MAY 10 1973 20 CENTS NO. 40

A FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER



"WELL, IF I WERE PREGNANT I CERTAINLY WOULDN'T HAVE AN ABORTION!"

REPEALAR ARORION FAMS

Labor in Power: The Record **National Wage Case** Victorian Elections **Protests Against French Tests** The Road to Freedom by George Novack

DIRECTACTION

No. 40 May 10, 1973.

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REPEAL ALL ABORTION LAWS!

The question of a woman's right to abortion has emerged in the past few weeks as one of the most important issues currently polarising society. It en for the right to abortion, to the right to full control over their bodies and their reproductive processes is an important struggle which is challenging some of the most fundamental attitudes and institutions of this society. Lined up in opposition to the right of women to abortion are some of the most react- What lies behind this vigorous defence ionary forces - the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church along with other religious leaders, right-wing politicians, the Ustasha...

sive. They recognise that the traditional role of women in the family and in society is being threatened by the inctheir rights. They have decided to use it comes to protecting the lives of the issue of abortion, and in particular those already born, and the lives of the the occasion of a reform bill being put women who are forced to bear unwantbefore Federal Parliament on May 10, to try to reverse this trend and push back the women's movement. There tre more far-reaching issues at stake than mere concern for the foetus.

The Catholic church in particular, rough the so-called Right to Life Association has been using its enormous tax-free wealth and apparatus to mount a powerful campaign against the ial power of women united around a bill. This campaign rests on demagoguery and distortion, playing in the crud- ance. Women must pressure the Labor est way upon people's emotions, Foetuses are referred to as "children" and are even portrayed visually in their expensive propaganda material as wear- issue other than that of the individual ing pigtails and standing upright. Concentration is on photographs of foetuses over 20 weeks of development, preferably in garbage cans. The emotionladen terms of "killing" and "murder" are used to obscure the real issues involved: the rights, the safety and the

What comes through clearly in the position of these so-called "Right to Life" supporters is that the right of men, of children and even the rights of foetuses come before the rights of women! The foetus is even described as being 'in charge of the pregnancy". What is also apparent in the anti-abortion campaign is that the organisers, spokepeople and writers are predominantly

men. At a recent "Right to Life" rally in the Sydney Town Hall scores of men wearing cardboard Right to Life Association tags on their lapels ushered people has become clear that the fight of wom- to their seats where they listened to a platform of three male speakers (including Jim Cameron, Liberal member for Northcote, NSW Legislative Assembly) and one woman, introduced by Frank Stewart, Federal Labor (1) Minister for Pecreation and Tourism.

of the existing abortion laws is the desire to keep women "in their place" as passive breeders, and the desire to uphold the institution of the patriarchal family by punishing women for any At present these forces are on the offer- sexual activity outside of marriage through forcing them to bear "illegitimate" children. Those people shouting the loudest for "the right to life" reasing militancy of women demanding reveal their complete hypocrisy when ed children.

> Women must launch a powerful nationwide fight for the repeal of all the oppressive abortion laws. The successful struggle of women in the United States in forcing the Supreme Court decision of January 22 which ruled that abortion been a striking example of the potentdemand of such fundamental import-Party to take up the struggle of women for abortion and to recognise the validity of no one's conscience on this woman concerned.

On June 30 demonstrations are being organised to demand the repeal of all existing abortion laws and for freely available contraceptives. The issue will not be decided on May 10. This is only the beginning of a struggle whole course of life of pregnant women. which will mobilise wider and wider layers of women. In increasing numbers women are refusing to believe that their primary role in life is to be instruments of reproduction, that children should be punishment for failed contraception. They are seeing behind all the crocodile tears for the foetus to the real motives of anti-abortionists that is the continuation of the oppression of women in our society.

Contact Socialists In Your Area

SYDNEY: SWL, SYA, 139 St. Johns Rd., Glebe 2037. Ph 6606672 MELBOURNE: SWL, SYA, 136 Queensberry St., Carlton 3053. Ph 3473507 ADELAIDE: SWL, SYA, 287 Rundle St., Adelaide 5000. BRISBANE: SWL, SYA, 40 Union St., Spring Hill 4000. CANBERRA: SYA, P.O. Box 1733 Canberra City, ACT 2601. Ph 477306 (John). HOBART: SYA, P.O. Box 1255N G.P.O. Hobart 7001.

. would like to get in touch with the Socialist Workers League I would like more information about the Socialist Youth Alliance I would like to join the Socialist Youth Alliance

Inflation Accelerates

The practice of "open government" has been applied to Australia so far in a very uneven manner. The Government policy with regard to a wage freeze has so far been disclosed in bits and pieces.

Any disclosure in regard to the actual implementation of any "prices and incomes policy" will have to wait at least to the Premiers' Conference on May 10. But "open government" does apply to the release of statistics. The Treasurer, Frank Crean, had indicated some days beforehand that the magnitude of the increase in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) was about 2 per cent. Thus there were no surprises all around when the real figures were released. An increase of 2.1 per cent was only slightly more than what was expected.

The early leakage of the figures has been used cleverly to underplay the significance of the increase. Consider, however, the following facts. The increase is the highest for any March quarter for 21 years. For a person on the average weekly wage the increase means a leap of \$2 a week in the cost of living. Because of rising food prices, (in particular staple foods like potatoes which went up 9.5 per cent) people at the lower end of the scale are going to be hurt even more severely as they spend a higher proportion of their income on such commodities.

The figures are quite obviously strong indicators of the seriousness of the situation. It is just not good enough to say that total inflation for the past twelve months amounts to "only" 5.7 per cent. It may be true that one can't derive the annual inflation rate simply by multiplying the quarterly figures by four owing to seasonal factors but inflation figures comparable to the Korean War "boom" of the early 1950's are being projected. The Institute of Political Affairs has been projecting rates of up to twenty per cent per annum. The figures may be biased by the Institute's opposition to many Labor policies but nevertheless they give an indication of the seriousness of the situation. There is no question, however, that the kind of inflation experienced in Australia at the moment is of the magnitude of the period of the Korean War the worst in the Second World War.

The expectation of increasing inflation is not confined to the businessmen of the IPA or cynical bourgeois politicians like Snedden. The Reserve Bank of Australia in a statement issued on April 18, the very day the CPI figures were released,

"In view of the current and prospective increase in activities and the outlook for price increases ... " (emphasis added). To the bank the prospects of increased inflation seem quite reasonable.

The Labor Government by now has to accept an increasing share of the respon-

sibility for allowing inflation to contra instead of just blaming its Liberal pre decessors. Some type of action is seen as necessary, but the Federal Treasurer Frank Crean, has been leading the choagainst any measures.

There is one remedy that Crean has approved - a wage freeze. Alas he i unable to implement it. He needs the co-operation of the States. This is the essence of his excuse for the lack of activity by the Government. In a preconference he said the Government can't do anything about restraining price until it gets co-operation from the State

So the May 10 Premiers' Conference a being planned to help set up the machiery for a wage freeze. It would be quite wrong to suggest that a wage free is necessarily going to be instituted on that date or that a wage freeze by Labor will be as crude and clear cut as Nixon's The consistent improvement in Australian capitalism's external position is giving more leeway to the Government in its plans. Labor is likely, obviously, to use the extra time to measure its steps carefully, but the pressure for a wage freeze

In more immediate terms the crux of Labor's anti-inflationary effort is being directed through the Prices Justification Tribunal. The mouthpiece of that wing of the ruling class advocating a wage freeze, The Melbourne Age, has advocated the use of the Tribunal as well as similar State bodies as part of the "income policy". However, no one has taken the Prices Justification Tribunal seriously. The latest Cabinet decisions applying the Tribunal only to firms having turnovers of over \$20 million and only those outside retailing, and eliminating penalties for price raising, make the Tribunal even weaker. Company Directors can only be fined for refusing to disclose information

Even if the Prices Justification Tribunal had powers to act on price rises it would still be powerless in the international arena. A very large proportion of current inflation is exported from the US and Japan. There are two mechanisms for the transmission of inflation. One is direct through the higher prices paid by These raise the price in Australia. The other is indirect. As the price of wool went up after a large increase in demand from Japan, graziers stopped slaughtering their sheep. This in turn le to price rises for mutton and other meat,

No Prices Justification Tribunal can stop such price rises. No "incomes policy" can freeze these prices. The only way to protect worker's incomes from erosion is by instituting a system of monthly automatic wage rises based on a genuine con of living index controlled by the trade unions and to have this system written into all contracts and awards.

BY SOL SALBY

The moderate increase granted in the 1973 national wage case has been welcomed by union officials, as expected. But unexpected was the fact that some employers representatives also welcomed the Arbitration Commission's decision.

The commission granted in a unanimous decision a combined increase of \$2.50 flat rate plus two per cent of the award rate. On the more 'generous' side, the commission awarded an increase of \$9 in the minimum wage. The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) presented a very well argued and substantiated case. Its advocate, Robert Jolly, presented a case for \$12,00 in the weekly award rates generally and a \$13,80 rise in the minimum wage.

The actual increase falls considerably

son on \$70 the increase amounts to \$3.90. Even if the basic award is higher at say \$80, the rise only amounts to \$4.10. Actually an award of \$192 is required for anyone to receive the increase argued for by the ACTU.

The rise in the minimum wage lifts it to around the \$60 mark nationally. (The national variations are less than a dollar each way). The \$9 increase represents, of course, a much higher proportion of the unions' claims than an increase in the ordinary raise.

Undoubtedly there were two main reasons for the higher increases than the last few years. One of them was summarised very well in an article in the Sun, Sydney, May 8;

"During the proceedings, the unions em-CONTINUED PAGE 4

MARCH JUNE 30! Demand: Repeal of all Abortion Laws **Assemble Sydney Town Hall 10am**

Reactionaries Organise Against Abortion

"Abortion is a Woman's Wrong!" read the banner stretched out in front of the Sydney Town Hall prior to a "Right to Life" meeting on Sunday April 29. Dozens of male "Right to Life" ushers (bouncers) sporting special labels, with the help of similar numbers of Town Hall attendants and State police patrolled the hall confiscating placards belonging to abortion rights supporters and attempting to stop heckling (sometimes physically).

The meeting filled up with what was predominantly a middle-aged audience. The meeting was to be typical of those held throughout Australia over the past few weeks. There were coloured slides projected onto an enormous screen, supposedly depicting "babies" being "pickled alive" and "scraped away". The commentator would introduce you to "a prime piece of abortion material" or "a typical indidate for abortion". Alternatively, the foetus was referred to as "he", "him or "himself". Jim Cameron, NSW Liber-MLA spoke at the conclusion of the dide show. He spoke of the "tragedy of a child-to be born and never to know his mother's embrace..." Several people were taken outside, feeling sick; during the evening.

The highlight of the evening was the appearance on stage of four young girls in long white dresses, some with guitars, who sang "Diary of an Unborn Child" of which a typical refrain was "Oh Mother, must I die Oh Mother, must I die?"

Melbourne **Abortion Rally**

BY DOT TUMNEY

At 6,00pm on Friday, May 4, about 1000 people, the majority women, rallied in Melbourne's City Square to demonstrate for repeal of abortion laws.

Joan Coxsedge, a prominent member in the Socialist Left of the Labor Party, and ALP candidate for the seat of Balwyn in the coming State election, addressed the rally. Coxsedge said that if elected to parliament she would introduce a Private Member's Bill to legalise abortion.

Originally the Right to Life Association had planned a rally against abortion for May 4 also, but after the abortion rights rally was set for that date they changed their plans and instead set their march for May 6, a Sunday.

The rally was organised by the Women's Abortion Action Coalition, which brought together the Abortion Law Repeal Association (ALRA), the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), the Humanist Association and various women's liberation groups, as well as the individual

supporters of women's rights. The rally was followed by a spirited procession around several city blocks with placards and chants calling for repeal of anti-abortion laws. A popular chant was; "Make it legal, make it sa fe". Placards emphasised that it was the right of women involved to make their own decisions, moral and social, on the issue of abortion,

The role of the Roman Catholic Church in the Right to Life Campaign was recognised and attacked by many of the demonstrators. A street theatre group wheeled an effigy of the Pope around the city, chanting 'love the foetus, oppress the child' - an obvious reference to the inconsistency of the Right to Lifers in their attitudes to the rights of the living. The forces behind Right to Life - the people who so vigorously defend the sanctity of the lives of foctuses, are the same people who supported Nixon's genocidal war against the people of Vietnam and could not offer much more than an embarrassed silence in explanation of events such as the My Lai massacre. For it seems that life is only sacred when it is unborn.

The procession ended with a march back to City Square with speakers addressing the crowds of shoppers. The success of the demonstration indicates the depth of feeling about the abortion issue among thousands of women and augurs well for even larger actions on May 10 and June 30.



people who invent these sickening pieces of distortion is completely immaterial. The woman is purely an instrument of reproduction, a glorified incubator with neither feelings or rights. The utter endation that homosexuals might be "helpcallousness displayed by these people towards women reveals the extent of their "concern for human life". An unwanted pregnancy is but a temporary "inconvenience" to a woman - the child can always be adopted. Even rape does not justify abortion. (Rape is very hard to prove, remember!)

What lies behind such attitudes is basically the belief that women should enjoy bearing children, and have no right to but I don't want to be killed 'cause I want feel otherwise, and secondly, that sexual to live like you". A newspaper advertiseity for women is only sanctioned if it results in childbirth. These attitudes are fundamental to the ideology that a woman's rightful place is within the home and family, as the bearers of her husband's children, and that women are naturally

men.

This issue is assuming more and more importance as it forces people to come down on one side or another - either on the side of oppressive laws which deny women the most elementary control over their own bodies, and champion the rights of the unborn or the embryo against the lives of those already living within an established network of human relationships, or on the side of those who support the right of women to determine the course of their lives and the right of children to be wanted.

The Right to Life Association has mobilised people to this point in demonstrations and rallies of thousands of people, The Roman Catholic Church has put all its energies into a campaign to defeat the Lamb/McKenzie bill of May 10. Hundreds of children at Catholic schools have been encouraged to write to politicians and have signed petitions condemning the bill. The Right to Life Association has distributed hundreds of leaflets with lists of suggested points to be made by letter writers, and listing the DOs and DON' Ts of this exercise. One point which stood out was "DON'T ever refer to your religious affiliations". It has produced and distributed massive quantities of expensive publicity material.

This mobilisation however, has not decided the outcome of the struggle. Opinion polls persistently indicate that the overwhelming majority of people in Australia support the right of women to abortion in some form or another, Tens of thousands of women today are ready and willing to fight. When these women move into action, no reactionary pressure group, no matter how well-financed, will be able to stand in their way. In their struggle women have real and living interests to defend - those of their children and their sisters everywhere. It is the women's movement which stands for the right to life - the right of people to live in real economic, political and social justice.

George Novack, one of the foremost marxist scholars in the world today, will shortly be undertaking a speaking tour of Australia. Novack will give public lectures in Sydney, Brisbane, Canberra, Adelaide and Melbourne as well as addressing Socialist Education Conferences in Sydney and Melbourne,

Another speaker was Dr Arthur Crawford,

recently made news through his recomm-

surgeon and Liberal Member of the

Queensland Legislative Assembly who

ed" by undergoing cerebral surgery.

This meeting was typical of the crude

emotionalism on which the anti-abortion-

ists rely for their support. A radio advert-

ten radio stations features a foetus which

saying, among other things "...my mum-

my doesn't want me and wants me killed

ment pictures a sporting team with one

years ago his mother had an abortion."

The feelings and life of the mother to

"David didn't make the team because 16

member missing. The caption reads:

isement which is now played on at least

talks! After starting with the amplified

heartbeat of a foetus, a voice is heard

George Novack is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, the organisation in solidarity with the Fourth International in the United States. He has contributed innumerable articles to the revolutionary press on philosophical and other political topics. (We reprint one of them in this

George Novack was born in Boston in 1905 and educated at Harvard University. He is a former research associate for the

Fund for the Republic and has served on the steering committeee of the Socialist Scholars Conference. He has lectured at major universities in the US, Canada and Mexico and has been a staunch defender of civil liberties.

Novack has written the books: Understanding History, Democracy and Revolution, Empiricism and its Evolution: A Marxist View, The Origins of Materialism, An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism and 20 other books and pamphlets. He was the editor of the popular anthology. Existentialism versus Marxism: Conflicting Views on Humanism and co-editor with Isaac Deutscher of The Age of Permanent Revolution (the well-known collection of writings of Leon Trotsky.)

Novack will be giving several talks while

meaning of Life: A Marxist View; Socialism and Humanism; Politics and Philosophy; and also lectures on the Transitional Programme and Building the Revolutionary Party at Socialist Education Conferences.

The tour is the second sponsored by the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League in conjunction with DIRECT ACTION. Recently Evelyn Reed, the prominent U.S. women's lib. erationist, made a successful tour of Australia. (See story Page 4)

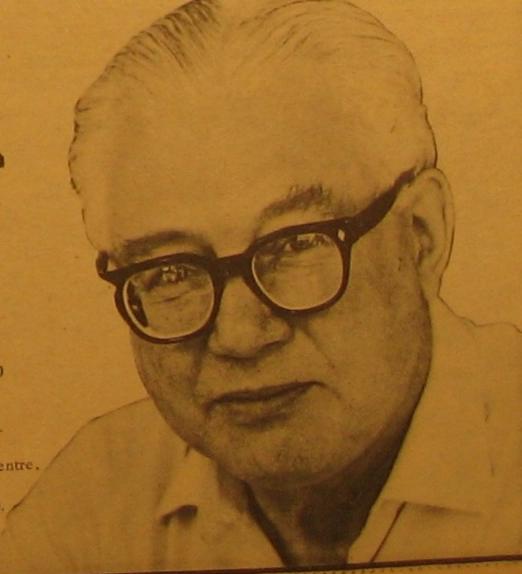
Anyone wishing to attend the Socialist Education Conferences in Sydney May 25-27 and Melbourne June 1-3, should contact the SYA branch in their state. (See Page 2).

TEPROF TOTAL Tuesday, May 22, 7.30 p.m. Teachers Federation Auditorium, 300

Sussex Street, Sydney. Wednesday, May 23, 7.30 p.m. BRISBANE Wednesday, May 23, 7.30 p.m.
Trades Hall, Wickham Terrace, Brisbane. Thursday, May 24, 7.30 p.m. Studio Hall, Griffin Centre, Civic Centre.

Wednesday, May 30, 7.30 p.m. SYA Hall, 287 Rundle Street, Adelaide. Thursday, May 31, 8,00 p.m. WELBOURNE Thursday, May 31, 8.00 p.m.
Guild Theatre, Melbourne University.

\$1.00 DONATION, 50c SEC. STUDENTS



Evelyn Reed Completes Successful Australian Tour

Evelyn Reed, the prominent United States feminist and independent Marxist anthropologist.has completed a successful two week speaking tour of Australia. Reed addressed public meetings in Sydney, Brisbane, Canberra, Adelaide and Mel-

The tour was an enormous success with capacity and overflow audiences at many meetings. Reed was speaking on two topics during her tour: "The Women's Liberation Movement in the United States Today" and "Is Biology Woman's Destiny? All told, almost 4,000 women and men attended her public meetings and univer-

The tour got off to a lively start at Macquarie University in Sydney where Reed, addressing 300 students (a majority of them women) on the topic "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?" raised the hackles of several males who were irritated by Reed's statement of a well-known fact that in some primitive societies, women could lift heavier weights than men. In fact, some males were worried by the whole content of Read's talk which explained that women help women to gain the confidence to have not always been the second sex- in primitive communal society women played a more prominent role in social and cultural life than males and, moreover, this did not lead to the domination and degradation of one sex by another.



The nervous reaction of some of the male audience and the enthusiasm of much of the rest of the meeting about these points showed how important the myth of woman's Reed, in opening her talk on the "Wombiological inferiority has been in oppressing women and conditioning them to believe that they are"born inferior", Reed al", explained that an understanding of the history of women in early society could struggle for their liberation today.

Approximately 500 women and men attended the main public meeting in Sydney and about 600 attended a meeting held at the University of NSW. These meetings

wanted to listen, and the topic ged to "Women's Liberation". So it is not a question any longer but a struggle and a clear objective.

After concluding the Melbourne section the tour where 500 attended the Assen Hall to hear her speak on "Is Biology ! an's Destiny?", and 600 heard her at Melbourne University on "The Women's Liberation Movement in the US Today Reed returned to Sydney where she sp at the opening rally of the Socialist You Alliance Fourth National Conference, SYA cosponsored the visit along with the Socialist Workers League, Australian sympathising organisation of the Fourth

Reed, in her talk to the conference com pared the current radicalisation to the difficult period of the fifties and describe how the new situation opened up enormo possibilities for making consistent gains in terms of building revolutionary organia. tions. The women's liberation movement is one of the powerful forces that is part of the movement to transform society that is now gathering pace.

Before returning to the US, Reed will ale be touring New Zealand and Japan, two other countries where the women's liberation movement is beginning to have a big impact on society.

The War in Indo-China Goes On Nixon himself threatened further direct attacks on North Vietnam in a speech on May 4, in which he attempted to justify US aggression by allegations of violation by most of lot of people on the left) the unately, a lot of people on the left) the war in Indo-China is far from over. of the January 27 agreements by North Vietnam. The allegations were couched in extremely vague terms, and consisted essentially of charges of 'infiltration of men and materiel into South Vietnam'. In a belligerent speech, colored by the necessity of distracting attention from the Watergate scandal, Nixon asserted the bomber aircraft renewed the bombing of right of the US to continue to be a major Laos, the US halted the clearing of mine power in Asia.

"We shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us, or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security.

Nixon thus clearly revealed that US aims in South East Asia have in no way changed since the signing of the ceasefire agreements. Only the means of attaining these ends were modified temporarily for tactical reasons. The record of the Nixon regime should leave no doubts about Nix on's willingness to resume full-scale war against North Vietnam if this can be done without the resurgence of mass protests in the United States, and if the neutrality of China and the Soviet Union can be counted on.

Nixon is attempting to blackmail Hanoi into accepting violations of the ceasefire by the forces of the Thieu regime, which is blocking attempts to carry out the provisions of the ceasefire requiring the holding of elections throughout South Vietnam and which is attempting to seize

US controlled coalition, and that they force the Cambodian insurgents to accept the Lon Nol regime at a time when it is in imminent danger of collapse. In other words, North Vietnam is being asked to accomplish for US imperialism th ose tasks the United States has been unable to achieve for itself. Otherareas held by the Provisional Revolution-

wise Nixon will order further massive air attacks on Hanoi. The most immediate concern of the US administration is obviously the fate of the Lon Nol regime. Under strong US pressure on April 18 Lon Nol reorganised the 'government' in Phnom Penh by extending the control of the regime to a group of four, including Sirik Matak, the man most favored by Nixon at the present time. If Lon Nol falls, the Nixon administration is ready with another strong-arm man to replace him. Such changes however, are unlikely to stem the tide running against the beleaguered puppet regime in Phnom Penh. The corruption runs so deep that it affects the armed forces at every level. Without popular support, with an uninterrupted series of defeats for its armed forcesces despite the intense US bombing, and with reports of government troops going

over to the side of the liberation forces,

ary Government under the terms of the

large scale infiltration of men and sup-

plies into South Vietnam, of failure to

use their influence on the Cambodian in-

sugents to help bring about a ceasefire in

Cambodia, and failure to use their influ-

ence on the Pathet Lao to move promptly

toward the formation of a coalition gov-

Nixon is demanding that the North Viet-

liberation forces in the face of attacks by

namese abandon the South Vietnamese

the Saigon army, that they force the

Pathet Lao into a subservient role in a

ernment in Laos.

agreement. The US accuses Hanoi of

desperate. Nixon has asserted that the war in Cambodia results from 'North Vietnamese aggression' yet even the US forces give little credence to this claim.

ALL US MILITARY FORCES OUT OF SOUTH EAST ASIA!

STOP THE BOMBING OF CAMBODIA AND LAOS!

RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

RECOGNISE THE PRG!

Demonstrate Sat. May 19

ASSEMBLE CIRCULAR QUAY WEST 10 AM
MARCH TO HYDE PARK FOR RALLY

In The New York Times of April 21 Malcolm Browne reported from Phnom Penh, "Official American sources here said today (April 20) that since the Vietnam ceasefire three months ago, there has been no documented evidence that Vietnamese Communist troops are serving combat roles in Cambodia."

Nixon is desperately anxious to save the Phnom Penh regime, and to establish a firm lease for US domination through a stable regime in Saigon. If this cannot be achieved through the ceasefire accords, the US may try to seek its objectives by a further major assault on North Vietnam. Whether Nixon chooses this alternative will depend very much on an estimate of the likely response of the Soviet Union and China to such a renewed outbreak of war, and on the political situation in the United States. The stench of the Watergate affair is everywhere, and an escalation of the war would produce a further series of big anti-war demonstrations throughout the world.

A critical point has been reached in the Indo-China war. Nixon's plans must be defeated. The anti-war movement must respond to the fresh acts of violence and threats by demanding the ending of the bombing of Cambodia and all acts of aggression against the people of Indo-China. All political prisoners must be released from Thieu's gaols. Australia must withdraw recognition and all support from the Thieu regime. The Provisional Revolutionary Government must be recognised as the legitimate government representing the people of South Vietnam. All opponents of the war should march in Sydney on May 19 in support of these aims. the position of the Government is growing

High School Actions in June

The coordinating committee of the National Education Action Coalition which met in Sydney over Easter has decided on what forms of action will be taken by the different affiliates of the NEAC in June. The originally proposed national strike has been cancelled mainly due to lack of finance and resources.

In Sydney and Melbourne the actions will be double offensives. On Wednesday, une 6 there will be pickets in both cities demanding democratic rights for school students. The following Saturday, June of the Wednesday actions.

The South Australian Education Action Group is not planning a large scale action at this stage. The EAG is currently taking round a petition which will be presented to the Minister for Education on June 6. They expect to have between five and

small staff.

donate up to \$2500. That is, for every any Moscow gold coming our way! We 51 we can raise, our benefactor will rely entirely on you, our readers and f \$2. So we're shooting for \$5000.

to line the pockets of the poor and but we would like to get some wind in their supporters. It goes to the big ompanies. They are charging us exorb- spaces below are therefore not just for tant prices to purchase much needed show.... equipment. But we then use this equip-ment against this whole profit-motivated We are up to \$73, that is \$146, so keep ystem of exploitation and war, his a it rolling in ... unmy contradiction but as Lenin pointed ut, the last capitalist will sell the rope I donate \$50 . . . \$20 . . . \$15 . . . at hangs the second last capitalist.

ner. This will improve not only the peed with which we can produce our Send to Direct Action, 139 St Johns R. per - but more importantly its format Glebe, 2037,

ten thousand names on it when it is presented to the Minister,

As yet, no plans have been made for any action in Brisbane. The old Queensland Secondary Students' Union has recently given way to an Education Action Front, but at the moment the group is still small, viously the Labor Government, Unlike

The next few months are going to be very important for the secondary student movements in all parts of the country. With Education Week coming up in New South Wales shortly after the June actions and similar events in other states likely to take presided over the commission said, the place around the same time, the opport-

> The commission also took into account the fact that award rates over the last year only increased at the slow rate of three per cent.

> > For all the praise the commission received special sop to the working class before from the Labor Minister Cameron who called the decision "one of the most realistic in recent years" the decision in reality is quite disappointing. If the decision is approximated in percentage terms, it amounts to something around four per cent, well below the inflation rate which is expected to gallop at up to ten percent per annum.

of the women's liberation movement have

a tremendous potential to inspire women.

en's Liberation Movement in the US To-

day" stated that "Sisterhood is Internation-

The press coverage became more intense

radio and newspapers all wanted to inter-

view the person that one news editor had

ation". Reed pointed out that in spite of

had a certain validity. For years she had

dubbed "The Granny of Women's Liber-

the intentions of the article, the phrase

phasised that the May 1972 increase has

been totally inadequate. Another small

increase would place the future of the

national wage case in jeopardy the unions warned the commission." (Em-

The other reason for the change is ob-

the Liberals, who supported the employ-

ACTU case. J.B. Sweeny, a member of

the ALP Industrial Relations Committee,

argued the Government's case in support

of the ACTU. As Judge Moore who

commission took special notice of the

omy could take a large increase.

ers, the ALP Government supported the

National Wage Case

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

phasis added)

as Reed's tour progressed. Television,

But perhaps the worst disappointment did perennial rejection by the commission of over the past few months, it can be the quarterly cost of living increases, While quarterly adjustments based on the monthly adjustment based on a genuine index kept by the unions it is certainly a progressive step. The quarterly adjustment was abandoned in 1953 by the now defunct Arbitration Court.

SUB DRIVE OVER

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Without as yet having the full figures in Meanwhile, our sub rate goes back to 10

ssue. As of last issue we had 378 new subscription on the left in Australia. So

I enclose \$. . . for . . . issues of DIRECT ACTION. (10 issues for \$1)

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Send to 139 St Johns Rd, Glebe, NSW, 2037.

ubs but a big effort over Easter and on keep the subs coming and fill out the

May Day appears to have got most areas form below.

for our sub drive, it looks like we have issues for a dollar. There's still a big

gone over the top. We set a target of incentive to subscribe-its half the price

500 new subs by the publication of this than on the street and the best value

In its first submission since the abandonment, the Labor Government did not emphasise the adjustment sufficiently. Australian workers were thus deprived of a useful weapon to fight inflation,

The employers' reactions were more varied than the almost unanimous welcome by the unions. While George Polites of the Employers' Federation was upset at the \$850 million the wage rise is going to cost, Mr Darling, a fellow employers member spokesman considered the wage rise 'reasonable'.

The reluctance of some employers to condemn the Arbitration Commission for the increase awards follows from their understanding of the long term economic perspectives. The improvement in economic conditions generally combined the economy by Labor, allows the employers more room to manoeuvre.

Taken in the context of a possible wage freeze within the next twelve months, the national wage case indicates that the ALP Government feels no need to throw a introducing a wage freeze. It indicates that a wage freeze is not on the order of the day immediately. A higher and more substantial wage rise could indicate a more immediate wage freeze perspective. Alternatively, a meagre award could indicate an immediate perspective of confrontation with workers militancy. The middle course chosen indicates a temporary reprieve.

not lie in any of the awards. It lies in the Overall, following the high expectations recognised that despite the more progressive approach of the Labor Government, Consumer Price Index fall far short of a the Arbitration Commission only serves the employers' interests. It diverts workers from real avenues of struggles to legalisms. Even under the most favorable circumstances the workers' demands will be curtailed by this institution.

up to their quotas. We will publish the full figures on the drive in our next issue.

Vietnam Peace Delegation Visits Australia

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

Contrary to what is being spread around

by most of the daily papers (and, unfort-

On April 13, troops of the Saigon army

crossed the Mekong river and invaded

border areas of Cambodia, in violation

of the cease-fire agreements. Between

fields from North Vietnamese harbours,

and US aircraft resumed aerial recon-

naissance flights over North Vietnam.

US fighter-bomber aircraft based in

Tailand continues at the rate of 250

much larger area of South Vietnam

villages of Cambodia.

dwing the intense bombing phase last

year, and in addition an average of 60

8-52 bombers every day unloads up to

30 tons of bombs each on the populated

According to New York Times correspon-

April 21; "Secretary of Defence, Elliot

L Richardson said in an interview that

the Administration was seeking by its

latest actions 'to send a message' to

matic protests. He said that Hanoi

possible retalitory action. He also

the past not foreclosed the possibility

that the United States might invoke

other extreme measures."

Hanoi through means other than diplo-

should interpret the moves as 'signals of

aid that Administration officials had in

dent, Bernard Gwertzman, writing on

The saturation bombing of Cambodia by

strikes per day, almost as many as in the

April 16 and 19, US B-52 and fighter

Six delegates representing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam arrived in Australia for a three week visit, to promote their continuing struggle against US imperialist aggression. They are Nguyen Van Chi, Le Duy Van and Vu Quang Chuyen from the DRV, and Nguyen Van Tien, Le Hai and Le Mai. from the PRG.

The delegation will visit most major centres in Australia. They will also hold talks with trade union leaders to enlist greater financial and political support for their struggle. The visit opened with a lunchtime rally at Sydney Town Hall on April 26. The meeting was chaired by Labor's Federal Minister for Overseas Trade and Secondary Industry, Dr Cairns,

The delegation condemned Nixon's continued aggression against the peoples of Indo-China, The rally was bitterly attacked by the daily press, with pious statements to the effect that the "glorious tradition" of Anzac Day was being undermined. (It was considered especially insulting that this rally took place the day after Anzac Day!) The impact of the antiwar movement has done much to undermine such militarist traditions.

made possible- even under a Labor Government- by the success of mass antiwar demonstrations and the winning of a majority of Australians to a position of opposition to US aggression in Indo-China.

activists can most effectively continue the struggle for the complete withdrawal of all US forces from Indo-China, While the US remains entrenched in the area, the most effective form of action in support of the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination is still the building of massive demonstrations of people demanding US withdrawal;

Victorian ALP Chairman George Crawford addressed the rally, pointing out the determination which the Vietnamese people have shown in their long struggle to throw out the United States imperialists. He also emphasised the importance of the international solidarity efforts launched in support of the Vietnamese all over the world. He ended by saying that the war is not over and the need for support for the Vietnamese still exists.

Members of Cambodian freedom fighters womens production brigade. This raises the question as to how antiwar

On Saturday May 5, about 1,000 people rallied at Melbourne's Tullamarine airport to greet the Vietnamese delegation on their arrival from Sydney.

The Vietnamese visit must be welcomed by all antiwar activists, the trade union movement and the Labor Government as a means of publicising the continuing struggle of the Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese peoples, and in order to rebuild a powerful movement demanding In fact, the Vietnamese visit has only been that the US get out now. On May 19, there will be a demonstration in Sydney which will attempt to lay the basis for a revival of antiwar actions which are so vital for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.



Jim Cairns and Nguyen van Tien at Sydney meeting.

This is the second issue of our new expanded 24 page format. The long Easter holiday this year means that we and attractiveness so more people will ropped a week in our schedule. But our want to read it. We can't spread our ideas difficulties are not just due to the holiday by telepathy - we need to attempt to season. We're also using outdated equip- keep up with the enormous and sophisti-

ment and methods and we've only got a cated propaganda machine of capitalism. By the way - we don't have any secret So the last issue we started a fund drive funds! We're not getting any rakeoffs supporter of our paper has agreed to for political favors and neither is there

add another. That means for every \$1 supporters. So send in your contribution you, our readers send us, we get a total now! We got off to a slow start. At this rate it Now that sounds a lot but it's our bare would take us nine months (!) to get our ninimum needs. Unfortunately it doesn't \$5000. Now we accept all size donations our sails with a couple of big ones. The

\$10 . . . \$5 . . . \$2 . . . \$1 . . . Please send me a receipt . . .



LE MAI

SYA Conference Plans Coming Campaigns

Wictorian Campaign for Abortion Gathers Pace

SY A Conference Plans Coming Campaigns

Wictorian Campaign for Abortion Gathers Pace

from across Australia gathered in Sydney for the 4th National Conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance. The conference marked the culmination of a period of intense political activity by SYA, and was reflected by the many new subjects under intensive discussion.

In addition, the political situation facing SYA had undergone signifigant developments which demanded evaluation. On an international level there was the Indo-China ceasefire and the betrayal of the liberation forces by the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies who consecrated their deals with the United States. In Australia itself the people at the conference saw for the first time in their lives, the election of a Labor Government and the changed political environment which went with it. Secondary students moved into action against the education system with the national September 20 strike and the feminist movement continued to assert its massive potential for mobilisation and anti-capitalist action.

The conference was launched by an opening rally which was addressed by Evelyn Reed, representing the Socialist Workers" Party and presenting greetings from the Young Socialist Alliance, the organisations supporting the Fourth International in the United States, Peter Rotherham, a member of the National Co-ordinating Committee of the New Zealand Young Socialists, Jim Percy, National Organiser of the Socialist Workers League, Australian sympathising section of the Fourth Internation- Going on the international report dealt al, and Margaret McHugh who spoke on behalf of SYA. Coming on top of a highly successful speaking tour of Australia ing liberation forces into the settlement, the speech by Evelyn Reed was a high point of the conference, and represented to those present the historical heritage of the international movement SYA is setting out to build in Australia.

The first report of the conference proper was on the international situation. Centring on Indo-China, the report analysed the meaning of the ceasefire agreement and its repercussions throughout the world. The report argued that Indo-China was still the pivotal question had settled none of the underlying contradictions behind the war, whose outcome could only be decided by struggle.

"The US remains poised and it is only a matter of time before it opens the doors to renewed bombing of Vietnam, as the puppet regime of Thieu is increasingly threatened. Recent reports of intensified clashes and repeated warnings by the US point very clearly to this,"

olutionary organisation of high school,

university and working youth. Our goal

society where the resources and indus-

of by a tiny handful of profiteers. A

world's resources and technology into

a decent life for every human being.

by the working class, can bring about

undamental change. The antiwar,

omen's liberation and gay liberation

rocess. We participate in these and

ther struggles to help win their dem-

ands. Our strategy is based on mass

cratic and transitional demands. SYA

ctions around a program of demo-

movements are fundamental to this

is socialism. We aim to establish a

tries are owned and democratically

planned economy can translate the



although it will grow at an uneven pace,

The document went on to stress the im-

get out of Indo-China completely and

without conditions. It pointed out that

any initiatives in regard to staging mass

mobilisations in the near future would

depend on the highly volatile situation

in Vietnam. Emphasis was also placed

growth, particularly as the central issue

on the feminist movement which was

seen to offer enormous prospects of

In the two and a half years since its

founding conference SYA has grown to

become the most important revolution-

ary socialist youth group in Australia.

The document assessed the prospects for

ical spotlight all over Australia.

the necessity of building coalitions

portance of continued anti-war work and

around the principled demand that the US

it will not be reversed,"

Evelyn Reed addressing conference. Also on platform- Margaret McHugh, Jim Percy, Peter Rotherham, and Steve Painter shows that it is continuing to spread, and

with the sell-out of the Vietnamese revolution by Moscow and Peking in pressurand emphasised that in no way should revolutionaries support a settlement which extracted concessions by military force, as the Communist Party had done by supporting the 'Sign Now' demand.

"SYA and the Challenge of the Youth Radicalisation", a document which sets the basic perspectives for SYA, was then presented by Nita Keig on behalf of the National Executive. It outlined the objective causes of the youth radicalisation, its future prospects and the

"The radicalisation is not just a catchword for a temporary social phenomena, but rather it represents a dynamic process which is undermining the hegemony of bourgeois ideas, challenging some of the fundamental institutions which prop up capitalism and giving the masses of people an understanding of class society and the confidence to fight it. The breadth and scope of the radicalisation

We support struggles in the Soviet

establish socialist democracy and

support the Labor Party as the ex-

text we struggle to build a revolu-

controlled by all who use them, instead oust the privileged bureaucracies. We

Only the action of masses, spearheaded up the demands of oppressed groups

is on the side of the Vietnamese, the POSTCODE. PHONE.

Palestinians, the Irish and all oppressed Post to SYA, PO Box 160, Glebe, 2037.

working class.

Union, Eastern Europe, and China to

pression of the political consciousness

of the working class. Within this con-

and whose program is a class struggle

() I want more information on SYA.

() I want to join SYA.

one, totally in the interests of the

tionary wing which unequivocally takes

further development in the following "In recent months we have seen new opportunities open in the areas of campus and secondary school work. Never before have we had such a healthy base on campus and this is aided by the vacuum of political leadership in many student struggles which are going on at. this time. We are the sole tendency intervening in and building the secondary school movement, a movement whose

> Concretising the above perspectives for the student movement, two very important documents were presented. They were 'A Socialist Strategy for the Campuses' and "A Socialist Strategy for the Secondary Student Revolt."

potential is seemingly unlimited."

Each of these documents explained the vitally important role which the student movement, on both the secondary and tertiary levels will play in the future growth of SYA and the extension of its influence. They looked at the evolution of the international student movement since the massive explosions of 1968. showing that it had far from exhausted its potential, as the recent events in France and our own experience demonstrate. Using the transitional approach to the student movement outlined in previous documents, the two resolutions put forward practical slogans and courses of action for the campuses and schools, whereby SYA student activists could

assume a leading position in the student struggles of the day, linking these to a broader programme of socialist revolution.

'A Socialist Strategy for the Secondary Student Revolt' placed particular importance on the campaign for democratic rights within the schools which were given high priority for deep involvement by revolutionary socialist youth:

"Through its strategic relations to the youth radicalisation, the school revolt can have a vital effect on the relationship of forces on the left, and in society as a whole. SYA's ideas have won hegemony in the organised secondary student movement, and growing numbers of radicalising students are coming to its ranks,

Coming immediately after the election of Labor, the next document, 'Labor and Youth' was of particular relevance. It reaffirmed the position of unconditional (yet critical) support for Labor in the elections and began the process of forming a strategy to win Labor youth to the perspective of revolutionary socialism. Analysing how the radicalisation had affected the Young Labor Associations throughout Australia, the document saw important openings for SYA in this regard - and noted some not insignifigant successes which have been won already.

The final day of the conference was taken up with reports on organisational tasks and projections, plus workshops on sales of DIRECT ACTION, literature, recruiting and education. Expansion of SYA's organisational capacities was accorded high priority. Discussion on the final day of the conference also took place on the questions being discussed within the world Trotskyist movement, in preparation for the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International later this year.

During the conference a special fund drive was held to launch SYA's activities after the conference on a firm financial footing. Over \$600 was raised, \$500 of which was raised in an appeal at the opening rally.

The conference testified to the period of 'qualitative growth' and 'cadre building' which had preceded the conference. The Socialist Youth Alliance now takes up the challenge of the youth radicalisation' stronger and more confident than ever as the youth component of Australia's reflection of the world-wide resurgence of revolutionary Marxism.

The Victorian campaign for the repeal of all abortion laws has increased in intensity with the introduction into Federal Parliament of the Medical Practice Clarification Bill and with the onset of the state elections. Within the Victoran ALP support and pressure has been ontinually growing for a change in the existing abortion laws, despite attempts by the leadership to neutralise the issue v treating it as a matter of conscience for each individual member of the Party. However press are from the rank and file of the ALP to make the abortion issue part of Labor policy has intensified in the last year, culminating in a motion being carried by the ALP State Council last August, calling for abolition of all anti-abortion laws. The State Health and Welfare Policy Committee has discussed the issue over a period of months and has urged that the legalisation of abortion in Victoria be included as part of Labor policy in the State election campaign. Joan Coxsedge, the ALP candidate for the electorate of Balwyn, as part of her electoral platform, has ledged to introduce a private members bill on abortion if she is elected to state parliament.

The leadership of the State ALP has refused to acknowledge the growing pressure and has persistently skirted and attempted to suppress the issue. Clyde Holding, at the opening of the State ALP campaign at Spring Vale Town Hall on April30, again reasserted his opinion that the abortion issue should remain a matter for individual conscience, in response to a question from a feminist, he stated that he personally was not in agreement with what he called 'abortion on consent'. However, as a conservative, half-hearted attempt to stem the mounting tide, Holding has stated that if elected Premier, he will hold a royal commission into all aspects of abortion, with a State Labor Government acting upon its recommendations. The commission would be headed by a Supreme Court judge. Its terms of reference would include an investigation into the number of abortions carried out in Victoria (legal and illegal); the psychological, social and economic factors which lead women to seek abortions; and the inadequacy of provisions made for family planning, unwanted children and unmarried mothers. The whole concept of a commission and its proposed structure indicates the desire by the leadership to hold back the repeal of abortion laws by placing it in the hands of a reactionary archaic legal system that is highly unlikely to concede on an issue which has such profound social consequences for the role of women in society.

Outside the ALP support for the repeal

activity in response to the proposed Federal bill, the state elections and the campaign being carried out by anti-abortion forces, centred around the Right to Life Association and a number of clergymen The Women's Abortion Action Coalition (WAAC) in Melbourne has seen increasing numbers of women joining in its activities and succeeded in uniting independent pro-abortion organisations and individuals, to struggle around the issue. Women's liberationists, women from the ALP, Women's Electoral Lobby and Abortion Law Repeal Association have joined forces in a move to unite and direct the activities and energies of diverse groups supporting abortion repeal. WAAC has planned a number of actions in the near future, these including two demonstrations (May 6 and May 10) calling for the repeal of all abortion laws, and a public meeting(May 6) where David McKenzie will be among the speakers.

The Abortion Law Repeal Association, in an attempt to exert pressure on the government, has opened a centre in Carlton to provide information concerning safe abortion techniques for doctors, and information about where women may obtain abortions. A mass letter-writing campaign has been initiated, both to the daily papers and to members of Parliament concerning the issue. The Women's Electoral Lobby is asking its members to write to all Federal MPs, urging them to support the Medical Practice Clarification Bill. However, these activities serve only as a part of an overall mass, independent campaign needed to fight for the repeal of abortion

laws. The Right to Life Association and the Roman Catholic Church have mounted a well organised and well financed campaign in Melbourne. However, forces supporting the right to abortion have been quick to respond. A demonstration in the city square by nurses protesting against the proposed abortion bill resulted in a counter-demonstration by another group of nurses supporting the Bill. The supporters carrying placards saying such things as "Curettes not coathangers", demonstration despite attempts later by city council officials to remove them from the square. A further step was taken when a number of catholic women staged a walkout from mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral on April 29 as a protest against a pastoral letter issued by Cardinal Knox condemning proposed reform of abortion laws. There is a growing campaign to fight for the repeal of the existing abortion laws, from both within the State ALP and outside of it in an independent movement. Despite the fact that abortion is not officially a part of Labor Party policy it has in reality become the central issue in the state election campaign.

of abortion laws is becoming increasingly vocal and more organised. The abortWomen in Revolt

On Tuesday, May 8 a packed meeting of tudents at the Roundhouse, University of New South Wales debated a set of three notions concerning the bill reforming he existing abortion laws being put forvard by Labor members Lamb and McKen- Spokespeople for the Greek and Turkish ie to Federal Parliament on May 10.

The motions read: 1) that this meeting believes it is a right of any parliamentarian to bring a bill before Parliament. 2) that this meeting expresses its support of the Private Member's bill before Parliament relating to abortion. 3) that this meeting calls for the immediate repeal of children to members of their family all abortion laws, respecting a woman's overseas. Recently a child of an ight to choose.

was taken. The first motion was adopted parents were at work. ust about unanimously and the remaining wo parts overwhelmingly, with two-thirds o three-quarters supporting the bill and repeal of abortion laws.

What was interesting about the discussion. was that all the women who spoke in discussion supported the motions, and the vote revealed the overwhelming sympathy of the women present.

The decision to support the motions means that they now become part of the policy of the Students' Union. Telegrams were to be sent to Members Lamb and McKenzie expressing the solidarity of the student body with their bill.

NZ ABORTION ACTIONS

On Friday, April 13 national demonstrations for the repeal of abortion laws were held throughout New Zealand. The protests were successful and high-spirited despite rain which fell in all cities.

a Auckland 350 people marched, in Vellington approximately 170, and in ooth Christchurch and Dunedin about 100 people took part. All these marches vere considerably bigger than on previous occasions, and had drawn in wider sup-

n each centre, opponents of abortion ried to counter the demonstrations, in ome cases going as far as stealing abortion banners and defacing publicity for the march. But nowhere did they appear n anywhere near the numbers of the bortion rights supporters. They followed the demonstrations in some cases, listributing leaflets.

The Women's Abortion Action Commttees played a leading role in building Reform Association of New Zealand (ALRANZ), and members of the Values Party, women's liberation, gay liberation nd the Labour Party.

Leading up to these demonstrations were orums and a showing of a film on Margaret Sanger's fight in the United States earlier in this century for contraception, et distribution.

speaking at a rally following the Auck- quest are essential to this right.

abortion was a fight for women's democratic rights. She called on all women "to join us in demanding that abortion be a woman's right to choose".

INADEQUATE CHILD-CARE

immigrant communities in Melbourne recently said that many immigrant families were forced to send their children back to Greece or Turkey because of the lack of adequate child care facilities. For families where both parents work, the lack of child care centres leaves no option but to send immigrant family was killed when she fell from her parents' eleventh storey At the conclusion of the discussion a vote Housing Commission flat while both



On Saturday, May 12 women in Sydney will march at 10 am from Sydney Town Hall to Hyde Park to demand among

* free 24 hour-a-day child care facilities * education and opportunity for full range of occupations * free abortion on request

The march will be held the day before 'Mother's Day' in order to highlight the this society.

Recently it was reported that the Federal Minister for Social Security, Bill Hayden had employed a team to investigate the possibilities of women being paid a family allowance to stay at home If similar investigations such as those carried out recently in Britain, the United States and the Netherlands are any indication, this team will discover that women are worth a lot of money as mothers and houseworkers.

Their investigations revealed that the average time per week that a woman spends in working in the home is 85

The point however, is not that women nd coordinating the actions. Other org- be merely paid to remain at home but inisations involved were the Abortion Law that they have full opportunities to work in whatever occupation they choose, and at equal rates of pay.

Women, when they choose to work outside the home should not be penalized because they are mothers but should have access to high-quality child-care facilities for their children, paid maternity leave and flexible working hours. as well as a campaign of poster and leaf- On top of this, women must have the basic right to decide whether to be mothers at all, and if so, when they will, Cathy Carroll, secretary of the Auckland The demands for freely available, safe Vomen's Abortion Action Committee, in contraceptives and free abortion on re-



Queensland Abortion March that a motion had been passed stating:

BY JANE BECKMAN

Activity in Brisbane around the abortion issue has been increasing and shows no sign of abating. On Sunday, April 29 abortion rights supporters staged a counter demonstration to oppose the Right to Life Association and impress upon the Mac-Pherson area Liberal Party conference that women are determined to fight for the marched around Surfers Paradise, 40 miles been forced to adapt to pressure. The south of Brisbane. After the march, demonstrators surrounded the doorway of conference was in progress. Several of the understand the explosiveness of the issue Right to Life people presented a petition to Eric Robinson, Federal Liberal member for MacPherson, who expressed his solidtime refused to listen to the abortion rights they would not support a proposed refersupporters. Soon after this, the latter were subjected to some completely unwarranted police harrassment. They were ordered to disperse and in the resulting confusion one woman was arrested. Names were taken and banners and leaflets were confiscated. The womap who was arrested was released on \$20 bail after spending two hours in the police station singing 'I am Woman'.

Despite all this intimidation, jubilant cheers went up when it was discovered

"The reform of the law in relation to abortion be considered to facilitate the obtaining of an abortion by any woman where qualified medical opinion considers that it is desirable or necessary for sufficient reason."

Although this motion is far from satisfactory it represents a victory for women on the road to the repeal of abortion laws. Even the reactionary Liberal Party has Liberal conference did not pass this motion because it supports women's liberation, but because people are beginning to and the power latent in the mobilisations of women. This realisation was reflected in a statement by the "Right to Life" representative in Canberra when he said that endum in the ACT and Northern Territory if it seeks only women's opinions. The Right to Life Association depends in large part on the support of men on this quest-

But these forces are against something they can never defeat - a women's liberation movement that is growing larger, more powerful, more militant everyday, as women rise up and refuse to accept the degrading role that society has given

Protests Mounted Against French Tests

BY FRANS TIMMERMAN

Opposition to the French nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean has taken several different forms in Australia.

One avenue of protest has been directed towards demonstrations and meetings. So On Wednesday April 18 a front lawn meeting was held at Sydney University. The crowd was addressed by the Buddhist monk, Gyotsu Sato, representing the Japanese Congress against A and H-bombs, MP Ray Thorburn, Professor Walker of Sydney University and others. After the meeting about 200 people marched to Martin Plaza for a rally, and then to the UTA French Airlines' offices

Later that evening a meeting of about 100 people was held at the Teachers' Federation Auditorium. Speakers included Sato and Professor Olga Poblete of Chile. The attendance was low in spite of the fact that international speakers were present.

On Sunday April 15 a demonstration and public meeting was held in Melbourne to protest against the tests. The Melbourne daily The Age estimated the size of the protest at about 1000 people. The public meeting was chaired by Secondary Industry and Overseas Trade Minister, Jim Cairns. Speakers included Gyotsu Sato, a Fijian trade unionist and Olga Poblete.

Dr Cairns said, among other things, that the French colonialists have turned Tahiti into a police state to silence opposition to the tests there.

The French have brought forward their testing schedule to head off protestors who might sail into the test zone. The usual thirty-day warning for shipping in the area has been dropped. The change of schedule also means they will be experimenting when the weather is more unsuitable, so that the danger of radiation contamination being more widespread is increased. Since the bombs in the coming tests will be bigger than those exploded last year, we can expect a higher level of radioactive fallout.

Action against the tests is also spreading

throughout the trade union movement. The Waterside Workers' Federation has made a proposal to the ACTU that a nation-wide ban should be imposed on all French goods and services.

Some trade unions have taken action already. The Seamen's Union will not far, these have received moderate support. man any tug boats for French ships entering or leaving Australia. The Plumbers Union has put a ban on plumbing services to French firms and official offices. Citra Construction Pty Ltd has been hit by bans by building workers. Other unions

taking action are the Waterside Workers Federation, the Vehicle Builders Union, and the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union.

The Australian Building and Construction Workers Federation and the Plumbers Union are sponsoring a delegation to be sent to Paris to seek support from French trade unions. Other unions will also be involved in the delegation. This is a very progressive move because it cuts across national chauvinist attitudes towards the French, and indicates that



Melbourne demonstration against French tests.

neither the Australian working class or the French working class have anythis to gain from the nuclear tests. Joint action is the best way to achieve result Already about eighty French anti-poll ion groups have planned demonstration in major cities across France.

On Monday May 7 the national dail The Australian reported that violent d onstrations against the nuclear tests too place during the weekend in the French cities of Toulouse and Montpellier.

The decision of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at its recent conference in Mexico came as a surprise because it is controlled by tendencies of the extreme right wing. The ACTU was represented by Bob Hawle The confederation called on its 41 mil. lion members in 94 countries to take all necesssary action against the French term

The other level of protest action has come from the Australian Government Attorney-General Lionel Murphy was assigned to put Australia's case to the International Court of Justice. The French Government has indicated that it will not be affected by the court's decision because it claims that this is a case involving 'national security', and thus the court has no jurisdiction.

The Australian Government is prepared to send HMAS Supply, with a volunteer crew, to accompany the New Zealand vessel Canterbury to the test zone if it achieves a favorable decision from the International Court of Justice. Unfortunately, the Government has indicated that if the court rules against Australia the Government will take no further action.

Obviously the French Government is not going to pay any attention to the court's decision. The point is that the tests could easily be stopped if the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, would sail into the test area himself. The trade union rank and file will need to keep up pressure on their leaders and the Government to take direct action against the tests. The Government must make sure it has HMAS Supply in the test area in order to prevent the tests from proceeding,

The Meaning of the Abortion Bill

BY DOT TUMNEY

The MacKenzie/Lamb abortion bill, officially known as the Medical Practice Clarification Bill, has emerged as the most Considering these points it is clear that to the State elections in Victoria.

The bill has been substantially amended under pressure from other Labor members. Several sets of amendments have been made to the bill up to this point, but the movers hope that this will be the final form. This bill would also probably be one of the most misrepresented pieces of legislation ever to be drafted. There have been some glaring misconceptions about it.

The movers of the bill were forced to a degree to cater for different opinions on the abortion question. The concept of "viability" of the foetus is one point they have had to adapt to. The division of the bill into ten clauses concerned with three specific phases of pregnancy reflects this. The first of these sections covers the initial twelve weeks. For the first twelve weeks of pregnancy the conditions that the bill recommends are in essence: that the termination be performed by a medical practitioner who acts at the woman's request and exercises due professional care in the termination. The doctor must also make sure that the woman is aware of the alternatives to abortion.

The second of these clauses covers the 12 to 23 week period. From 12 to 23 weeks several restrictions are imposed. During this period requests for abortion will be refused unless two medical practitioners are of the opinion that:

1) The continuation of the pregnancy involves risk to the life of the woman, injury to the physical or mental health or to the welfare of the woman or any existing children, greater than if the pregnancy were terminated. Account may be taken Clause 10 of the bill states that offenders of the circumstances of the woman and

2) There, is substantial risk that the child would be abnormal so as to be seriously handicapped.

The third of these clauses deals with the period after 23 weeks. The condition for this periodis simple; abortion is allowed only to save the life of the woman.

controversial issue of all those leading up the bill provides women with a greater power of decision than they presently have in obtaining abortion. This increasel access to legal abortion in itself decreases the number of abortions performed in more advanced stages of pregnancy.

> One point that the "Right to Life" campaign avoids answering is that abortions will take place regardless of their illegality. Approximately 100,000 are estimated performed in Australia every year. In addition to this, they totally ignore the occurrence of spontaneous abortion. These occur in one third to one half of all conceptions. Presumably these are sanctioned as "acts of God".

THE BILL AND WOMEN.

The attiude that this bill takes towards women is encouraging. At one point the bill states that " 'Woman' means any female person of any age". Implications of this are far-reaching. It means that unmarried women, "underage women" etc are not discriminated against as previously. There are no stipulations that young women be accompanied by their mothers, or any allowance for moralistic rejections of unmarried women by

The act as a whole concedes that men have no legal right whatsoever in deciding whether or not an abortion will be performed. A husband has no veto over a wife's decision. This act is intended to allow women to make their own choice, free of any legal compulsions.

breaking the provisions of the bill, not shall be imprisoned. This is a great advance on existing laws. Under present rulings the woman involved is also liable

to imprisonment. This clause also states that "injury caused to the woman by an illegal (under this act) abortion will be punished in whatever manner is appropriate under the provisions".

Some sections of the anti-abortion forces

also decry the "abortion orientation" of the bill. They demand that instead of a bill legalising abortion, there should be advertising of contraceptives, improved support for single mothers, better adoption facilities etc. All of these points are also demanded by abortion rights supporters, since safe contraception would be preferable to most women (whether used by women or men). However, effective and safe contraceptives are not yet widely available (even oral contraceptives are known to have dangerous medical sideeffects for many women) and abortion must be the right of women who become pregnant through no fault of their own, or who decide at some stage during the pregnancy that they do not wish to go through with it. Under the provisions of the bill, doctors are obliged to supply women seeking abortions with contraceptive information.

COMPULSORY ABORTION?

Another crude attempt to discredit the position of the supporters of a woman's right to abortion is the accusation made by many anti-abortionists that the bill leads to forced or "compulsory" abortion, The whole nature of the proposed bill totally negates this distortion. If anything is the case it is the anti-abortion forces who wish to impose their "morality" Lamb bill on May 10 will have only a on all women by making abortion a legal question. These people also claim that the bill forces medical people to perform abortions against their will, This point is one that the bill plays close account the highly emotional atmosphere surrounding the issue, even among the medical sections of the community.

Clause 9 is devoted to this point, In essence this clause states that no person will be legally or in any other way bound to participate in any abortion against

either their medical or moral judgement of the situation. A statement taken on oath that the person objects on whatever grounds are applicable, will be sufficient proof of that objection. No discrimination or penalty will be incurred by any refusal to take part in a termination.

Women's liberationists at least would welcome some safeguard that a woman cannot be refused alternative information about where they can receive an abortion if she consults a doctor who is personally unwilling to perform it.

At present it appears that the bill has no chance of being passed on May 10, even if amended further. The Federal Parliamentary Labor Party decided on May 2 that the bill will go to a vote when it is put on May 10. The Labor Caucus decided that 35 hours will be devoted to debate of the bill. Allocation of only this short time to discuss a bill of such importance is a clear indication that its defeat is seen as a foregone conclusion. It also illustrates that the Government wants the bill dealt with quickly before the State elections in Victoria. Members of both Labor and Liberal parties have a "conscience" vote on abortion. According to Opposition Leader Snedden most Liberal members will vote against the bill. There has been limited support so far for the proposal that abortion be the subject of a judicial inquiry in the ACT.

THE FUTURE OF THE STRUGGLE

The result of the vote on the McKenzie temporary effect on the struggle for the right of women to abortion. If it is lost, women will continue to fight for this right- the heated debate which was sparked off by the announcement of the propattention to. The movers have taken into osed bill has provided the abortion rights movement with a renewed impetus to struggle. The bill is only round one of the fight. Even if an amended form 15 passed, the struggle will continue for complete repeal, until women are no longer bound to restrictive and oppressive laws relating to their own bodies and their own

Labor Youth Conference Moves Left

The annual conference of Australian Young Labor (AYL) was held in Sydney over the Easter weekend. Twenty four delegates and about fifty alternate delegates and observers attended the three day conference which discussed motions proposed by the Labor youth organisations in each state. AYL is the highest body of these youth appendages to the Australian Labor Party, and motions passed by it are sent to the ALP Federal Conference. In the past this has been its sole activity, and as such it has never had an independent identity.

Nevertheless, large numbers of young radicals are starting to activate the State Young Labor associations, and this was reflected in the motions passed at the conference.

These resolutions covered a large number of topics. Following is a summary of the more important ones.

A resolution was carried concerning abortion and contraception which stated in part "The Federal Labor Govemment must support the demands of women to repeal all abortion laws and for safe, freely available contraception It went on to urge Federal Government support for a demonstration on June 30 around these demands. A further motion called for an end to discrimination against women in all Federal legislation and regulations.

A motion on student rights began "The Young Labor Council gives its support and ecouragement to the forms of direct action, including the June 6 actions of the 'National Education Action Coalition', used by Secondary School Students in combatting the rampant authoritarianism evident in many schools" and went on to list certain rights students are denied.

Motions were passed calling for an end to foreign bases in Australia, the abolition of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), the Australian Security Intelligence Service and the Joint Intelligence Organisation, and the destruction of these organisations' files. The latter motion also demanded that "names of all ASIO class and Socialist movements should be published for the information of those people on whom they have been spying."

Three motions were passed on industrial and ecomonic matters. The first "affirms along with the majority of the labor movement, its strongest opposition to any form of penal sanctions against unions, their members and their representatives."

The second motion condemned the use of wage controls as a means of "solving" the present economic crisis. It counterposed the sharing of available work, that is, the reduction of the working week without loss of pay, to eliminate

unemployment, and an escalator clause in all awards, by which wages would rise automatically with any increase in the cost of living to counter inflation.

The third resolution called for nationalisation under worker's self-management and without compensation of industrial monopolies and the major financial institutions.

A motion on Vietnam stated in part:

"Conference affirms that peace can only be guaranteed by the total disengagement of all US, forces from Indo-China, and recognises the need for continued antiwar demonstrations to force the Nixon Adminstration to accede to this demand. Conference therefore endorses the antiwar action on May 19."

The resolution listed the demands of this action, and called on the Federal Government to officially recognise the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

The AYL conference also demanded the withdrawal of all Australian military personnel from Singapore and Malaysia and an end to military support for Indonesia. A resolution on nuclear testing in part stated "we call on the Federal" Government to suspend diplomatic and economic relations with France until such time as the French agree to gancel future nuclear testing in the Pacific."

With few exceptions these motions were carried unopposed. Some delegates who in the past had been notably conservative were found supporting these proposals in very radical terms. And while less than half the motions sent to AYL could be discussed in the time available, the priority was given to the radical, action oriented proposals and those which would pressure the Federal Labor Government to extend the progressive changes it has instituted since it took office last December.

Nowever, the radical and independentist direction of Young Labor associations has offended many of the State Labor parties. This was shown most graphically in the clash between the most radical YLA, the Tasmanian group, and the most conservative branch of the ALP, the Tasmanian State branch. As a result of this, the YLA there was reconstituted in a way designed to destroy its growing Socialist Left. The restructured Young Labor has not yet begun to function,

Therefore a decision made at the beginning of the conference to accept the credentials of the Tasmanian delegation -- composed of people active in the YLA before its disbandment -- was especially important. It showed that AYL will not accept attacks on its affiliates passively, either by outside organisations or by conservative ALP bureaucrats. A similar attack was made against NSW Young Labor and the association was barred by the NSW ALP from making any public statements.

As is usual with all such functions, delegates were subjected to long addresses from leading Labor parliamentarians. Despite wide coverage in the media of a speech by Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration, in which he attacked racism, his refusal to give direct answers to questions on the acceptance of US draft resisters and the right of women to control their own bodies offended most delegates. In contrast, Senator Doug McClelland, Minister for the Media, after speaking and discussing the changes which the ALP was bringing about in the media, was unanimously applauded when he replied to one question that a woman should have the right to control her own body without any interference.

The conference reflected the uneven way in which the current youth radicalisation has affected the Young Labor associations. The ideas of these young people were expressed in the resolutions adopted by the conference. Yet in many cases the delegates were the 'same old

right and centre careerists, forced by changing conditions to adopt a left stance.

This was shown by the method of election of the AYL executive. The election of these positions was not decided by the political merits of the candidates, but instead the vote trading which typifies Labor politics was the rule.

The 1973 Australian Young Labor conference has a number of lessons for young socialists within the YLAs and the ALP. The first of these is that given sufficient time, all levels of Young Labor will reflect the current radicalisation.

As already mentioned, AYL has no real independent existence. Yet at the same time it is not as restricted as the state Young Labor associations which are under continual pressure from their separate ALP branches.

The decisions which supported the antiwar action on May 19, the NEAC student rights campaign activities on June 6 and the pro-abortion and contraception demonstrations on June 30 were a big; step forward. They brought AYL into the arena of extra-parliamentary politics -- that is, in support of independent mass action.

Also, with its delegate to AIP Federal Conference and because it is a part of the ALP, AYL exerts some influence within the party. By providing and publicising socialist solutions to present problems, both in economic and other areas, it can help to build the real left forces within the party.

The final lesson can be learnt from the response of younger delegates and observers to the method of election of the executive. Their response was disgust and it should be known that no number of back-room deals can stop the politicos being thrust aside by the rising current of the new radicalisation.



NSW Young Labor Conference, held the weekend before national conference.

Students Fight for Democratic Union not very keen on this idea either, so they power well worth protecting. Firstly the

BY BERNIE MURPHY

The lack of control by students over the Union Board, governing body of the University of Sydney Union resulted in a confontation between the board and the union membership during the first week of term. The immediate issue was the Board's decision to close the Bevery, a favorite eating place on campus at 4 pm, instead of the traditional 7.30 pm.

General dissatisfaction with this decision

and the Board's general conduct of the Union's affairs expressed itself in a series of occupations of the Bevery. The general feeling was that these occupations would force the Board to reverse its decisions. When Phil Jones, president of the Union made it perfectly clear that the Board would not reverse its decision. 450 students at the last occupation voted almost unanimously to campaign for wide reaching changes to the Union's constitution to place ultimate financial and executive decisions in the hands of a General meeting of the Union. (See DIRECT ACTION 38)

The reaction of the Union Board to this development showed their realisation that theirs was a position of privilege and

Board 'noted' the names of a group of students who had be enrunning a food cooperative in the Bevery to replace the cut services. Clear hints were given to these persons to desist or be expelled from the Union. This incident was an attempt to intimidate anyone who opposed the policies of the Union Board. Secondly, the Board tried to de-rail the movement for constitutional changes by conducting a bogus referendum to decide the closing hours of the Bevery. The idea being peddled with the referendum was that decision making was democratic in the Union, henceforth students would be consulted, and there was no need for changing the present system.

The results of the referendum indicated a couple of things about the whole sitution. Eighty per cent voted to re-open the Bevery at night - the students were in disagreement with the Board. The Bevery is not yet open at night, the referendum was no check on the Board, it did not constitutionally bind them. The whole episode was diversionary.

Meanwhile the move to change the constitution had forced the calling of a general meeting of the Union to consider the proposed changes The Board was

decided the meeting would be held in a dining hall during lunch hour, "Let them reach any decisions there," This ploy was followed at the last minute by a statement from the Union's president that the meeting had to be postponed for four weeks because one of the notices constitutionally required to be posted on the society. This system, laid down by the campus had been inadvertantly put on the wrong notice-board. The person who had informed the Board of this fact would, president Jones said, take the Union to the Equity Court if the meeting went ahead. The name of the person was not disclosed. The president told the leaders of the movement to change the constitution that he would sue anyone who intimated it was himself.

Intimidation, confusing and delaying tactics, threats of resort to the legal system - these are all the paraphernalia of a privileged group in danger of losing its position. The Union Board is just such a group. The Constitution of the Union granted it by the University Senate, places all power over the Union's affairs in its hands with no provision for ordinary members having any say.

Membership of the Union is compulsory for undergraduates. A membership fee of

\$20 per year (\$45 for freshers) is also compulsory. The Board of the Union is thus granted \$400,000 per year with no strings attached. They provide for the general membership such facilities as they feel the general membership should have. For themselves there are slush fund dinners attended by the "cream" of Senate of the University, is protected by the Senate. Any amendment to the Union's constitution can be vetoed by the

The fight for a democratic Union has two sides to it. Firstly the fight against the Union Board and then the inevitable fight against the Senate. The Senate is made up of big businessmen, Liberal Party members of parliament and aging professors. These people structure the University to provide big business with the graduates they need. That means of course that students must never be allowed to organise independently of the Senate, even to provide for their own collective welfare. That way lies the danger of having independently thinking graduates.

Any concerted effort to democratise the Union promises to be a real fight, the stakes being the right of students to an independent organisation.

VICTORIAN ELECTIONS



Clyde Holding

Labor to Power on May 19

BY JIM McILROY

In December last year the ALP was swept into power in the Federal sphere. This decisive change in government was the consequence of a great popular movement against a Liberal/Country Party administration which was responsible for the most conservative and oppressive policies over a period of 23 years.

The Australian people turned towards Labor for answers to the great problems of The Victorian Liberal Party under the day: the Vietnam war, inflation and unemployment, the right to abortion, equal pay and other women's issues, black rights, homosexual rights, pollution, education and a host of other matters,

Australian military involvement in Vietnam, It was in Victoria that the main swing to support for equal pay for women, abolition of the anti-union "penal powers" of the Arbitration Act and other measures. It has also meant a growing confidence amongst all those struggling against oppression, including further militancy amongst trade unionists, concrete support for the Vietnamese people, and, in particular, a new rise in the movement for women's rights.

The existence of a Federal Government has posed a whole number of new questions, and effectively brought forward the basic conflict between a socialist and a reformminded perspective within the Labor movement and in the society at large.

These have been some of the fruits of Labor's Federal victory last December.

The Victorian State elections on May 19 place a new challenge before the working people of this State. Either re-elect the Hamer Liberals and face more of the same backward and oppressive policies of the last 19 years, or elect Labor and take one further step on the road to independent, working-class based political action in this country.

The choice is clear-cut. Whatever the superficial "liberalism" and "trendiness" of Hamer, the new Premier, the basic class character of the Liberal Party is the key factor. Hamer merely bends a little with the winds of change, but he represents directly the interests of the big employers in this country. He can do nothing else.

The basic character of Liberal policy and Liberal administration in the State of Victoria has not changed since the days of Henry Bolte. Bolte was merely more plain in his language when he told strikers that they could march up and down all day as far as he was concerned, but it wouldn't change his opposition to their demands, or when he attacked teachers, who were calling for changes in education, as "ratbags".

Hamer is the new type of Liberal politician who hopes to fool people that he is interested in social change. Nothing of the sort. As the current Liberal campaign Hamer's concern for pollution and envir-

slogan has it: "Hamer makes it happen". Quite so. Educational inequality, bad housing and high rents, discrimination against women, rapidly rising prices, high unemployment, attacks on the right to strike, threatened wage freezes, discrimination against blacks, migrants and other minority groups, transport chaos, destruction of the environment and rampant pollution, Yes! Hamer makes

Henry Bolte became renowned for its conservatism, even by national Liberal standards. Victoria was, to quote Sir Henry himself the "jewel in the crown of the Liberal Party." That was after the retention of certain seats in Victoria The victory of Labor nationally has meant helped the Liberal/Country Party coalition to survive in the 1969 Federal elec-Labor came, particularly in the outer suburban seats. It is these, mainly, on which the present State elections will hinge.

> Young people in their thousands flocked out last year to support the Labor campaign and throw out the Liberals. It is the same sort of government, the same sort of bosses' party, the same sort of oppressive policies which make up the Hamer State administration.

Some examples of the record of the Bolte/Hamer Liberals include: Complete denial of the right of women to abortion Hamer recently said that no changes in the present law were necessary, let alone complete repeal. Continual attacks on trade unions. For instance, the State Government's pernicious role in the big. State Electricity Commission strike in the Latrobe Valley in early 1972, and the same Government 's threats to penalise teachers, en masse, for striking, in 1971. The Liberals' backing for price rises, and the threat of a wage freeze. Hamer recently floated the idea of a wage freeze, while blaming workers' wage demands for high inflation.

The State Liberal Party's record of fostersystem. For example, while inner sub-urban and working-class schools cry out for more teachers, Education Minister Thompson says there is no shortage. At the same time the government sacks temporary teachers at the whim of an official in the Education Department. The Liberals deny any democratic rights to State employees, and wage a campaign against oppositional views among

The Liberals' policy on housing is atro-cious. While building low-quality, highrise housing commission flats for the poor the Victorian Liberal Government acquires land compulsorily from its owners, and sells it cheaply to A.V. Jennings and other giant building companies, to build expensive dwellings for the well-off (at a vast profit).

onment is just)a facade. While the Premier mouths platitudes, the State's forests are plundered, Esso-BHP is despoiling Wes- not even particularly radical when ternport Bay, oil pipelines threaten the waters of Port Phillip Bay, Victoria's creeks and rivers are a major health

On these, and so many other areas, the Hamer Liberals are anathema to the interests of the working people of Victoria Their policies are directed primarily at preserving the profits of their backers, the employers who control this society.

The ALP is a different sort of party. It is the party of the trade unions, the party of the working people. Its structural links to the organisations of workers the pressures of this base. The aspirations include an end to conscription, and to all tions. But in 1972 the tables were turned, of the working people and the oppressed are over-whelmingly directed toward Labor. As it was federally, so it is in the State sphere.

The election of a Labor Covernment in Victoria is necessary as a complement to the Federal Government. It would represent a further sign of heightened working class consciousness, a more total rejection of the parties of the big employers.

While the Liberals rule in Victoria, the bosses will have available to them the most direct instrument of their political will - their strongest weapon to hold down the movements of workers and the oppressed. Labor must be elected in Victoria and every other State.

Labor's policy in the Victorian elections reflects the broad pressures to which it must respond. A central focus of the parliamentary leader Clyde Holding's policy speech was the question of inflation. He said: "If the wage and salary earner has to justify a higher income, we'll make industry justify higher prices."

The suggested remedy, a "prices commission", to make an 'acceptable' price rise, is certainly quite inadequate to deal with the problem. But Labor policy is couched in terms which are a direct response to to the most immediate needs of the working people. They are Labor's constituency. Similarly with education, housing, consumer affairs, transport, social services, pollution and enviroment, industrial affairs and so on.

Labor is pledged to progressively introduce the 35 hour week in State Covernment departments. Labor will begin a crash programme of school building, abolish all school fees, introduce universal pre-school education Labor will institute planning for urban and enviromental development. Consumer protection will be tightened up. Civil rights will be strengthened, including democratic rights for teachers and other civil servants and a reduction in censorship. Laws protecting tenants from rapacious landlords will be strengthened. These and many other policies show how Labor responds to the social aspirations of its constituency.

At the same time, Labor's platform is certainly not a socialist platform. It is compared to the Federal platform, Holding is not to the left of Whitlam, There are solid reforms for working people in it, but no real answers to the pressing social crises of the day. There is little in the policy which will cause intelligent employers to lose much sleep.

Holding as much as Whitlam, seeks to pose as an acceptable alternative administration for the capitalist state. Any suggestions of socialism in Labor's platform are played down entirely. Holding absolutely refuses to confront head on the major issues and offer solutions which really are in the interests of the working

Questioned on his attitude to the repeal of anti-abortion laws, Holding replied that: "Abortion on request, I do not support." His answer to this central issue has been to call for a Royal Commission (yet again). This is only a stalling measure: the issues are quite clear. It is one of democracy, and a woman's right to choose. The Labor leadership's refusal to face up to this, threatens to alienate many of Labor's best supporters. It strengthens the hand of the right-wing and the "Right to Lifers".

On prices, Labor's policy is also wishywashy. It does not face up to the real need - to confront the bosses and challenge their right to expropriate the product that the workers create. A prices justification commission is no answer at

So far Labor's campaign in Victoria has not captured the enthusiasm of the Federal campaign of 1972. This is partly due to it being a State election only, concerned with less dramatic questions.

But it is also due to the failure of the Labor leadership to provide a real class struggle alternative to the Liberals. It is essential to build and agitate openty around such an alternative programme, The Victorian Socialist Left provides the basis and strength for such a challenge. It is essential to take such a dynamic approach - to use the election period to press for the most radical demands, to build a truly mass based socialist alternative within the ALP.

The demands thrown up by the struggles of people against their oppression are the best basis for this: the women's rights movement and particularly the issue upon which the reactionary forces have chosen to fight - abortion, Another such area of struggle is the threat of rising prices and unemploym at and how to fight them.

Socialists mest call for victory to the ALP in the Victorian State eletions. Such a victory is a step forward for working people, a possibility to gain further confidence, and a stage from which new victories can be won. It provides an opportunity for the real issues to be brought into the open and fought for.

folding Set to Reverse Inflation?

State Labor leader Clyde Holding ched into a seemingly fervent tack on big business in the Party's licy speech for the Victorian State ions. Quoting figures on the price al of basic commodities, such as a 28 per cent increase in the price of potatoes and onlons and a 12 percent crease in the price of lamb, Holding ent on to outline the intentions of an

ALP State Government, "If the wage and salary earner has o justify a higher income, we will make industry justify higher prices.... And unjustified increases will not be

The issue of the economy will figure very prominently in this State election campaign, as has been evidenced already by the avid attention displayed by the press, the contesting parties

For years now the Liberal State Govemment, under Bolte and lately Hamer, has jumped to the whims of the big business interests which it represents. When the time came last year for expanding examine the policies proposed by Holdthe memployed queues in an attempt to depress the living conditions of the workers and their willingness to strike, the Liberals stood firm with the employers.

and now when inflation is beginning to get out of control Hamer comes out openly and"floats" the idea of a "prices and incomes policy". Being the direct representatives of the big companies, who through their monopoly control of the economy are able to raise their prices when it suits them, the sole objective of Liberals is to maintian profits. The "prices and incomes policy in fact boils down to a wage freeze for workers.

This is the type of measure, along with restrictions on the right to strike, which can be expected from a Liberal State Covernment if it is returned on May 19. In addition there remains the still totally unacceptable levels of unemploy-

But what of the Labor Party? Where does it stand in practical terms as the party representing working people on these vital mat ters?

However aggressive Holding's rhetoric in attacking inflation may have sounded the practical proposals for action were more in keeping with the conservative

inflationary" action projected would amount to the appointment of a Prices Commissioner, along the lines of what the South Australian Labor Government has operating, and the establishment of a Department of Consumer Affairs.

These proposals, and indeed Holding's pledge to "set out to reverse the inflationary trend," reflect the very contradictory position of the ALP generally along with the needs of the Federal ALP Government in relation to the role of the States. On the one hand the need to do something about inflation is a reaction to the genuine hardship experienced by Labor voters, that is the working people, as prices rise and real wages fall. On the other we see a response to the needs of the employers, who wish to see some cut back in the 8-9 percent rate of inflation, presently existing throughout Australia, at the expense of the working class and not themselves. It is this group of employers which the Federal Government is trying to please with its economic policies.

So it is in this light that we must ing in this state campaign. In the first instance the machinery to control prices of a "Prices Commissioner" and a Department of Consumer Affairs will be as toothless as the Federal Prices Justification Tribunal. At any rate, can there be such a thing as a "justified" price rise when workers wages are continually being eroded?

But, secondly and more importantly, what then would be the role of such bodies, in particular the "Prices Commissioner"? The answer is provided in the May 1 editorial of The Age, where this influential mouthpiece of Labor-supporting capitalists cautiously appraised the efficacy of Holding's economic policy:

"Attractive and admirable though much of the Labor programme certainly is, not everything can be accepted without reservation or further explanation. The proposal for a State Prices Commissioner may be useful, even vital, as part of a Federal- States prices and incomes policy....."(emphasis added)

Coming from a newspaper which has consistently argued for a wage freeze since Labor took office, it doesn't take much imagination to see which way the wind is blowing.

So the "anti-inflationary" measures outlined by Holding are just some more

ALP leadership he represents. The "anti- of the same old Hamer story, albeit with a more radical garnish. The policies, therefore, are not only ineffective in the face of rising prices but contain dangerous implications for working people throughout Victoria.

> At the special Premiers' Conference (initiated predominantly by Hamer) the Federal Labor Government is likely to seek the powers to institute a wage freeze. A wage freeze is not necessarily an immediate result from the Premiers' Conference, What is important is that the machinery for such a freeze be set up. The wage freeze is, of course, not going to come under this name. It would come under the title of a "prices and incomes policy". Such a policy will require the full co-operation of the states.

In fact such a programme of wage controls and so-called restriction on price rises would constitutionally have to be the subject of Federal-State agreement. It would suit Whitlam down to the ground to have a responsive government in the crucially important state of Victoria, in addition to those in Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia. Such an arrangement would greatly facilitate the implementation of Whitlam's own plans without too much obstruction from the conservative Liberal State Governments.

Holding and his parliamentary associates fit into this schema very easily. But it is a schema that working people should have no part of and nor should the ALP as a party based on the trade unions. The whole concept of a "wage freeze" cuts right across the rights of workers to fight for improvements in their living conditions - even moreso since the inflationary spiral, which essentially emanates in the United States, will not cease however much the ALP leaders assure us it will.

Not all of the members of the Victorian ALP see things in the same light as Holding, Scope, a newspaper reflecting the views of the left in the ALP, issued a backhanded warning to the ALP brass in the April 19 issue.

In an article entitled "Unions Threatened With Wage Freeze", the paper strongly attacked Hamer for suggesting cept. Not accidently it referred to how the Cameron proposals were defeated by the left at the 1971 Launceston ALP conference and reported the unanimous passing of a motion by the Socialist Left which backed union opposition to the Hamer plan. The direction of the article

seems obvious. Scope also quoted Amalgamated Metal Workers Union organiser and Socialist Left activist Percy Johnson, who said:

"If unions were to accept a wage freeze as an alleged anti-inflationary measure, that basis for united action

could disappear. "Already too much of the basis for principled industrial action disappears in the synthetic atmosphere of the courts."

The measures Holding proposes are no way to combat inflation which is a result of the irrationality of the present system. To combat the effects of inflation as it hits the pay packet of workers, the ALP should make those who are responsible pay - that is big business

What should be instituted are monthly cost of living adjustments. Only a monthly adjustment can protect the workers from the rapid increase in prices. The adjustment should not be based on the outdated and biased Consumer Price Index, but a genuine index to be kept independently of the Labor Government by the ACTU. The adjustment should be written into all contracts and awards.

Only this fighting programme can allow the real victims of inflation to defend themselves using their own class organisations of the trade unions and the Labor Party.

On unemployment, Holding's speech gave some partially correct answers. The plan to introduce a 35 hour week for all State employees is an excellent one, except that it should be projected almost immediately not "progressively", But why stop at State employees?

By reducing the work week the available work can then be shared around amongst the whole working population. This eliminates the effects of unemployment, which should be seen as a major priority for any ALP government and hence should not be limited to state employees. Furthermore an intensive programme of public works particularly in the areas of pollution control and other social questions which Holding has placed stress upon - would alleviate much of the unemployment.

So we can expect little from a Labor victory if the pre-election proposal are so threadbare. What socialists must do is, while wholeheartedly supporting a Labor victory, take up the struggle to make Labor fight for real alternatives in the interests of the working people.

Abortion the Key Issue in Vic. Elections

BY JENNY FERGUSON

The question of women's rights in tast years Federal elections was a central usue. The growth of the women's liberation movement and the strong support and identification of the majority of women with its demands has forced all parties to some degree to consider women and their problems.

The central focus of this years Victorian elections has certianly been around abortion. The whole question of whether a woman has the right to control her own body has become the central political debate. The Church along with a whole range of other reactionary forces are using this issue to push back the entire women's movement. They do not want any changes which will tilan women an alternative to endless child-bearing, and increased control over their lives. This is summed up quite aptly by one arch reactionary Democratic Labor Party Senator McManus who stated: "The most popular argument of the abortionists is that women should have the right to decide what to do with their bodies. This argument is foolish and illogical. Such a claim would justify for a woman suicide, drug taking, prostitution, jay walking, excessive car speeds and a host of other unacceptable practices." (The Age, April 17, Melbourne). The Liberal , Country and Democratic Labor parties have always stood in opposition because they all have a vested interest in retaining a system where ers doing socially unpaid work, or act as a ership has publicly announced its cheap reserve of labor.

The anti-abortionists have organised a massive propaganda campaign and are focusing their attack on the ALP. They know that the ALP is capable of granting women this right, because it represents the majority of the working people and is not tied to big business interests which profit from the oppression of women. It has already stated its support for equal pay, low cost child-care facilities, ending discrimination against women in educational and work spheres, and setting up community clinics for pre and post natal care, and contraceptive services. On the question of abortion however, it has called for a non-party attitude, leaving the decision about whether to reform or repeal the laws on abortion up to the 'conscience' of the individual politician. This represents a compromise on the part of the ALP with the most reactionary sentiments of a section of the party, and also caving in to the forces outside of It who oppose the right of women to abortion. The position of the Victorian ALP is quite different. Its Health and Welfare Policy Committee has been pressuring the Victorian leadership to adopt legalisation of abortion as part of its policy. for the State elections,

This proposal is in direct compliance with a motion passed last August, at State Council, calling for abolition of all abortion laws; this was supported by a statutory majority (voting were 188 men -165 for and 23 against). Even though the Victorian ALP's position on abortion is clear, without an absolute majority the Federal policy makes their position invalid. Although the Holding leaddisapproval of 'abortion on request' and

into abortion to be able to save face until after the elections, many candidates are openly supporting abortion. One such campaign is Joan Coxsedge's, for Balwyn. Coxsedge is running as a Socialist Left candidate, tocussing on abortion. Part of her campaign leaflet reads: "I will move a Private Member's Bill to eliminate all laws on abortion...to prevent abortion being used as a separate medical problem... to prevent women's bodies being used as political pawns," The Socialist Left has always maintained the most progressive position on this issue by calling for 'repeal of all abortion laws', but needs to launch a stronger campaign within the party for it. By doing this it will gain stronger support, from women especially.

The present abortion laws strike hardest at working class women who cannot afford a safe illegal abortion or do not have the contacts to get one 'legally' through the system. This means that women must fight within the ALP and without it for their demands. It will require the constant pressure of an independent women's movement to keep the ALP from backtracking on its election promises, and to force it to adopt a radical and progressive attitude towards women. Women comprise a large section of the working class on whose support and allegiance the ALP depends. If Labor is really to serve the interests of the class it claims to represent, and keep its support, it must relate to the needs of women.

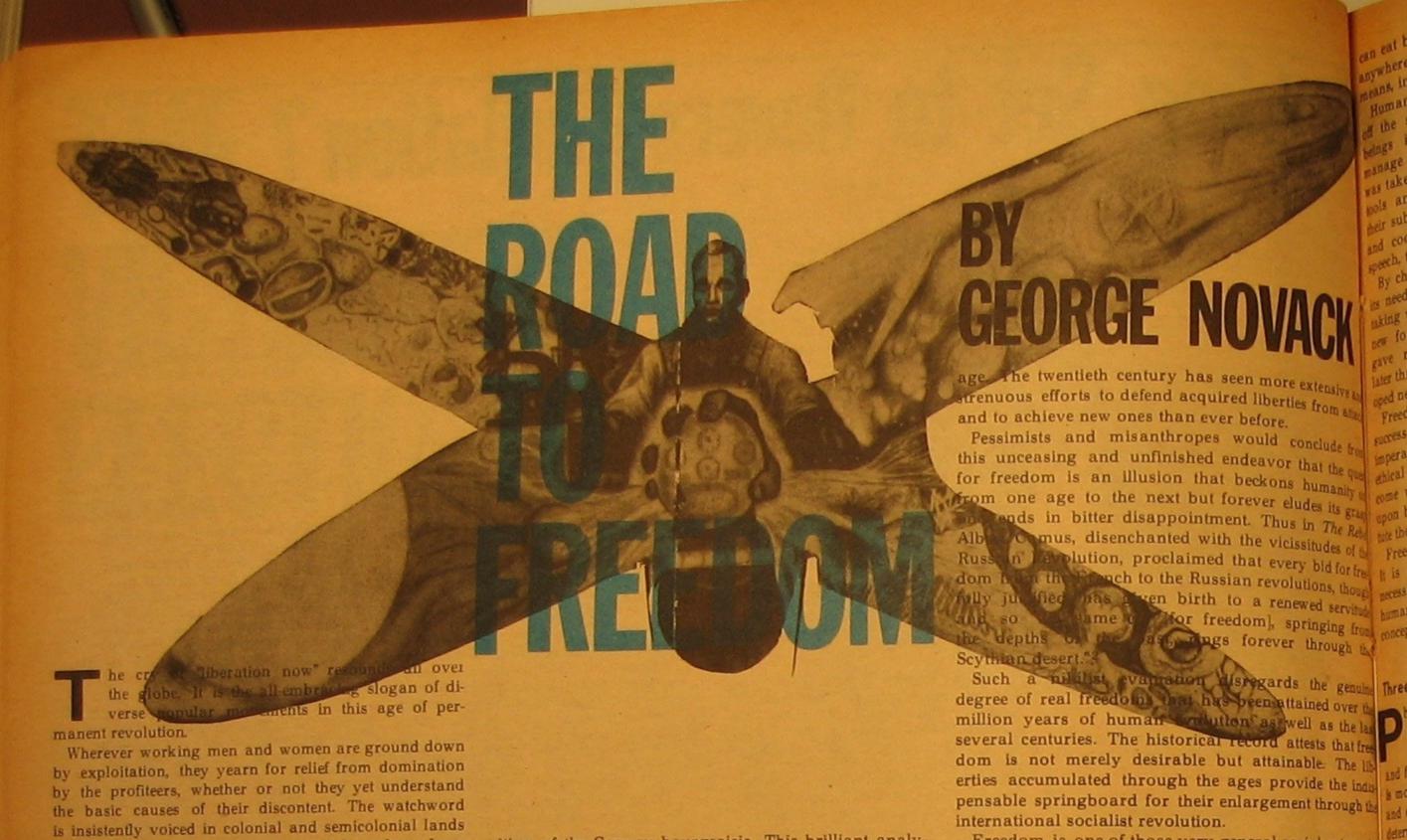
Some women propose that women support all women candidates, regardless of

their party affiliation. But this position will not help women to have their demands realised. The source of the oppression of women is not men as a sex, but this society, which is run in the interests of big business, not in the interests of the majority of men or women, The women candidates of the big business parties are as incapable of action on behalf of women as the men, because their parties stand thoroughly exposed by their records as being opposed to the needs of women,

Women can only gain by joining in the campaign for the election of an ALP Government, by publicising its positive policies for women's rights and ensuring that all the candidates, men and women, make these policies a prominent part of their campaign.

At the same time women must build a strong independent movement capable of attracting and raising the consciousness of thousands of women which does not subordinate its interests to any political party. This is the only guarantee that women's demands will not be pushed into the background.

The winning of each demand of women brings them closer to their liberation and to the realisation of the type of society capable of fulfilling all their needs. In fighting within the ALP for their demands, women will be pushing it further in the direction of a programme of socialist policies and raising the political consciousness of the masses of working people about the irreconcilable contradictions in this society, the limitations of the ALP and the need for revolutionary change



bureaucratized postcapitalist states. The call for free-

tors of the population in the advanced capitalist coun-

This is hardly a new question. Moralists, preachers,

and philosophers have gnawed upon it for thousands

of years. It found primitive expression in folklore, popu-

lar sayings, mythology (the Three Fates, Fortuna)

and the creeds of religions (the Buddhist law of Karma,

the Mohammedan doctrine of Kismet, the Calvinist

belief in predestination). The arguments around free

will and determinism have recurred in varying guises

Christian theologians wrestled with the insoluble riddle

of how divine foreordination and providence could be

reconciled with free will. As the mechanical view of the

pushed aside medieval ideas during the seventeenth and

world, popularized by the findings of physical science,

eighteenth centuries, rigid determinists asked how free-

dom was possible in a universe ruled by strict causality.

The classical German philosophers were preoccupied

with this problem. Kant gave an answer that split

human freedom from natural necessity by assigning

two antithetical functions to reason. The speculative

reason could not get to know reality while the prac-

tical reason could. The latter was unfettered by the

access to the noumenal self through the human will

duty; no lie was ever justified. The friend of a fugi-

tive from justice who had sought refuge in his house

could not lie to the authorities about his where-abouts.

Hegel rejected the insurmountable dualisms between

noumena and phenomena, the speculative and prac-

said, was inseparable from its own opposite, the determi-

and his insight placed upon firm materialist founda-

tions. Marx and Engels more profoundly criticized

Kant's moral theory by exposing the class roots and

social function that accounted for its theoretical defects.

liberation movements in the United States.

from Epicurus in Greece to our own time.

dom to necessity.

striving for political and economic independence from sition of the German bourgeoisie. This brilliant analyimperialism. It animates the simmering opposition to sis is worth extensive quotation as a sample of their authoritarian rule that aims at democratizing the method.

"The state of Germany at the end of the last century dom arises from oppressed nationalities and other sec- is fully reflected in Kant's Critik der practischen Vernunft. While the French bourgeoisie, by means of the tries: the Québécois in Canada, the rebels in Northern most colossal revolution that history has ever known, Ireland, the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Na- was achieving domination and conquering the continent tive Americans, as well as from the feminist and gay of Europe, while the already politically emancipated English bourgeoisie was revolutionizing industry and Mass struggles that have considerable political im- subjugating India politically, and all the rest of the pact also raise significant philosophical issues. Here world commercially, the impotent German burghers the major theoretical problem is the relation of free- did not get any further than 'good will.' Kant was entirely satisfied with 'good will' alone, even if it remained entirely without result, and he transferred the implanted in the spirit of the individual as the Exis and the needs and impulses of individuals to the world wrested by perservering manual and mental efforts beyond. Kant's good will fully corresponds to the im- to decipher nature's secrets and torn from successive potence, depression and wretchedness of the German burghers, whose petty interests were never capable of developing into the common, national interests of a class the emergence of our species from the animal state for is rooted in the development of humanly created, and who were, therefore, constantly exploited by the After that it passed through a complex and contradicton accompleted, transmitted, and upgraded forces of probourgeois of other nations."1

different ways freedom has been interpreted and applied. The ideologists of the successful democratic revoto seek recompense for the incapacities of their class stract free will, as Kant did. They addressed themselves to the ways and means of conquering and consolidating the concrete conditions of the freedoms dein March 1775 Patrick Henry advocated armed resistance to British policy and cried out "Give me liberty or give me death," he expressed the defiance of those causal laws that regulate phenomena because it had Virginia planters and frontiersmen who wanted free imthat was free. Freedom is directly experienced as a Crown lands, relief from indebtedness to London merportation of goods and slaves, access to the western rational necessity in the sense of duty. This makes chants, and a say in taxation and who were ready it mandatory for persons to act in such a way that to fight for independence in order to obtain them. Yet he did not have any thought of emancipating the Black Kant's universal Golden Rule was exempt from all empirical conditions. As a categorical imperative it producers of their wealth. brooked no exceptions. Truth-telling was an absolute

ism had a dual character; they were both bourgeois and democratic, plutocratic and plebeian. They involved the conquest of economic liberties like freedom to trade, buy, and sell landed property, labor-power, and all other commodities on the market as well as the acquisition of religious, political, and legal liberties. The protical reason, and duty and desire that characterized motion of the rights of capitalist private property was Kant's theory of knowledge and ethics. He brought interwoven with the establishment of such civil rights determinism into harmony with freedom by defining as freedom of worship and conscience, freedom of speech freedom as the recognition of necessity. Freedom, Hegel and assembly, a free press, the right to vote and be represented in a legislative assembly. The struggle for nate, in all manifestations of actuality and was in fact national independence and unification, for example, Hegel's conception of the indivisible unity and reciprocal action of freedom and necessity in the dialectical development of reality was taken over by Marxism

> he freedoms secured during the bourgeois-democratic era were precious assets. Yet they did not

In The German Ideology they explained the affinity 1. Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, The German Ideology. between Kant's ethics, political liberalism, and the po- Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964, p. 207.

disation of this good will, the harmony between it tentialists claim. Freedom has not been given but

with specific class interests has been evidenced in the ways. This process of growth is far from maturity lutions in England, America, and France did not have meager and rudimentary forms. A review of its as leistes of history has shifted from one social formation on the field of action by vesting all power in an ab- make this plain. that "man is born free but is everywhere in chains," he was uttering a revolutionary sentiment, not a scientific manded by the oppositional forces they spoke for. When in March 1775 Patrick Henry adversarial was uttering a revolutionary sentiment, not a setting. At this turning point in progress still another kind truth. Freedom was, to be sure, born with the humanization of determinism, was brought into play by the growth the new mode of existence. their unending combinations and permutations reign supreme. There is no place for freedom as we know it in the prehuman and subhuman realm because the most elementary conditions for its occurrence are lacking. Its prerequisites were first brought into being

by the hominid practice of laboring and its manifold The struggles for freedom during the rise of capitalof the historical conditions generated by the evolving forces of production at humanity's disposal. Humankind acquired the first measure of freedom as it begas to break away from the restrictions of the animal kingdom. The scope of its liberties has broadened and their substance has deepened as our species has shake off the limitations of the animal existence out of which Every animal species remains riveted to the particula awarded a monopoly of the home market and control of the state power to the bourgeoisie along with the habitat to which its organism is adapted and is o right of self-determination to the popular masses.

deliver even the most favored peoples from bond-

2. Camus, Albert, The Rebel. New York: Vintage Book

Humanity, on the other hand, is omnivorous

Freedom is a strictly social phenomenon, an outcome

Animals are not free; they are captives of nature

The polar bear cannot survive in the tropics or t

of the eucalyptus tree for its diet. Each species is

prisoned in the cage of its own environment.

gat both animal and vegetable matter. We can live ere on the globe and now, through artificial

in outer of the first place of throwing shackles of nature that hold all other living an iron grip. How did our progenitors to break those chains? The first decisive step ken when the hominids learned to use and make nd weapons and put themselves to work for and wear shelter, and clothing. Banding together cooperating for these purposes, they developed thought, and social intercourse.

hanging the materials of nature to suit and serve eds, humankind changed itself. Instead of simply what is found in a natural state, humans created rms of matter. In this refashioning they first new intentional shapes to existing materials; through pottery-making and metallurgy they devel-

new materials. edom is primordially manifested in the degree of ress achieved in casting off subservience to the harsh eratives of nature, not in conforming to Kant's Imperative. Purely natural necessities were overwith the aid of human contrivances which therebecame essential to social existence. These constithe content of culture.

wedom has an intrinsically contradictory character. is never found apart from natural and historical saity as its basis. These opposing aspects of the an situation are inseparable; they are correlative

Three views of freedom and necessity

or freedom], springing in

angs forever through e

comprehended and its prospects be delineated.

possessing classes by agents of progress.

consequences.

Like everything in human life, freedom is a product

of arduous efforts and continual struggle. It is no

given once for all in the constitution of a state of

degree of real freedoms that has been attained over the hilosophers have put forward three principal positions on the relations between freedom and necesseveral centuries. The historical record attests that free sity. There is the belief that determinism is false

ed freedom alone is true. This is libertarianism which most uncompromisingly upheld nowadays by Sartre pensable springboard for their enlargement through the end other Existentialists. There is the contrary view that deminism alone prevails and freedom is unreal and Freedom is one of those very general social categorie that can easily be empty of definite content unless it is

related to concrete circumstances. The problem of free dom has to be approached not in the metaphysical trians is foreign to dialectical materialism which rejects manner of Kant, who elevated it above empirical reality with either-or views as untrue and misleading. Marxism but in its actual connection with the historical process. I halfs that determinism and freedom have been commust be asked: How did freedom originate? In what parible traveling companions throughout history. They ways has it evolved? What are its real constituents merist in a continuum of constant interaction and inter-Only by tracing its development through the succes designability. They are separable only in intellectual sive stages of social organization can its essence be lysis, not in reality.

Oher schools of thought (Spinoza and Hegel) have bired the same general viewpoint on this matter. But Varrism has added some highly important amendments it One is its distinction between different levels of derminism. While determinism is a universal feature the real world, it is not all of one piece. The type d determinism manifested in the history of humanity s qualitatively different from the causality of either perganic or organic nature, although they retain cer-Freedom, as a historical phenomenon, originated with the subsidiary features in common. Social determinacourse of development in which its content has been the collective relations they engender rather The correlation of moral ideas and practical morality amplified and diversified and manifested in multifarious the blind play of physical and physiological

> The freedom that humankind aspires toward and is The relative weights of natural forces and the artificial capable of has hitherto been actualized only in the most loss of production in shaping the course and characcension from nonexistence to its present estate should banother. Natural conditions play a far greater role determining human existence in the primeval Stone When Rousseau asserted in his Discourse on Equality are of foodgathering than they do after food production id divilization come onto the scene.

> tion of our primate progenitor but in that nascent state determinism was brought into play by the growth freedom was hidden in the still unrealized potential of the agricultural surplus product through a more complex division of labor and its appropriation by Within the precincts of nature, necessity and chance in private owners. As humans gained greater command a nature through food production, the development dass divisions and exchange relations led to the loss control over their decisive social forces. From then bumanity has been subjected to the grim determinism the class struggle. This has persisted through various of social organization from slavery to capitalism will endure until consumer goods are so cheap plentiful that the fierce scramble for the necessities and amenities of life fades away.

Unce that superior stage will be reached, a wholly type of determination will permeate the activity a society that has extricated itself from the tyranof both nature and class antagonisms. This new. om will come from the self-determination by the ole human collective and its individual members of what they deliberately will and plan to do. The two prerequisites for this prospective mode of freefrom uncontrollable social ones that breed alienated is a categorical necessity shared with the animals. In

pendent upon the means of subsistence nature provides he development of freedom through history there proceeds from total subervience to external nature elephant in the Arctic; the koala bear requires the leave high increasing command over its forces as they come better known and put to use. This process had Pass through the flery furnace of class society and culminate in the acquisition of conscious mastery associated humanity of all the elements, natural and social, that shape human life and its destiny.

The finest statement of what freedom is according to historical materialism was given by Engels in Anti-Dühring. "Freedom does not consist in the dream of independence of natural laws, but in the knowledge of these laws, and in the possibility this gives of systematically making them work toward definite ends. . Freedom of the will therefore means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with real knowledge of the subject. Therefore the freer a man's judgment is in relation to a definite question, with so much the greater necessity is the content of this judgment determined; while the uncertainty, founded on ignorance, which seems to make an arbitrary choice among many different and conflicting possible decisions, shows by this precisely that it is not free, that it is controlled by the very object it should itself control. Freedom therefore consists in the control over ourselves and over external nature which is founded on knowledge of natural necessity; it is therefore necessarily a product of historical development."3

The libertarians maintain that freedom is irreconcilable with any kind of determinism. If human action is not exempt from determination, they assume it must fall under the sway of an unmanageable causal compulsion in which freedom can find no foothold. They do not understand that objective causal conditions provide the ways and means of promoting and realizing human aims and actions as well as confining and frustrating them. Furthermore, the same factors that block activity in a certain direction can facilitate it under other circumstances. Rivers and oceans that were impassable barriers became highways when boats were built.

No less one-sided is the obverse conception of the mechanical determinists that the life of humanity is governed by the same blind rule of chance and necessity as the cosmic and biochemical processes. It ignores the all-important fact that the labor and consciousness responsible for humanization introduced a qualitatively new factor into evolution. This was the possibility of deliberately choosing among alternatives and the increasing ability of the human species to perceive and realize a wider range of optional actions. These were the primal elements of human freedom.

he labor that demarcates the human from the animal is thoroughly teleological; it sets itself an aim and selects the means to accomplish it. Labor is rationally directed and expended. In order to carry out their purposes, the laborers must choose one thing rather than another and do one thing rather than another in a conscious manner.

Early humanity did not have much latitude of choice. The scope and content of its freedom were severely limited by the primitive means and materials of production, crude skills, minimal knowledge of nature and itself, and dependence upon the immediate surroundings. Nonetheless prehistoric humanity set into motion a new and higher order of causality whereby thinking beings selected different ways and means and utilized them to achieve desired and anticipated ends.

Humankind does not remove itself from the causality of the physical world when it takes advantage of its laws of operation for its own objectives. There is continual interaction between nature and the laboring collective which manipulates and bends to its purposes the subject matter around it. Humanity functions and advances by pressing into service objective physical forces from water and fire to electronic waves and particles which obey the laws of nature. Its purposive activities are thereby inserted as a new link in the concatenation of causes on this planet. The cumulative result of these activities has been to open up new lines of development for our species. As its means of production have improved, humanity has become a more and more effective and decisive causal agent on its own account, though always in conjunction with physical conditions.

The changes in eating habits demonstrate the interplay of natural and social necessities. Because of our biology the human organism must recurrently supply domination by uncontrolled natural forces and itself with a certain amount of nutritious matter. This that respect both are subject to the dictates of nature.

However, the human mode of satisfying hunger is qualitatively different from animal foraging. Humanity does not simply seize and rend its prey or browse on plants and then digest them. It secured its food supplies by cooperatively hunting, fishing, and gathering, using

3. Engels, Frederick, Anti-Duhring. New York: International Publishers, 1970, p. 125.



and making instruments for that purpose. About five hundred thousand years ago humans learned to kindle fire and cook their food, making it more digestible and palatable.

The production of food through agriculture and stockraising gave much greater freedom in this vital activity than direct dependence upon what raw nature afforded. The development of transportation gave access to larger supplies as well as more varieties of food. The making of new species of edible fruits and improved grains increased production while the perfecting of different cuisines enhanced the pleasures of the table. Chemical food-growing has even detached farming from the soil.

But the most powerful stimulus was imparted to freedom when consumers were separated from the producers of food through the growth of specialization. Some communities came to acquire certain necessities of life through trade. Athens, the freest of the Greek democratic city-states, was the first to depend upon imported grain supplies. This of course made it imperative for the naval and military forces of this imperial power to protect its lifelines.

The fundamentally new way of obtaining food through the exchange of commodities marked a new epoch. It enlarged freedoms and at the same time brought unprecedented necessities into operation because society fell under the stern sway of market and monetary relations.

Rousseau opened The Social Contract by asking: "By what conceivable art has a means been found of making men free by making them subject?" This puzzling paradox came about, not through any cunning scheme, but by the contradictory nature of progress in civilization. Up to now every forward step in relaxing the bondage of humankind to nature has resulted in greater subjugation of the toilers to the privileged possessors of wealth who exploit them. The masterslave relationship raised the dialectic of freedom and necessity to a higher power than in preclass times.

Social freedom involves both release from constraint and the ability to satisfy human wants and realize one's vital aims. These two aspects do not always coincide. The millions of slaves whom the Civil War emancipated from chattel status were not given the material means to become independent small proprietors and free producers on bourgeois terms and were thereby driven back into new forms of servitude. Increased freedom in one respect was followed by its deprivation in another.

The power of historical determinism and the contradictory character of freedoms in class society are exemplified in the development of American civilization since Columbus. The destruction of the freedoms possessed by some of its inhabitants was accompanied by the acquisition of greater freedoms by others. When the Western hemisphere was opened for European settlement in the sixteenth century, all preexisting types of social organization were presumptively offered an equal chance in a clear field. These comprised tribal collectivism, small farming, slavery, feudalism, communal colonies, and bourgeois production.

For the next five hundred years these various formations engaged in unremitting competition with one another for possession of the social economy in different regions of the continent. Their struggles ended in the mastery and monopoly of the bourgeois forms; the others were either exterminated or subordinated to the power of capitalism. Obviously the contestants were not really evenly matched and the losers suffered from insuperable handicaps.

This selection in the fight for historical survival is not deplored by supporters of the present system. But the outcome does raise certain questions. Why did capitalist relations win out? Was this necessary - or accidental? And if necessary, what determined the direction of the process and its result?

Marxism answers that the victory of capitalism was gained and assured by its more efficient mode of production and all that issued from it Material and cultural superiority in productive power and firepower enabled its representatives to conquer all rivals.

its highest expression.

PICKET LINE

Script Assistants Win Pay Rise

by the Australian Broadcasting Commission in the winning of this strike. von substantial pay increases ranging from \$31 per weeck for Grade 1 assistants (a s31 per week for Grade 1 assistants (a 34 per cent rise) to \$22 for Grade 2 assist- APWU Leadership ants (41 per cent). The script assistants, who are all women, formed themselves into a sub-committee of the Federal body of the ABC Staff Association approximately a year ago.

again put forward claims (originally placed in November 1972) before the ABC mangement who promised to consider Opposition Senators them, put them before the Public Service Board for approval and give a decision The ban followed the stalling of the new and in the meantime, typists employed servants including postal workers. The brought offers which had met with the several clauses. approval of the Public Service Board .

meeting rejected the offers of increases ment. which fell short of their original claims. only for 21 per cent.

At this meeting the script assistants decid- ators. ed to take strike action until their claims

to be able to disclaim responsibility for rejection of the wage claims of its

The militancy of the women, who did not have great numerical strength, and

The leadership of the Amalgamated Postal In March of this year the script assistants Workers Union (APWU) has bowed to press- their seven week strike with a hard won ure and called off its proposed ban on the wage increase of \$7 per week. delivery of mail and telegrams to

within two weeks. Eight weeks elapsed, Workers Compensation Bill covering public by the ABC were granted wage increases, combined forces of the three capitalist giving them higher rates of pay than the parties, Liberal, Country and Democratic script assistants. Although the typists! Labor parties tried to frustrate the passage increases were fully supported, it demon- of the bill. They used their majority in strated how the wage rates of the script the Senate to refer the bill to the Senate assistants had fallen behind. A campaign Standing Committee on Legal and Constwas mounted by the assistants which soon itutional Affairs for the investigation of

Members of the APWU could see through On Friday April 27, a lunchtime stop- all the verbiage that the purpose of the work meeting of script assistants was held referral was to delay the introduction of in Sydney to discuss their claims. The the reforms proposed by the Labor Govern-

These increases, it was claimed by the The postal workers in the Western Australian of a motion declaring black only those

it Gore Hill, Sydney, a mass meeting of tactics an attempt to water down the ben- far better than the workers.

esits proposed by the Minister for Labour,

rested. By Sunday April 29 representatives Labour Minister Cameron was considered. On May 1 a mass meeting was held at

Service Board, had agreed to approve the more important than the reaction of the Festival Hall of Victorian building

them to the Bar of the Senate, Whatever

Clyde Cameron.

on behalf of the claimants with the Public by the president of the ACTU, Bob Hawke, BY JOHN BARKER

The General Manager of the ABC, Mr The anger of the rank and file was ignored

Duckmanton, then agreed to intervene by their leadership. Opposition to the ban

Service Board with whom the final decisionthe Post Master General Lionel Bowen and

is no doubt useful to the ABC management. leadership that the rank and file was right Liberals and their cronies. If such a support was available, then the leadership could have no possible excuse for backing down. Even if such support wasn't forthcoming a Labor government at this stage the support they received from their fellow- can't possibly reduce itself to the position On April 29, 85 script assistants employed workers, were obviously important factors of the Liberals and crush the ban. Thus genuine rationalisation for the set back it dealt to militant action,

Liftworkers Strike Ends

BY GEOFF COLLINS

Two hundred lift maintenance workers in Melbourne have just sucessfully ended

The men at first refused the \$7 offer from the employers because they felt their wage claim of \$10 was justified.

They were striking for a \$10 immediate wage increase, plus a log of claims. They came under heavy attack from the bosses' organisations who attempted to claim that some men were earning over \$12,000 a year and in some cases \$14,000 a year. They did not take into consideration that the men were often called out at all hours of the night and weekends to attend to faulty lifts.

This rising militancy in such a traditionally quiet union as the Electrical Trades Union shows that workers are not going to sit back and let rising costs eat into their pay packets.

management, were for increases of 28 district of the union proposed that all Opp- The Acting Secretary of the Electrical per cent (six per cent less than the min- osition members be blacklisted, i.e. that Trades Union, Mr C. Faure, said that the ssistants) However, it was worked out members of those parties in either house increase would be taken before the Arbitthat some of the increases were in reality of Parliament. This was rejected in favor ration Commission. This is no answer to the 200 men who spent seven long weeks directly involved, namelyOpposition Sen- on strike for only a partial settlement of their claims. Their claims will now become bogged down in the Arbitration Comwere met. At 5pm on the same afternoon The postal workers also saw in the delaying mission, which represents the employers

ABC staff at Gore Hill meeting

Builders Mass Meeting

industry members on a directive from

the Trades Hall Council. The meeting

oyers' federation groups on the question

Recommendations were passed that the

What then is behind the company's move? Could it be Garner's involvement in opposition to the war in Vietnam and activity within his union and the ALP? Even before Garner was placed on the payroll at the Herald his anti-war activities were known to the head reader, who had gone so far as to inform the union section chairman of this fact.

decided in the light of joint union . em

ployer delegations to the Victorian Lib

al Government on April 27 that a furth

determine the rank and file attitude to the

meeting would be held on May 15 to

Building industry members have a histon-

of over fifteen years of protests, with den

offices. They have continually called for

the introduction of long service leave leave

islation. However, negotiations have on

been carried out by the union leadership

If the decision of the Victorian Govern-

ment runs counter to the meds of

union members then the only course

mobilisation of union members until

Printing Worker

open for the union is to organise the mass

Since April 18 this year OK cards of the

(PKIU) have been withheld in the proof

reading rooms of John Fairfax and Sons

and News Limited. The withholding of

any new labor from the reading rooms is

one of the steps that union members are

taking in attempting to win reinstatement

On Thursday March 23 the chief reader

alleged Garner had been late. When he

arrived for work on Tuesday April 3 he

was told his pay was made up and awaiting

collection. In fact Garner had still not

The paucity of the company's case is

glaringly obvious as there had been no

no docking of wages and no signing for

warnings given regarding alleged lateness,

being late. He had previously worked at

News Limite d where he had never once

been singled out for unpunctuality.

at John Fairfax for Roy Garner.

been told he was dismissed;

Printing and Kindred Industries Union

onstrations outside the master builders'

Government's decision .

in the last twelve months,

their needs are met.

BY GEOFF PAYNE

The arbitrary dismissal of a fellow worker and the implication this has for all unionists has been the basis on which Garner's chapel members have responded. The chapel executive sought unsuccessfully to have the threat of dismissal removed; Garner's fellow members then appealed for union intervention at a stopwork meet-

Until now Roy has refused to accept his 'dismissal' and attempted to continue working on Thursday April 5, his attempts were frustrated and he was escorted from the building by a security man.

The union and all unionists should reject this 'right' of the employer to hire and fin Even more insidious is the probationary period which must be served by all employ ees entering each shop. This breaking-in period can be used by the boss to intimidate rank and file activists by threatening them with the loss of their livelihood.

Some PKIU members have been critical of the branch secretary's apparent failure to uphold the principles involved and his attempt to dismiss the whole issue by arguing against a court hearing and suggest The union leadership was also intimidated by threats by the Liberal Senators to call ful negotiations carried out with 23 empl- employment elsewhere. ing that the union have him placed in

of long service leave for building industry No doubt, all PKIU members will watch with interest the manner in which the current leadership pursues Roy Garner's victimisation, as the apparent failure to membership expresses in the strongest pos- fight on his behalf so far has serious consible terms its determination to obtain sequences for any other worker who is long service leave legislation. It was also victimised.

Bureaucrats Ousted at Sydney May Day is year's May Day march in Sydney the biggest for several years. The he brass bands and marching girl

stuck to by the "officials" over at such at years. But gradually the new radion of youth had replenished the y and the overwhelmingly youthful position of many of the contingents year pointed to the future.

Socialist Workers League and the islist Youth Alliance marched with men reading "Repeal All Abortion "Labor Must Implement Socialist "For Automatic Wage Increases As The Cost Of Living Rises", "US Out Of South East Asia", "Solidarity with the elestinian Revolution", "For Universities That Serve the Working People", "Demoic Rights for Secondary Students", y Rights Now", "Free 24 Hour Child are Centres", "For a Shorter Working tek with No Loss of Pay", "Every Fortat Read the New 24 Page DIRECT TION - Published in the Interests of Working People", as well as banners
phasising our revolutionary heritage the need to build a real international dutionary party - the Fourth Interional, Our contingent was the biggest SYA was formed in 1970 with ver 130 people marching with us.

at on the whole the march was dull. he organisers had used the abstract ogais of "Unite Against Monopoly" and Reconstruct Vietnam" as the official themes this year. There was not even the sine sense of urgency around the Vietnam ou that had led to militant displays on greeious marches. Moreover, the abortion isse was to the rear of the consciousness of most contingents. At a time when a real drive is needed around this question p defeat the reactionary forces, the May Day committee persisted with a May Day Oneen competition. Hardly a way to get ilitant feminists involved in struggle, and in using May Day as a weapon.

This year's May Day in Sydney was again receded by protests from the women's beration movement against the annual May Day Queen Competition. (This year the May Day committee officially changed the name to Miss May Day in a feeble it to appease their critic be march the marshals persisted in makig references to the May Day Queen!) This conservative and Stalinist (Socialist any of Australia variety) dominated committee overrode the objections, revealing just how little they understood or supported the women's liberation movement.

The women's movement was not even smitted to express their views on the lations at the rally which followed the the militant feminists overwhelmingly took up a chant of "Let Them Speak". Lethargy vanished, everyone moved closer. Perhaps at last we would hear something above the usual platitudes and Stalinist hypocrisy.

The officials left the platform - but they took their loud-speaker, Clancy had another go at speaking from a safer position. But the crowd started chanting: "Bolshevism - yes! Stalinism - No!". This was too much, and like spoilt brats the bureaucrats retreated, sound truck and all. If we can't play, you can't borrow our foud speaker.

Then the meeting continued. Unfortunately the only other amplification available Labour League who when approached with a view of a loan retorted "Get Out, Anarchists". Besides, they needed it for themselves as they summoned any straying members of their flock who became interested in the meeting! "Will all Socialist Labour League supporters please come over here!"

The theme of most of the impromptu speeches which followed emphasised the

need to have democratic May Days in future. The whole spirit of May Day as clearly indicated by the sympathies of the crowd for the women's liberation and gay liberation speakers is that it is the day of all the oppressed. It can become a tremendous occasion of working class solidarity in the struggle against capitalism and last Sunday we took a step along the road of making this the case. The challenging of the hold of these Stalinist bureaucrats over the entire organisation of May Day was very significant. Five or six years ago such a challenge would have been inconceivable - the oppostionists were so few. But the events this year demonstrated vividly the growth of the various movements of the oppressed belonged to the sectarians of the Socialist and the identification of large numbers of people with real revolutionary traditions and democracy within the workers move-

Part of SWL/SYA May Day contingent.

Sydney May Day will never be the same again but from the humble start made of asserting the control of the rank and file marchers over the apparatus, we can move forward to make May Day 1974 a mass anti-capitalist demonstration of all the oppressed.

"rally" in the Domain lined up for us. Lionel Murphy, advertised as the key speaker, unfortunately "couldn't come", Not to worry, there was a speaker from the Union of Australian Women, a group representative of the old form of women's organisation, more in the line of an auxiliary than a conscious feminist group. (The clever hacks at the top had even hit upon the scheme of letting the UAW head the march, supposedly to offset criticism). Then we were to hear once more Pat Clancy, president of the Socialist Party of Australia and staunch Stalinist. No doubt - had the rally ontinued we would have heard the list of prizes for best contingent with the first prize going to (yes, you guessed it) the SPA and consolation prizes to various

But we didn't even get to hear Clancy. A group of women's liberationists seized the platform in spite of the opposition of several hefty unionists and a few of Sydney's biggest cops. They demanded that they be allowed to explain their position on the May Day Queen and why they tlidn't march.

May Day, day of international solidarity of the working class, was celebrated in Melbourne with a march on Sunday, May 6. According to the Melbourne Age, 6000 peopled marched. A few days earlier on Tuesday, May 1 about 200 people rallied at the eight hour day monument to mark May Day.

The march proceeded from the Trades Hall to the Yarra Bank, passing the City Square where a 'right to life' rally was in progress. Some marchers chanted 'repeal the antiabortion laws' as they passed the City Square.

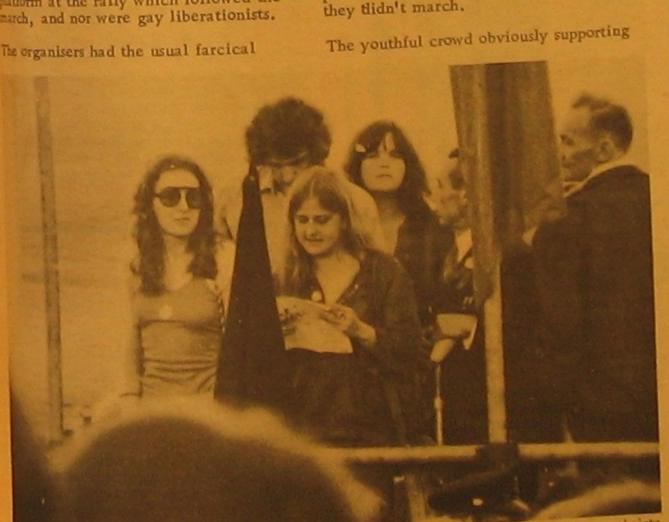
A notable feature of the march was the disarray of the Maoist forces. In previous years the Worker Student Alliance has been able to mobilise large contingents for May Day. However, this year the Maoist forces did not march as a body or attempt

to sell their press. It appears that their organisation is disintegrating largely as a result of the Maoist leadership's capitulation to bourgeois national chauvinism.

The Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance organised a large contingent of over eighty people which focused on the events in Vietnam, Banners such as 'Vietnam: the Struggle Goes On', 'US Out of Indo-China', 'No Peaceful Coexistence with US Imperialism', and 'Support the Right to Abortion' were carried by the SWL - SYA contingent,

At the Yarra Bank the meeting was chaired by Bill Hartley, a prominent figure in the Socialist Left of the ALP. Speakers included Bon Hull, a women's liberation activist who emphasised the importance of the campaign for the repeal of the abortion laws, George Crawford, chairman of the Victorian ALP, and members of the Vietnamese anti-war delegation which is presently in this country. The Vietnamese thanked the Australian anti-war movement for its part in the international movement in defence of their struggle.

While the May Day activities were proceeding, about 12,000 people participated in an anti-abottion march organised by the 'Right to Life' association largely through the Catholic Church. After the rally at Yarra Bank, many of the May Day marchers went back to City Square for a counter demonstration in favor of abortion

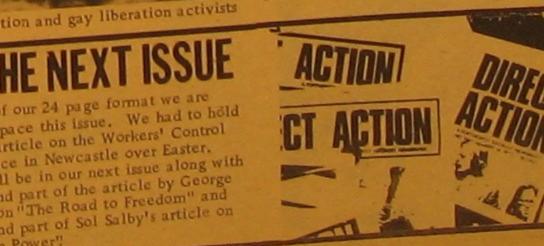


friends.

May Day platform occupied by women's liberation and gay liberation activists

In spite of our 24 page format we are short of space this issue. We had to hold

over an article on the Workers' Control Conference in Newcastle over Easter. But it will be in our next issue along with the second part of the article by George Novack on "The Road to Freedom" and the second part of Sol Salby's article on "Labor in Power"



y resumed work on Monday 30. If the claims had not been met it was lighly probable that other sections of ABC employees would have gone out on the main force was which compelled them members. strike in support of the script assistants, to resist the mass pressure and remove The ABC Staff Association is attempting the ban hasn't been divulged. o dissociate itself from the Public Service Board so that it is no longer tied to its The union leadership did not even try udgements on matters such as wages. It and persuade the ALP parliamentary

ABC employees was held to discuss the

roposed strike. The meeting of 300-

400 gave complete support to the strike,

wage claims and make them retrospective ranks,

December 1. The strikers subsequent-



British Workers Strike On May Day

BY CHRIS GRAHAM

Several million British workers took part in a national strike on May 1, according to British union leader Vic Feather, Tens of thousands also participated in rallies held in most of Britain's major centres, The action was called in opposition to Heath's phase II "incomes policy". It was organised by the Trades Union Council (TUC - British equivalent to the

Engineering workers gave most solid support to the strike. Most of Britain's monopolies were shut down. 80 per cent of employees at British Leyland stopped work. Vauxhall was forced to close down in the case of the bakers' union which, on May 1, losing \$3.5 million in production. Ford lost \$4 million in product-

Nearly half the miners struck in defiance pressure. of their unions direction not to strike on May 1. The opposition to the union bureaucrats' no-strike orders was strongest in Wales and Scotland.

Only 25 per cent of dock workers turned up to work in London. Strikes by printers prevented most newspapers from publishing. In Manchester 90 per cent of building workers stopped work.

These were the high points of the strike. On the debit side the action did not live up to the expectations of the British Workers. On no account could it be termed

There were two reasons for this, Firstly, the uneven development of the British workers, and secondly the retreat of the union bureaucrats in the face of the capitalist counter-offensive.

Support for the strike was far stronger in Scotland and Wales where unemployment and inflation are worse than in England.

Large numbers of workers disobeyed their unions' direction to strike. The bourgeois press made much of this point. But on the workers. other side of the coin, equally large numbers of workers defied their unions orders not to strike. For example in the case of the miners cited above and also although suspended from the TUC for not supporting its opposition to the National Industrial Relations Act, participated in the strike under rank and file

THE RECESSION AND THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UMON BUREAUCRACY

The recent recession has been particularly severe in Britain. As a result the militancy of the British working class has been far higher than in other countries. According to the Minister of State for Employment, Chichester-Clark, 46 million days were lost due to strikes in the period from July, 1970, to March

Heath's phase II policy is designed to out attack on the working class. Under led.

phase II, which commenced on April 1, pay rises are limited to \$1.75 plus 4 per cent. Unions who agitate for higher rises are liable to heavy fines.

The stage was set for a sharp struggle, the outcome of which would have great repercussions for the working class. The workers looked to the TUC for leadership in this struggle. The TUC call for a general strike must be seen as a concession to the militant mood of the

The "general strike" was called by the TUC on March 5. However not until March 23 did it actually set May 1 as the date for the action. By then, the capitalist counter-offensive was well under way, aided by the right-wing union leaders, and together they forced the TUC to back down.

The TUC leaders capitulated to this attack. It was finally left up to the individual unions to decide if they were to strike or not. Thus the right-wing unions were able to prevent their members from going on strike, and the TUC was able to effectively wash its hands of the affair, and get back to the "serious business" of negotiating with the bosses.

Only one minor detail remained: how to explain away the strike action of millions of workers on May 1 which, for all its faults, served notice on the bourgeoisie that the working class is not going to submit without a fight, however poorly



The bureaucrats differed in their reactions to the strike. The right-wing secretary of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union, Frank Chapple, denounced the strike as a totally futile action. Vic Feather the General Secretary of the TUC did not go so far; to do so would be committing political suicide. But he was at pains to point out that the May Day action had never been seen in terms of a general strike, and that he felt that the "proper channels" would be the best recourse to "justice". His attitude was best summed up in the statement that the strike was a "resentful and painful acquiescence in phase II".

It was not the strikers who were acquiescing but the union bureaucracy whose capitulation to phase II represents a warning to the working class as to what they can expect in the coming struggles against the capitalist offensive.

The bureaucracy carries the major responsibility for this retreat. The British workers will have to combat both Heath and the labor-fakers if they are to win their struggle against phase II.

France: The Spring Will Be Hot

yot, hot, spring will be hot!" was the ant taken up by hundreds of thousands of French students on April 2. It was inended to remind Gaullist politicians of tended be exceptionally "hot" spring of 1968.

Ilthough most of the April 2 demonstratwere only 8 to 13 years old five years 150, the atmosphere is the same. The ame air of militancy pervaded the crowd in the Place de la Nation, the same sense of purpose united them.

Since early February, French high-school, echnical college and university youth lave been organising to fight the openly provocative actions of the government. On January 1, a new law came into effect. Known as the Debre Law, its object was the removal of deferments from national service for students finishing school and vishing to go on to university.

Despite the claims of the French governsent that the Debre Law is more demoentic' than the previous system of deferments under which those students who gold afford to go to university could tage their military service put off, the gudents have pointed out consitently that the new system is even more discrimintory than the former. A statement made by the Coordination National des Comites Contre la Loi Debre (National Coordinating body of the Committees igainst the Debre Law) on March 14 debred "...this law reinforces social discrimination (how many people of modest origins, completely disheartened by a year of bullying and systematic brutalisation would be able to take up their sidies again when they see themselves confronted with practically insurmountable financial problems?)." In addition, the government has recently decided to istroduce a new diploma known as the Diplome d'Etudes Universitaires Generales DIUG - Diploma of General University Studies) which will be issued after two years of post secondary education and which will make even less university education available to working class

The undemocratic nature of the previous often is not the issue, however. The tudents are not demanding a return to the id deferment for university students only. They want an extension of the deferment wall youth, giving them the right to name their own date of call-up.

The student movement is organised in a mmarkably democratic fashion. All decisions are made by the Comites Contre 4 Loi Debre (CCLD - Committees against the Debre Law) which are organised on a school level and which send delegates to agional and national meetings. The delgates are immediately recallable and must report back to their schools after each meeting. In this way, not only the strikes at individual schools, but also the massive attional actions of March 22 and April 2, 4 and 9 were organised. These strikes attracted upwards of 200, 000 students from high schools, technical colleges and universities. In most schools, 80 to 100 per cent of students took part.

the participation of the Colleges d'Enseignement Techniques (CET - Colleges of lechnical Education) was important. Even during the massive upsurges of May-June 1968, these colleges did not participate m any organised way. Now, however, CCLDs are being formed in all CETs and special demonstration was called on April 4 to put forward their demands. Conditions within the CETs are especially repressive. The students there are being instructed with only one end in mind, entry into the work-force. The students are demanding a say in the direction and nature of their

the issue of the nature of courses has arisen ilongside the struggle against the Debre Law. In many schools and colleges, students have taken it into their own hands to reconstruct the courses they are studying; redirecting or eliminating those courses that are irrelevant and substituting new ones. Most of the new courses are run by the students themselves.

Another aspect of the demonstrations is he large amount of worker participation. On April 2 several unions sent delegations long to the march and on April 7 unionals met with representatives of the students discuss plans for a combined action on April 9. The unionists were reluctant at first. Most of the unions were controlled by either the Communist Party or the socialist Party, neither of which was ready

to take part in mass action if they could avoid it. However, mass pressure from the students and rank and file workers April 9 100,000 people marched in Paris alone. Representatives from the Confederation General du Travail (CGT - General Confederation of Labor, the Communist controlled Trade Union body) and

the Confederation Francaise Democrate du Travail (CFDT - Democratic French Labor Confederation, the Socialist Trade forced the union leaders to give in and on Unions) as well as the Federation d'Education Nationale (FEN - National Education Federation, a teachers' union) took part alongside the students. This again is reminiscent of May-June 1968 when massive student actions were quickly

followed by the biggest strikes in the history of post-war France. The re-election of the Gaullists in early March undoubtedly had an effect on the workers. The prospect of another three years of right-wing leadership is not an attractive one for the French people. Less than two months after the elections they are already showing their unwillingness to wait until 1976 to get what they want,

The mobilisation on April 2 was the largest France has seen for a long time, yet the students have made it quite clear that more is to come. The meeting on April 7 put out a resolution for further action. The following is an extract:

"The continuation of the demonstrations, on Monday April 9 and after the Easter Holidays, will show the government that it can not continue with impunity as an oppressor when there is so much unity among the population around the present demands of the College, University and high school students."

The demonstrations have shown the French government that the people are no longer prepared to be passive in the face of contmued inroads into their lives. France is in for another hot spring this year.

After a three-week strike and lockout work was back to normal throughout Denmark April 10. The compromise proposal for ending the conflict was passed by a vote of 221,066 to 141,172. The large No vote was cast despite an intensive propaganda campaign in favor of the proposal waged by most of the unions and radio and television.

Five unions rejected the compromise proposal. They were the Bookbinder and Paperboard Workers Union, the Seamen's Union, and the Danish Printers Union.

the metalworkers in Aarhus, where 2, 203 voted No and 1, 225 voted Yes. And this occurred in spite of the fact that a majority of the leadership in the large metalworkers organisation in Aarhus had urged the membership to vote Yes.

GEORGE NOVACK

Decline of

Ernest Mandel

The overall Yes vote cannot be viewed as a sign of satisfaction with the compromise proposal or as a show of confidence in LO (Landsorganisationen-the Danish Trade Union Confederation). Many voted Yes because they could not see the use of continuing the strike under an ineffective leadership that did not want to organise a genuine struggle to deal a real blow to the bosses and instead had capitulated by abandoning the original demands that the workers had raised in the workplaces. Others undoubtedly took as good coin the threats by the Social Democratic union One other noteworthy vote occurred among leaders that if they voted No, the money they would be striking for would not amount to much and the modest strike subsidy they were receiving would be discontinued.

The contract negotiations themselves-in

terms both of their length and the secrecy of closed-door talks between the two main negotiators-differed in no way from similar negotiations in the past. How -ever, some contrast was provided by the nearly three weeks of conflict, which, to a degree, was directed against the union leadership. And even if the negotiations are now over, the conflict is not. The dissatisfaction of the many workers who yoted No, as well as of those who voted Yes in spite of their dissatisfaction, will not evaporate.

The struggle that the LO leadership shrank from leadeng against the employers will now be fought in the workplace. The situation there could very well give rise to numerous strikes with an even greater impact than that of the recent

Crisis Looms for Uruguayan Regime

BY MIKE JONES

For the past few weeks, Uruguayan courts have been hearing charges of corruption brought against leading members of Parliament and government officials by the military. The charges reflect an increasing division within the Uruguayan bourgeoisie over the question of U.S. imperialism vs. the national bourgeoisie and landowners.

The crisis has culminated in sections of the army demanding the resignation of President Juan Maria Bordaberry. This demand was supported by opposition sections of parliament, including the Partido Blanco (White Party — the representative of the rich landowners) and the Frente Amplio (Common Front - a coalition of the Communist Party with various capitalist and military interests). The CNT (Central Nacional del Trabajo the Uruguayan Council of Trade Unions) has added a call for a general strike to the demand for Bordaberry's downfall.

With the coming to power of Bordaberry, the pretensions of the "nationalist" sections of the bourgeoisie and landowners began to concretise. The "nationalist" orientation of Bordaberry's government found its reflection in the army. The army's recent displeasure with Bordaberry's failure to take action against the "illicit socio-economic activities" of the pro-US sections of the bourgeoisie has led many people to expect a coup d'etat is imminent. In a press conference given during a visit to Buenos Aires on March 29, General Liber Seregni, leader of the Frente Amplio, stated "There is a very appreciable section of the population which supports the positive aspects indicated by the actions of the Armed Forces." Whatever the size of the "very appreciable section of the population", it certainly ncludes the Communist Party and the Frente Amplio, The Argentinian revolutonary-socialist newspaper Avanzada

its April 4 edition:

"The Communist Party is counting on the Coup d'etat, but it doesn't make clear what it will do afterwards, because two possibilities present themselves. One of these is that, on the resignation of Bordaberry the vice-president will assume power and, in accordance with the constitution, will call for elections within 60 days. The CP is counting on an alliance The problems facing the Uruguayan with Ferreira Aldenate (of the Partido Blanco) who would have an excellant chance of winning, Points of agreement

Socialista explained the CP's attitude in exist: the Partido Blanco, as a good representative of the landowners, has more sympathy for Europe than for the United States. The other possibility is that the coup d'etat will place the power in the hands of the "Peruvianist" sectors of the army, to whom the Communist Party is disposed to give total support, as its sister parties in (the rest of) Latin America are doing,"

> working class cannot possibly be solved by the measures proposed by the Frente Amplio and the CP. Replacing Bordaberry

do nothing to ease the inflation, unemployment and lack of housing and food that has plagued Uruguay and the rest of Latin America for decades, "For that", continues Avanzada Socialista, "the working class and the Uruguayan people must take advantage of the divisions which are weakening their enemies - the bosses and the military in order to mobilise independently, take power in their own hands, make the country independent of imperialism and organise its economy in the interests of the working people.'

with "progressive" military leaders will

Hugo Blanco's Book Reviewed



Hugo Blanco's Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru (Pathfinder Press, 1972, Paperback \$2,45) has been selected as an outstanding academic book for 1973 by Choice magazine. The editors of Choice, a major US publishing journal and the organ of the Association of College and Research Libraries, annually compile a list of books which they consider to be timely and significant contributions to academic study. The selection of Land or Death was based in part upon a review which appeared in their February 1973 issue:

"Blanco, Trotskyist leader of an early 1960s peasant movement near Cuzco, Peru, has written an extremely important primary document. The chapters on chronology and geographical, economic, and social conditions are incomplete, and one consult the works of Wesley Craig and Hugo Neira, but Blanco's descriptions of the movement itself, formation of a party apparatus (an admitted failure), schisms in the Peruvian left, and the decision to use armed force are excellent. One important aspect of the

work is Blanco's account of divisions beonstrating the near impossibility of portant letters, manifestos, and short including the famous "To my people, several calls for student assistance, and an analysis of the government, oligarchy, and peasants. Many oxplanatory notes; fine glossary of foreign words; adequate index. A must for all undergraduate and graduate libraries."

LABOR'S GIANT STEP: Twenty Years of the CIO LETTERS FROM PRISON SOCIALISM ON TRIAL SPEECHES FOR SOCIALISM TEAMSTER REBELLION THE JEWISH QUESTION: A Marxist Interpretation LAND OR DEATH: The Peasant Struggle in Peru LEON TROTSKY SPEAKS

LEON TROTSKY-THE MAN AND HIS WORK MILITARY WRITINGS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION AND RESULTS AND PROSPECTS REVOLT IN FRANCE: May - June 1968

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED ROSA LUXEMBURG SPEAKS THE SPANISH REVOLUTION 1931 - 1939 THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN GERMANY THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN WHITHER FRANCE WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1933-4) France WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1934-5) France

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1935 -6) Norway WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1937-8) Mexico WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1938-9) Mexico LEON TROTSKY ON LITERATURE ON ART MY LIFE An Attempt at an Autobiography THE DECLINE OF THE DOLLAR A Marxist View of the International Monetary Crisis DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION EMPIRICISM AND ITS EVOLUTION FIFTY YEARS OF WORLD REVOLUTION

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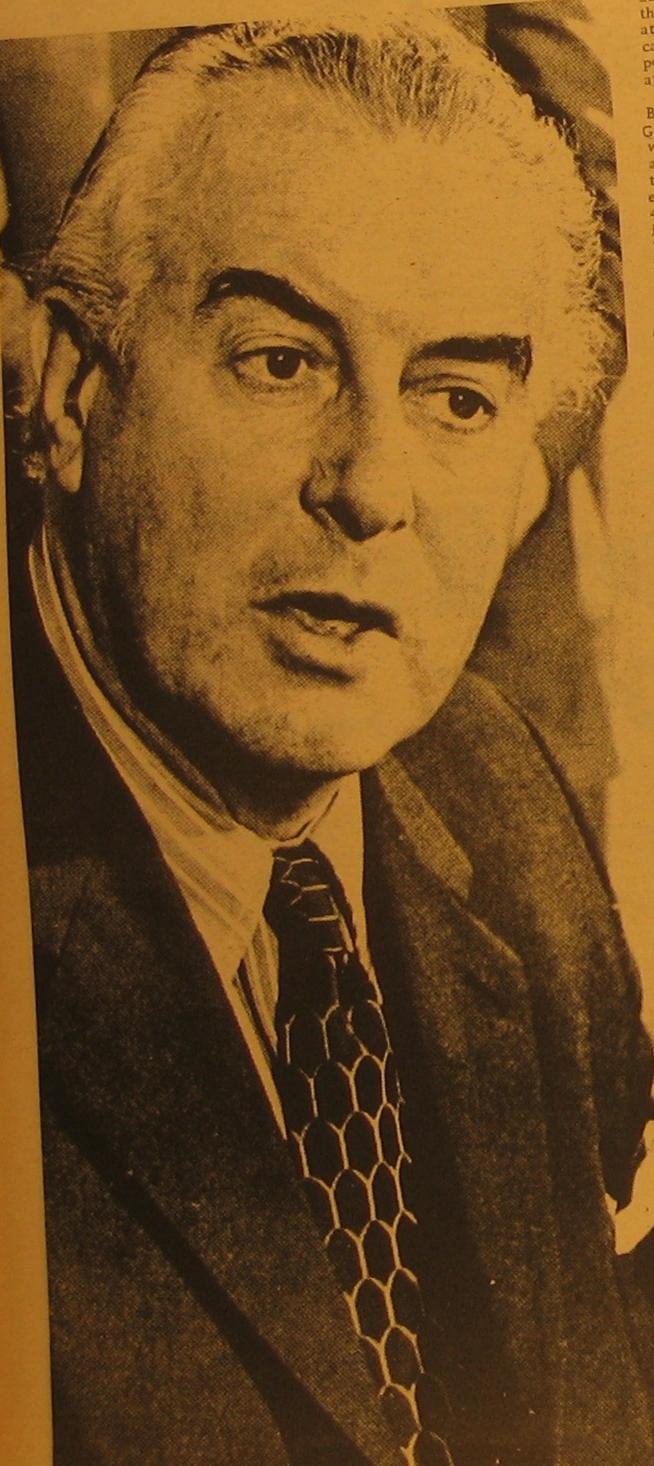
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tween Trotskyites and the Peruvian Communist party (referred to as Stalinists) including Communist attempts to sabotage the peasant movement. Nowhere is this clearer than in Blanco's decision to initiate guerrilla action. Che Guevara had similar experiences in Bolivia, demestablishing a united leftist front in most of Latin America. Part II contains imstories written by Blanco while in prison,

In addition to this citation, Blanco's Land or Death has aroused considerable critical comment in other US journals, including Publishers Weekly, Library Journal, the Union of Radical Latin Americanists Newsletter, and Perspective.

AN ANALYSIS BY SOL SALBY PART 1: THE RECORD



ist before the Federal elections, The dney Morning Herald published an exraordinary editorial attacking the Labor Party. It had begun:

"Liberty, equality, fraternity', the slogan of the French revolutionaries who replaced the old order with mob rule and terror and paved the way for the dictatorship of Napoleon, is a curious banner for an Australian political leader to campaign under in this day and age. Yet this is the guidon raised by Mr Whitlam, 'We want, he declared in his policy speech, 'to give anew life and a new meaning to the touchstone of modern democracy - to liberty, equality and fratemity.' It is a theme which, in varying forms, he returned to throughout his policy. At first thought the idea of Mr Whitlam in a Liberty cap, leading a mob of sansculottes to destroy the bastions of society is mildly funny. At second thought, it is less amusing".

The editors of The Herald are, no doubt, even less amused by the first few months of the Labor Government. While they should be satisfied that Gough Whitlam has not led any revolution, they are possibly enraged by some of the new Government's actions.

Any balance sheet of the Labor Government is by necessity only of a preliminary nature. There are more than two and a half years still to run in the life of the present Parliament. A mere quantitative balance sheet has already been carried in several union journals. The point, however, is to consider the qualitative aspect.

Before one can evaluate and analyse the Government, there are some factors which should be borne in mind. First and foremost it has to be remembered that Australia has not had a Labor government for 23 years. And it is actually 43 years since the last time a Labor opposition has been triumphant at the polls. Thus, in most people's memories, similar experiences to the last few months just do not exist.

Even if it is only by default, the Whitlam Government appears to be the most radical government Australia has ever seen.

On the surface, the record speaks for itself. Within thirty minutes of taking office, the Labor Government abolished conscription, released those people already in the army, and recognised Labor Caucus elected the chairman of the Victorian Vietnam Moratorium Campaign, Jim Cairns, as its most senior minister. Three cabinet ministers lashed out at Nixon's escalation in December last year and so on.

These and many other activities of Labor in office dismayed a sizable proportion of both the Australian and international ruling class. Nixon, of course, did not appreciate being called a 'maniac' by Minister for Labor Cameron; nor did he appreciate the remarks by the Minister for Minerals and Energy, Reg Connor, who said: "There are only three certainties in life today - taxes, death and sucessive, progressive and ever more frequent devaluations of the US dollar," But with the exception of a small extreme right-wing section of the ruling class aside, the vast majority have resigned themselves to Labor rule. Only Maxwell Newton's Jobsons refers to the Australian Cabinet as 'Whitlam's black panthers'.

The wide-spread surprise at Labor's actions commenced only after the elections. Labor's victory in the polls was widely recognised as being inevitable. The state of the economy with unemployment reaching record level, the complete bankruptcy of the Liberal party, the increased radicalisation expressing itself in anti-war and other types of mass action and the increased militancy of workers' struggles all justified the confidence of the Labor machine.

Some of the origins of the new Government's actions can be seen in the election campaign. The vast number of Labor supporters who attended the campaign rallies were young people and as Laurie Oakes and David Solomon observed in their book The Making of an Australian Prime Minister "... the loudest cheering and footstamping occurred whenever Whitlam mentioned Vietnam, the abolition of conscription and aboriginal land rights," Herein lies the root of Labor's radical policies. The Labor Party is a very different type of party. Despite its brazen capitalist programme and pro-capitalist leadership it is a working class party. Its organisational links with the working class through the trade union movement mean that it is very much susceptible to mass pressure.

The mass pressure was reflected on all emity leave provisions for Commissues around which Labor has taken rad-Ith employees, including twelve ical steps. These were all issues around which mass mobilisations have taken hde Cameron, has indicated the place over the past few years. The more ament's intention to expand job important issue which falls into this cat. ing for women. Social Security egory is the Vietnam war. Besides the Hayden has defended the right holition of conscription, Australia's thers who choose not to marry and remaining military advisers were with ended pensions to single mothers drawn from South Vietnam and military erted de facto wives. The Departaid to the Thieu regime ceased during at of Social Security is to investigate Ni xon's murderous bombing of Vietnam possibility of family allowances to last year. During the height of the bomothers. In announcing this, Hayden bing Whitlam was also forced to send a that women must be given the free protest note condemning the bombine ce to work or stay at home to look their families and not be forced Of course, the Government did not go as yough economic necessity to work outfar as it could have done in supporting

the Vietnamese people's struggle for the home. self-determination. It did not even go as far as some of its own members wished it to go. Recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was not followed by recognition of the Provisional Revolution ary Government of South Vietnam. Thus Australia at the moment only recognises the Thieu regime as the sole government of South Vietnam. In other spheres the new foreign policy

reflects the same combination of pressures The question of sporting contacts with South Africa is a classical example, Sporting contacts with any racially select ed teams were stopped on Labor's first day in office. On the other hand, Whitlam has hastened to assure the South African Government that trade relations are not going to be affected. While all trade contacts with the illegal regime of Rhodesia were stopped, action against the Rhodesia information centre has been extremely slow. The Prime Minister has recently criticised Japanese capitalism as he suspected it of continually trading with the Smith regime. But generally the new Government has offered very little in the way of concrete aid to the people of Zimbabwe.

So the basic aims of Australia's foreign policy have not been changed. These are in the usual journalistic jargon, to stabilise the South East Asia region politically, economically and militarily.

The 'radical' policy of the recognition of China is part of a new method of achieving the old foreign policy objectives. Taken in the context of improvement of relations with the right-wing government of Indonesia and with the complete Australian silence in face of the collapse of the last remnants of democracy in the policy becomes apparant,

Essentially the new foreign policy is hased on what has been called 'the new reality of a world system based on peaceful co-existence.

This is clearly the next stage following the Nixon-Mao detenta, and the combine betrayals by Moscow and Peking of the Vietnamese revolution. As a result of the Vietnam experience, imperialism on a world scale is seeking (and getting) the co-operation of the Soviet and Chinese leaders in holding back the revolt in the colonial countries. Australian governments have a part to play in this.

The role of a go-between of a 'neutral mini-imperialist power which is still allied to the United States, Japan and other imperialist powers, but which anempts to join the neutral countries in various international bodies is the role in served for Australia. The new Australia Government can at the same time be at ceptable both to the Suharto dictatorshi in Indonesia, to which it gives consid able military aid, and to the Chineself ernment to which Labor directs its radio

The Singapore spy-base debacle was th clearest exposition to date of just wha the new foreign policy was all about Suddenly everything was changed. was the radicalism of the past and in the Labor leadership was exposed as n only propping up the Lee Kuan Yew d tatorship in Singapore, but also having spy base in South East Asia. This spy appears to have been used to spy on workers' states of China and North Viet nam and its information exchanged directly with the intelligence services of the US and Britain.

But Labor in office has more than just 2

foreign policy. The growth of the women's liberation movement and the increased conscious ness of Australian women has been reflected in Labor's policies. One of the Government's first acts was to repeal the notorious 27, 5% luxury tax on contract tives. It has since placed oral contract tives on the Pharmaceutical Benefits Lin and cut their price as well,

ber has also foreshadowed other aspects s also foreshadon. It has introduced has improved with exports growing at 10 The Minister for Lab-

to biedly the Labor record comes the total anti-woman stand of the eal Party. However, once again the for record fails to be complete. Labor es sot have a clear cut policy in supof the right of women to control their abodies. It prefers to hide behind the il of a conscience vote on the issue of Two Labor MPs, Tony Lamb David McKenzie have given notice ill to legalise abortion in the ACT. all labor MPs are planning to support bill. In fact, while Whitlam, Hayden dothers have lined up in favor of the the vast majority have lined up

other domestic policies the dual nature

the ALP is not always as clear. The ssical case is immigration. The old lay which aimed for maximum growth been substituted by one based on tis factor has won out. Migrants are still wing imported as cheap labor. What has boged is that the emphasis now is on all rather than sheer numbers. . The new selicy is thus based on no apparent disrimination. Superficially at least, the emaints of the White Australia Policy bre been abolished. However, the actal number of non-white immigrants oming to the country and their total mong total immigants is almost certain wall. The reason lies in the new sysun where sponsorship by relatives and emlayers is going to be the main criterion gd in the selection of migrants. As the quistion of Australia is overwhelmingwhite there will be very few non-white people arriving in the country. On this particular score the mass pressure on the Phas failed to change the Government olicy. In fact, it is probably worse than s predecessor. The only improvement es in the signifigant extensions of civil Berties to migrants.

The score on education is the same. Labis reducing inequality in education and aking education work better for capitlim. The abolition of tertiary education tes is one of the most welcome steps aken by the Whitlam Government, Unsubtedly more money for education will ctan that more and more students of orking class origin will be able to get igher education. At the same time it has whe realised that more and more of these ghly educated people are needed to run odern industrial society. It has also to e remembered that Education Minister seazley used the abolition of fees in order b destroy the independence of student evernment and in particular to threaten e very existence of the Australian Union Students (AUS) by refusing to pay their ces and giving university administrations e potential power to cut all student fin-

there are many other examples of such ictions. Some, like the relatively substantial increases in Social Security benes, reflect more the tendency to reform; thers relect the leadership's subservience

Juring the early days in office, the Govemment, which reopened the equal pay ate and argued successfully for equal pay for women, refused to take a similar ourse and reopen the national wage case. the result - no increase was granted. In he second national wage case since it took lice, the Government supported the appation of the Australian Council of Trade lons (ACTU) for a substantial wage inse, particularly in the minimum But, in the context of a wage ten being contemplated, that action ands to reflect quite dubious intentions y discussion of Labor's economic poles has to be seen in relation to the emational economic situation. The demational recession of 1969-72 appis to be over. Thus some of the probms confronting Australian capitalism Pear to have lost their urgency. Unyment is falling, inflation on the ther hand is rising rapidly. But the relwe position of the Australian ruling

class vis-a-vis its overseas counterparts 1 percent. The fundamental difficulty remains the eternal choice between crisis and inflation. The trade-off relation between the two appears to be more and more unfavorable. For example infation, The decisive action by the Whitlam Govwhich used to run at an annual rate of about 3 percent for the current unemployment rate of about 1.5 percent, is now running at a rate exceeding 8 percent.

There is no question that the inherent instability of Australian capitalism's external position combined with the basic contradictions of capitalism on a world scale means that the principal questions facing Australian capitalism and the government which runs its state have not changed.

bubtedly the colors when compared Prior to the elections it was thought that turn back workers' militancy was through the Cameron proposals. This was the name given to the brainchild of the ALP's Industrial Relations Committee which suggested that the basis of industrial relations be changed from awards fixed by the Arbitration Court to voluntarily negotiated contracts supervised by the court which would carry heavy penalties when breached.

Under mass pressure, the most vicious form of the proposals was rejected by the 29th Commonwealth Conference of the ALP in 1971 in Launceston. The abolition of the penal clauses of the Arbitration Court by the new government is a victory for the working people of Australia. While the danger remains that the Cameron proposals can be reintroduced at the school of thought some stage in the future, at present they mongst the ruling class which emphasised seem to be out of favor as a means of forcing the working class to reduce its standard of living and reduce the dilemmas facing Australian capitalism.

The scenario for the imposition of a wage freeze is highly clouded. One possible variant which illustrates the nature of the Labor Government is the imposition of an immediate price freeze together with a substantial national wage case increase. This will be followed by an outcry from the employing class. However the outcry for outside consumption will soon be replaced by glee. For the price freeze will be evoked to justify a later introduction of a wage freeze. Labor can thus use its "socialist" image and its working class allegiance in order to wrest concessions out of the working people which a Liberal Government could get only at the risk of an open revolt.

The imposition of a wage freeze will not be lightly considered. The improved position of the Australian capitalists internationally, the end of the recession and the benefits of its better management of capitalism means that it is not as urgent as before. The Whitlam leadership is going to guage its actions carefully, testing the reactions of both employer and worker at every step.

Meanwhile, Labor's actions in the external arena have been welcomed by leading economic circles of Australian business. The Government has managed to end the tremendous capital inflow for speculative purposes, and in fact has reversed its direction. The external threat to indigenous capital has been reduced. The pre-emptive revaluation of December 23, 1971 has allowed Australian capitalism to maintain a favorable position internationally.

The restrictions on foreign capital add fuel to the fire of nationalism that the leadership of the ALP is fostering at the moment. The projected new flag and national anthen only form a part of the new Australian nationalism. Many of these new nationalist features have been underestimated or simply ignored. The new Government, since taking office has been referring to itself as the "Australian" Government instead of the "Federal" or "Commonwealth" Government, (The Sydney Morning Herald led the reactionary forces in switching the title to the "Labor" Government.) The Australian nationalism fostered by Whitlam and his ministers is a reactionary nationalism. It is the nationalism of an oppressor nation. It is being fostered to derail the workers' movement in this coun try from an onslaught on all capitalists -Australian and foreign - to an attack on merely foreign capitalists.

The Whitlam leadership of the ALP, riding on the tide of its December victory, has opted for a "left-wing" image. The radicalisation in Australia has deepened so far that a conscious effort to take action in a radical way is being maintained. Nothing Illustrates this trend better than a comparison with the New Zealand Labour Government. The best example concerns

sporting contacts with South Africa, Gough Whitlam cancelled all tours of raciallyselected sporting teams on his first day of office. Norman Kirk preferred to hedge around it, but in the end he too had to cancel the Springbok tour. The same result was achieved in two different ways. ernment showed its understanding of the mass pressure that was likely to be applied. The move resulted in increased popularity for Whitlam and a successful attempt to align himself with the antiapartheid cause.

Generally most action taken up to date by the Labor Government falls into the category of low cost measures. It is true that equal pay for women, for which the Government argued, is going to cost a large amount to the employer, but most of the other measures, including the abolition of many tax loopholes were very cheap indeed.

The relations between Labor and the capitalist class are clearly at one and the same time both cordial and tenuous. Laurie Oakes and David Solomon have described the role of capitalists in organising the Labor campaign, in particular the role played by newspaper publisher Rupert Murdoch. The help, both financial and otherwise, given by these people to the Labor Party played a role in the Labor victory. But these members of the ruling class realise that, unlike their Liberal predecessors, the new Cabinet members are not free in their actions. They continually have to take various actions which are unfavorable to the bourgeoisie. The leaders of that wing of the ruling class which have opted for a Labor Government did it as a second choice. Ideally they would have preferred conditions to remain the same and to keep the Liberal Party in office.

The ALP in power has already encountered one of its biggest obstacles- the state machinery. The first glimpse was given in the actions of the secretary of the Department of Defence, Arthur Tange. His obvious opposition to Labor and Labor policy was displayed on several occasions, particularly concerning Australian military intervention in Singapore and Malaysia. But a much better indication was given during the visit of Yugoslav Prime Minister Bijedic. The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (Asio) refused to supply the Government with details of the activities of the fascist Ustasha organisation. In fact, Asio personnel conspired with other public servants to hide vital information from the Labor Government.

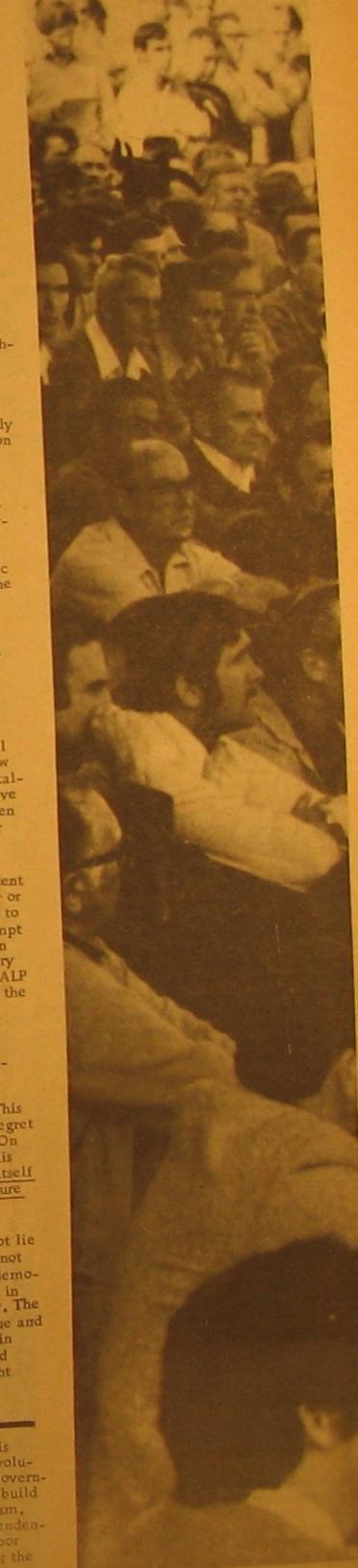
No matter how much effort the Labor remment puts into running capitalism more efficiently and no matter what different factors give it more leeway, Labor will still face certain difficulties. They are: the problems of the hostile attitudes of the state apparatus and the contradiction between carrying a radical reform for change pressed for from below and good relations with Australian capitalism. While the first set of problems have already been encountered they have been relatively minor compared to the latter

But it is the latter ones which will present the ALP with its real dilemma. Sooner or later the Whitlam leadership will have to show its true colors. Whitlam's attempt to wrest himself free of the trade union movement and even the ALP machinery can not be successful. So long as the ALP remains organisationally connected to the labor movement, he will fail in his attempt.

The Labor leadership will have to confront its members and supporters. Its policies are incapable of solving the problems facing the working class. This does not mean that socialists should regret the Labor Party coming into office. On the contrary it is a great victory. This is particularly so as Labor has shown itself to be just as susceptible to mass pressure in office as outside.

The way forward for socialists does not lie in ignoring the Labor Party and does not lie in simply dismissing it as social democratic and reformist. Nor does it lie in uncritical support for the Labor Party, The policy of the Socialist Workers League and Socialist Youth Alliance expounded in DIRECT ACTION has been confirmed The need to build a left wing to fight inside the Labor Party for socialist policies is more than ever valid.

Next issue the concluding part of this feature will discuss the approach revolutionary marxists take to the Labor Government and our program for action to build a left-wing alternative to Whitlamism. We will discuss the views of other tendencles on the left in regards to the Labor Party and make some projections for the



Interview with Peter Rotherham: The Radicalisation in New Zealand

Peter Rotherham is the Wellington coordinator of the Young Socialists in New Zealand. Peter was the co-ordinator of the Auckland Mobilisation Committee Against the War in Indo-China in 1971 -1972 when he was a student activist at Auckland University. He is currently a student at Victoria University, Wellington. A founding member of the Socialist Action League, Peter came to Australia to attend the Fourth National Conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance.

DIRECT ACTION: To what extent has the new radicalisation been reflected in New Zealand?

Rotherham: The radicalisation which has been occurring on a worldwide scale throughout the sixties has also been reflected in New Zealand to a significant degree. For example, mass anti-war demonstrations in 1971-72, the growth of the women's liberation movement which at the present time is focussing around the abortion question, the beginnings of the gay movement, the rise of the Polynesian rights movement, all indicate that the radicalisation has been affecting New Zeal- stamping of the disruptionists. and society to an extreme degree.

DIRECT ACTION: The most widely covered manifestation of the radicalisation has been the forcing of the cancellation of the 1973 Springbok tour. Can you tell us how this was stopped?

Rotherham: Throughout New Zealand the actual opposition to sporting contact with South Africa tended to deepen from about 1969, the opinion polls showed a marked increase in the opposition to the tour, so that even by the time the 1973 tour came around, something like 50%- perhaps even more of the New Zealand population opposed the tour, and of course this was reflected on the campuses, in the unions and even in the Labour Party itself. It was the mass opposition to the tour which extended throughout the whole country which in fact stopped it.

DIRECT ACTION: What role did the Labour Party Government play in the cancellation of the tour?

Rotherham: Opposition to the Springbok tour was reflected not only on the campus es, but also in the Labour Party itself. This placed the Kirk leadership of the Labour Party under a great deal of pressure. Throughout the whole time however, the Kirk leadership was trying to appease all sections of society. While making antitour noises on the one hand, it was also trying to appease pro-tour forces on the other. By hedging on this issue for so long, the Kirk leadership showed how spineless it was on the whole question, how it wasn't prepared to stand up for the principles which had been established at Labour Party conferences.

DIRECT ACTION: How significant a victory do you see the cancellation of the tour to be?

Rotherham: It is significant to the extent that it is a partial victory for the antitour movement in that it has obviously forced the tour to be called off. At the same time it shows that the Labour Government had to concede to a very large section of New Zealand society. On the other hand, it is still possible that another tour could be planned for 1975 with the to-called merit selection. Selection by merit means that it is possible that a token black or a token coloured could be included in the next team predicted to come to New Zealand in 1975. It means that some form of mixed trials could take place. The important thing to remember is that these would be simply token gestures. They would represent no breaking down of the apartheid regime whatsoever, and therefore should be opposed by all inti-tour forces. It would appear that the Labour Party could be involved in working out some kind of rotten compromise with

the South African Government, in an attempt to undercut the anti-tour movement and derail the forces working against South African racism.

The most visible section of the organised anti-tour movement in the country involved those who favoured a disruption strategy. This was the strategy which said that if the Springboks get to New Zealand, then matches will be disrupted, the team will be harrassed at every possible opportunity and so on. An important point to emphasise is that this disruption strategy and the threat of disruption did not stop the tour. What did stop the tour was the mass opposition to it throughout the whole country and the deep division that this

If anything, the disruption strategy did more to damage the anti-tour movement in the sense that the bourgeois press used it to try and identify it with the whole anti-tour movement and make capital out of the "law and order" issue. A number of right-wing forces began to organise to counter the movement as a result. However, it remained the mass opposition which halted the tours and not the foot-

DIRECT ACTION: What other steps has the Labour Party taken and how do you evaluate the new Covernment?

Rotherham: The Labour Government is

still riding high on its landslide victory of late 1972. This means that Labour section of New Zealand society. But the actual record so far of the concrete things it has done and changes introduced is extremely poor. Apart from the cancellation of the Springbok tour it has done very little. For example, the Labour Government is still toying with the abortion question. It has made a number of statements about reforming the abortion laws, it has talked of opposing the French tests, it has spoken of getting out of the Seato and Anzus pacts but it has done very little. To this point, it appears to have spent most of its time trying to convince the New Zealand capitalists that it isn't going to upset the economy and that the New Zealand bourgeoisie can have the utmost faith in the kind of measures the Labour Government is going to introduce.

Of course, the Labour Government is far more susceptible to mass pressure than the National Party in New Zealand, This means that when a movement grows up around the abortion question or the Vietnam war or something like that, then these movements begin to find their reflection within the Labour Party. This is perhaps most obvious in Kirk's opposition to the war and the statements relating to December of last year. Of course, words are, however, large numbers of young

Anti-tour protest in Christchurch

has done very little against the United States' military role in South East Asia, by completely withdrawing New Zealand troops, breaking all military alliances with the United States etc. Despite all this, the Young Socialists give unconditional support to a Labour Government.

This means that we supported the election of a Labour Government without any conditions on the type of policies a Labour Government should raise. This support was based on the fact that the Party is in fact the political expression of the New Zealand working class at this time. The Labour Party is based on the trade unions of the country and was founded by the working class in an attempt to create a party which represented the interests of the working class of the country. That said, however, we must realise that the Labour Party is still led by a right-wing leadership and that it is a totally reformist party which will never make a revolution and is, in some ways the biggest block to the development of a revolutionary movement. The way in which we organised to assist in the Labour victory in 1972 was through the launching of a Socialists for Labour Campaign. This campaign said quite clearly and unequivocably, "Vote Labour!" but at the same time reised criticisms of its leadership. For example, one of our central slogans was "Bring the Real Issues into the Elections!" and these real issues in our view were the war, abortion, the tours and so

DIRECT ACTION: Recent activities of he Labor youth in Australia have recently dismayed many Labor politicians. Have you had any similar experiences?

Rotherham: Yes, there have been similar experiences. For example, in 1972 the Labour Youth Conference in which members of the Young Socialists participated, passed a whole range of motions dealing with the nationalisation of all basic industries, opposition to the war, opposition to the tours and one motion censuring the Labour Party leadership for its support of the deregistration of the Seamen's Union in late 1971. This Labour Youth conference certainly dismayed the Labour Party bureaucrats. When this report came to the main Labour Party conference some days later, the report was censored by the Labour Party leadership. Large sections of it had been cut out, and a great controversy broke out on the conference floor over this anti-democratic action, and it was blown up in the press.

It appears, however, that Labor youth in this country is far better organised and extensive than in New Zealand, In New Zealand, there are very few established Nixon's bombing of North Vietnam during and viable Labour youth branches. There come easier than actions, and in terms of people in the Labour Party who have been

concrete actions the Labour Government influenced by the youth radicalisation and NO SUPPORT

Peter Rotherham speaking at SYA Conference over Earles who support radical politics and are work ing in the Labour Party to present their views and have them adopted as Labour

Party policy.

The Labour Party officials have reacted to the activities of radicals and revolution. aries within the Party and this is best exemplified by the way in which the Social ist Action League was proscribed in the middle of 1972. This proscription took place in response to the launching of the Young Socialists for a Labour Government Campaign and also was connected with the activities of the Young Socialists in the Labour Party Youth conference. So far. this proscription hasn't meant much in that the Labour Party leadership ham't attempted to weed out members of the Socialist Action League or Young Socialists. Nevertheless, it does have at its disposal this paper motion which it can use at some stage in the future when it feels in a stronger position to actually take action against socialists in the Party. For this reason, the Socialist Action League, Young Socialists and any other members of the Labour Party who support the right of individuals from these organisations to participate in the Party are fighting against the proscription and are continuing to protest against it and demand

DIRECT ACTION: The question of abortion has already divided the Australian Labor Party. You have mentioned that the New Zealand Labour Party has refused to commit itself but what are the proabortion forces doing?

that it be reversed.

otherham: Potentially the abortion issue is important enough and conto enough to also divide the New Zealand Labour Party in the same way. In fact, at some stage in the future a similar situation is going to develop. At this point, however, the abortion movement in New Zealand is a relatively new movement and mass marches have only occurred over the past one or two years. The issue, however, isn't hitting the headlines day after day as it is here at the moment. As I said, the Labour Party has been forced to make some token statements about liberalising the laws but has done very little. The Young Socialists believe that a woman's right to abortion and the struggle to repeal all abortion laws is central issue and are working to actual make it that and mobilise support in the right of women to abortion,

DIRECT ACTION: How are the anti-1 ortion forces organised in their attempt to turn back the tide of the pro-aboriou

Rotherham: The anti-abortion forces New Zealand are organised in an organ isation called Spuc (Society for the ion of the Unborn Child). Like in A ralia, they have support from the Cal ic Church hierarchy, from a wide ran right-wing forces etc. They also, o use the same methods which I have s in Australia - all kinds of ghastly an torted, emotive films and slides of uses and so on. The frantic manner a which the anti-abortion forces are m ising in response to even the smalle ments for the repeal of the abortion l perhaps indicates that these forces rea the potential power of the abortion i ment in New Zealand and also realise what kind of an issue it is going to be in the near future.

DIRECT ACTION: The antiwar me in New Zealand mobilised 27,000 P in huge demonstrations on July 14, six months after the withdrawal of Zealand troops from Indo-China. explain why the antiwar movement ke on, in contrast to Australia where it vi ually collapsed after the troop withdraw

Rotherham: The important thing to re ember of course, is that the antiwar mo ment in New Zealand, relatively speaks CONTINUED ON PAGE

Review: Palestine Forum

EWED BY SOL SALBY

tionist propaganda machine in this has hitherto been unchallenged. ous hostility of the capitalist the Palestinian cause has never offset. Only some of the left-wing in the country have supported the mian people's struggle for self-det-The term 'Arab terrorist' is often heard than 'Palestinian free-

te appearance of a new publication, lestine Forum, published by the in welcome. The Friends of Palestine the main solidarity organisation with Palestinian people in New South

time forum does not hide the fact is basically an Australian edition of London Free Palestine. A large ortion of the articles are reprints, the Australian content includes some the more interesting and well research-

e current double issue, 2-3 April -1973, contains a whole range of The front page compares the est murderous Israeli attack on Palnian leaders in Lebanon on the night April 9-10 with another massacre ried out by the Zionists exactly 25 as ago, to the day, at the village of

Deir Yassin. At least 254 people were murdered by Zionist thugs on that day. Valuable information is provided in another article on the gaoling of Al Fatah leader, Abu Doaud in Jordan.

A lengthy Palestinian Briefing column provides a long list of short items. They include a large amount of hard to come by news. Did you know that the Hebrew Writers Association in Israel had decided not to accept Arab language authors in its ranks? The ban also applies to Arabs

the

One of the special May Day features concerns the exploitation of Arab workers in Israel. The changing role of the Palestinians from just being expelled from their country and providing the land to a large reserve of cheap labor is clearly outlined, using Israeli Government sources. The most clear-cut indictment of Israeli capitalism comes from an article taken from the Israeli daily Yediot

Aharonot (Latest News). alestinian Brothers

Other Australian contributions include What Borders?...by Michael Scott, a well researched article, Israel and the Left, by John Bechara and an excellent rebuttal of an editorial in The Australian by Palestine Forum editor, Anthony

Besides providing a large amount of information unavailable elsewhere, Palestine Forum provides several background articles on Israeli terrorism in Palestine, Arab villages destoyed in Israel and an interesting contribution by a special correspondent on the circumstances surrounding the airline murders. The correspondent suggests foul play on sehalf of the Israelis as the reason why French pilot with 12,000 hours flying experience should have strayed off course into Israeli occupied territory.

Palestine Forum is undoubtedly the best effort to date by members of Australia's Palestinian and Arab community in their effort to combat Zionist propaganda. No one who is interested in the Middle East or the just struggle of oppressed nationalities for self determination can afford to

For subscriptions and further information write to Friends of Palestine P O Box 162

Pennant Hills, NSW, 2120. The subscription rate in Australia is \$2.00 per year. Elsewhere \$6.00

DIRECT ACTION FORUMS

ROAD, GLEBE.

Jeff Hayler, a Sydney Gay Liberation activist discusses the developments and revolutionary potential of Gay Liberation.

Friday, June 8, 8pm
"REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA" A talk on the revolutionary movements in Latin America, the role of guerrilla groups, mass movements and the different regimes with particular emphasis on Chile and Argentina.

STREET, CARLTON.

ELECTIONS"

at 140 QUEENSBERRY Jim McIlroy puts forward the revolutionary case for the victory of the ALP in the Victorian elections.

Thursday, June 14, 8pm.
"A REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY FOR THE

STUDENT MOVEMENT" Peter Conrick discusses the revolutionary approach to campus struggles and the strategy of the "Red University" and its application in Australia.

ONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

drawn, a march was held which quite learly came up to the size of those marthes which had been held in 1971 at the keight of the war. There were enough people in the anti-war movement at that rage, and leading it, who clearly saw that the mass action approach was most important and that the "Out Now" demand was the central demand of the antiwar movement. They weren't prepared to see theanti-warmovement derailed into things like medical aid for North Vietnam, seven point peace proposals and "Sign Now" demands. In other words, the leadership of the antiwar movement in New Zealand at that point was strong enough to fight off any attempt to demoralbe the antiwar movement, and to fight any attempt to derail the antiwar movement into more apolitical forms of activity.

MRECT ACTION: The New Zealand antiwar movement reached the same pro ortion as the United States movement, is this been the case with the black

otherham: No, it hasn't. While the adicalisation in New Zealand has affectmany sections of society, it has also ped unevenly and this means that he Polynesian movement is still relativesmall. It's been built at this point, amarily by young Maoris and Polynesians and its being built around the questions of cintroducing the Maori language in chools, the question of land rights, discrimination in housing, jobs and so on.

I've gained the impression since I've been in Australia that many Australians seem to think that the New Zealand Maori is particularly well off, or at least comparlaited States in terms of the mass marches ed to the Australian aborigines. This that were organised in 1971 and 1972. The kind of myth is fostered by the New Zealagnificant factor, of course, is that even and Government and society. Many New after the New Zealand troops had been with- Zealanders also believe this. But if you have a look at the real living conditions of the Polynesian people, the kind of discrimination which they suffer, the cultural oppression which they are subjected to, then their situation is comparable in many ways to the position of the Afro-Americans in the United States and the aborigines in Australia.

Of course, there are ways in which they are differently oppressed, but at the same time the general question is one of a white majority oppressing a non-white national minority.

DIRECT ACTION: The mass movements for social change all require leadership. What role are the Young Socialists going to play in the struggle for social change Rotherham: Obviously, the Young Soc-

ialists are going to play an extremely important role in the struggle for social charge. The radicalisation in New Zealand, like the radicalisation taking place throughout the world, has affected mainly young people, and the Young Socialists actually grew out of this social phenor enon. They-represent an attempt to form a mass revolutionary socialist youth organisation in New Zealand. I think this is the first time it has ever been seriously attempted in New Zealand. The Young Socialists is well on the way towards at least building itself as a national organi ation, and from there going on to build itself as that mass revolutionary organ-

TO THE EDITOR

LIKES 24 PAGES

Congratulations on your new 24 page DIRECT ACTION. Its better than ever and certainly justifies the price rise to 20c.

The new column 'On the Picket Line! is a big advantage along with the increaskeep up the coverage of the abortion campaign. DIRECT ACTION was way ay out in front in concentrating on this issue,

One criticism: the In Brief column is good - but there should be more shorter articles in the rest of the paper. Its hard

to manage to read everything as it is. Anyway - good luck with the fund drive -

> Best wishes, Karen Levitt

enclosed is my contribution.

I last received "Direct Action" No. 29 (dated 27, 10, 72). I was eagerly awaiting the next issues, but to my greatest disappointment no D.A. came. After hopefully waiting for two months I write this letter.

From the D.A. I was able to follow closely the activities of the SYA as I am a firm believer of Trotsky's "permanent revolution". It was most helpful, reading about the Australian working class and their struggles in

I hope you have not stopped sending me D.A. If you have stopped sending the D.A. becasue my sub has expired please say how much I owe and I would certainly oblige.

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

R.K. (Sri Lanka)

P.S. I would like to correspond with a pen-pal from your country, who is also nterested in the 4th International and the world socialist movement.

I am 19 years old, and I am going to college. I hope you will be able to help me in this too. Sorry if

SMUGGLING DA

I am a fourth form student at the above High School in Western NSW. On a recent visit to Sydney, I was fortunate enough to attend the "Boycott the French" demonstration in Martin Place on Thurs. 19th April. While I was there I bought a DIRECT ACTION with which I was very impressed. I see fit to tell you but generally they are in accordance with many of my ideals. Anyway, I would like to subscribe to DA, and so to keep a continuous supply, I was wondering if you could possibly reserve a copy of the next DA until I get home from boarding school when I can then send you a subscription for the paper. Then you could send out my copy, preferably to me care of the above address, as my parents are ardent capitalists, and would like to see me brought up the same. I feel, rightly, that I am entitled to take my own action though.

> Thanking you greatly for your consideration, D.P.

As a young student of Marxism, I would like some things cleared up. Firstly, could you briefly explain how the Stalinist bureaucracy arose and was successful in Russia? (How will I ever be able to answer my adversaries who say communism will never work?) Secondly, I have read in different places that bureaucracies will always be set up in the Third World, where it is mainly backward and agricultural, while in the highly industrialised countries of the west, such a stage will not be necessary. Why is this so?

Thirdly, the Cuba of Castro and Che is not regarded as bureaucratically deformed, but it is not Trotskyist, and is not exactly a democracy. Will political revplution occur in Cuba?

Anyway, victory to the World Rev-

Judy Kwok.

(You did not enclose your address, Judy if you send us your address, we will be able to thoroughly answer the questions you have raised, in a way that is obvious v impossible through this column. -Ed.

NATIONALISE HIFLEY FOR THEIR MINA TENNER A WEED

This is the eighth part of our series on the history and development of the Australian Labor Party

1945-46 were years of triumph for social democracy in the West. Labor governments were elected to power in Britain, Australia and New Zealand. The two years immediately following the war were probably the period of greatest influence ever enjoyed by traditional Laborism. The former dominions of the British Empire faced the task of reorientating their economies from total wartime production to post -war growth. In the ensuing uncertainty of the future, the Australian Labor Party stood alone amongst the parliamentary parties capable of laying the basis for post-war prosperity. It was easy for Labor to point to its achievements in managing the wartime economy and shrug off the disanti-Labor groups.

WAR AND PROSPERITY:

The Second World War was important for Australian capitalism because it served to stabilise a youthful, stillemerging economy. Basic industries that had been struggling to establish themselves since the 1920s finally found in war conditions the assured markets, disciplined workforce and ready finance that they needed. The role of the Curtin Government in the war was to systematically intervene in industry and help overcome the various obstacles that had been thrown up in the way of private production programs. Much of the strategy for this intervention had come through the Treasury under Ch fley, and it was only natural that Chit.ey should extend the various stabilisation plans he had introduced during 1942-45 into his own Government. Chifley met the special demands of post-war industrial development with assurances of larger markets, increased labor productivity and availability (through mass immigration), and assisted wherever possible to expand production along already existing lines, as well as developing new ones. 1.

The rapid expansion of industries

such as chemicals and explosives, rubber and metal-working, arms and munitions could not have occurred without the establishment of full employment and the limiting of consumer spending by strict rationing. The outcome of these measures in the post-war period was a high level of demand for both consumer and capital goods, which was sustained by a programme of large scale public works and government spending. Given the high level or demand and investment throughout the economy in the years immediately after the war, ommercial production in previously stagnated areas (such as motor vehicles and electrical consumer goods) became a viable proposition. lone of the above measures could in any way be conceived of as attacks on capitalism. Indeed, the Chifley Government was pro | of its record in stabilising Austr. ian society after the war. Labor could point to the disintegration of Europe between

1945-47, the crisis in Britain and more potently, the coming disorder in China, as evidence of why Australia should stay clear of the civil entanglements of the 'Old

CHIFLEY'S FOREIGN POLICY:

Basically, the aim of Labor's foreign

policy between 1945-49 was to get

what it saw as Australia's fair share of the post-war carve-up of Asia among the imperialist powers. Evatt proclaimed that the test of war had transformed Australia into 'a great nation', a nation of 'destiny' in the Pacific. "We cannot escape such a destiny," he announced, "we can only try and be worthy of it. " 2. Australia's hopes as an industrial power rested on its access to Asian Markets, concluded Evatt. At the 1946 British Commonwealth Prime Minis ters' Conference held in London, Chifley was anxious to allay British fears of a 'desertion' of Australia to the American camp. Despite Australia's new liaison with the IUS:, it "would not go round the world begging from people," 3. For Chifley, Australia was still a part of British civilisation and therefore bound up in the future of the British Empire. Turning to the Pacific, Chifley noted that Australia's own future security depended upon the alignment of big-power forces in the Pacific. However, with the development of government factories and the fostering of commercial industries, "Australia is seeking to provide the widest possible base for a supply structure for the needs of the Empire in the Pacific." 4. In the Prime Minister's own words, Australia was to be the 'supply base' for imperialism in the

As to military responsibilities in Asia, Chifley's strategy became identified with the interventionist methods of the United Nations. During the Korean War, Labor did not demand the withdrawal of allied troops from Korea. Instead, it avoided the situation, calling on the United Nations to exercise its powers in the area. In this respect, Labor's role in Korea was merely to follow the lead of the conservative parties.

BANK NATIONALISATION:

South-East Asian region.

Foreign affairs did not occupy a central place in Australian politics between 1945-49. To be sure, the events in Europe and the civil war in China attracted a constant interest, but this tended to form a backdrop to more decisive internal issues. Thus the 1949 Federal elections were fought over the issue of nationalisation, with the Communist victories in China looming behind, In the words of one conservative politican, The lights have gone out on the Yangtze Riverhere (in Australia) they begin to dim, " 5.

There can be no doubt that the most significant campaign of the Chifley Government was its efforts to nationalise the banking system. The subject of bank nationalisation was a recurrent one during its entire office, and eventually contributed to the government's down-

fall. It involved the most systematic and expensive campaign by the banks to convince Australians that nationalisation of the banks was the first step towards totalitarian rule. Of course, Chifley meant no such thing. If the private banks had settled down and worked harmoniously within the existing financial structure, Chifley would have never moved against them. The government moved with amazing speed to announce that it did not have the power to nationalise anything else. Indeed it was with a sigh of relief that Labor found it did not have the constitutional power to even take over banking. Chifley was careful to explain that any talk of the Government nationalising other industries was 'sheer nonsense'.

At the same time, it came as no surprise that Labor should want to nationalise banking. We have already spoken of the central role which 'money-power' has played in ALP propaganda. (see DIRECT ACTION No. 37 The Scullin Government). Nationalisation of banking and insurance had been part of Labor's fighting platform since 1921.

Since the end of the war, the trading banks had been pressuring the govern ment for a relaxation of wartime controls. Under national security regulations the wartime surplus funds of the banks had been held by the Commonwealth bank which was to see that trading bank profits were stabilised during the war at reasonable levels. No indication was given by Chifley that these measures would be lifted after the war. The private banks made it quite clear towards the end of 1945 that they were prepared to submit to these controls for the time being while finance re-adjusted itself.

Thus the 1946 Federal elections were not fought around the question of nationalisation. In fact, banking did not even make an appearance as a contentious issue. The result of the election was to return the Chifley Government with six fewer seats, but with still a comfortable majority in both houses. Nonetheless the election gave Chifley the opportunity to go ahead with his plans to control the banks.

The provocation for Chifley's attack came from the Melbourne City Council who had gone to the High Court challenging vital sections of the 1945 Banking Acts. The Court, naturally enough, had ruled in favour of the council, thus nullifying the effect of the 1945 Acts. It was on these grounds that Labor decided for nationalisation. The reaction of Chifley's Cabinet to the decision was described as 'stunned shock' and 'unanimous approval'. Certainly there was no section of the official Labor movement at variance with the decision. This support did not stem from any intrinsic ascendancy which Chifley may have enjoyed over the Party, but from a fulfillment of the aspirations of the majority of Labor's supporters. Labor has been divided on many matters before, but nationalisation to which all members had pledged their allegiance. Again, it should be emphasised that Chifley's decision was not intended to be the beginning of "socialism in our time". For Federal Labor Caucus

Demonstration during coal strike

nationalisation was a tactic, forced down their throats by the uncompromising financiers. The Government was soon inundated with representations from various trade unions demanding the nationalisation of their respective industries. To these deputations Chifley replied, " the Commonwealth has no power under the Constitution to nationalise those industries, even if the Government wished to do so." 6.

In response to the Government's announce-

ments the banks and their allies in the world of big business launched a massive propaganda campaign to arouse the public to the "dangers of an extreme socialistic trend in the affairs of the country. " 7. By and large this campaign was sucessful. The ALP made no really serious attempt to launch a counter to the banks' campaign. There were limited initiatives on a state level, depending upon the enthusiasm of the state branch in question. The responsibility of the defeat for the proposed les must rest squarely on the shoulders of the Federal ALP. Except for certain Cabinet ministers such as Ward, little leadership was given to ALP rank and file in a national campaign to secure the takeovers. By contrast, financial interests had assembled a wide array of political support for their aims. An interesting sideline to the bankers' campaign in Victoria was the vigorous support of the extreme right-wing League of Rights. Overall the campaign was decisive in obtaining the support of lower middle class groups to turn away from the ALP at the 1945 elections Their alienation from Labor in 1949 provided the electoral basis for the prolonged existence of the Menzies conservative Government.

THE STRIKE WAVE: 1947-49.

As Chifley's biographer L.F. Crisp has noted, sections of the press in their franker moments had to admit that "under his careful handling of its finances the country was flourishing as rarely, if ever, before," 8. On the eve of the 1949 elections the press also had cause to be satisfied with Chifley's record of strike-breaking. During his term of office Chifley had succeeded in creating something of a record for a Labor Prime Minister by smashing prolonged strikes with the help of the army.

To understand the background of union militancy in this period we have to examine the relative weight of the Communist Party in the trade union movement. In 1945 the Communist Party of Australia occupied a position of power and influence unique among Communis parties in the advanced capitalist countries. So much so that their influence threatened the very hegemony of the Labor Party itself in union affairs. Following its "patriotic" line in the Second World War, the CPA turned on a new adventurist phase.

A series of political strikes after 1947 had given some substance to the suggestion the the Labor Party was too compromised with the Communist Party to deal with it of banking was a plank of party programme firmly. It was not surprising then to find the Federal Government and several of the State Governments used their legal

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23

MBRIFE.

IST DOING THEIR JOB

Collinsville, Illinois in the United tates, an outery has followed a raid rates, an outer, is agents. The agents to grant adulthood to Tasmanians at ust into the homes of two innocent milies by mistake, late at night. They didn't discover their error until fter they had wrecked some furniture ed threatened to kill the occupants of ne house. By the time they realised hat the people they were dealing with may not be quite as powerless as their ore usual victims, it was too late. However, they should be able to avoid criminations. All they need to do is explain to Nixon that they were a ittle over realous in working for a ause which they believed in.

ANBERRA REDS GOING TOO FAR

iberal Party member of Federal Parliasent William Wentworth said on May 3 forts to engineer a casual vacancy in he Senate so that at the Senate elecions later this year enough seats will be Minister for Environment Moss Cass. intested for Labor to be able to win a rajority in the Senate. He said that these efforts would centre on corrupting on-Labor senators from Queensland and Western Australia. Wentworth went on to claim that if Labor succeeded in its treacherous plot then Australia would "never see a fair electoral system again". Labor would use its power to swamp the High Court with its supporters and then go ahead with revolutionary changes.

But it's all right, according to Wentworth the revolution won't be this year, because he incorruptible non-Labor Senators om Queensland and WA have seen gough Labor's clumsy plot.

E CAN STILL AFFORD IT

Deputy Country Party Leader Ian inclair recently said that an Australian Meat Board report which said that meat prices were not unreasonably high, as "admirable". He said that he idn't think that government action to abilise prices was necessary.

AZI GAOLED

loss May, a member of the Nazi arty has been gaoled for three months or assaulting police at a recent demestration outside Sunshine court. The temonstration was in support of several cople who were charged as a result of an alleged raid on the headquarters of the Nazi Party last year.

APARTHEID

White South African farmer, Jacobus senade was recently fined \$23 following a court hearing. Benade had killed a ont ear old black girl by striking her with a hip. But Benade was able to convince he court that it wasn't really his fault. He had merely been whipping the girl's mother when she turned away, exposing the baby who was strapped on her back.

SEX TO REMAIN A CRIME IN TASMANIA

At present Tasmania's two houses of Parliament are deadlocked over a bill eighteen. The point of contention is the age of consent for sexual relations, The conservative Legislative Council wants to lower the age of consent to seventeen, but the Labor Party dominated House of Assembly refuses to agree. But whether it remains a crime for Tasmanians under eighteen to engage in sexual relations, or whether the age when such activities become criminal is lowered to seventeen, it is unlikely that many young Tasmanians will take much notice.

REECE WITHDRAWS FROM LAKE PEDDER INQUIRY

Labor Premier of Tasmania Eric Reece has withdrawn his Government's cooperhat the ALP is going to make desperate ation from an inquiry into the flooding of Lake Pedder in central Tasmania. The inquiry will report to the Federal Dr. Geoff Mosley a spokesman for the Australian Conservation Foundation said that Reece had withdrawn because evidence heard by the inquiry indicated that the lake should not be flooded.

BLACK HOUSING CO-OPERATIVE IN REDFERN GETS GOVERNMENT GRANT

Redfern's aborigines are proceeding to build a community in Sydney having successfully obtained a grant from the Australian Government. The grant came action against the Victorian Housing after a political struggle against, among others, local racists who opposed the scheme, but finally the grant of \$530,000 was a big boost. The commun- of driving out residents who want to stay ity will consist of a block of houses with common "back-yards". The community will be more in line with traditional aboriginal culture than the system of isolated family groups that blacks are supposed to assimilate into.

LABOR, GOD, QUEEN.

The Federal Government will soon introduce legislation to give the Queen distinctively Australian titles. If Labor has its way, Her Majesty will be referred to as "Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God, Queen of Australia and her Other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth". The fiendish reds who control Parliament House intend peace in Vietnam - peace at any price, to drop from Her Majesty's title a reference to the United Kingdom and the words "Defender of the Faith". One of these days they'll go too far.

QUEENSLAND GOVERNMENT GAGS ISLANDERS.

During Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs Gordon Bryant's visit to the Torres Strait Islands recently, the chairman of Dauan Island Tabipa Mau received a telegram forbidding the people of Duaun to give press interviews during the visit. The telegram was purported to have come from Tanu Nona, a regional representative for the Western Torres Strait Islands but was in fact signed by R. Yarrow, Queensland Government Manager of Island Affairs. Tabipa Mau said that he was disappointed that he could not speak at length to the press.

Bjelko-Petersen's government has made a ed huts built in 1945 for United States lot of noise about how the Torres Strait Islanders oppose a border change which would involve cession of the islands to Papua New Guinea. However, they are not so keen to allow the islanders to speak for themselves.

VICTORIAN HOUSING COMMISSION CHARGED

Fitzroy City Council has initiated court Commission because it allowed nine houses in Fitzroy to become a health menace. The Housing Commission's tactic in the area by buying a few houses and half wrecking them so that the whole area becomes degraded and unpleasant to live in, is well-known. Similar tactics are used by the State housing body in New South Wales.

WISHFUL THINKING

According to the Melbourne Age, Leonid Brezhnev said in his May Day speech in Red Square:"The war in Vietnam for the ending of which the Soviet Union has come out persistently and consistently, has ended." It is true that the bureaucrats at the head of the Soviet Union have come out for including the defeat of the workers and peasants - however Brezhnev must have a strange conception of peace if he thinks that the war in Vietnam has ended. Most people would probably think that an end to the war would mean at least that the bullets would stop flying and that the prisoners of war would be released. However, there are 200,000 political prisoners in South Vietnamese gaols at the present time and fighting is still going on in the South, not to mention Cambodia,

POVERTY IN PORT MORESBY

Speaking at a recent meeting at Monash University in Melbourne, Laki Ayawa, a full time industrial organiser for five black trade unions in the Port Moresby area of Niugini said that the basic wage in the area is \$11.50 per week. He also said that many black people were living in unsewersoldiers. He said that as a result of the living conditions, hepatitus, malaria, dysentry, venereal disease and high infant mortality are facts of life for many people. Ayawa went on to say that in September strikes would take place around issues including increased wages, increased social service benefits, reduced working hours, improved housing and independence for Niugini.

Ayawa spoke unfavorably of Whitlam's and Somare's plans for independence, dismissing them as 'the replacement of the white master by the black master." He said that Somare was encouraging exploitation of black workers in order to encourage investment in Niugini,

BJELKE-PETERSEN STRONG AGAINST

Queensland Premier, Bjelke-Petersen on April 27 made a statement to gladden the hearts of capitalists everywhere. He is planning a world tour during which he will "take every opportunity to go on television and radio and tell people that there are people in Australia... who do not want us to drift into the communist that he didn't like the way that the Labor Government in Canberra was establishing closer links with "Russia" and China. S he's off to reassure overseas white supremacists and capitalists that he is still fighting the good fight,

He shouldn't have much difficulty convincing his friends of his sincerity. He can tell them about the racist legislation which his government enforces against aborigines in Queensland. He could even show them some pictures of black people living in miserable humpies. If they are still not convinced, he could invite them back for a guided tour of selected spots such as his concentration camp for black people on Palm Island.

.... BY STEVE PAINTER

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powers to curb communist activities in the late forties.

in 1949 Chifley introduced important amendments to the Conciliation and Arbitration Act and passed the National Emergency (Coal Strike) Act. The latter Act, in particular, gave the State unusually strong powers to deal with the 1949 coal strike. In addition, the Federal Government established Asio in March 1949. Asio's main object was to keep check on the CPA's activities.

Chiffey also made use of legislation passed by previous non-Labor administralons to deal with left-wing activities. Under the Crimes Act, three leading ommunists, including General Secretary lance Sharkey, were prosecuted on harges relating to the defence of the Soviet Union. The Labor machine also took organisational measures against suspected communists in the late forties and expelled a number of individuals identifled with the left of the Party.

Until late 1947 the strikes in communisted unions were remarkably successful, dost had their origins among a rank and e that was eager to lift wages which had seen pegged during the war and were now depreciating in a steep inflationary wave.

By 1947 the communists were on the defensive within the trade union movement, largely as a result of the adventurist strategies adopted. Attempts to politicise industrial strikes and to force certain militant unions to break off their affiliation with the ALP produced disastrous results.

The Queensland railway strike in 1948 was seen by the State Labor Government as a direct challenge to its power. Thus, ing that they were condemned by many traditional unionists. These measures, coupled with the effect of the differences which arose as the strike wore on, ensured its defeat- although a few minor wage gains were made. The strike failed basically because of the Labor Government's repressive policies and the fact that nonmilitant unions could not be drawn into the dispute.

THE 1949 COAL STRIKE:

An even more revealing case of a Labor Government's willingness to resort to extreme strike-breaking measures was the 1949 coal strike. The strike, which arose out of miners' claims for increased wages, better conditions and a 35-hour week, was supported by a majority of miners. It was opposed not only by the Federal and NSW Governments but also by the ACTU, the press and radio, and,

of course, by the non-Labor parties. The Federal Government introduced the National Emergency (Coal Strike) Act which froze the funds of the Miners' Federation and other unions which had offered financial assistance; seven communist and two ALP union officials were fined under the Act and received lengthy terms of imprisonment. Communist Party headquarters in Sydney were also raided at the same time. Finally, the Federal Government sent in the army to work the openulations whose provisions were so far-reach- cut coalfields in NSW. The miners, findthe union movement, also found that traditionalist and right-wing unions opposed the strike because of the unemployment it had created.

With opinion swinging against them even within the federation itself, the leadership tried to prevent the holding of a ballot on a proposal to return to work. When the ballot was finally held, the miners voted overwhelmingly in favor of ending the dispute. Almost all the demands for which they had struck were subsequently rejected by the Coal Industry Tribunal. The greatest error was made with the undue prolongation of the dispute, which only succeeded in exhausting the unity and organisation of the workers. 9.

It is important to chronicle these events. So much folklore surrounds the so-called "golden years" of the Chifley Government

that its vicious attacks on militant unions and civil liberties have been forgotten, or worse, blanketed by the apologists of Chifley. Chifley remains a revered figure in the Labor Party today. It is no accident that at the close of his last campaign meeting in Melbourne last year, Gough Whitlam drew a thunderous and emotive applause when he spoke of the "magnificent achievements of my predecessor, Ben Chifley." It is as vital a task for socialists today to dispel illusions in the Chifley Government as it is for them to unmask the pretensions of the inheritors of that Government- Whitlam, Crean and Company.

FOOTNOTES

1. S.J. Butlin, War Economy, 1939-42.
2. H.V. Evatt, Foreign Policy of Australia, p.p. 131-33. cited by L.F. Crisp, Ben Chifley, p.

4. cited, Ibid. p. 283. Sir Wilfrid Kent Hughes, VPD 1949. Chifley, 12 November, 1947. in McQueen, "Glory Without Power" in Australian Capitalism (ed. Playford &

Kirsner) p. 363. cited in A.L. May, The Battle for the

8. Crisp, Op. Cit. p. 321.
9. see J.D. Playford, The Communist
Party of Australia, 1945-62. (Ph.D thesis A.N.U. 1962) p. p. 95-97.



BY CHRIS GRAHAM

Nixon's last -ditch attempt to dissociate himself from the Watergate conspiracy was finally aborted on May 5 with the disclosure by John Dean, a top-level White House adviser, that Nixon had organised the suppression of the truth of Watergate.

Dean's disclosure is the latest link in a process of chain reaction. Following the revelations of Watergatedefendant James McCord directly implicating the Nixon administration in the organisation and suppression of the Watergate compiracy, official after official admitted his role in the affair—and then fingered someone higher up. Now the finger is being directly pointed at Richard Nixon,

What needs to be exposed however, is not only Nixon's complicity in the Watergate conspiracy, but the whole nature of his administration and the interests it represents. The question of Nixon's violations of the US constitution is important for us only insofar as it exposes the inability of the capitalists to even stick to their own legal "restrictions" in a period when the days of the system they represent are numbered.

THE "WATERGATE SEVEN"

On June 17 last year five men were arrested at the Democratic Party's national offices at Watergate. The five men were James McCord, security chief of the Committee to Re-Elect the President (appropriately nick-named CREEP), Frank Sturgis, Virgilio Gonzalez, Eugenio Martinez and Bernard Barker. They were indicted on charges of conspiracy, burglary and wire-tapping on September 15. Also indicted were Howard Hunt, a high level White House consultant who was one of the burglars' contacts, and Gordon Liddy, finance director for Nixon's election campaign, who refused to give information on the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

At the time Nixon denied White House responsibility for the Watergate affair, But even before the trial of the Watergate seven, events were to prove the contrary. The procession of dismissals and "resignations" which followed soon showed the complicity of the Nixon administration in organizing the Watergate bugging, and then transmissing the watergate bugging, and then transmissing the watergate is unabligation. attempting to suppress its publication.

On July 1 John Mitchell, formerly Nixon's attorney general and then his campaign director, resigned. He was followed a month later by campaign treasurer Hugh Sloan. In addition McCord and Liddy were sacked from their positions.

But the trial of the Watergate seven, which opened on January 8 this year was to provide the most damaging revelations which were to totally discredit the Nixon administration. Hunt, Conzalez, Sturgis, Martinez and Barker all pleaded guilty, McCord and Liddy pleaded not guilty and were convicted on all counts on January 30.

WHITE HOUSE IMPLICATED

When the defendants came up for sentencing on March 23, James McCord dropped a bombshell from which the Nixon administration has not recovered. He handed the presiding judge, John Sirica, a letter charging that the Watergate seven were acting on orders from the White House and that they had been pressured into "pleading guilty and keeping silent", McCord charged that "perjury occurred during the trial in matters highly material to ... the government's case", and further that "orbers involved in Wafergate.

were not identified during the trial when they could have been by those testifying".

McCord substantiated his charges at a Senate committee hearing set up to invest-igate the Watergate affair. (The Senate had voted 70 - 0 in favour of setting up

The March 30 issue of The New York Times reported on the substance of McCord's remarks: "John Mitchell... approved the espionage activity and served as 'overall boss' of the team that mounted it. John Dean, counsel to the President, sat in on a planning meeting... and later reported that the operation had been approved, "(McCord apparently did not say who had given the approval.)

"H. R. Haldeman, the White House Chief of Staff knew what was going on ... Robert C. Mardian, former assistant attorney-general in charge of the Internal Security Division, had been in contact with McCord, who invoked the Fifth Ammendment ... when asked the circumstances, Charles W. Colson, former special counsel to the President, was thought by McCord to have received a detailed plan of the Watergate operation from Howard Hunt, who pleaded guilty to the conspiracy."

In addition, McCord implicated Jeb Mag-ruder, second in command of CREEP, in the Watergate conspiracy. Magruder has since admitted his complicity.

Following McCord's revelations, Patrick Gray, acting head of the FBI, was accused of suppressing evidence by handing over 82 FBI reports to Dean. In the face of mounting evidence that the White House was responsible for Watergate, Nixon was forced to retract his previous denials of this responsibility on April 17. This followed the publication of an opinion poll which showed that 42 per cent of American believe that Nixon was suppressing the truth about Watergate.

Nixon now embarked on a full scale purge of his staff, in order to conciliate public opinion - and to dissociate him-self. Mort of the above-named White House staff have been dismissed or have "resigned".

In his address, Nixon formally admitted that the White House was responsible. I of course disavowed any knowledge or

approval of the conspiracy on his part.
But this "innocence" was exploded by a
report in The Washington Post which
claimed that Nixon had in fact been
aware of what was going on and later by
the damning disclosures of John Dean.

Dean, unlike Haldeman and Ehrlichman, refused to resign gracefully from his White House position and hence was "asked to resign" by Nixon. His stubborness caused considerable concern and can be seen as an important contributing factor in Nixon's decision to gag under what is called "executive privilege" any of his associates from speaking about conversations they had with him on the Watergate affair,

Despite this Dean has spilled the beans, He revealed that in September last year he had been called by Haldeman to Nixon's office where he was congratulated by Haldeman and Nixon on his attempts to cover up the bugging. They were pleased that no person higher up had been indicted. Nixon was quoted as saying, "good job John. Bob (Haldeman) told me what a great job you've been doing".

Nixon's statements, like his record of "frankness and honesty" about the My Lai massacre and the suppression of the Pentagon Papers, were revealed to be absolute distortions. Great interest is now being focused on the move of some Democratic members of Congress, led by Bella Abzug, to investigate the possibility of Nixon being impeached. A survey conducted by TheBoston Globe revealed that 49 per cent of those questioned felt that Nixon should be impeached if he knew of the Watergate conspiracy and tried to cover it up later.

WOULD YOU BUY A USED CONSPIRACY FROM NIXON?

In fairness it must be stated that not all the world is against Nixon. He has found support from an unexpected source - the Soviet bureaucracy.

Despite extensive reporting of the Water-gate affair internationally, a total news blackout on Watergate has been imposed in the Soviet Union, according to a May 7 Reuters report. Apparently the Moscow Stallnists have hushed up Watergate pending Brezhnev's summit talks with Nixon in Washington next month. This is a devastating example of the Moscow bureaucracy's policy of "peaceful coexistence"

with imperialism.

Of course, the Moscow bureaucroy in "contingency plans" in the event of a Watergate crisis not receding before in summit talks. But these plans seem to based primarily on whe then Nicos will still have the credibility (1) to implicate the crisis on strategic arms limitation and increased trade with the USSP,

Or perhaps even the Stalinist bureaums are reluctant to criticise method which so closely parallel their own.

THE MEANING OF THE WATERGATE CONSPIRICACY

Nixon and whatever is left of his colon will no doubt attempt to pass off the Watergate affair as an "isolated incless just as they did with My Lai, But just a events were to show that My Lai epicomised US imperialism's whole condex of the Indochina war, a whole serie of the Indochina war, a whole serie of events related to Watergate showed that it was not the exception, but the rule,

For example, in connection with the trial of Daniel Elisberg, - charged win procuring and publishing the Peatgos Papers, it was revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) obtained the evidence against Elisberg, by illegal wire-tapping. Elisberg's lawyers are moving for a mis-trial on the ground that such evidence is not legally admisable.

The whole nature of Nixon's election campaign was exposed by the Watergate affair. It was revealed that not only the Democratic Partyl's national offices, but also the offices of more progessive Democrats were bugged.

But the most important revelations of Watergate concerned Nixon's attempts to suppress the truth about the war in Vietnam, which has played a major role in the radicalisation of millions in the US and elsewhere. Watergate reveled what the anti-war movement knew all along; that the pro-war demonstration 18 thousand hard-hats was organised as financed by Nixon. (The "finance" isoluded bribing the construction workers a participate.)

Furthermore, following Nixon's blocks of North Vietnam last year the White House claimed that letters to the admissration were 2-1 in favour of the block ade. As a result of the Watergate disclaimers, it was revealed that this resulted from a massive write-in campaign of White House staff organised by the admissistration to misrepresent the depth of opposition to Nixon's aggression.

And finally, an equally important question must be raised. If Nixon is prepared to go to these lengths to suppress capital ist parties, then the mind boggles at what measures must be taken against be working class and its allies, oppressed minorities, women, the anti-war morement and so on.

The Watergate affair has shown clearly how the Nixon administration works, As flowing from this, it shows the wedgate of the capitalist system, whose interest are protected by the Democratic and Reublication Parties. Neither party has as vested interest in getting to the truth dwatergate - nor the truth about the win Vietnam, the exploitation of labor, the oppression of women etc. They resent the decaying capitalist order, is worked to the decaying capitalist order, in the decaying capitalist order, is worked to the decaying capitalist order, in the decaying capitalist order, is the decaying capitalist order, in the decaying capitalist order, is the decaying capitalist order.



WA