heard,

The increasingly isolated United Front government is seeking to placate opposition by promising large-scale releases of detainees in the near future. Despite such promises Prime Minister Bandaranaike has made frequent speeches denouncing the island's young people and blaming them for many of the economic and political problems faced by her government.

and attempt revolution," she warned. you to point it out to us through your MPs." To make certain that the MP's jobs would not be threatened by such "pointing out," Bandaranaike's parliament recently extended its term of office until 1978.

A leaflet calling for a one day hunger strike against repression was issued on political figures and unionists since the state of emergency was instituted in March 1971.

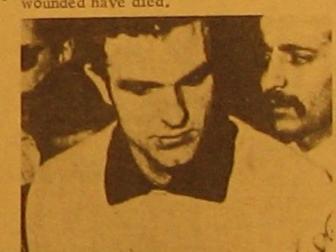
OF SEIGE" General Gabriel Ramantsoa has declared martial law and a'state of seige" in the Malagasy Republic so that the government can "work in a serene atmosphere" problems and the government is afraid of another upsurge by workers and students. In May President Tsiranana handed over power to Ramantsoa to attempt to head off a mass mobilization by students and workers. (see Direct

At least 16 young revolutionists have been escalating. slaughtered and repression stepped up following an extensive guerilla operation in Argentina. It was designed to lice 126
Shortly after the meeting began police
invaded and argenting began police in Argentina. It was designed to free 120 portical prisoners in the real police invaded and arrested several hundred iary. Although one guard was killed when poorle he tried to sound the alarm, none of the people.

others were harmed during the period of ident Salvador Allende announced in a complete control of the institution. Only "had granted them political asylum but 25 prisoners took part in the escape on had also taken steps to insure they left August 15. Six escaped in a car waiting Chile as quickly as possible." outside the prison and the others called three taxies. The six reached Trelew air- The arrival of the guerrillas in Chile arrived a few minutes after they forced it to Argentina, where they would quite to take off for Chile.

The 19 trapped guerillas then decided to have emerged badly tarnished but the government military forces closed in the Popular Unity coalition. On the other guerillas lay down their weapons and

On August 22 it was reported that 13 of the guerillas held at the airport had been executed and six others were in a critical state. It was alleged that the 19 had For a "leftist" government that has conattempted another escape by kidnapping a sistently maintained that it would respec guard but ran into a patrol and were mowed down. At least another 3 of the las posed an embarrassing problem. For wounded have died.



Captured guerrilla Humberto Segundo Suareg

The government has launched a repression over what to do with the ten Argentine involving enormous raids, dozens of arrests, guerrillas who hijacked a plane to Chile long jail sentences for distributors of pub- defense groups in Europe and the United lications "attributable" to the guerillas States began to mount pressure on the and other left groups.

Widespread Protest over Massacre The bodies of three young Argentinians killed in Trelew August 22 became focus- Defend Argentine Political Prisoners sent es of public protest against the government a delegation to the Chilean embassy on massacre, as they were sent back to cities August 21. Among those who were all over Argentina.

The remains of Mariano Pujada Badell and ical Bureau of the Communist League, Humberto Adrian Toschi arrived in Cordoba on August 23 where they lay in and the publisher Francois Maspero. the regional headquarters of the CGT (Confederacion General del Trabajo). Many people tried to enter the headquarters but were stopped by an iron ring the right of asylum on political of police, according to a UPI dispatch from Cordoba reported in the Aug 24 issue expressed optimism as to the solution the of the Buenos Aires daily La Nacion.

Student demonstrations broke out in almost every major Argentinian city as soon as news of the massacre became MASS MURDER OF ESCAPED GUERRILLAS known. The military regime clamped down to try to prevent the protests from

Notable protest actions also took place in La Rata following a mass assembly n the school of Physics where the participants almost managed to errect street barricade. In Corrientes students who attempted to organize a march were dispersed by the police and in Buenos Aires 1500 marched from a rally on the Universidad Technologica Nacional. Students in Santa Fe built barricades on several streets and set them on fire. Barricades also went up in Tucuman. In San Luis, police dispersed a demonstration, provoking violent clashes.

Various trade union protests took place as a result of the massacre highlighted by a stoppage called by the local CGT in Cordoba. The police responded by closing down the CGT headquarters and arresting trade union leaders.

Whatever the effects of the governmental repression of the protests against the laughter seemed on the last weekend in August to be assuming more and nore of a massive character. This is confirme by an August 25 A.P. dispatch which reported; "This industrial city of nearly a million people was crippled today by a fourteen hour general strike protesting the slaying of the sixteen guerillas and supporting a demand for higher vages."

ARGENTINE GUERRILLAS ARRIVE IN HAVANA

The ten Argentine guerrillas who hijacked an airliner to Chile on August 15 left the Chilean capital of Santiago ten days New Zealand anti-war mobilisation in Auckland July 14 later for Cuba. According to a Reuters dispatch from Santiago August 25, Presseveral hours when the prisoners were in nationwide broadcast that his government

> port and commandeered a plane about to placed Allende in an embarrassing posittake off. Although they held the plane ion. If he refused to grant them asylun briefly at the airport their 19 comrades and allowed them to be extradited back likely have been executed, not only would the left-wing image of his regime occupy the airport restaurant where they refusal would have met with considerable held a fifty minute press conference. As opposition inside Chile, even within his hand, Allende has committed his govern ment to a strict observance of bourgeois legality and has been cultivating friendly relations with the Argentine military dic-

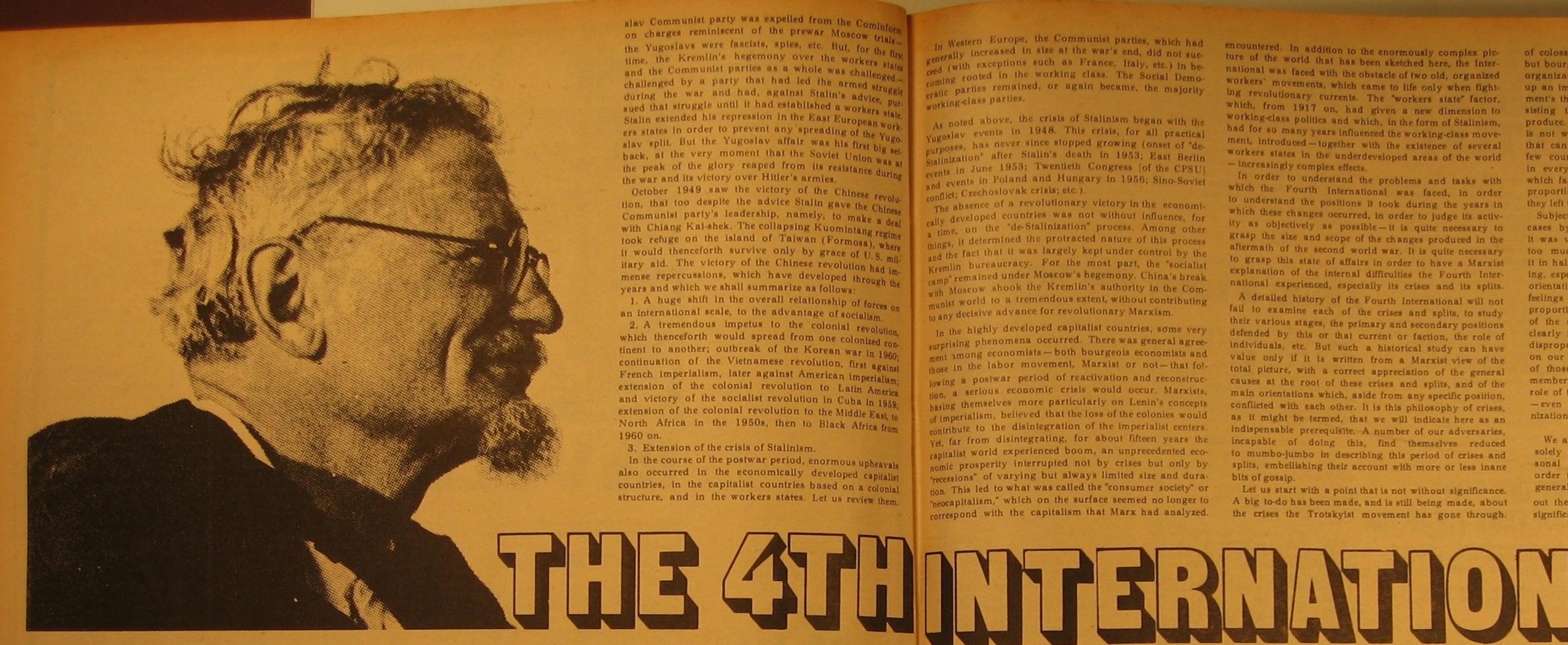
> > existing bourgeois legality, the guerril-Chile and Argentina are not only both signatories to a treaty on extradition, but also to a treaty on air piracy. In the context of the former, it would be up to the bourgeois courts to rule on Argentina's plea for extradition, while under the terms of the latter, the nijackers would have to be placed on trial in Puerto Montt, the point where they first landed in Chile. Either of these two courses would have plainly entailed a high political cost for the Allende regime.

DEFENSE GROUPS MOBILIZE IN

As the Allende regime was deliberating Chilean authorities to grant them political asylum.

In Paris, for instance, the Committee to received by charge d'affaires Jorge Edwards were Alain Krivine of the Polit-French section of the Fourth International "Mr. Edwards explained that the Chilean authorities were concerned about respecting the country's laws, which recognize according to Le Monde August M. "He Allende government might ad

On August 23, the United States Committee for Justice to Latin Americ a Political Prisoners (USLA) sponsored a pro- et of the Chilean embassy in Washington, D.C., and a demonstration in New Y City. The latter began with a picket line in front of the offices of Aeroline Argent-On August 22 a mass assembly was called inas, which was followed by a march to at the Universidad Nacional de Cordoba. the Chilean mission to the United Nations, There a delegation delivered a letter addressed to Allende demanding that the guerrillas not be extradited to Argentina.



elay Communist party was expelled from the Coming on charges reminiscent of the prewar Moscow trial the Yugoslavs were fascists, spies, etc. But, for the f time, the Kremlin's hegemony over the workers state and the Communist parties as a whole was challenged. challenged by a party that had led the armed struggle during the war and had, against Stalin's advice sued that struggle until it had established a workers state Stalin extended his repression in the East European work ers states in order to prevent any spreading of the Yugo. slav split. But the Yugoslav affair was his first big set. back, at the very moment that the Soviet Union was at the peak of the glory reaped from its resistance during the war and its victory over Hitler's armies.

October 1949 saw the victory of the Chinese revolution, that too despite the advice Stalin gave the Chinese Communist party's leadership, namely, to make a deal with Chiang Kai-shek. The collapsing Kuomintang regime took refuge on the island of Taiwan (Formosa), where It would thenceforth survive only by grace of U.S. mil. itary aid. The victory of the Chinese revolution had in mense repercussions, which have developed through the years and which we shall summarize as follows:

1. A huge shift in the overall relationship of forces r an international scale, to the advantage of socialism

2. A tremendous impetus to the colonial revolution which thenceforth would spread from one colonized con tinent to another; outbreak of the Korean war in 1960continuation of the Vietnamese revolution, first against French imperialism, later against American imperialism extension of the colonial revolution to Latin America and victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba in 1959. extension of the colonial revolution to the Middle East, to North Africa in the 1950s, then to Black Africa from

3. Extension of the crisis of Stalinism.

In the course of the postwar period, enormous upheavals also occurred in the economically developed capitalist countries, in the capitalist countries based on a colonial structure, and in the workers states. Let us review them,

Western Europe, the Communist parties, which had encountered. In addition to the enormously complex pic-In Western In addition to the enormously complex picture of the world that has been sketched here, the Intered (with exceptions such as France, Italy, etc.) in beoming rooted in the working class. The Social Democratic parties remained, or again became, the majority working-class parties.

As noted above, the crisis of Stalinism began with the Yugoslav events in 1948. This crisis, for all practical purposes, has never since stopped growing (onset of "de-Stalinization" after Stalin's death in 1953; East Berlin events in June 1953; Twentieth Congress [of the CPSU] and events in Poland and Hungary in 1956; Sino-Soviet onflict; Czechoslovak crisis; etc.).

The absence of a revolutionary victory in the economically developed countries was not without influence, for a time, on the "de-Stalinization" process. Among other things, it determined the protracted nature of this process and the fact that it was largely kept under control by the Kremlin bureaucracy. For the most part, the "socialist ramp' remained under Moscow's hegemony. China's break with Moscow shook the Kremlin's authority in the Communist world to a tremendous extent, without contributing to any decisive advance for revolutionary Marxism.

In the highly developed capitalist countries, some very surprising phenomena occurred. There was general agreement among economists - both bourgeois economists and those in the labor movement, Marxist or not-that following a postwar period of reactivation and reconstruction, a serious economic crisis would occur. Marxists, basing themselves more particularly on Lenin's concepts of imperialism, believed that the loss of the colonies would contribute to the disintegration of the imperialist centers. vel, far from disintegrating, for about fifteen years the capitalist world experienced boom, an unprecedented economic prosperity interrupted not by crises but only by "recessions" of varying but always limited size and duraion. This led to what was called the "consumer society" or "neocapitalism," which on the surface seemed no longer to correspond with the capitalism that Marx had analyzed.

national was faced with the obstacle of two old, organized workers' movements, which came to life only when fighting revolutionary currents. The "workers state" factor, which, from 1917 on, had given a new dimension to working-class politics and which, in the form of Stalinism, had for so many years influenced the working-class movement, introduced-together with the existence of several workers states in the underdeveloped areas of the world - increasingly complex effects.

In order to understand the problems and tasks with which the Fourth International was faced, in order to understand the positions it took during the years in which these changes occurred, in order to Judge its activity as objectively as possible - it is quite necessary to grasp the size and scope of the changes produced in the aftermath of the second world war. It is quite necessary to grasp this state of affairs in order to have a Marxist explanation of the internal difficulties the Fourth International experienced, especially its crises and its splits.

A detailed history of the Fourth International will not fail to examine each of the crises and splits, to study their various stages, the primary and secondary positions defended by this or that current or faction, the role of individuals, etc. But such a historical study can have value only if it is written from a Marxist view of the total picture, with a correct appreciation of the general causes at the root of these crises and splits, and of the main orientations which, aside from any specific position, conflicted with each other. It is this philosophy of crises, as it might be termed, that we will indicate here as an indispensable prerequisite. A number of our adversaries, incapable of doing this, find themselves reduced to mumbo-jumbo in describing this period of crises and splits, embellishing their account with more or less inane bits of gossip.

Let us start with a point that is not without significance. A big to-do has been made, and is still being made, about the crises the Trotskyist movement has gone through.

of colossal forces that tear up not only tiny vanguards. but bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups, workers' mass organizations, etc., as well. (It would be easy to draw up an impressive list.) The international Trotskyist movement's theoretical base is an invaluable instrument for resisting the divisions that antagonistic forces tend to produce. But a theoretical base, no matter how powerful. is not without limits, especially in face of material forces that can at certain times assume considerable size in a few countries or groups of countries. As we shall see, in every crisis and split it is easy enough to uncover which factor (in the given circumstances) assumed undue proportions for a group of members - to the point where they left the International.

Subjectively, the situation was aggravated in numerous cases by the fact that since the organization was tiny, it was viewed by some as a secondary factor, to which too much importance should not be attached. Cutting it in half did not seem to matter much, numerically speaking, especially for those who believed they had found the orientation that would permit of rapid growth. These feelings were rendered all the stronger in view of the disproportion between the objectively revolutionary character of the situation - the important tasks this set - and the clearly inadequate forces and means at our disposal, a disproportion that continually weighed (and still does) on our movement. Such feelings are the exact opposite of those that prevail in mass organizations where the members, responsible to large masses and aware of the role of the organization per se, are loath to initiate splits -even when serious differences arise within these orga-

We are not saying that crises and splits can be explained solely by the above-mentioned factors. Factors of a personal nature, for example, also played a role. But in order to have a clear understanding of history, the most general elements have to be placed in the forefront; without them the actions of other factors could not acquire significant weight. Within a period of about fifteen years,

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE TROTSKYIST PIEBBE FRANK

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

Chapter 6: From 1948 to 1968

I. From 2nd World Congress to the Split in the International Trotskyist Movement

At the Second World Congress, held in April-May 1948, several sections, especially in Europe, found themselves replenished and strengthened by new forces acquired in the aftermath of the war. In some cases, these sections began to be a factor in the political life of their countries. Thus, despite the growth of the old parties (especially the Communist parties) during that period, the perspective of a further development of the Fourth International's sections was adopted by the congress, which raised the slogan, "Forward to building mass Trotskyist parties!"

But the situation was in the process of developing in a totally unexpected direction. The few signs pointing to this development were still too weak at the time of the congress to permit of a correct evaluation - too weak even to give us an inkling of where it was headed. The postwar revolutionary wave in Western Europe seemed to be momentarily halted, but actually it had begun to subside. The "cold war" had only just started. The Soviet blockade of West Berlin would start several weeks later. The "Prague coup," i.e., the seizure of power by the Czechoslovak Communist party, was only a few weeks old. The social changes within the so-called people's democracies were only beginning to take shape. There was no way to foresee the break that was to take place two months later between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

Important events and totally unexpected developments occurred immediately after the Second Congress and for some years thereafter. Their results were unpredictable; the world was assuming a shape that had never been

envisaged or even imagined by the most eminent, the most perspicacious, the most farsighted Marxists. These upheavals raised extremely complicated theoretical and political problems. Moreover, we were confronted, not with a single event that could have been judged per se, but with numerous events spread out over several years and not necessarily connected with each other. These events finally, after several years, resulted in a world picture totally different from what had previously been seen, even since the first world war and the October Revolution. Certain Marxist tenets seemed to be placed in doubt by some aspects of the situation. As a result, a multiplicity of assessments and theories proclaiming the bankruptcy of Marxism appeared. Marxists could not answer these arguments with a pure and simple repetition of basic tenets, treating the latter as eternal truths independent of time and space. Such an approach would not have been worthy of Marxists. The primary task of the Fourth International was to place the basic teachings of revolutionary Marxism in juxtaposition with the new world picture, to redefine the situation, to reevaluate perspectives and tasks. Neglecting such a task would have meant leaving the field free both for the apologists of the Communist parties and for the innumerable revisionists on the left and on the right

For the sake of clarity, this exposition will not treat events in chronological order but will first point out the major changes that took place as a whole-in order to arrive at the overall picture that emerged at the end of a few years. In this way, theoretical problems that were raised and difficulties that had to be resolved will stand out. The actions of the Fourth International can thus be set forth in context, making it possible to judge them on an objective basis.

Postwar Upheavals

Let us first review the main events and the basic changes that occurred from 1947-48 to about 1960.

The "cold war" began in 1947. Soon - after the breach in the American monopoly on atomic energy in 1949the development of nuclear weapons and the atomic arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union would begin. The problem of world war was thenceforth posed in new terms, not new on the social level, but new because of the availability of vast powers of destruction, so huge that they were in a completely different dimension from socalled conventional weapons.

In 1947 the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) was created. At the same time, the "cold war" led the Soviet Union (in order to protect its buffer states) to effect a social change-by military-bureaucratic means-in the East European countries its armies had entered during the war. Despite a few measures aimed at those members of the propertied classes who had collaborated with the Germans, the army had left the bourgeois social structures of these countries intact. The "cold war" forced the Kremlin to liquidate the bases of capitalism in those countries and to transform them into

In June of 1948 the first great crisis of Stalinism erupted, in the shape of the Soviet-Yugoslav split. The Yugo-

In a great many colonial countries, we witnessed a quasi withdrawal by the imperialist nations (principally Britain; others, to a lesser extent), in which these colonies acquired formal political independence while at the same time an economic hold on them was maintained. These new-and indirect-forms of domination constitute what has been called neocolonialism. In several cases, American imperialism has supplanted the colonizing imperialism in its function of economic hegemony. Indigenous bourgeois leaderships of a special type appeared (Peronism, Nasserism, Sukarnoism, etc.). Sometimes they played along with mass movements - a dangerous game. In the case of Cuba, the revolution won victory under a leadership which, although it did not originate in the working-class movement - and certainly not in the official Communist movement-made the revolution a socialist one. Finally, in the colonial movements there are a number of leaderships that either try to seesaw between West and East, or gravitate for a time around the workers states without, however, effecting their countries' social transformation into workers states.

The growth and development of colonial revolutionary movements persisted. But - with the exception of Cuba in Latin America - receiving neither sufficient solidarity from the working-class movements in the imperialist centers nor a correct political line from the workers states, it was difficult for them to find a political orientation that would permit them to resolve, in the least costly way, the problems posed by the economic and social backwardness of their countries.

The Soviet Union's isolation, unbroken since 1917, had come to an end - in the West (the "people's democracies" of Eastern Europe) as well as in the East (China and the Democratic Republics of Vietnam and Korea). Then, on the American continent, socialist Cuba was born.

To the Soviet Union were added workers states which, with the exception of Czechoslovakia and East Germany, were less developed economically than the first workers state. Following a rocky period of postwar reconstruction in which Stalinism, faithful to its concept of "socialism in one country," shamelessly pillaged the neighboring countries, the Soviet Union's progress was so tremendous that it became the world's second greatest economic power. In the new workers states of Eastern Europe, the new forms of property ownership also, generally speaking, brought about great economic progress. This, however, did not serve to improve the living standard of the masses to any considerable extent. In their initial period, these states had the same internal regime that the Soviet Union had experienced under Stalin. But the growth of the new relationships of production did not entail the growth of Stalinism. The latter proved incompatible with the former. The crisis of Stalinism thus began to become evident under the impact of various factors - the police state's ever greater brake on the Soviet Union's economic progress; the contradiction between the needs of the other workers states and the Kremlin's policies; the rising revolutionary tide throughout the world. The Communist parties were no longer inevitably and automatically aligning themselves with Moscow. China was to play a very special role in the crisis of Stalinism.

In this unparalleled prosperity, the European workers' movement, the oldest organized movement with the oldest Marxist tradition, experienced stagnation and even a pronounced political decline. The Social Democratic parties tended, even formally, to renounce socialism in order to become "people's parties"; the Communist parties "socialdemocratized" themselves; the left social-democratic tenlencies dissolved; the revolutionary vanguard steadily dwindled. The socialist movement, born in Europe more than a century ago, raised in the perspective that a socialist revolution in Europe would precede the economic, political, and social development of other areas of the world,

no longer corresponded to this image of yesteryear. In the course of the first world war and in the early years of the October Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky had oreseen the possibility of victorious socialist revolutions in the colonial countries, paralleling those in Europe. But rom 1948 onward, revolution was in full swing on capitalism's periphery, while in the imperialist centers the workers' movement was, or appeared to be, at a lower bb than ever before in its entire history. And finally, in the countries where capitalism had been overthrown, the bureaucracy seemed to be entrenched, with the working class passively submitting to its domination.

A capitalism deprived of its colonies yet flourishing more than ever, with a working class shorn of political aspirations and almost exclusively preoccupied with its standard of living; in the workers states an extension of the new relationships of production, with bureaucratic domination maintained and without any workers' mobilizations; in the colonial countries a revolutionary upsurge, based essentially on the peasantry - all this largely explains the proliferation of theories denying, in one way or another, the historical mission of the proletariat as formulated by Marx, whether in classically capitalist countries, colonial countries, or workers states (the class nature of the last-named also gave rise to a multiplicity of theories). It was not possible to grasp the totality of the process immediately. In the midst of the tremendous pressures brought to bear on the entire world, and inevitably on the Trotskyist movement, delay was unavoidable.

The Crises in the Trotskyist Movement

It was impossible to deny these contradictory events and to cite, in lieu of explanation, all the great classics of revolutionary Marxism on the revolutionary mission of the proletariat, etc. In order to answer the profusion of theories successfully and to be able to act, it was necessary to proceed to an examination of the situation with the help of revolutionary Marxism, to seek therein the key that would permit an explanation of this new situation, to see what adjustments, rectifications, and enrichment had to be brought to revolutionary Marxism. This was Possible only while participating in the class struggle at the same time, testing the evaluations of the new situation in the fire of battle. And this is what the Fourth International tried to do, in a situation rendered all the more difficult by the fact that it was operating in a political scene such as no revolutionary tendency had ever before

"What, another crisis! Another split!" invariably exclaimed those who were often more content to fight the Fourth International on that basis rather than be obliged to discuss its ideas. We have no need to deny the ofttimes painful nature of the crises in our movement. Nevertheless, this characteristic, which for a long time seemed peculiar to the Trotskyist movement and which could be looked down on with cynical amusement from the lofty seats of the big organizations, is today prevalent in all kinds of movement organizations, big and small. Actually, what was really abnormal in the working-class movement was monolithism-that "unity" achieved by smothering all independent political thought within organizations laying claim to Marxism, the most critical school of thought in the world. The history of the working-class movement proves that, more often than not, it has been racked by struggles between divergent theoretical and political tendencies and currents. This was normal, because without continually testing theories, positions, and orientations, by measuring them against reality, no progress in revolutionary thought and action can be envisaged. There was all the more reason for the movement to undergo such struggles, faced as it was with a world in constant upheaval, in which "something new" appeared, as it still does, each day. Although differences are a perfectly normal phenomenon, it does not follow that discussing them must necessarily and frequently end in splitting the movement. It is therefore necessary to look into course. the objective or subjective reasons that contributed to this state of affairs. In the history of the Trotskylst movement, both objective and subjective factors played their

Objectively, the splits were caused in large measure by the fact that differences on analyses or on the orientations to follow in order to build the revolutionary party were rendered all the more acute because the organization was numerically weak, with very weak roots in the masses. Most often the differences boiled down to opposition on the tactics to adopt to overcome that precise situation. The entire world is more than ever subject to the pressure

the most important changes in history took place; changes embodying the transition from capitalism to socialism while the major revolutionary forces were still under reformist or Stalinist leadership; changes, moreover, affecting essentially the most backward, not the most economically advanced, countries in the world. This situation favored the rise of multitudinous theories denying the validity of Marxism. It also gave rise to tendencies and currents a distorted view of the situation; believed they could bank essentially on one or another aspect of the situation; and did not believe they had to consider the Fourth International, as constituted, a political force. As is always the case, those who broke away were not aware of the process they were part of - nor where it would lead them.

It is also worth noting that, with rare exceptions, those who broke with the Fourth International and did not take part in the 1963 reunification soon found themselves - if not politically nonexistent-with reduced forces, despite any expectations they might have had or the forces at their disposal when they left. Nor should we view this as an accidental result. Rather must we examine the causes of this phenomenon-not causes of a personal nature because there was no lack of determination or capability on the part of the individuals involved. This situation must be attributed to:

1. The fact that they embarked on a politically incorrect

2. Their separation from the international movement, which, by its very international nature, was best able to resist the colossal forces at work in the world and to correct its own errors when they occurred.

The International is not a fetish; it does not generate miracles. But, despite its numerical weakness, the very nature of the organization, centralized and democratic at the same time, makes it a force that can best prevent any national distortion and resist the pressures exerted throughout the world by all kinds of forces (state powers, mass movements with all kinds of leaderships, etc.).

[To be continued]

Άν θέλετε να εἶσθε ενήμερος τῆς καταστάσεως στήν Έλλάδα, εγγραφείτε συνδρομητής στό

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

INTERNATIONALISM

Dear Comrades, Although I am a member of the C.P.A. and have some fundamental disagreements with the political line of S. W. L. /S. Y. A., I have been reading "D.A." since it first came out and find it very stimulating. However, I only get it irregularly at uni, since it's only sold there at most once a fortnight and I sometimes miss it: this is why I am enclosing an initial subscription for 10 issues. At our next branch meeting we are having a discussion of basic C.P.A. policies based on the debate between Brian Aarons and Jim Percy, and the article by Gordon Adler; it is this sort of debate if it does not degenerate into infighting, that will keep the left free from dogmatism. Just one point about internationalism, sure, we cannot develop a revolutionary strategy on the basis of an analysis of Australian capitalism in isolation, but nor does it fit neatly into a simple internationalist perspective as James O'Connor pointed out in a recent "Arena." Indeed, the most recent Marxist journal - "Interventio - has as its purpose the analysis of Aust, capitalism as a unique entity. This is why I consider that Brian Aaron's point about the importance of internationalist actions is closer to the mark than the Trotskyist line of a monolithic 4th International, Of course, Jim Percy did make some very valid criticisms of the C.P.A.'s internationalist position, but I think a lot of this work hasn't been done because we're a bit afraid of having new dogmas imposed. At the reportback in Brisbane, for example, as opposed to what seems to have happened in Sydney, Laurie Aarons had serious reservations about the conservatism of the French C.P. which is undoubtedly a result of its not having overcome its

Greetings,

McGOVERN ILLUSIONS

Stalinist heritage.

Jim Percy's "The McGovern Illusion" (DA, Aug. 3, 1972) distorts my article on McGovern published in Tribune (July 4-10) in a manner I have not seen used on the Left -- except by Bill Brown of the SPA -- for many years.

Jim attempts to "prove" that my article urges support for Mc-Govern and that I believe "change can come through the system". Let me say emphatically I neither support McGovern nor believe "change can come through the system.'

Jim uses the old stalinist and then asserting something which is the direct opposite of what is stated in the following lines of the quote.

The space I have been given to reply means it is impossible to go through Jim's article line by line -and that is what is really needed. I leave your readers to judge by reading my original article then Jim Percy's distort-

A few examples only. Jim Dear D.A. says I see a possible McGovern victory as a "major victory". In fact, I said any your current issue and find myself retreat by McGovern as President by withdrawing all troops from Indochina would be a major victory -- that is, not ortance of education just must be of his election, but any total withdrawal. I continue: "He is still the representative of US imperialism and would as President and the final sentence is bewilderingly seek to maintain its world role, after a retreat in Indochina."

Earlier in the article I wrote of McGovern representing imperialist circles "who feel that the tensions and conflicts in American society need some drastic reformist action and a mobilisation of the youth around the institution of the Presidency."

I then tried to objectively estimate the possible evolution of the situation. I noted -- without any approval parent whose only child cut her second are working for McGovern.

The question is how to try to win these youth to revolutionary politics. I do not believe they can be won only by verbally exposing McGovern, but rather by working alongside them to make sure "when McGovern failed to live up to their hopes" (in my original article) they swing left and don't drop

Lastly on the CPUSA: Jim has something of a point. The original sentence was loosely worded. It should have read instead of "revolutionary parties in the USA such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party", "parties which claim to be revolutionary such as the CPUSA and

I leave aside Jim's old style abuse. Let readers judge just who uses stalinist methods.

Fraternally,

Denis Freney

MORE OLD STYLE **ABUSE FROM THE EDITOR**

I heartily concur with Denis that readers should obtain copies of both the original article by Denis and my criticism of it.

Readers will then of course be able to judge about who uses "old style abuse" -"Stalinist!" etc

However to return to Denis' letter ... Implicit even in the quote that Denis himself chooses in his letter is the central point I was criticizing in his article. It is far clearer in the article but the letter also helps breed illusions about McGovern. I ask the question: If it is the withdrawal of troops not the election that would be a victory- why is this put in the context of a McGovern electoral win? The victory could be obtained against Nixon just as much, unless you do think that McGovern's

And it seems to me you do, even from your letter:

"The question is how to try to win these youth to revolutionary politics. I do not believe they can be won only by verbally exposing McGovern, but rather by working alongside them to make sure "when Mc-Govern failed to live up to their hopes" (in my original article) they swing left and don't drop out."

What does "working alongside them" mean in this context except working for Mc Govern's election? You can't do this Denis! You are crossing class lines! (I'm sorry for the old style abuse.) Mc Govern is a capitalist politician running for a capitalist party and our job is to expose this not aid the US electoral illusion. The real way (apart from verbally) that Mc-Govern will be exposed is by continuing to build the independent mass movements, technique of taking quotes out of context, and it is precisely these movements that are diverted because of the Illusions put out about Mc Govern by people like Freney and his US counterparts.

LESTER. TWO LETTERS 1. DEFENCE OF EDUCATION

I've just beem re-reading sympathising (to a certain extent) with Concerned Parent of Lester. The impgreat concern to the writer of that letter, "Lose" was misspelt as "loose" ambiguous, i.e., "I am likely to take further action if you do not concede to my request", ??? Does this mean Lester is going to get a belting, or is the editor of D.A. going to be faced with a horse whip? Or both? (Nothing better than a physical assault to make people change their opinions). I also think "accede to my request" would have been more correct. But maybe I'm just being

teeth on anything and everything she cared to read, including great chunks

pedantic.

of Marxist literature, pornography, (etc, etc, you name it, she's had a look at it) but at 21 years of age is still an obstinate fence-sitter, politically, and more than slightly puritanical, morally, I think Lester's parent is kicking up a lot of fuss over nothing. (Perhaps I should add that Daughter has, so far, never failed an exam either.) My advice to Concerned Parent is to let Lester make up his own mind; otherwise worse things may happen. Too much parental blockbusting could send him into the ranks of the Nazi Party, - clutching Top Marks in the Higher School Certificate in the hand he's not using for saluting, of

Yours etc.,

Barbara Jones

2. DEFENCE OF PARENTS

Re the letter "Concerned Parent" in your issue August 3rd, I must say I was somewhat surprised and disappointed with your footnote.

Let me say before I go further I am a subscriber to your paper, and admire what you young people are trying to achieve but in this particular case I think you are well off the ball.

In defence of parents, I might say I have seen vast numbers of them in my sixty years on this earth, and I say, taking them by and large most have their sons' and daughters' welfares, very much to heart; I suppose at some stage the youngsters have thought otherwise.

I feel this particular parent is justified to cancel deliveries of your paper if he or she feels it isn't in the best interests of her minor son, this is why I can't condone your advice to this youth, I feel it is unethical, deceitful and underhand. I feel if he wants to read this particular paper, he will get an issue without involving yourself or anyone else.

My humble opinion is that unity is the keynote of success to any party or group so why not start with the family, start by closing this so called generation gap (this I haven't personally experienced). figures for unemployment for the month

I don't suppose I have to point this out to you, but numbers of parents have "been around" at some stage of their lives they have been involved in groups of all kinds, possible had the same ideas and ideals as yourself, but lastly they have had practical experiences of various sorts, so I would think parents, could, if asked help you and your followers My selectiveness is clearly deliberate.

> Yours faithfully, T. Hoyland

P.S. I hope sincerely "Concerned Parent" shows the same concern for her son, if or when he is called for "National Service" and does something about it.

THEIR ECONOMICS

I certainly agree on the necessity to include a regular column devoted to economic problems but is Sol Salby the man to write it?

I refer to his contribution (3/8) on the state of the economy. He seems to think he is onto some wonderful scoop by quoting the 1972 Treasury white paper to the effect that stagflation is worldwide. Who did not already know that? And who is surprised, knowing the interdependence of the world economy?

Salby's use of statistics is highly selective and already dated. For instance, Australian cyclical experience indicates the leading role of housing construction, stock exchange values, and overtime rates in predicting cyclical movements.

These three indicators have now all turned upwards. Given a continuation of reflationary fiscal and monetary policies plus the undeniable signs of recovery in the U.S. and Japan, it appears that the June quarter represents the trough of the current cycle in Aust-

Severe problems remain on the economic front. There are conflicting factors at work on price increases and it is difficult to predict the outcome.

The present methods of wage determination aid the strong at the

expense of the weak. Technological unemployment is an increasingly rele vant concern. Are western economies experience stagnation in the 1970's? Does pollution control necessarily mear a slower rate of growth? . . . One could easily go on.

My suggestion is that Mr. Sall would be better advised to lay-off tryir to reconcile his prejudicial assumptions about an "employer offensive" with a smattering of current economic statistic and get about analyzing real problems, providing balanced information and suggesting detailed and practical remedies

Yours,

Ray Clifford

SALBY REPLIES

I certainly agree with the necessity to include criticisms of my articles but is Ray Clifford the man to write it?

None of Mr. Clifford's criticisms are such that they can be directed against any of my estimates and assessments in particular, if fact most of it can be directed at anybody with a Marxist view. point. However, lets get down to some specific points.

The significance of the Treasury's White Paper comment does not lie in its content It lies in what I said was its significant point: "This is one of the clearest statements by the representatives of the employing class on the world-wide dimensions of the capitalist crisis." (emphasis added). Up to this stage it was mainly Marxist economists like Earnest Mandel who emphasised the interdependence of the world economy, while most bourgeois economists ridiculed this idea, As for people being "surprised at this discovery" I refer Mr. Clifford to the ACTU's resolution on the economy at its executive meeting of February this year which does not make a single ref-erence to overseas economic conditions!

The use of outdated statistics is something Mr. Clifford should be wary of. On the very same day that he sent his letter, Mr Lynch released the new figrews of July. These showed an increase of 7,361 to 112,290 or 2% of the work force (Seasonally adjusted figures) which contradicted Mr. Clifford's optimistic predictions. I couldn't have used any more recent figures than the June figures which I used. The other figures for industrial output were the best I could find,

Over the past two years I emphasised two sets. Unemployment and inflation direct-ly affect the working class and that's why I emphasised them. Whether or not share prices are rising or falling does not particularly interest me. I leave the wailing about falling share prices and suffering of the capitalists to the apologists of capitalism.

Mr. Clifford's assertions about "Australian Cyclical experience" once again do not interest me. My analysis is based on Marxist economic theory, not on the apologetics for capitalism they teach at the universities. But do not allow me to shy away from the issue. Even in bourgeois economics some of these assertions are to say the least debatable. I refer to an article in the "Investment" column of the "National Times" of August 28 which claimed that Australian share values are on the whole inversely related to Wall' Street rather than to local causes. On that count, the overtime rates haven't improved sufficiently even for "superoptimist Lynch" to take heart.

I am also sure that the millions of memployed workers in the United States, 5.3 of the workforce, will be relieved to find out that Mr Clifford can see the undeniab signs of recovery.

Allow me to call on one more "authority to justify my pessimism about the employment situation- the ANZ business indicators survey. In an article entitled "Awaiting the Recovery" they said:
"Ample funds are now available for personal and business spending and the Commonwealth Government has taken a number of measures to stimulate econom-

ic activity. This stimulus and the ready availability of funds has, so far, failed to have any identifiable impact on the rate of economic growth, but while the number registered as unemployed has fluctuated over the last few months, the level of unemployment has been relatively stable, after adjustment for seasonal influences, following a large increase in February 1972." (emphasis added) (No64 July 72 - the latest I could obtain) Unemployment has now reached 2% compared to February's 1, 67%.

Finally I don't know what "balanced information" is. Perhaps presenting the case of the employers for lower wages and higher profits?

The remedies I offered - a shorter working week with no loss of pay and a sliding scale of wages- are not only practical-If implemented they will solve the problems - they also have the potential of weakening and destroying capitalism, the system responsible for inflation and unemployment.

Yes Mr. Clifford, one could easily go on. That is, if you suffer from any illusions about capitalists and their theory, but not if you share our aim, the overthrow of capitalism, not its reform.

PRAISE FROM CEYLON

I had the privilege of reading a copy of the "Direct Action" recently. I found it immensely interest-

I am a young student studying at Royal College Colombo. I have just sat for my university entrance exam. I am 19 years old, and very much interested in the articles and news in the Direct Action,

I would like to subscribe to your paper very much. If you can kindly inform how I could subscribe from Sri Lanka (Ceylon). I would also like to know how much it would cost to pay in Ceylon currency, and other details regarding this.

I sincerely hope you will not fail me. Waiting anxiously.

Thanking you,

CONTINUED FROM BACK PAGE

...France '68

ment. Overnight, the more political students became mass leaders of thousands of their comrades.

Take Over Schools Because the cops had overplayed their hand on May 10, there was an immediate response against police brutality. Because the students had stood firm at the barricades, and fought back wave after wave of police onslaughts they were in a position to demand from the French Communist Party immediate solidarity action from the working class which it 'led'. A general strike was called for May 13. After the strike and the huge demonstration on that day the movement exploded. The general strike spread throughout France lasting not just for one day but snowballing for two weeks. Ten million workers were on strike, and many of them began to occupy their place of work. Capitalist France was bought to the brink of collapse.

The lycees too, responded. On May 14 the students occupied high schools all over Paris, and they remained occupied throughout the struggle.

Study commissions similar to the ones in the universities were organized to discuss the examination system, social discrimination in the schools, political rights for high school students, and what form of organization high school students have. In addition, there were just as many commissions set up to study the major tational and international political problems: the general strike, Vietnam, Cuba, the workers states, the elections, etc. Activity wasn't limited to talk, The students were occupying the high schools as an act of solidarity with the workers and university students, and they went out to help organize. Groups of high school students went to numerous small enterprises and shops to talk with the workers and convince them to join the strike. There were many successes.

The occupation of the lycees retreated when the general strike began to fall apart, The French regime survived because no leadership carried the mass upsurge into reconstruction. The French CP traded ten million strikers for five million votes, and played 'dogey' to de Gaulle's cornered concessions.

The CALs emerged from the Revolution as a force in French national education. The 1968 "baccalaureat" was restricted to a brief oral examination. Another pointer to their power is that their right to put up political posters in the schools is no longer contested. Today, the CALS don't survive as they did ... there's no revolution in France today, but within the lycees the next upsurge in France will meet with the same response.

TUDENTS GIVE SOUTH AFRICAN MBASSADOR A FITTING WELCOME

students at the University of Western aced with an angry mob of several hun- tive leadership of the working class. dred students, the Ambassador's car quickly left the campus.

ever at a reception given by the Perth City Council, There, Charles Court, Africa to learn from their methods of andling racial minorities.

At present the majority of black people n South Africa are herded onto reservtions where it is impossible to find work, NAZIS housands suffer from malnutrition and 0,000 per year suffer from tuberculosis. Thousands more are in prison on trumped p political charges.

INIONISTS RETURN FROM NORTH

our trade union leaders including George Crawford, a prominent figure in the ALP Socialist Left in Victoria, recently returned from a tour of North Vietnam. They report that 15 times during 8 days hey were forced to take cover from air aids, mainly in the Haiphong area. They said that bombing in the populated areas seemed to be indiscriminate—in narked contrast to the apparently precision bombing of in igation and flood ontrol dykes.

On returning to Australia, the unionists vere questioned for more than an hour by customs officials, and films which ad been taken in North Vietnam were onfiscated. The films were later eturned except for photos of victims f US bombing.

What should the role of the Socialist ft be in the present election year hould the SL adopt a perspective of ggressive political intervention in the hass movements and labour movement, or be purely part of the ALP electoral machine? What attitude should revolut- bers of the student body at Sunshine ionaries have toward the mass party of the High, a western suburban school of Australian working-class. These were just some of the questions

aised at the recently conducted "Direct Action" Forum on the elections. The orum "Socialism and the ALP", attended supporting the demands of the students by a representative audience of about 70 at the school, and students' rights cople, was the first in a series projected generally, have appeared in the local y "Direct Action" to highlight the burn- suburban press. Interviews with students

perspectives of the three speakers, all agreed on one question of crucial import ance; the need to elect a Labor govern-Australia recently drove the South Afric- to consciously build the SL and such like an Ambassador from the campus when he formations within the ALP as a concrete Faced with an approximation and step along the road to forging an alternative evidence to the Minimum Wages Board

Hogg and Healy related details of the The Ambassador was more at home how- the results of federal intervention, and proposed certain future perspectives for ader of the West Australian State Lib- contradictory nature of the ALP; on the the Socialist Left, McIlroy analysed the eral Party praised South Africa's handl- one hand being an historically progressive off because they owe money. In one ng of its black population and said that force representing the independent polit-australia should send people to South ical action of the working class and on the other a force fostering reformist illus- malnutrition, ions thus acting as an obstacle to the creation of the type of leadership necessary to achieve socialism.

Recently, members of the Nazis in Adelaide have taken to selling their press in competition with "Direct Action". Several times when this has occurred, police have appeared and stood nearby or manned police cars have been parked nearby. The 'Direct Action' sellers have on these occasions been harrassed by police - being told to move on and to stop obstructing the footpath. The Nazis have been allowed to continue selling. On one occasion a police officer observed an assault against a 'Direct Action' seller but took no action.

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY ELECTIONS

Standing on a socialist programme, SYA member Peter Jamieson polled 352 votes out of a total of 1032, failing to be elected to the Student's Council by 9 votes.

The openly political nature of the SYA campaign contrasted with that of other self styled socialists and leftists, who preferred to confine their campaigns to welfare issues. The campaign was only DIRECT ACTION FORUM IN MELBOURNE: the second run by SYA on Macquarie

Two strikes, several suspensions, and numerous propaganda campaigns have been the result of unrest amongst mem-Melbourne. Initially a struggle for democratic demands, the students now have as their broad objective the student/ teacher/worker control of the school. Front page headlines and editorials

STARVATION IN PORT MORESBY

Josephine Abaijah, a member of Papua New Guinea's House of Assembly, and former principal of the Port Moresby Institute of Health Education claimed in that many people, particularly children are starving because of inadequate wages and unemployment. The minimum on which a family can exist in Port Moresby is around \$20 per week, however the present minimum wage is \$8 per week and a common wage is \$12 per week. Some families have had their water cut settlement, a survey showed that 34% of 176 children were suffering from



Josephine Abaijah

SOCIALIST POLLS WELL IN MACQUARIE METHODIST CHURCH SACKS DON

Well known black civil rights leader, pastor Don Brady has been asked by the Methodist Church to resign from the church's Brisbane Aboriginal Mission, The church claims that the dismissal is due to administrative and financial problems, but the majority of black people involved consider that Brady's civil rights work is becoming an embarrassment to the church authorities and that is the real reason begind his dismissal.

STUDENT STRUGGLE AT SUNSHINE HIGH Various religious organisations have conducted "mission" work among black people in this country for decades, yet the main result of this work has been not to encourage black people to struggle for their rights, but rather to discourage such activity. When black people begin to take effective action to win their rights, most of the religious bodies can be expected to quickly disassociate themselves from such activity. Don Brady is one of the casualties of this process.

MeMAHON ON ABORTION AND THE

Speaking in Parliament on August 31st, Prime Minister McMahon said that he favoured retention of "God Save the Queen" as the national anthem and that he would continue to oppose the introduc tion of abortion on demand. The anthem and the present abortion laws are almost as anachronistic as McMahon and hopefully they will quickly follow him into rubbish bin of history later this year.

ATTACKS ON THE ABC CONTINUE

The campaign by right wing elements to muzzle the ABC's current affairs program mes continued recently with Governor General Hasluck (an ex Liberal Party minister) joining the attack, defending right wing politicians who claim that the ABC is politically biased, while declaiming that he did not want to enter into the controversy over the question. He then went on to bluster at some length about the incompetence of Australian TV staff. The whole exercise was clearly an attempt to give some credence to the bankrupt right wing campaign against the autonomy of the ABC and to create an issue for the sagging Liberal Party campai gn.

THERE IS SOMETHING LOWER

Jack London in his famous poem about the scab points out that the scab is the lowest form of life. What could be lower than someone who continues to work while his fellow workers are on strike? An incident which occurred during the recent plumbers strike shows that there is something lower. During the strike one plumber not only continued t work, but collected strike pay as well.

Direct Action Forum. Jim McIlroy, Kevin Healy, Jamie Doughney, Bob Hogg

ng political issues facing the Australian were obtained and the debate about eft and their relation to the ALP. Further student rights has been continuing for forums such as "Abortion and the ALP" are to be held within the pre-election period and advertised in DA.

The speakers, Kevin Healy and Bob Hogg editors of the SL newspaper "Action", nd Jim McIlroy for Direct Action presinted their views on the nature of the Australian Labor Party and the role of the Although there were differences in the

several weeks with even the local ALP municipal council passing a motion supporting student 'participation' in school affairs. But the students appear to be pressing for far more substantial demands and thanks to numerous pamphlets they have become aware of their struggle in relation to society as a whole and have been urged to relate their own socialist in relation to it and the election, demands to the demands of their parents for workers' control of the factories.

High School Movement IVES by Greg Adam

On September 20, probably for the first time in Australian history, secondary students in all states are uniting in actional action to advance and defend heir common interests. The September 20 actions are the Initiators of an onyoing national secondary school rights impaign, a campaign which is unique with respect to previous radical high chool activity. A chronic weakness in most high school radical high chool activity. A chronic manner of the stonal character of the atmost now see the importance of the stional character of the campaign is qualitative gain for the secondary whome the content of the campaign is qualitative gain for the secondary whome the content of the campaign is qualitative gain for the secondary when the content of the campaign is qualitative gain for the secondary where or four weeks, Action in ceity can by its coordinated nature exceed where a single school body is successful. For example, if the ministration of one school takes parturation of one school takes parturation of one school involved here action of the students involved and failed. In the same way, the stability of a national high school rights campaign puts the student population in a tree trepressive school system (which is self very well coordinated nationally), is much harder to coordinate a campaign the student of the student population in a tree trepressive school system (which is self very well coordinated nationally), is much harder to coordinate a campaign that here are the same types of rules, regulations and circumstances oppress secondary undents throughout Australia, students was a common obstacle which unity in tion can defeat.

ave a common observe which are a common observe when a common observe when a common or regarded to the decision to organise a national student rights campaign incorporating demonstrations and strikes on September 20 was not spontaneously through of by students insultaneously through out Australia, It was a conscious decision taken by students in Melboume who from their own experences felt the need for it, while there are many objectionable things about school, ranging from the autocratic rule of schools and arbitrary invention of rules and regulations to the exam system and restriction of subject choice, it is under the broad heading of student rights, including equality of education opportunity, that students could best unite to fight and improve the education system. The experience of these Melboume students also warmed them of the futility of "official channels". The response and enthusiasm from a Melbourne demonstration of students on May 31 this year left a greater impact on Melbourne schools than would have resulted from months of petitions and delegations, Following this success, the need to stread the cammaism

interstate (for some of the reasons out-lined above, and others) was seen and members of the Victorian Education Action Group (which had organised the May 31 demonstration of 3,000 students) called on students in other states to help will a particular engaging. In Adelaide. called on students in other states to help build a national campaign. In Adelaide where there is a tradition of school strikes, both media and students reacted favour-ably to the idea. Activists in Sydney and Brisbane agreed with the need for the cam-

You know why TEACHING IS

profession? Because

and SACRIFICE

WORTH WHILE!

has been

paign and visits from a Melbourne student helped them to initiate the campaign. With help in publicity from Sydney, Canberra students built their activity and correspondence to other centres gave the campaign a really national character.

Thus a national student rights campaign was formed, with branches or organised supporters in each state, and published a

You take them as SMALL CHILDREN and spend YEARS destroying their natural instincts! every so often
something
NONDERFUL happens
that lets you know 2. innate curiosity! SMOTHERING their creative

talents

IT REALLY

III

yourself is

But ALWAYS you're ASKING

Slowly, painstakingly you BEAT them into a faceless mold! POUND the mythology of the corporate-military state into their numbed minds two Whound them into

JORKING? Am | REALLY destroying otheir native Copacity for W HUMAN DIGHTHY AM I REALLY turning them PAVLOVIAN SPEN ANTO MAT ONS? blind acceptance of AUTHORITY!



SOMEDAY + SCISSORS will be recognized the SYMBOL of 000 education system! badge advertising the first action of the campaign - student strikes, demonstrations, and associated activity.

With these activities now under way to points should be noted. Firstly, the capaign has not abstractly decided to tyget student support and then take some action. The campaign has built itself a and advertised itself by the September action. The campaign has built itself a and advertised itself by the September action, Abstractions are easy to ming the sum of t mythology, accusing the campaign being influenced by outside forces.)

The second point about the high schol rights campaign is that, although it is seen as an ongoing campaign, what comes after September is undecided, he most centres some sort of meeting will be held in the following week, The papose of these meetings is to gather the activists who show their support for the campaign, elect some sort of standing committee, and prepare proposals for later national consultation

Soon after September 20 students been entirely involved in yearly exams, as the nolidays come as soon as these as over. Also there will probably be no ediate results after the actions. Over the period any high school activity gos in a period of dormancy. If contact been student activists is retained over this period, then preparations for the 1973 when year could be made in the holidays. A national conference of these activists with discussion of past experience and future plans would serve this purpose.

So long as the campaign retains the degoal of democratic rights for students, keeps a mass action perspective and mains independent of any other single organisation, it is assured of the active support of large numbers of students, is such an organisation is capable of under thousands. Of students, and of advantage of the control of t

utionari

The most unsung, and yet most extra-ordinary sector participating in the French May-June upsurge in 1968 is probably that of the high school students.

rench high schools, or lycees, were ven more strictly controlled and isolated om day-to-day reality than Australian chools. By way of discriminatory exams ad the arbitrary decisions of the teach-ris themselves, the high schools were closed to the great majority of students rom working class families. Those stud-ents were channelled off into technical ichools at about the age of fourteen,

the high schools (most of which were so segregated by sex) the course of udy was heavily weighed towards the id time "Classical education" - the bod old Latin or Greek, etc. Those ortunate! enough to survive the French (cee system faced at its end the hated baccalaureat", similar to Higher School lettificate with the guarantee of higher ducation once the exam was passed. Isually, 13 percent survived the "baccalaureat", similar to Higher School services with the guarantee of higher ducation once the exam was passed. Isually, 13 percent survived the "baccalaureat".

Vietnam to CAL In 1966 the JCR (Revolutionary Commun-In 1966 the JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth - a Trotskylst Youth group), its allies and the PSU (United Socialist Party-a left centrist formation) set up an anti-war coalition. It was called the National Vietnam Committee (CVN) and it spawned scores of regional committees in much the same way as the Moratorium movement in this country. A litter of CVN committees sprang up in the schools and, in spite of headmasters' opposition, proved so successful that late in 1967 it was decided to mobilize high school students much more energetically for political action.

As was the case in the universities, the radicalizing impetus amongst French lycees was the war in Indochina – just as in Australia and elsewhere the same story can be told.

The movement, known as the CAL (Lycee Action Committee) sprang directly from the radicalization within the CVN movement, It began around a 24 hour strike organized in eight Paris high schools in

December, 1867. The strike was called in support of a demonstration protesting government cut backs in social security benefits. It proved 80 percent effective amongst the schools participating.

First Committees
The authorities, shaken by the strike, moved in to crush the leaders. As a result a member of the JCR was expelled from Lycee Cordorcet. Some 500 students primarily from Cordorcet, held a demonstration; one week later 1,800 students from all over Paris participated at a demonstration at Cordorcet and battled with cops who were sent to prevent the students from entering the school.

From that point on the CAL began to blossom. Contact was established with some 50 schools in Paris and another 30 in the provinces; a bulletin of co-ordination was put out; a provisional leadership was elected; and new actions organized. The most important was a strike on Feb 26 supporting a teachers strike on the same day, with the students projecting their own demands.

For the rest of the year, CAL had plant a campaign around the examination system in the high schools. At that the events of May 1968 took over.

Link up
The events at the two Parisian universities, Nanterre and the Sorbonne, had reached a crisis by May 3 when policy invaded the Sorbonne. The street of the street o

On May 10 the CALs called an all in strike in all Paris lycees and 10,00 students marched to join the great stration which ended at the bardada

As in all other sectors of the society, thousands who were previously note ical or unorganized poured into the section.

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