

Special Feature: Labor's Foreign Policy

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End Australian Complicity in Vietnam



Labor to Power Dec 2!

NO CONDITIONS ~ U.S. OUT NOW!

BY STEVE PAINTER

Some elements in the antiwar movement have been confused by the North Vietnamese government's nine point peace plan. Ignoring the enormous pressure which has been brought to bear on the North Vietnamese by the massive U.S. bombing raids and Kissinger's and Nixon's diplomatic dealings with Moscow and Peking, these elements have seized on the peace plan as a panacea which they think will bring a quick end to the war.

What these elements fail to understand is the present stage of the war and the forces motivating United States policy in the area at this time. The United States is moving steadily toward defeat in Indochina and the U.S. government realises this. It is moving toward defeat because it has been forced to substantially cut its troop commitment and is unwilling to risk further mass upsurges in the U.S. by putting massive numbers of ground troops back into Vietnam. It has attempted to save the situation by "Vietnamising" the war and intensifying its bombing of the North in order to take pressure off the South Vietnamese puppet troops. But the U.S. government knows that its present strategy is doomed to failure because of the weakness of the Saigon regime. The Thieu regime has no mass support and cannot stand up for long under sustained pressure from Hanoi.

Because of their recognition of the weakness of their position the United States is attempting to negotiate its way out of its difficulties, just as the French did before them in 1954. Then, the imperialist forces in Indochina stood on the brink of defeat, they saved the day for themselves by negotiating the Geneva agreements, which the North Vietnamese agreed to sign under great pressure from the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking. The Geneva agreements gave the imperialist forces breathing space which they used to consolidate a puppet regime in the South. Later the U.S. used maintenance of this regime as their pretext for direct intervention in the area.

Now, just as in 1954, the imperialist forces are attempting to negotiate their way out of an untenable military position. They are using the same tactics as they used in 1954 - pressure from Moscow and Peking to force an agreement on Hanoi, Kissinger's and Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking prepared the way for this set up.

While the right of the Vietnamese forces to manoeuvre diplomatically must be recognised, the antiwar forces in this country must also recognise that what the nine points call for is not immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the United States from Indochina - it is a compromise position which the Vietnamese have been forced to put forward under pressure. The only basis for a lasting settlement of the war remains complete and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces, war material and aid to the Thieu regime. This is what the antiwar movement must continue to demand.

Despite the ravings of the capitalist press, the war is not over, the bombing of North Vietnam continues, the U.S. presence continues to maintain the Thieu regime. The antiwar movement must attempt to make this clear to large numbers of people, it must demonstrate to the United States government and their allies in this country that their cynical manoeuvres fool only the gullible. On November 18 international actions against the war are planned. These actions must demonstrate to the imperialists that no more sellouts of the Vietnamese people (such as the one at Geneva in 1954) will be tolerated. They must point out that only an unconditional withdrawal by the U.S. can end the war.

PREPARATIONS FOR NOV. 18

Although some elements in the antiwar movement have been confused by the latest turn of events in Vietnam, preparations for nationwide actions against the war on November 18 are proceeding in Sydney, Brisbane, Canberra, Hobart and Melbourne. In Adelaide no action is presently scheduled (see full report below).

In most centres some sections of the antiwar movement have been disoriented by the nine point peace programme and have sought to have the antiwar movement change its perspectives and to focus upon the demand that Nixon "Sign Now". The principled position for antiwar activists remains to deny the right of the United States to be in Vietnam and to call for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces, war material and aid to the Thieu regime.

SYDNEY. In Sydney the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament has called two pickets, one around the demand that the "U.S. Sign Peace Settlement on October 31," (AICD Press Bulletin Oct. 27), the other to protest the visit of the South Vietnamese envoy Tran Kim Phuong and to "draw attention to the Thieu regime's continuing obstruction of the Vietnam peace settlement and to demand that the United States immediately conclude the agreement and withdraw its forces from Indochina." (AICD Press Bulletin Nov. 1). The first picket on Monday October 30 drew about 150 people.

On Tuesday October 31 at a meeting of the Antiwar Action Coalition a long debate took place on the meaning of the nine point programme. During the debate, members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), Worker Student Alliance (WSA) and the Communist League (CL) maintained that the coalition should support pickets and actions leading up to November 18 around the slogan "Force Nixon to Sign Now". A motion to that effect, was eventually passed. Only the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance opposed the adoption of the "Force Nixon to Sign" slogan, pointing out that the only basis for a lasting settlement in Vietnam must be the total and unconditional withdrawal of the United States presence in the area. It was pointed out that the nine points do not demand unconditional withdrawal and that they provide for possible substitution of an international "peace keeping" force for U.S. troops. What the euphemism "peace keeping force" really means is that imperialism will be permitted to maintain its presence in Vietnam, but not in the form of U.S. Troops.



MARCH ON NOV 18!

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ADELAIDE. On Tuesday October 31 a march called by the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign (VMC), a Maoist front organisation which has not held a general meeting for a year) was attended by 60 people. On the following Saturday another small march was held. The demand for both marches was "Sign Now!". On Tuesday November 7 further action is planned in the form of a rally followed by a meeting in the Town Hall to decide what action, if any, will take place on November 18.

At a meeting called by the CPA, the Campaign for Peace in Vietnam (CPV), SWL and SYA on October 19, Maoists stacked the meeting and refused to agree that the meeting even had the right to discuss action on November 18 which had shortly before been called for by the Melbourne conference of antiwar organisations and activists. The meeting had been called specifically to discuss the decisions of the Melbourne Conference. The Maoists demanded that all antiwar activities be conducted through the VMC, which most of the antiwar forces in Adelaide walked out of a year ago because of its domination by the ultra-left Maoists.

Prior to the October 19 meeting the VMC sent a circular to its members and contacts calling the meeting an "SYA meeting" and stating that because "diverging views" were put forward at the Melbourne Conference, no action to organise for November 18 should be taken until after a mass meeting of antiwar

forces had been held "to determine the questions relating to the future of the antiwar movement". This proposal a few weeks before November 18 would have effectively sabotaged any organisation for November 18, which was exactly what the Maoists wanted following the success of the April 22 antiwar action which was organised by the non-Maoist forces. The Maoists were severely embarrassed on April 22 when they attempted to lead the march into a confrontation with the police but found their call by simply marching past them as they sat on the road. The Maoists determined that no tendency other than their own will be permitted to organise against the Vietnam war in Adelaide.

BRISBANE. Brisbane is the only centre where no section of the antiwar forces put forward the "Sign Now" demand publicly. In response to the nine point "agreement" between the DRV, the PRC and the U.S. two pickets were held outside the U.S. Consulate on October 31. The pickets were organised by an ad hoc group of antiwar activists.

At lunchtime a picket comprising about 60 people gathered outside the U.S. Consulate in Queen Street. A delegation of Trade Unionists from the Seamen's Union presented itself to Consulate Officials and expressed the sentiments of the picket.

Between 4.30 and 6p.m. approximately 30 people assembled at the Consulate and continued the picketing. There were no incidents at either picket but the infamous Queensland Police Force attended in numbers exceeding those of the picketers and surveyed the area very thoroughly with the aid of a walkie-talkie network.

A leaflet was handed out to passively explaining the nature of picket and the issues behind the so-called ceasefire agreement. Its most pertinent section explained, "While the negotiating position of the Vietnamese Liberation forces at the Paris Peace Talks appear to antiwar forces around the world as being one that is emanating from the people of Vietnam, we should remember that the Vietnamese believe their position offers enough concessions to convince the U.S. to withdraw its forces. We must remember that the Vietnamese are forced into this position because they are under attack from the mightiest military power in the world today. The Vietnamese have every right to decide what concessions they will or will not make to end the destruction of their country. The forces for peace here, however must continue to demand that - ALL U.S. FORCES GET OUT OF INDOCHINA NOW, THAT THERE BE AN END TO AUSTRALIAN COMPLICITY IN THE WAR."

MELBOURNE. In response to the announcement of the nine point programme the Committee for International Cooperation and Disarmament (CICD) staged an all day picket outside the U.S. Consulate. The picket consisted at times of up to 30 people. The picket was around the "Sign Now" demand. Since that time the Melbourne VMC has met and decided that the "Sign Now" demand is impractical and that work for November 18 should continue around the original demands.

CANBERRA. A picket of 40 people was staged outside the U.S. Embassy. The demand was "Sign Now". Preparations are proceeding for November 18. On October 23 the Canberra branch of the ALP voted overwhelmingly to endorse the Melbourne antiwar conference's call for action on November 18. The demand approved by the meeting were:
 1) Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops and material from Indochina.
 2) An end to Australian complicity in the Indochina war.
 3) Immediate repeal of the National Service Act.

HOBART. A meeting to protest against the war will be held in Franklin Square starting at 1 p.m. on November 18. The meeting has been called by the Tasmanian Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (TAICD) and the Peace Action Coalition (PAC). The TAICD has indicated that it will limit its work for the meeting to informing its membership that it will take place. This is the position adopted by the Sydney AICD in relation to the November 18 action in that city. TAICD has effectively rejected the decisions made at the Melbourne Conference.

QUEENSLAND LOCKOUTS: GLADSTONE, GREENVALE

BY IAN NORMAN

While union leaders carry on secret talks with representatives of Queensland Alumina Ltd. and Kaiser Engineers and Constructors who sacked 1200 workers on October 18 (see "Direct Action" No. 29), the government and the press have stepped up their hysterical attacks on the workers. The Brisbane "Courier-Mail" reported on October 28 that the Industrial Affairs Minister (Mr. Campbell) said, "it appeared a small group of persons at Gladstone was using intimidatory tactics against other employees"

Just what these "intimidatory tactics" were was not mentioned. However, this accusation dovetailed neatly with earlier reports prominently featured in the press that 196 sticks of gelignite and 30 detonators had been "stolen" from two magazines, accompanied by the speculation that explosives might be used for retaliatory bombings. This theme has been developed from an earlier incident in which it was suggested that gelignite stolen at Gladstone was used to blow down a 60 foot power pylon on September 26. The blast caused the alumina plant to scale down production and the Brisbane "Telegraph" of September 27 reported that police believed the "power sabotage could have been the work of someone with a grudge, possibly against the alumina plant."

An interesting question arises: if the gelignite was stolen by workers for the purpose of sabotage on the first occasion, why was security so bad that thefts could occur a second time, especially at a time of increasing industrial unrest? Very convenient too, is the fact that the thieves and/or saboteurs of the first incident have not yet been apprehended.

Developing the conspiracy theme further, Mr. Lane (Lib. Merthyr) "referred in Parliament to a report that a group of Trotskyites or revolutionary socialists was operating at the Glad-

VIC POWER WORKERS STRIKE

BY ANDREW JAMESON

On Thursday November 2 two thousand members of the Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association (FEDFA) employed by the Victorian State Electricity Commission (SEC) struck in the La Trobe Valley. The strike was called because of the refusal of the Victorian government to grant FEDFA members in its employment a \$3 per week wage rise which had already been granted to industry. Ten thousand other state government employees, including tramway and railway workers struck in solidarity with the FEDFA demands.

A stoppage by Tasmanian FEDFA employees of the state government will take place around November 8-9, unless the Tasmanian government also agrees to the wage rise.

The FEDFA members have been forced to take strike action because of a deliberate policy by the Victorian government of holding down wages while allowing prices to spiral unchecked. This policy ensures an erosion of the real living conditions of the workers involved masquerading as an attempt by the government to control inflation.

Workers in the La Trobe Valley have been subjected to a continuous offensive aimed at driving down their conditions during the course of this year. This offensive has been the cause of considerable unrest and several massive strikes in the area. The biggest strikes to date have been by the Municipal Officers' Association and the SEC workers. Construction workers at the Yallourn W power station have also been in the forefront of the fight against the employer's offensive. Both the SEC workers and the Yallourn W workers attempted to confront the issue of redundancies by calling for work sharing through the introduction of a shorter working week. The Yallourn W workers took a step further by refusing to work more than a thirty-five hour week. As a result over 1,000 were sacked and many have been forced to leave the La Trobe Valley while others are being refused dole payments by the government, even though they are unemployed and legally eligible for payment.

The FEDFA strike was not, as the Vic-

stone alumina refinery construction project, and neither the unions nor employers seemed to have any control of them." (Courier-Mail, Oct. 28). Here we have the oft repeated suggestion that industrial unrest is caused by "conspirators" and a subtle appeal to the union leadership to assist the employers in weeding out militant workers. We can be certain that one of the conditions for a work restart demanded by the employers will be a black-listing of militants. Any attempt at victimisation must be vigorously fought.

The example set by the employers at Gladstone has been followed at another Queensland construction site. The 225 workers at the Greenvale nickel treatment plant being built at Yabula, 15 miles north-west of Townsville, were dismissed on October 28. They were employed by Ralph M. Parsons Co., the main contractor at the site. The men went on strike on October 24 in support of demands for on-site accommodation, increased severance pay and higher disability allowances. On October 26 they voted unanimously to remain on strike indefinitely.

As with the Gladstone construction site, the Greenvale site has been the scene of

considerable industrial turmoil due to poor wages and conditions at a remote site. The company claims that 25% of available working time has been lost through stoppages.

Attempts have been made in the Gladstone dispute to channel all of the workers' militancy into secret negotiations between employers and union leaders. The talks have so far failed and could only serve to demoralise the rank and file workers since they are being held on the terms of the company which is unlikely to give in to the workers' demands - the world market for alumina is oversupplied and the company has no desperate need for another plant at the moment. As the union leaders began their negotiations with the employers, the sacked workers were already leaving Gladstone in search of work. According to accommodation proprietors, 300 men had moved out with their families by October 23 and the Courier-Mail reported that only 300 of the 1200 sacked men attended a mass meeting on that day.

Meanwhile, at Greenvale, four sub-committees under the control of the site committee have been set up to control "finance, foraging, hire-purchase and

propaganda". When it was insisted that sacked job delegates from the Greenvale site be present at negotiations between the company and union officials, to have been held on October 31, the company called off the talks.

The way forward for the workers in these struggles is not to rely on secret negotiations between union leaders and the employers, but rather to develop rank and file involvement through elected site committees which should demand direct negotiations and should seek to publicise and broaden the struggle by appealing for solidarity actions. Throughout the dispute at Gladstone the completed sections of the alumina plant have continued to operate. Since an effective way to fight the employers is to attack their profits, there should be an active campaign to close down the plant in solidarity with the sacked construction workers. Furthermore, the struggles should be carried into the political arena with the site committees demanding that their unions force the Labor Party to take up the sackings as an election issue and actively oppose the actions of the employers and the slanders of their government.

NSW TEACHERS UNDER ATTACK

BY STEVE PAINTER

On Tuesday October 31 mass meetings attended by well over half of the membership of the 30,000 strong NSW Teachers' Federation voted to stage a one day stoppage on Thursday November 9 unless the NSW Public Service Board (which controls teachers' salaries) agreed to reopen negotiations for salary increases without imposing conditions. The decision to stop work resulted from acceptance by the mass meetings of a Teachers' Federation executive recommendation that such action be taken. The executive was forced to recommend strike action be-

cause of attempts by the Public Service Board to link the pay negotiations with the question of working conditions.

On September 18th, the Public Service Board had broken off the pay negotiations in an attempt to bludgeon the Teachers' Federation into withdrawing its directive to members that teachers should refuse to take classes for absent teachers. This directive was necessary because the Education Department had consistently failed to supply relieving teachers, assisting instead that other teachers should fill the gaps by accepting heavier work loads. The Public Service Board made it

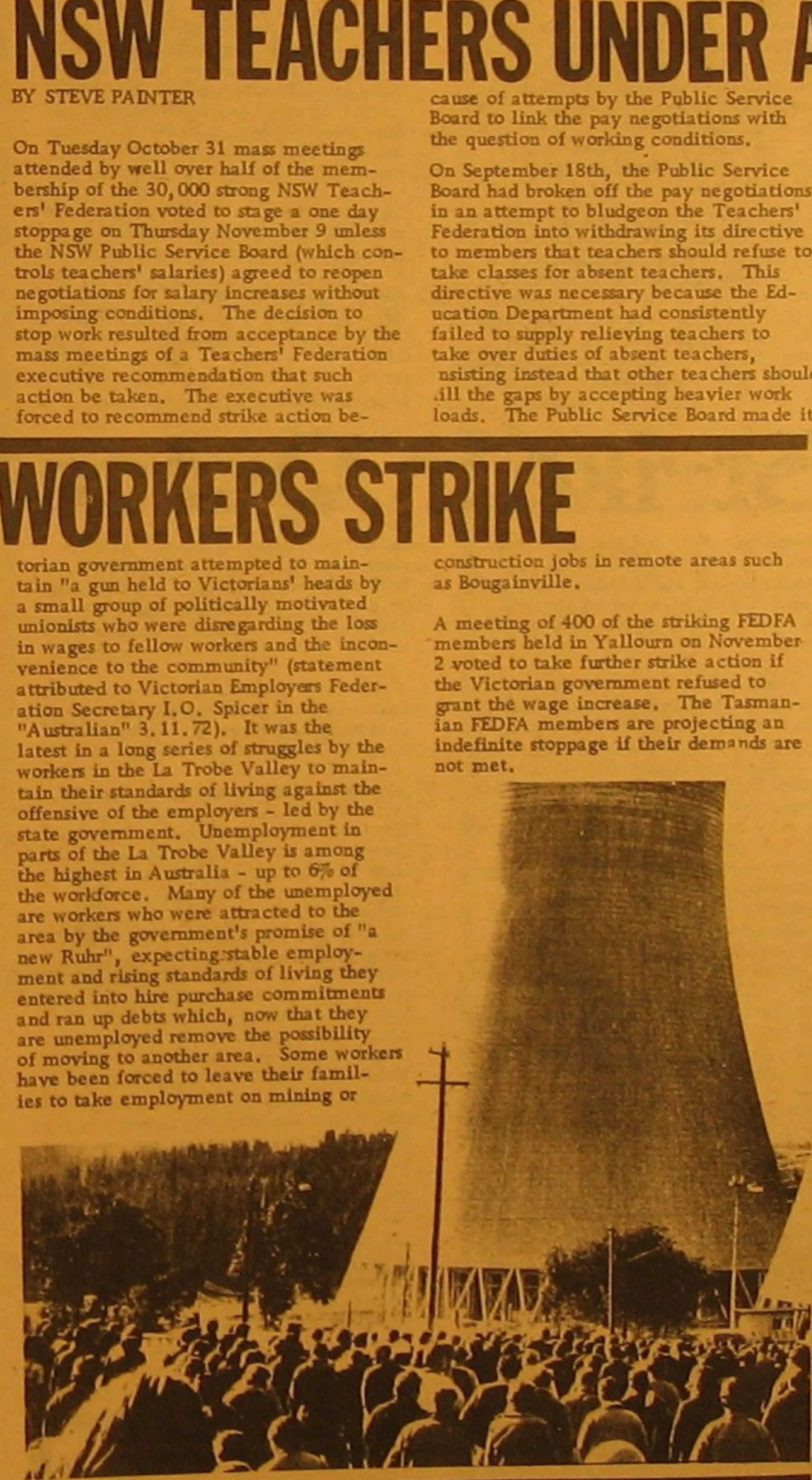
a condition for resumption of talks on the pay question that the directive should be withdrawn. In effect this condition amounted to a demand by the Board that teachers accept the status quo and relinquish all power to defend themselves against erosion of their conditions.

The decision to refuse to take extra classes was forced on the Teachers' Federation by the refusal by the NSW government over a long period of time to fulfill its responsibilities in the field of education. The government has cut back its allotment for education spending in the current budget to 33.9% of the budget, the allotment for 1971-72 was 36%. The cutback means that \$30 million less is available for education spending this year. In addition the allocation for spending on private schools has been raised from \$1 in \$30 last year, to \$1 in \$23 this year, a rise of 20% in handouts to already privileged schools. These cutbacks for state education spending show that the government is attempting to cut costs in all sectors of its state education expenditure, particularly teachers' wages and conditions.

The Board's pay offer to the teachers prior to September 18 was for a 6.5% to 12% increase which did not even keep pace with the 12%-14% rate of inflation over the past year. The Board is committed to an attack on the conditions of teachers, attempting to force longer hours and lower pay on them. Government spokesmen have done all in their power to conceal this attack, attempting to label the teachers' resort to strike action as irresponsible. Prior to the strike Education Minister Willis issued a "plea" to teachers, urging them not to vote for strike action he said: "... I believe a moderate view which will be truly reflective of the attitude of the majority of teachers will prevail". After the note Willis claimed that because it was not "moderate" it did not represent the will of the majority of teachers and that because accreditation of the teachers who voted was impossible, "any off duty communist" could have walked in and voted. He did not mention what off duty Liberal Party and DLP members would have been doing.

The offer which the Board made to the teachers prior to September 18, besides offering pay increases which did not even keep pace with inflation, sought an undertaking from the Teachers' Federation not to take direct action over conditions for the two year period of the agreement. This savage attack by the government on the conditions of teachers is a continuation of its attempts to hold down the militancy of teachers which is increasing as a result of the crisis of overworking, understaffing and inadequate financing confronting education in this state. The government is seeking through forcing the Federation into strike action, to take advantage of the feelings of some teachers that they have a responsibility to students which prevents them from striking, and then to create a polarisation in the ranks of the teachers which will weaken the teachers' organisation.

The Teachers' Federation has stood firm against the government's attack. It must continue to do so; no other course will win the massive changes which are necessary in the NSW education system.



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The Equal Pay Case

BY JANE BECKMAN

It was unfortunate that the full bench of the Arbitration Commission decided to hear the equal pay case in conjunction with the national wage case. The employers and government wanted the cases heard together and the ACTU agreed because they had originally wanted the national wage case (filed in August) to be heard before the equal pay case (filed in July). It would have been better if the equal pay case could have been heard first as it will now, in all likelihood, be relegated to a position as a minor part of the annual wage case and get caught up in the conflicts between the employers and unions over issues such as the cost of living adjustments.

The equal pay principle adopted by the Arbitration Commission in 1969 was illogical and completely unsatisfactory. The 1969 Arbitration Commission adopted the principle that women should receive the same pay as men if they did the same work. This means that women could still be denied equal pay through a neat system of classification. This decision was obviously designed to aid the bosses, not the women workers.

The ACTU has launched 3 equal pay claims before the commission - two for women airline clerks and one for women in the footwear industry. If these claims are granted other unions are expected to regard it as a test case and apply for a flow-on to other industries. The ACTU has estimated that about 80% of women employees did not receive equal pay with men. In June 1947 married women comprised 3.4% of the Australian work force. In May this year they formed 19.6%. In launching his claims the ACTU advocate, Ralph Willis, stressed that today, throughout the world women are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with their traditional role of being dependent on men and that nowhere was this

becoming more obvious than in the workforce. He added "There has been an extraordinarily rapid increase in the percentage of married women in the total workforce in recent years. Other barriers to them, apart from unequal pay, include unequal opportunity".

The Federal Government is continuing to prove that it has absolutely no intention of helping women, in fact just the opposite. The Federal Government will oppose the ACTU attempt to win equal pay for women. Cabinet has decided to present an alternative scheme to the commission.

The government, true to form, has been keeping its plan secret because of the dangerous political repercussions of the equal pay issue. However it is understood that it will oppose the principle of equal pay for all women whatever the job and it will ask that any scheme be phased in over a period of at least five years.

Three women's organizations have been granted leave to intervene in this year's equal pay case - the Equal Pay Committee representing the Women's Liberation Movement; the Union of Australian Women and the National Council of Women. These three women's organizations presented their submissions to the commission, on Friday November 3rd. Sylvie Shaw representing the women's liberation movement, Joan Curlewis the union of Australian Women and Shirley Horne the National Council of Women.

Concern over the issue of equal pay was evident in the large number of women that packed out the commission court and provided speakers with moral support. As each of the women finished their submissions there was loud clapping. Sylvie Shaw argued that all workers doing jobs of comparable value should be paid equally regardless of their sex; that pay should be proportionate to

efficiency. She pointed out that women were being forced to subsidize the profits of industry that use cheap female labour and went on to explain that one of the implications of paying women lower wages was that both men and women regarded women as being inferior.

In putting forward her submission Joan Curlewis included the fact that the manual dexterity of women was just as essential to society and industry as the muscular abilities of men. She also pointed out that retail firms made huge profits at the expense of low paid women. Female rates are concluded should be deleted from awards and replaced by a scale based on current male rates in comparable jobs.

In the last submission made by Shirley Horne, the fact that more women were entering the work force and that more women were becoming career-conscious was emphasized. She felt that although it may have been justified to pay women lower wages in the past this was no longer so. Women are becoming more independent and more important to the work force and were entitled to just consideration in regard to wages.

The National Council of Women is a conservative grouping consisting mainly of professional or self-employed women. They initially supported the discriminatory 1969 equal pay decision until dissatisfaction from rank and file unionists forced them into a prudent review of their position.

As part of the women's liberation movement the equal pay committee is taking a militant stand on women's rights to equal pay. They are demanding that one rate of pay be established for each job and be paid to all workers performing this job. It points out that for this to be done it isn't enough to win an equal minimum wage for men and women and is calling for a national work value

enquiry to prevent employers using the men's work/women's work categories (which the 1969 principle encourages) to cheat women performing similar work to men out of a just wage.

The women's liberation movement is also putting a case to the commission for paid parental (rather than maternal) leave without loss of continuity of job status and entitlements.

There is not expected to be any decision in the equal pay case until the week after the December elections.

The issue of equal pay is an issue of tremendous importance to working women. 1.5 million women work and they comprise 38% of the total work force, quite a large proportion to refuse to pay a just wage to on the grounds of their sex.

The upsurge in the women's liberation movement has served as an impetus to the struggles of working women and must continue to do so.

Women just because of the whole process of socialisation that bourgeois society uses to condition them, often accept their inferior position and its implications such as unequal pay. Indicative of this is the fact that only 40% of women belong to their unions. This reflects on the unions themselves and suggests that they should undertake a vigorous campaign to educate women and encourage them to join their union. The women's liberation movement as well must encourage women to take an active role in their unions and collectively fight for their job rights.

Working women, inspired by the militancy of the feminist consciousness that is growing out of the women's liberation movement, will be capable of fighting against the super-exploitation that they experience under capitalism as both women and workers and will take an active and leading role in the struggle for socialism. It is not enough to rely on arbitration alone, it is essential that women unite in collective mass actions around their unions and in the ALP to push for these demands.

and usually are mind numbing tasks: where men are doing the same work they get more. In times of economic crisis, women are usually the first to lose their jobs, serving as a reserve labour force for the capitalist system.

Many women are raising demands which strike at capitalist society from many angles. Already the demands for control over one's body have mobilised many women. The demand for child care centres is basic to freeing women from domestic slavery. Demands for socialization of laundry, meal services and house cleaning by the provision of low cost, high quality restaurants, and laundries, and by organizing house cleaning on an industrial basis are further demands which create alternatives which are superior to the present system where women are individually burdened with these tasks. Women would then be free to engage in whatever form of work suited their needs and abilities best.

Women workers as they become more conscious through their struggles will add powerful forces to the struggles of the working class against unemployment and inflation, contributing to a raising of political consciousness about these issues.

The ALP has 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 care.

Women can only wait to see whether Labor will, in fact, fulfill its promises on the question of childcare and equal pay and continue to press for all these rights both within and outside the ALP. It will require the 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 to really serve the interests of the class it claims to represent, and keep its support, it must relate to the needs of women. Women must insist that unions adopt their demands as their own. This will be an integral part of the fight to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle, fighting for the interest of the working class as a whole.

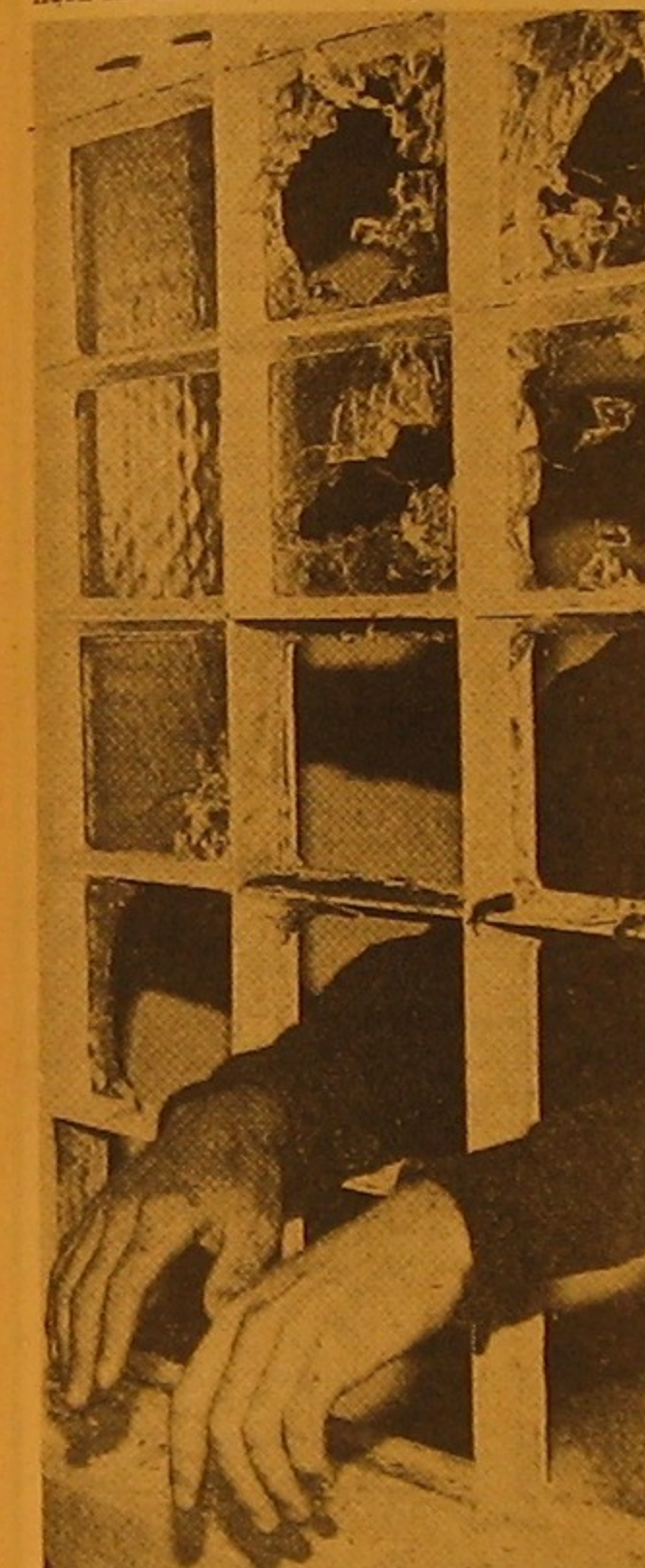
Prisoners Revolt in Hobart Gaol

BY ALBAN JOHNSON

As the current wave of radicalisation continues in the capitalist world, it deepens and broadens and reaches out to ever-increasing layers of society. There is no layer too oppressed, too denigrated as an outcast by capitalist society to stand up, to assert their humanity. And prisoners are standing up and are struggling for their rights as people.

This prison revolt has taken on a world-wide dimension. The United States, France, Canada, Britain, the Philippines to mention just a few, have all seen recent examples of prisoner action. Now, in Australia, prisoners are going through a similar period of radicalisation, as they take up the struggle for basic human rights.

In Tasmania, the Risdon Gaol near Hobart erupted at 6 am on Monday, October 23rd. The revolt began in A Division, which held about 35 of the 275 prisoners in the



Smashed window at Risdon Gaol

gaol. Within ten minutes three other divisions - C, D, and E - had joined in, and an hour later B Division also erupted in the most stormy occurrence in the gaol's recent life.

Prisoners vented their frustrations and hate for their conditions by smashing cell windows (glass 1/2 inch thick), breaking various wooden "furnishings", and setting alight some bedding and clothing. Extra prison guards were called to the gaol at 11 am police armed with tear gas arrived - however it was not used at this juncture. Prison authorities moved into the cells and removed everything except mattresses and one or two blankets each. Every prisoner was stripped and searched, and left dressed only in singlet and underpants.

The revolt continued in the evening from about 6 p.m. to 9.30 p.m. when it began to die down. It was reported in the Launceston Examiner that "heating switched off at the prison on October 1, will not be turned on". Tuesday saw a few isolated incidents and on Wednesday the authorities used tear gas to "subdue" some of the more active inmates.

What were the causes of the revolt - were the prisoners fighting for their rights, or were they just led on by a "rabble rouser" as the Controller of Prisons (D. Homibrook) believed? The answer lies in the fact that over one half, 150 out of 275, of the prison population revolted. Of the eight divisions, five took part - so the revolt was widely based. The authorities' reaction showed that they acknowledged this fact too - the way they stripped and searched every prisoner and the way they kept every prisoner from divisions A-E locked up from Monday to Thursday amply confirms this. In some instances, prisoners were forced to sleep on mattresses still wet from the efforts of the authorities to put out the fires.

It is not hard to see why the prisoners revolted. Bad conditions, petty restrictions, drab surroundings - all contribute to the discontent. Prisoners also are not permitted to read newspapers, and any magazines they want must be censored first. The divisions have to compete for the "privilege" of being able to watch the three television sets. The medical assistance is bad: "Ronald Joseph Frost (27), of Deloraine, said he ... had practically been refused medical treatment. Frost said he was an asthmatic, but had not been able to get a doctor. "Douglas James O'Brien (26) of Queenstown said ... nothing had been done about injuries he received in a car accident before being arrested. He said his ribs and chest bone were fractured" ("Examiner" 2.11.72). Another asthmatic had had his inhaler taken from him.

The prisoners also revolted because of the low pay, 5 to 12 cents per day. It's no wonder that the prisoners are revolting - they simply desire rights as human beings, and not to be treated as animals.

H.S. Conference

BY GREG ADAMSON

Students in six capital cities already plan to attend the national secondary student activists' conference to be held in Sydney on January 19-22 (not January 12-14 as reported in DIRECT ACTION No. 29). As well as projecting a plan of action for Australian schools in 1973, discussion on organisational procedure and the effectiveness of particular activities will give each state a better idea of how to proceed in the coming year. Posters for each state advertising the conference are being printed in Sydney. For details about these, or for any further information relating to the conference please contact the NSW Education Action Group c/- Dennis Garney, 57 Kenneth Street, Longueville, 2066.

No Jobs for Students

BY JOHN COMPTON

Government ministers recently contradicted one another (a not unusual occurrence) over the availability of jobs for school, university and CAE leavers. While the Minister for Labor and National Service, Mr. Lynch was "confident" that this year's 200,000 school leavers could be absorbed into the work force, the Minister for Education and Science, Mr. Fraser warned that university and college graduates would have trouble finding suitable jobs. Given the already high unemployment situation it is most unlikely that school leavers any more than college graduates will be able to find work.

The whole question of unemployment for youth coming out of the education system is reaching a critical stage and affects all layers. Graduates totalled 15,000 in 1971, and are an increasing section of those seeking work each year. The progressive integration of intellectual

labor into the workforce is here exemplified by a common fate - unemployment is a product of employer cut-backs.

The revolt of youth against the Vietnam war, against an oppressive education system and on other issues has created the political background for a broad movement against the economic conditions which increasingly face all sections of workers. The demand for jobs for all as a basic right has explosive force under present conditions. The ALP has made a rhetorical commitment to "full employment". Only a mass campaign able to mobilize all workers will go anywhere in the direction of achieving this aim. A Labor Government must be elected as the alternative to the reactionary Liberal/Country Party Coalition, but unless socialist measures are adopted by the ALP to combat unemployment, there is unlikely to be a major change in the prospects for school-leavers and graduates.

Women in Revolt



DEMONSTRATION IN PARIS OVER ABORTION TRIAL

On October 11, several hundred demonstrators gathered near the Opera in Paris to protest the trial of Marie-Claire "X" on charges of having violated France's reactionary laws on abortion. They distributed leaflets reading: "Like 1 million other women each year Marie-Claire had to go through the tragedy of an illegal abortion because she did not have 2,000 or even 3,000 francs (about \$600) for an easy abortion in a clinic in London or Geneva, or Paris itself, because she had no sex education, and at seventeen it is very difficult to get contraceptives from a doctor"

However, this demonstration of public solidarity did not meet with the approval of the authorities; At approximately 6.45 p.m. the demonstration was attacked by several dozen mobile guards, in helmets and armed with clubs. The cops fell on everyone in the vicinity who looked like a protester, knocking to the ground and clubbing them indiscriminately. Even the capitalist press expressed disapproval in their editorials, of the tactics employed by the cops "on peaceful and unarmed demonstrators".

Why should the case of Marie-Claire "X" suddenly make headlines in a country that convicts between 500 and 600 women for abortion every year without headlines and editorials in the capitalist press? Undoubtedly it was because of the efforts by the French Abortion Group "Chôisir" (Choice). They took up the case of Marie-Claire "X" as part of their campaign to change the laws.

As the proceedings went on behind closed doors in the juvenile court supporters from Chôisir and MLF (French Women's Liberation Movement) chanted "No trial for Marie-Claire". "We have all aborted, judge us". "Free and legal abortion, contraception". "Switzerland and England for the poor". As a result Marie-Claire "X" was acquitted.

The supporters of abortion rights plan another public protest in Bobigny on November 8 when Marie-Claire's mother and two friends will be tried for complicity.

Last year a poll indicated that 55% of the public in France favour legal abortion if a woman does not want her future child. Another 87% considered it to be a decision between man and woman. Nevertheless, abortion legislation has not been relaxed and the strict control and limitation of the sale and distribution of contraceptives especially to minors, results in the fact that only 6% of French women use the pill.

ALP INDULGENT TO ANTIABORTION CANDIDATE

In a recent contribution to a local internal ALP publication "Labor Newsletter" entitled "Abortion and Votes", Jim Staples attempted to convince Labor Party members that the right of women to medically safe abortions was a vote-catching issue. This contribution caused much alarm in ALP ranks as the abortion issue is taboo at election time. (See DIRECT ACTION No 29)

Meanwhile, in the ACT, Professor Arthur Burns, a right wing Presbyterian minister (describing himself as a socialist) announced that he would run as an ALP candidate against the endorsed ALP candidate Kep Enderby precisely because he disagreed with Enderby's position on abortion. He proudly describes abortion as "unjustifiable homicide".

The ALP has thus far taken no disciplinary action against Burns for his decision to stand against the endorsed candidate - no doubt because unofficial ALP policy on abortion corresponds to Burns' reaction-

ary position. If Burns is permitted to stand, it will be an interesting test of whether Labor Party supporters in the ACT do, in fact support the right of women to abortion.

DO -IT-YOURSELF DIVORCE

The Divorce Law Reform Association recently reported that they are issuing more than 6,000 "do it yourself" divorce kits each month, which enable people to obtain a divorce for only \$30. These kits are enabling many people to get divorces who would otherwise have not been able to afford the \$450 minimum cost for a lawyer in an uncontested suit. Present divorce figures stand at 19,000 annually in Australia and this is expected to rise to around 30,000 next year with the introduction of the new kits.

The kits supply information on the Matrimonial Causes Act and contain the necessary forms which the petitioner must file with the court.

A spokesman for the NSW Divorce Law Reform Association, Mr Neil Johnson was recently quoted in "The Australian" as saying that "70% of inquiries for the kits in New South Wales come from women".

"Many are deserted wives with three or four kids, who live in an impoverished state", he said. "They can't get a divorce, they tell us, because it costs them \$500 - so they can't remarry".

These easily available divorces will doubtless cause some consternation within the church and amongst other advocates of the sanctity of marriage and the family in our society. The increasing divorce rate is evidence of the growing dissatisfaction of people with the traditional ideal of marriage "for better or for worse" - a partnership to which people are bound for life, regardless of whether they even like one another.

The effect of the exorbitant legal costs involved in gaining a divorce without the help of a kit or similar advice, is to discriminate against the broad masses of working people to whom \$500 or more is no trifle, and particularly to discriminate against women, who are frequently deserted and supporting children, or have no independent income of their own.

WONAAC SPONSORS ABORTION HEARINGS

More than 500 women and men attended the "New York Abortion Hearings" sponsored in New York City October 20-21 by the local chapter of the Women's National Abortion Coalition (WONAAC). The hearings were part of the preparation for the International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization to be held in New York next March 9-11.

ANTI ABORTION MOTION PASSED OVERWHELMINGLY

On October 31 approximately fifty women marched in a funeral procession to NSW Parliament House with a coffin symbolising the women who have died through childbirth and illegal abortions. The march was to draw attention to the issue which was being discussed further in Parliament during the resumption of discussion of J. Cameron's motion in the House on October 3 to the effect that "this House disassociate itself from the actions of those seeking to legitimise abortions on request ..."

Women gathered outside Parliament House while a vote was taken inside on Cameron's motion. The vote was taken on voices and on attempts by Cameron to have those voting against identified, was refused. It is believed that only George Petersen (Labor Illawarra) voted against the motion and possibly one other.

Women Strike In Queensland

BY DEBRA ROOKE

On Monday the 23rd October an equal pay rally of about 300 women workers was held next to the Trades Hall in Brisbane. Most women present were from the Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union with a few from the Hospital Employees Union and the Miscellaneous Workers Union.

Women members of unions affiliated with the Queensland Trades and Labour Council were asked to strike for 24 hours in support of both the ACTU and Queensland Trades and Labour Council claims for equal pay - one rate for the job and higher wages where women dominate certain occupations. The ACTU claim is being heard at the moment in conjunction with the National Wage Case and a test case is being heard before a full bench of the State Industrial Commission with regard to women under the cafe and restaurant award.

Women and men in the meat processing industry went on a 24 hour stoppage for the day. The meat unions campaign this year has included several 24 hour stoppages, a rally of 500 women in March with 30 women marching to protest outside Parliament House.

In the past women have often been the least militant, and most poorly unionised section of the workforce, due to their traditional passivity and because their work outside the home was con-

sidered secondary and less important. Women are now demanding the same rate for the job and denying that they should receive lower wages because they often do less physically demanding work.

This change can be seen in the way women meatworkers reacted to the call to stop work earlier in the year. Almost all of the women meat workers in Brisbane attended a rally in the Trades Hall with contingents marching through the city both before and after the rally carrying placards that demanded "Fair Play - Equal Pay". The spirit and enthusiasm of the women were unfortunately dissipated by the union officials who channelled the demands of the women into the arena of the company office where the union bureaucrats could play on the "reasonableness" of the bosses' representatives. Any "results" obtained there are usually tied to penalty agreements. The demands of women meatworkers can only be forcefully carried out and won when those women have an immediate say in the actions that the union takes. Women workers must begin to realise that there is no-one else who can feel their real needs as women, as workers and as human beings. Consequently they must form rank and file committees that can put pressure on the conservative leadership of the unions so that their demands are not fobbed off or shelved.

Women are denied equal pay because they are regarded in this society as

second class citizens, inferior both in their capacity to work and socially. Is there any case where a man has been paid a lower wage because he is not as strong or not as intelligent as another man?

Women workers are also raising demands on the employers for child-care centres, paid maternity leave without loss of seniority and for higher wages.

Already the ALP leadership has stated that they will introduce equal pay if they are elected in December. While the winning of these demands would ease the lot of working women, it is simply economic discrimination that women are subjected to? Increasing numbers of women throughout society are questioning the role that they are conditioned to play. Women are not given equal pay, abortion on demand and child-minding services on a low cost, mass scale precisely because it would help to break down the existing patriarchal nuclear family which is the basis of this society. The family performs tasks useful to this society, such as the conditioning and socializing of the young.

Work for women is made very unattractive. Because they are relegated to the job of child bearing and minding this means they have to find suitable means of child care while they are at work. This service is usually expensive and inadequate and doesn't seem worth while when this amount comes out of the pay packet. Jobs that are available for women are in the lower income bracket

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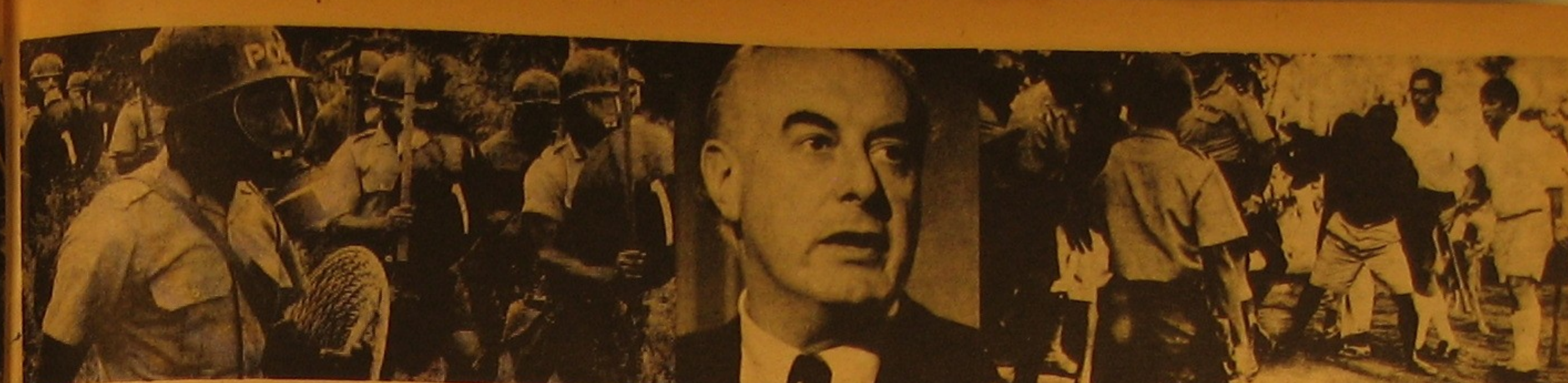
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Special Feature Labor's Foreign Policy



BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

On November 18 the antiwar movement in Australia will take to the streets once again to demand that the United States get out of Indochina and that Australia's complicity in the war is ended. The demonstrations will be held just 12 days before the Federal elections and in an atmosphere that will be conducive to political thought. Recent events in Indochina, the ceasefire negotiations and the massive bombing escalation by the U.S., point to the fact that this is still an issue of vital importance and that the demands of the antiwar movement should be fought for on the streets and by the ALP in its election campaign.

This the ALP is committed to do by its conference resolutions adopted in 1967, 1969 and recently in 1971. They call for an end to the war and Australia's participation in it, immediate repeal of the National Service Act and support for the antiwar movement and its activities. Yet like so many ALP policies, these only go so far, remaining within the accepted bounds of "moderation" laid down by observance of the international status quo.

There were times, however, when Labor didn't even have the present policy of opposition to the war and even found the bombing of the North "unexceptional". After 1966 the policy of support for the war was reversed, in a sense testifying to the pressure that is able to be exerted on the ALP leadership from its mass base. In this case the left of the party and the more militant unions were quick to leap up in arms over U.S. aggression in Indochina, in Victoria particularly playing an important role in the formation of the Moratorium Campaign and its subsequent success in mobilising large numbers of people.

Since the formation of this present policy Labor has stood in sharp contrast to the Liberals. It was the Liberals who tied through the bonds of ruling class loyalty, drew Australia into the imperialist war in Indochina and continue to remain deeply involved. Despite the withdrawal of ground troops, Australia remains implicated by its continued support for U.S. policies, the retention of advisors in Vietnam, and the supply of political, military and economic aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes. In fact, the role acquired by Australia of political prop for the United States is unchanged.

It is the responsibility of the Labor Party, being based on the working-class of this country, to extricate Australia from this barbarous attack on the workers and peasants of Indochina. "End Australian Complicity" is a demand of the antiwar movement that Labor should enact immediately. The parliamentary party which has often shown in practice its propensity for "moderation" must not be allowed to forget it. But this is not enough as there are important flaws in the policy formulated at the 1967, 1969 and 1971 Conferences. The 1971 conference resolution states:

"23 Indochina
Conference is gratified by the support now given at home and abroad to the ALP's policies enunciated at its 1965, 1967 and 1969 Conferences of opposition to the continuance of the war in Vietnam and Australian participation in it.

Conference recalls the resolutions of those conferences in favour of international arrangements for the economic and social recovery of Indochina and the territorial integrity of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand.

An Australian Labor Government will stand ready to work with the Geneva participants or the United Nations or any other agency established for the purpose of rehabilitating and neutralizing Indochina."

Now this is good in opposing the war and

pledging an end to Australia's complicity. But, (and this is the big "But" if you were in the position of the Indochinese people), it recognises that the U.S. and even Australia under a Labor government have the right to negotiate a settlement "with the Geneva participants or the United Nations or any other agency established for the purpose of rehabilitating and neutralising Indochina". Which they damn well don't. No country — especially not those belligerents guilty of aggression such as the United States and Australia — has the right to "neutralise" Indochina and meddle in the internal affairs of those countries by obstructing their total self-determination. Would the ALP recognise the right of the "Geneva participants

the ALP should recognise it. On the question of conscription, the ALP quite commendably guarantees to repeal the National Service Act. (For this reason alone thousands of young people are earnestly hoping for a Labor victory). From the 1971 resolution again:

"24 National Service Act
a) A Labor Government will repeal the present National Service Act and annul its penal consequences.
b) A Labor Government will grant full repatriation and rehabilitation benefits to all national servicemen, and sympathetically investigate the possibility of compensating those who have suffered penal

described by Jim McIlroy in the May 1st issue of DIRECT ACTION.

"The hullabaloo which resulted clearly exposed the reformists and the hypocrites inside and outside the Labor Party, but particularly in the Parliamentary leadership. Whitlam and Holding joined the Liberals in roundly condemning the motion.

Yet another clue to the sort of reactionary foreign policy to be expected from a Whitlam-led cabinet was provided by his challenge to the Liberal government to demand that the Soviet Union withdraw its military support of North Vietnam. This, in the face of the genocidal U.S. policy of mass bombings which have rained more than three times the weight of bombs over Indochina than the U.S. dropped in the whole of World War II. Whitlam's stand only encourages the press which, learning nothing from the last eight years' struggle of the antiwar movement, returns to the "aggression from the north" thesis which has been thoroughly refuted so many times before. The Vietnamese are drawing nearer to victory all the time. Any attempt to block the liberation forces by negotiating away their gains must be resolutely opposed. Only a complete withdrawal of ALL U.S. troops, material, air and sea power is acceptable. They are the only aggressors — not the north Vietnamese. The Socialist Left is right to emphasise this.

And secondly there is the case of Barry Johnston's candidature for the House of Representatives in the forthcoming elections. Johnston, a draft resister, was specifically pointed out for support in the 1971 Federal Conference resolution on conscription. However, support maybe OK for a rank and file member of the party who would be for all intents and purposes underground, but when that person is thrust into the limelight representing the party on the party's programme the support tends to cool a little. Not one for placing himself at the mercy of the "Law and Order" barons of the bourgeois press, Whitlam indicated that he would like Johnston to stand down. Leaving aside the question of draft resistance, the actions of Whitlam are a pointer to some things we can expect from a Labor government.

Out of this flows that the ALP, if elected, should enact the positive side of its programme without delay and during the pre-election campaign period publicise it vigorously. Further, the ALP should not stop there but go on to demand of the U.S. total withdrawal and unequivocally push for the recognition of the self-determination of the Indochinese people. Ties should be promptly broken with the dictatorial regimes in South-East Asia such as Thieu and Lon Nol.

There is a contradiction here though, a contradiction not easily overcome by the ALP brass. To achieve the demands outlined above would mean a step toward aligning with the struggles for National Liberation and other progressive struggles, yet the ALP will attempt to have it both ways by remaining a signatory to SEATO, ANZUS and other treaties with imperialism. Socialists must explain that there is no way in which such a compromise can be reached without in some way siding with imperialism. The whole world political situation negates the dream of a "neutral" foreign policy when pitted against each other ruthlessly in opposing camps are the forces of the status quo, i.e. exploitation, and the progressive forces of the world as exemplified in Indochina.

Imperialism will not stop its domination of the colonial world unless it is forced to. Australia aligned to SEATO, ANZUS and U.S. foreign policy means Australia is to side with the oppressor against the oppressed. Socialists must place the alternative before the ALP leadership and the Australian people. To push for the politics of alignment with the people who are fighting for a better world. A socialist world.

Labor's Stand on Vietnam, Conscription

and the U.N.," to "neutralise Australia"? Never!

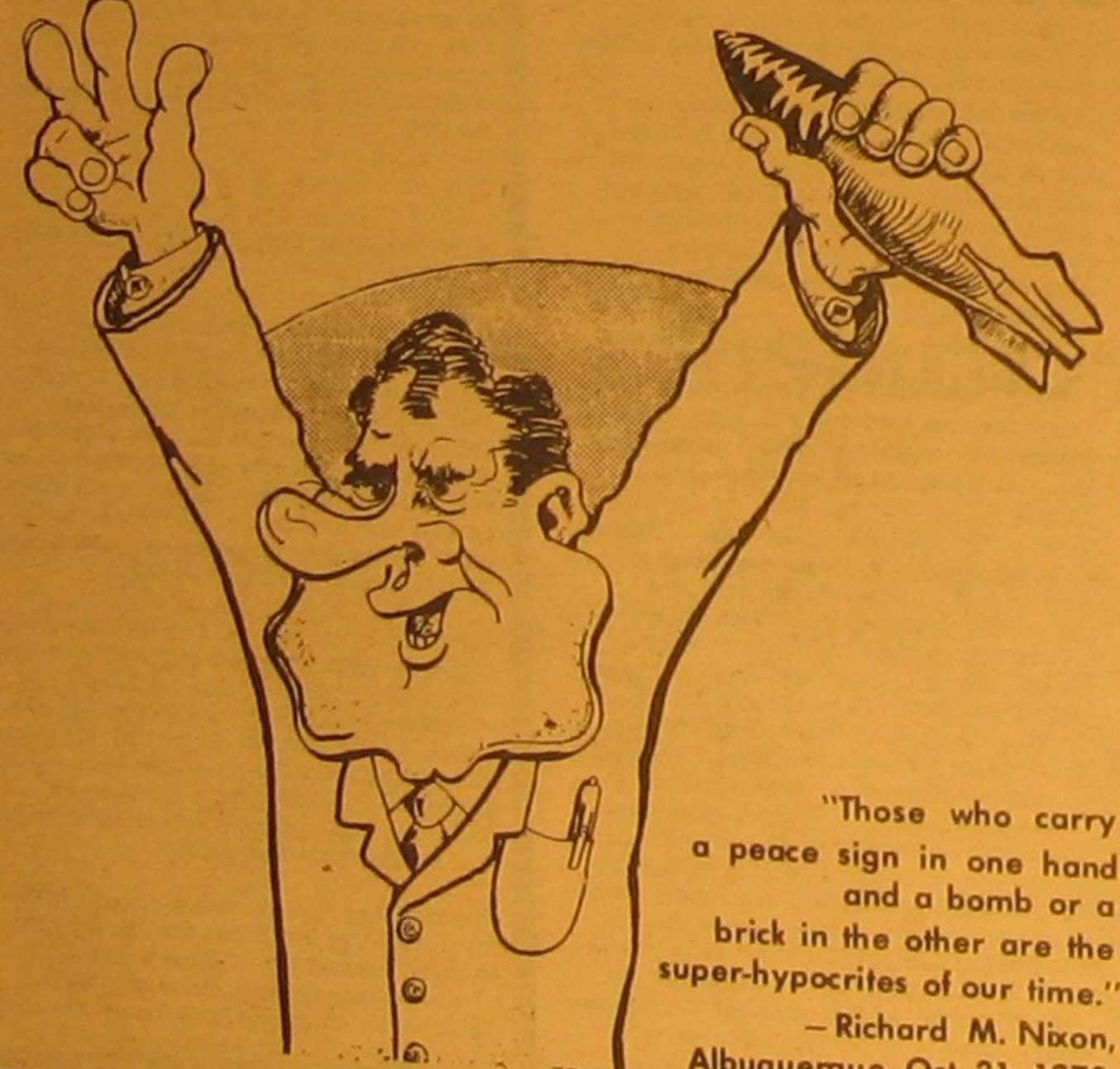
If we cast our minds back 18 years ago to the Geneva conference on Indochina we will recognise precisely the same sort of concept as formulated in the 1971 policy resolution. It was the 1954 Geneva settlement that was responsible for allowing the establishment of a U.S. puppet dictatorship in Saigon and the eventual precipitation of the present blood-bath. Such a settlement as inherent in the ALP policy is so wide open as to clear the way for the U.S. to maintain its domination of South Vietnam and the Indochinese sub-continent.

The only way peace will be achieved is for the United States and its allies to get out completely, with no strings such as "neutrality" attached. Nothing short of total self-determination will suffice and

consequences of the National Service Act.
c) Conference notes with approval the following decision of the Federal Executive taken on 17th June 1971:
"That the Federal Executive declares its support of Victorian Australian Labor Party members, Barry Johnston and Tony Dalton, due to face court proceedings".

However, both on this question and on the whole question of the Vietnam war and imperialist alliances, there is always the danger that the right wing ALP leadership will betray its supporters once in office.

To illustrate this from the experience of the last year may be a useful indication of which way the parliamentary party might operate. Firstly there was the response by Whitlam, among others, to the stand taken by the Victorian State Council in support of a motion by the Socialist Left expressing solidarity with the National Liberation Front. The ensuing furor was



"Those who carry a peace sign in one hand and a bomb in the other are the super-hypocrites of our time."
— Richard M. Nixon, Albuquerque, Oct. 31, 1970.

BY DARRYL HILLGROVE

"We bear heavy responsibility to assist the people of the Territory to stand on their own feet — to enjoy a measure of prosperity, to control and ultimately to take their place in the world as the equals of the citizens of more advanced countries". Thus spoke the ALP's leader, Dr. Evatt in 1958 (1). It appears now that the ALP's blatant paternalism has mellowed somewhat and "equalisation" (equal exploitation?) is fast approaching.

The current ALP policy for Papua-New Guinea was echoed by Whitlam during his 14 day tour there in 1970-71. He said that if elected Labor would immediately grant self-government to PNG and independence some 3 to 4 years later, after a number of provisos (2) had been met. However Whitlam does not challenge the complete foreign domination of PNG's economy — the essential problem facing PNG.

Of course the Liberal Party, the voice of Australian capitalism, has enabled companies such as Conzinc Rio Tinto, Bums Philp, Carpenters, Steamships Trading, ACI, various Australian banking corporations, etc. to plunder the Territory. Correspondingly the Australian Administration under Barnes was one of old-style colonialism complete with the extensive influence of the white expatriate plantation owners, huge wage differentiations between black and white workers, the church missions, etc. It is interesting to note that during this period the tightening of control in PNG was directly related to the 1964 possibility of victory of the revolutionary forces in Vietnam which led to the huge military intervention of the US supported by Australia. Thus this "Big Stick" theory of the Australian bourgeoisie was put into brutal practice when the large and defiant demonstrations broke out in Bougainville and the Gazelle Peninsula (3). The Liberals, however, fearing the revolutionary implications of extreme repressive and racist policies, "purged" the Barnes administration and set up a seemingly new one — Peacock. This window dressing was exposed when the Matauniga Association was severely victimized with 18 Tolais being arrested in Rabaul after the killing of local overlord, Jack Emmanuel, earlier this year.

Along with this reshuffle came McMahon's withdrawal of support for the white expatriate United Party in favour of Michael Somare's Pangu Pati, the representatives of an emerging local petit-bourgeoisie and protectors (in a more subtle way) of imperialist exploitation. The outcome of the recent elections was the setting up by the Pangu Pati of a National Coalition government with the United Party relegated to the role of Opposition. (4)

Delaying PNG's independence comes easy to the current Australian government by exploiting the ethnic differences between the coastal people and the more politically conservative highlanders. Hence the Liberals have given the Highlanders the impression that all foreign "aid" will cease come independence. So the highlanders fear Whitlam's earlier self-determination plan. Democratic jingoism provides the rest for McMahon — the majority don't want independence so we won't consider it until they do. While the Highlanders are attempting to decide, Somare, although favouring the Japanese, protects Australian big business — fait accompli. The ALP has some interesting positions on other vital issues for PNG, all related to independence.

OVERSEAS ECONOMIC DOMINATION

In regard to Fiji, another nation in the grip of most of the Australian companies that dominate PNG, the attitudes shown by Whitlam are similar to the ALP's policy concerning PNG commented on the conservative Fiji Times in an editorial "Mr. Whitlam's remarks seem to indicate that

he, as leader of the Labor Party, would be happy to see Australian investment in Fiji continue" (5). Allied with this is the planned Australia — New Guinea Commission to be set up if Labor takes power. While appearing to give a greater indigenous share of the country's wealth, this development commission intends to delay full expropriation of foreign business interests until after independence.

Within the ALP leadership there seems to be some division over this protection of foreign domination. A few months back Hayden, Labor's proposed Minister for Social Welfare, criticized the party policy on this issue but things have quietened down now as election time approaches.

Niugini Under a Labor Govt.

AUSTRALIA'S DEFENSE INTERESTS

How far does Whitlam's plan for independence actually go? Perhaps these quotes from him can help — "Our first and fundamental commitment is to our own national security" and "Our second commitment is to a secure, united and friendly Papua New Guinea. This is well within our power". (6). This proposal is reflected in the ALP platform on Defense — "This defense capability must be so effective as to demonstrate beyond all doubt Australia's intention to defend herself and her vital interests". (7). There is no doubt which region is concerned here. As with the US and its domination of Cuba, prior to the revolution, Whitlam does not want a hostile (perhaps socialist?) PNG with market doors closed.

PNG — AUSTRALIA IMMIGRATION AND RACISM

To their credit, the ALP leadership has criticized the obvious racism incorporated in the White Australia Policy and the Liberals refused to allow immigration to Australia of people from PNG and Fiji. In a recent newspaper report it was stated that "On the immigration question, Mr. Whitlam in a T.V. interview hinted that within the next 10 years Australia would enter into a migration agreement with an independent Papua New Guinea and Fiji. He said that there would be a flow of migrants between these countries". (8) Unfortunately this will come within the next ten years — and after independence.

Further more the ALP, after Whitlam's

1970-71 tour, has attacked the native contract system and has called for higher wages, land reform and greater unionism. However this approach fails to recognize the core of the problem — capitalism's imperialist desires.

SECESSIONIST MOVEMENTS

The repressive policies of the Liberal government through the PNG Administration has resulted in threatened secessionist movements, i.e. the Bougainvilleans, long suffering under Conzinc Rio Tinto exploitation of the huge copper reserves. Ethnically and geographically these people are Solomon Islanders and not New Guineans,

although seceding to the former is unlikely.

Thus the role of the armed forces, particularly the Pacific Islands Regiment, although relatively weak numerically, is crucial in settling major split-offs. Gorton, when Prime Minister, saw the counter-insurgency role of the P.I.R. as essential for backing up the police force during confrontations and so after the massive Tolai demonstrations of August 1970 a P.I.R. camp was set up in East New Britain. Established in 1951, the P.I.R. already costs Australia about \$17 mil. annually. (9).

Perhaps a future PNG government with Australian help, will join with Indonesia in stabilising anti-communist regimes in their countries. On April 16, 1968, Indonesian Foreign Minister spoke at a Canberra press conference. He told pressmen that Australia and Indonesia were discussing bilateral "defense" arrangements to cover the whole of New Guinea. He said that they could co-operate for such a purpose. "If the threat is from outside we can oppose it together. If the threat is from within we can co-operate to wipe it out". (10).

Neither Whitlam nor McMahon will extend their economic aid after independence to a PNG with a successful secessionist movement. As Whitlam says in his contribution to the Fabian book "Towards A New Australia", "Australian assistance after independence will go to a united Papua New Guinea only. We will make and continue arrangements

only with and through the elected government of New Guinea".

Even on the question of referenda on secession, as first raised in 1969 by the Bougainvilleans, Whitlam and McMahon are both unequivocally against this measure. As Whitlam states "No Australian Government, Liberal or Labor, would sponsor sectional plebiscites to determine the political future of a section". (11)

The exact reasons for the ALP's plan to grant early independence are more far sighted than those of the Liberals. This is indicated by the following quote from Whitlam "The longer independence is delayed, the stronger separatism will grow". (11) Thus the rationale — give PNG relatively early independence before regional split-offs occur or else these ideas will develop further and go beyond mere secessionism, horror of horrors!, the splitting-off of PNG from Australia.

The proposal in the ALP's platform then logically follows — "Labor will establish a Pacific Islands Division within the Department of Foreign Affairs to second and support skilled personnel requested by Papua — New Guinea and other islands of the Pacific for their civil and armed forces". (12) The police and the army (the PIR?) will therefore be on hand to quell secessionism with Australia's aid before independence is granted.

In concluding, it is important to understand Whitlam's statements on PNG and independence as, if the ALP is elected on December 2, he will dissolve the Ministry of External Territories into Foreign Affairs of which he will have the portfolio. The ALP's policy toward PNG is slightly more progressive than that of the Liberal Party and should be seen as such. However as Mataungan leader John Kaputin says "An independent Papua-New Guinea would have to consider expropriating Australian and foreign enterprises unless there was a change in Australian economic policies in the Territory". (13). Hence an ALP government, although pledging itself to early independence, must grant self-determination for PNG free of overseas business domination and Australian defence interests.

(1) Federal Elections Policy Speech delivered at the Assembly Hall, Sydney, Oct. 15th, 1958.
(2) From "The Age" January, 1971.
"Four important things would have to be done before independence:
a) It would have to be ensured that the New Guinea Army obeyed the House of Assembly in the way that the Australian army obeyed the Australian parliament.
b) Ambassadors or high commissioners would have to be appointed to Canberra, New York, Jakarta, Tokyo and probably Fiji.
c) A decision would have to be made on banking systems and currency.
d) A decision would be made on Territory air services which were now in Australian hands". Clearly, from point (c) before establishing independence a program suited to Australia's huge capital investment is envisaged by Whitlam.

(3) See D.A. No. 6.
(4) See D.A. No. 23.
(5) Vic. Socialist Left's "Action", No. 22, April 21, 1972.
(6) PNG's "Post Courier", Sept. 15, 1972.
(7) "Labor's Way", Defence.
(8) Post Courier, Oct. 13, 1972.
(9) "The Internal Role of the PIR", AUS Niugini Newsletter.
(10) "The Last Domino? Papua New Guinea and the Anti-War Movement" by Alice Robertson.
(11) Post Courier, Sept. 15, 1972.
(12) "Labor's Way", Foreign Affairs.
(13) Council of New Guinea Affairs, Sydney Seminar, September, 1969.





ALP & China

BY JAMIE DOUGHNEY

Chairman Mao's "revolutionary diplomatic line" has been responsible for a number of things lately, among which must be included the new clientele at the "Great Hall of the People" in Peking. These days it seems to be reserved solely for the heads of imperialist nations. These diplomatic visits - importantly those of Nixon and Tanaka - plus China's recognition by the United Nations have thrown into the spotlight the question of China's relations with the capitalist world.

What is certain is that the attitude of imperialism has altered significantly in the last year or so. Unable to obtain a similar detente as achieved by Moscow, the Chinese bureaucracy was in the past subject to great pressure from imperialism despite its policy of "peaceful co-existence". However, with Nixon requiring an Indo-China settlement, hopefully with the aid of Peking, and the drives of inter-capitalist competition endeavouring to open up the vast resources of the workers states for economic penetration, this situation was bound to change. The negotiations and recognitions began.

It is interesting to note that among the first foreign visitors to China (even prior to Nixon) was Federal ALP leader Gough Whitlam - exhibiting the "sophisticated diplomatic statesmanship" that he would hope would become one of the trademarks of a Labor Government. Whitlam's trip to Peking was in some ways an ice-breaker for that of Nixon. The question arises in the light of the atmosphere created by the spate of "ping-pong politics", what has been the effect of China on Australian politics and further what is, or should be, the policy of the ALP to the Peoples Republic? Of course this entails the more general considerations of what should be the foreign policy of Labor in or out of government.

The successful Chinese revolution in 1949 and the establishment of a workers state in the most populous country on earth has had a great impact on the development of world politics over the last two decades. Its effect on Australia has not been without significance either.

Who could forget the frenzied "Yellow Hordes" hysteria whipped up by the Liberals and the Democratic (sic!) Labor Party during the 50's and 60's. Resplendent with graphic red arrows, especially designed by a local advertising agency to illustrate the innate gravitational force acting upon the Chinese people, pushing them further and further toward the vast untapped Australian continent, these anti-communist crusaders set about fighting communism in Australia and the Asian region. Never stopping short of using this xenophobic ploy to red bait the ALP for so-called communist subversion and manipulation. Such campaigning had reasons of course. Firstly it was a means by which they could cover for the military and economic domination of the region by imperialism (Australia included). Witness the concept of "forward defence" and the campaign building up to Australia's involvement in the brutal war in Indo-China. Secondly it served as a red-baiting argument with which to attack the Labour movement here in Australia.

Absurd as it is this type of McCarthyite political hell-fire and damnation blustering by the DLP and the Liberals has had an effect on the Australian political scene and obviously has influenced the attitude of many to the Peoples Republic of China and questions such as the Indo-China war.

The times have changed now and so have many of the attitudes. Although the implacable hostility of imperialism toward China will continue as long as

BY JIM McILROY

A recent article in the Financial Review (3.11.72) was headed: "Foreign Investment Syndrome - the retreat from reason". This view expressed by the most prestigious journal of Australian business represents one side in a developing conflict within the Australian employing class. The writer goes on to argue that all the fuss about the evils of foreign investment is right off the beam, and that the real question is how to pursue policies which ensure the maximisation of the net benefits of a capital inflow. What this means, in simpler terms, is how can foreign investment be used to maximise the profit rates of Australian capitalists.

Since the 1955 Federal Conference of the ALP the party has had the policy of standing for recognition of the Peoples Republic of China and its admission to the United Nations. Prior to that the party had not been hostile in anyway akin to the Liberals, but more so ambivalent. The policy as elaborated in 1955 has continued to this day to be the guide to ALP foreign affairs in relation to China. This is stated in a 1971 Federal Conference Resolution: "Confidence is gratified by the support now given at home and abroad to the ALP's policy established by the 1955 Conference as recognising the Peoples Republic of China and working for her admission to the United Nations. Conference applauds the initiative of the Federal Executive in seeking an arrangement a delegation to visit China to discuss relations between the two countries".

Certainly this is correct as far as it goes. The Peoples Republic of China should be recognised as the sole government of China, leaving no place to the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-Shek in world politics, and correctly the ALP recognises this in its program. However, brave as this policy may have been in the face of the previous balance in the international relationship of forces it is now fast becoming the norm in the changing political climate, and further it incorporates the general objective of upholding the status quo in the colonial world. In fact to look at the ALP policy and then to examine that presently pursued by Nixon it is not surprising to find that there are more than a few similarities.

Nevertheless the ALP policy statement on China and this, of course, must be seen in the general context of ALP foreign policy - is not one that allows for support of the movements of the oppressed leading toward socialism. The ALP policy of recognition and relations with China does not go beyond, the bounds set by the needs of Australia's international commitments to the preservation of the imperialist system. Any number of talks, trade negotiations and cultural exchanges with China will not change this until the ALP makes a positive stand with the oppressed. One obvious step would be to get out of SEATO, ANZUS and other pacts that enforce the control by foreign capitalists of the underdeveloped countries of the Asian area. In fact, by remaining in these alliances, the ALP would be in the contradictory position of being a party to agreements which in the long run threaten the very existence of China and other workers states that are free from imperialist exploitation.

Yet it is the ALP, being based in the working-class, which is in the position to actually break from the policy of McMahon and his cohorts who have unbreakable class ties with big business and hence with the need to keep up the pressure of capitalism on the colonial world and the workers states. The ALP has the responsibility to break decisively with the foreign policy of big business and to oppose it at the elections.

But the ALP with its present opportunist leadership is not willing to do this. What socialists should do inside and outside the Labor Party is push for a Socialist Foreign Policy; one that is opposed to the continued exploitation, and in defence of those countries who have overthrown capitalism and laid down the economic pre-conditions for the transition to Socialism, although they, like China, may be bureaucratically deformed, firm relations should be made with all the workers states.

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immediate problems of a severe economic recession necessitate the worldwide tendency to oligopoly, to mergers, and takeovers. The penetration of capital from overseas into Australian industry is only part of an international process. It cannot be turned back except through a fundamental break with the world system of capital i.e. through the establishment of an Australian workers' government based on a socialised economic system under workers' control, independent of world capitalism.

How does the ALP, as the party of Australian workers, see the question of foreign investment and takeovers? As one might expect, the leadership have taken the

Murphy said, "We had always been an economic colony and now we have become a political colony. We have become a pawn in the hands of the operators of a large-scale enterprise called 'overseas'." (Australian 1.11.72) Senator Murphy was moving as a socialist when he directed towards the economic planning committee and at the time of the amendment of the agency to screen such investment, a clear set of instructions to the public, a secretariat, exchange commission, a definable strategic areas

lives. The Gorton/McMahon fracas had aspects of this dilemma about it. Gorton is certainly no more "progressive", because he was more nationalist about foreign investment. However some sections of Australian employers see the ALP as a real alternative government because the present leadership has clearly promised to carry out more "efficient" and "modernising" reforms which suit some of the biggest operators. The ALP here tries to compete with the Liberals to be more "nationalist" and more protectionist. This is no solution in any way to the problems of Australian workers faced with rocketing inflation and unemployment foisted on them by Australian and overseas employers.

Official ALP and ACTU leaders do nothing to develop workers' consciousness of their exploitation, whoever the employer. Instead, as in the recent Adelaide Gas Light Co. pipeline dispute over the giving of a contract to a Japanese Company, they foster nationalist illusions amongst workers. A clear-sighted view of the situation is given in a recent article in Action (20.10.72), the Victorian Socialist Left newspaper, which states: "... instead of making the workforce aware of this increasing exploitation, we have unionists giving the impression that they believe Australian workers must defend BHP, one of the foremost exploiters of the people union leaders are supposed to defend". The Socialist Left is one of the key forces which is capable of showing leadership to workers in a struggle against, not in defence of the bosses. Here as on a number of other questions the SL has taken progressive positions. Building the SL and left forces in other states is vital in the coming period if all the aspirations for a better life which are turning Australian workers towards a Labor Government are not to be frustrated or misdirected by the present Labor Leaders.

The growing resentment against the worsening conditions of life which big business is creating for the working majority in this country must not be allowed to be diverted by whipping up nationalist feelings against "foreign" companies. This can so easily become hostility to "foreigners" in general i.e. the fellow workers of the world.

The fundamental basis of the transformation of Australian society must be a struggle in international solidarity with the movements of workers and other oppressed sectors in all lands. Any reversion to Australian nationalism in the labor movement can only be a step backwards.

Foreign Investment and the ALP

side of "national capital" and seek to mystify the real interests of the Australian working people. The Platform of the ALP states on this rather the intention to:

"Establish clear guidelines for overseas investors for the benefit of these investors and of the Australian community. Overseas investment in Australia (is) to be encouraged only where it introduces new technology and expertise, includes plans for Australian participation in the enterprise and/or otherwise shows itself to be in Australia's national interest".

Why should overseas (or domestic) investors be beneficiaries of Labor policy? What can this concept of "national interest" represent other than the interest of Australian employers? The ALP leadership is once again the broker for business interests, against the majority of workers who look towards them for solutions to their problems in this society.

ALP leaders foster the illusion that the Australian people have an interest in defending the economic system of our country against foreign intrusion. Speaking on the Government's recent hastily concocted legislation on foreign takeovers in the Senate ALP Senator

had always been a political colony and now we have become a political colony. We have become a pawn in the hands of the operators of a large-scale enterprise called 'overseas'." (Australian 1.11.72) Senator Murphy was moving as a socialist when he directed towards the economic planning committee and at the time of the amendment of the agency to screen such investment, a clear set of instructions to the public, a secretariat, exchange commission, a definable strategic areas

Labor's Viet. Record

BY MILES STUART

A definitive history of the Australian Labor Party's attitude to the Australian Government's involvement in the Vietnam war has yet to be written. I am not about to embark on such a task, nor do I expect that the following modest effort could even form a small portion of it. The intention of this article is to examine the period of the evolution of the Federal ALP's policy on Vietnam, from this, it may be possible to arrive at a few conclusions as to how the ALP, left and right, together and apart, functions with regard to the formulation of major policy, and how it responds to pressure from the masses and the bourgeois press.

The conflict in Vietnam and Indochina has always been a war of national liberation by the peoples of Indochina, organised in the National Liberation Front, against the military might of French and then American imperialism. Australia's military involvement has always been of political importance more than anything else. It gave the United States aggression an unwarranted credibility.

There would be few Australian politicians, left or right, Labor or Liberal, who would disagree personally with the above description of the war. If the Liberal view can be generalised, it would be that the war of national liberation should be stopped by any means necessary. Some in the ALP would agree with this strategy, and some more would agree on everything but the any means clause. Others would agree that the national liberation struggle should be allowed to proceed in the absence of any imperialist forces. For those in the ALP who agree that the struggle should be allowed to proceed, only a few in 1966 were of the view that only the complete withdrawal of all troops could guarantee independence for the Vietnamese.

The personal attitudes of the political protagonists are, however, less relevant than their public utterances and their behaviour in the councils of party policy. Their willingness or otherwise to say what they believe and their preparedness to show a political lead to the masses is what we should examine.

In April 1965 the Member Government announced its decision to send the First Battalion of the Australian Regular Army to Vietnam. In the House of Representatives on 4 May 1965, the then Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, A.A. Calwell, said "on behalf of all my colleagues of Her Majesty's Opposition, I say that we oppose the Government's decision to send 800 men to fight in Vietnam. We oppose it firmly and completely", and he committed the ALP to "do our best to have the Government's decision reversed".

His opposition was, however, qualified. With his eye on the electorate, and no doubt reflecting the nationalistic attitude of himself and his party, he promised the soldiers that "we shall do our duty to the utmost in supporting you to do your duty. In terms of everything that an army in the field requires, we shall never deny you the aid and support that it is your right to expect in the service of your country".

At that time Calwell's solution to the conflict was: "We believe that America must not be humiliated and must not be forced to withdraw. But we are convinced that sooner or later the dispute in Vietnam must be settled through the councils of the United Nations". Nor did he rule out the feasibility of Vietnam altogether. "If it is necessary to back with a peace force the authority of the United Nations, we would support Australian participation to the hilt".

This statement was in keeping with the October 1964 resolution of the Federal Executive, which placed a great emphasis on pragmatism versus principles. Whitlam,

who was after power at any cost, was prepared to go to great lengths to sabotage the ALP's hard won policies on state aid and Vietnam, and he was to find many opportunities in the months to come. Calwell, in resisting this offensive, was not so much the individual stalwart but more the representative of the intransigent left wingers grouped around Chamberlain in the Federal Executive. They believed, more or less, that power without socialist principles was no power at all.

An independent antiwar movement began to spring up across Australia. A section of this movement, most notably the Vietnam Action Campaign in Sydney, advanced the slogan of complete withdrawal, and forced into bitter struggle with the reformists and Stalinists who were pushing the "return to Geneva" line. Tentative coalitions began forming, and left wing ALP parliamentarians began to establish their standing in the movement by speaking at antiwar rallies. Dr. Jim Cairns from Melbourne and Tom Uren from Sydney, together with Calwell, were the most prominent of these.

This trend found repercussions within the ALP, and the public lines began to be drawn. The right wingers were, of course, nowhere to be seen, except when fighting rear-guard actions within the party decision-making bodies. The left, however retained the initiative throughout this period, but appeared unable or unwilling to use this initiative to any worthwhile effect.

In March 1966 Harold Holt announced an increase in the military commitment in Vietnam to 4,500, including the first conscripts, and all hell broke loose. From this date on the daily press was swamped by the Vietnam issue.

Calwell, moving an amendment in the House on 15 March, declared "the benighted Holt Government is prepared to send (conscripts) to Vietnam and anywhere else if by doing so it can carry favour with international capitalism". His solution to the conflict took a new turn: "Our view on the question of intervention in Vietnam is that we should aim to convert an intervention into the United Nations action to pacify the country, to neutralise it, and to ensure that its people has freedom of choice".

The sending of conscripts to the war gave the ALP and Calwell a greater political opportunity. As had happened fifty years before, the nation became divided on the issue of the use of conscripts for overseas service. In the months before the election in November the issue became conscription rather than Vietnam, although it was impossible to dissociate the two whenever any debate got past the emotional stage.

Calwell challenged Holt to make conscription the issue for the Kooyong by-election April 1966. Holt accepted, and the debate centred around the ALP's alleged disinterest in ANZUS, SEATO, and other imperialist treaties, while Calwell and Whitlam did their utmost to prove that the ALP was as patriotic as the Liberal Party. The right wing NSW ALP Executive did its bit too. On 16 March it disowned the Sydney University ALP Club for collecting funds for the NLF.

On 25 March the Federal Conference convened to hear charges of gross disloyalty against Whitlam. He got a reprieve the following day, and he promised to behave himself in future. It was all good stuff for the papers, but more was to come. Calwell confronted Whitlam in Caucus later in the week: "You will carry the brand of disloyalty and unworthy conduct on your back forever." Whitlam was not too worried, however. He merely had to wait. The press was doing a good job for him.

More patriotism: Tom Uren got suspended from the House for doing his block

Pragmatism versus principles. Whitlam, CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

Socialists Campaign for Labor

The Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League are campaigning vigorously for a Labor victory on December 2. We've boosted the press run of DIRECT ACTION to meet the heightened interest in radical ideas in this pre-election period.

DIRECT ACTION, the central focus of our campaign, has met with a good response among people looking to Labor. For example, 120 copies were sold at the Yallourn strike meeting of 400 people; a total of 200 were sold at the various teachers' strike meetings in the Sydney area and 100 were sold at Dunstan's election rally at Cronulla.

We have had about 45,000 of the DIRECT ACTION special election broadsheet printed for national distribution. Already many thousands have been distributed with a very interested and receptive response. 1500 were handed out at Hawke's recent UNSW meeting alone.

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THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL



A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT BY PIERRE FRANK PART 10

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

Chapter 6: From 1948 to 1968 (Cont'd)

III. The International Reunited

A relatively prolonged period of crises and splits may prove to be a prelude to a period of reunification. All the great events of the epoch—"de-Stalinization," the Sino-Soviet conflict, colonial revolution—had not only resulted in dividing the Trotskyists, they were to contribute to healing the most serious split, that of 1953-54.

The narrowing of the political differences between the majority of the Fourth International and the majority of the International Committee on such important questions as "de-Stalinization" and the colonial revolution; the similarity of experiences in Cuba and Algeria—all this could not fail to raise the problem of reunification. At a time when a resurgence of Trotskyism was beginning to appear in the world, both sides were well aware that a divided movement would considerably dim the prospects lying before the Fourth International. In 1961-62, contact was initiated. In the course of discussion, it became evident that the similarity of position discernible in the respective publications was indeed substantial, and that there did not seem to be any major political obstacles in the way of reunification.

A Parity Commission between the Fourth International and the International Committee was established to prepare for reunification through a joint congress. In the Fourth International as well as in the International Committee, those who opposed reunification and who had opposing political orientations (the Pablo faction on one hand, the SLL and OCI on the other) wanted to subordinate the reunification discussion to a discussion of the 1953 split, of what caused the split and where the responsibility for it lay. The majority on both sides refused to accept such a proposal. No one dreamed of denying the value of such a discussion—if it were placed in a context that could lead to positive results. If the split were based on questions of principle, these would continue to surface in one form or another in the 1960s, in connection with current political problems. If the split were essentially the product of conjunctural causes (errors of analysis or perspective) or organizational causes, as we thought, these should not constitute an obstacle to reunification. Study of the causes of the split and who was responsible for it should be of an educational nature; thus it was decided, by common accord, that this question would not be raised at the time of reunification and that it would be studied at a later time, when the reunification had been consolidated. The discussion could then take place without interfering with the organization's activity and without necessarily following the lines of cleavage that existed during the split. It was clear to those who wanted reunification that lurking behind the demand of the minorities was, above all, their desire to use this discussion not to further reunification but once more to justify the split and, worse yet, to assure its perpetuation.

The Reunification Congress (Dynamics of the World Revolution Today)

At the same time that the International was readying

revolution had extended from the Soviet Union toward the colonial countries and not, as had for a long time been expected, toward the economically developed capitalist countries. The document showed that this process, which had carried the revolution to the periphery first, before reaching the heart of the capitalist system, had in no way been an inevitable one: it was essentially a product of betrayal by the traditional working-class leaderships, Social Democratic and Stalinist.

The document then explained that in our era the world revolution was going forward on three fronts, each with its own distinct characteristics: the proletarian or classical revolution in the developed capitalist states; the colonial revolution in the underdeveloped capitalist countries, where it tended to become a permanent revolution; the political, antibureaucratic revolution in the workers states. The document emphasized that it was not a question of simply adding up the three sectors, since the world revolution constitutes a whole whose various parts have a reciprocal effect on each other. And most of the text was specifically devoted to a study of the characteristics of each of these sectors and their interaction with each other.

But the document was not limited to an examination of the "objective" conditions of the world revolution; it dealt with the "subjective" conditions in just as thorough a fashion. Reviewing the necessity for revolutionary leaderships (building such leaderships was the task the Fourth International had set for itself from its very foundation), the document replied to a question raised by numerous activists who felt neither deliberate hostility toward the Fourth International nor hostility toward the necessity of a democratically centralized party. That question was: Why hasn't the Fourth International developed into a mass organization? Why wasn't it able to do so after the period of ebb, which extended from 1923 to 1943, came to a close?

The document does not dodge this question. It points out how the defeat of Nazism, due in great part to the Soviet armies, had directly served to strengthen the Stalinist leaderships. Working-class militants at the end of the first world war had been outraged by the treason of the Second International, which had led them to slaughter one another in an imperialist war, and they had responded to the appeals of the Third International. In the second world war, the combination of an inter-imperialist war with a war for the defense of the Soviet Union against Hitlerism had engendered mixed feelings and political confusion at the war's end. The document also showed how—since the crisis of Stalinism developed under extremely complex conditions, while the countries with the greatest Marxist traditions were going through a stage of political apathy on the part of the working class—the Fourth International had come up against numerous and substantial obstacles to progress. Nevertheless, these obstacles had not prevented the Fourth International from making more and more solid progress, as the old leaderships suffered erosion.

This document³¹ ended with an exceptionally forceful justification of the need, more imperative in today's world than ever before, for the Fourth International as it is today, in order to build the mass Fourth International of tomorrow. To our knowledge, no one has attempted to criticize this document, or even partially or indirectly answer it.

Attacks Against the Reunited International (The Splitters)

The Reunification Congress had put an end to an organizational situation that had given momentum to the centrifugal forces operating on the International; but these forces had not disappeared with the reunification, nor had the difficulties in this area been overcome.

The majority of the organizations brought together in the reunited International encountered no difficulties, even of a minor order, amongst themselves. On the contrary, they had to defend the International against those who had not wanted to participate in the reunification, and for several months internally against the faction led by Pablo. For the latter groups, the reunification constituted a step that, in the long run, threatened their existence, and they had to try to break it up while it was still weak.

The congress had reunited a very large majority of the Trotskyist forces. The Posadas faction was soon to dwindle to a single group in Argentina of slight importance; everywhere else it was composed of individuals. When everywhere else it was composed of individuals, the Pablo faction publicly broke with the International, Pablo about a year after the congress, that faction, too, was numerically very weak. The only two groups of any size outside the International are the SLL in Great Britain and the OCI in France. But what could be clearly seen from inside the International was not so obvious to the world at large, since these groups made their existence known through publications that concentrated on attacking the International.

We have already presented the sectarian positions of the Healy and Lambert groups, and it is not necessary to take this up again at any length. Curiously enough, they intensified their attacks against the "Pablotte" International even several years after Pablo's split, and their attacks were directed to a much lesser degree against Pablo himself, whom they ignored from the moment he broke with the International. It was not Pablo and his ideas that both-

ered them, but rather the very existence and activity of the International and its sections. The Healy and Lambert groups made a big fuss about holding an international conference of their "Committee" in April 1966, aimed at "reconstructing" the Fourth International; this conference was completely unsuccessful and wound up in a break with those who had attended as observers.

The Posadas group had been especially harmful to the International in Latin America, where, to the Cubans in particular, it represented (wrongly) Trotskyism and the Fourth International. Castro's attack on the Fourth International—as well as on other revolutionary tendencies—at the Tricontinental Conference in Havana in January 1966 was partially based on the incorrect positions taken by the Posadas group. Without for one instant abating its activity in defense of the Cuban revolution, the Fourth International politely but firmly challenged Castro's anti-Trotskyist statements. We were able to ascertain the result obtained on this point when, the following year, on the anniversary of the Tricontinental Conference, Radio Havana rebroadcast Castro's speech without, however, including the part directed against the Fourth International and the other revolutionary tendencies.

The struggle that Pablo and his faction undertook, right after the congress, lasted several months, during which time they often went from one subject to another. With the defeat suffered by the French working class as a result of de Gaulle's coming to power, it was the development of the Algerian revolution, in the years preceding and immediately following its conquest of independence, that heavily influenced Pablo's thinking. He saw, and correctly so, analogies between the course of the Algerian revolution and the course of the Cuban revolution, and, consequently, hoped for a victorious socialist revolution in Algeria. There was no disagreement with Pablo on that point. But losing more and more contact with the Fourth International on one hand, and placing false hopes in his personal opportunities for intervening at the top levels of the Algerian movement on the other hand, he wound up not so much by elaborating an international political line, whether opportunistic or sectarian—at that time he adopted positions in an impressionistic fashion and often changed them from top to bottom in a very short space of time³²—as by denying the need for an international organization, functioning as at present on the basis of democratic centralism. He put forward a concept of the Fourth International that he had formerly vigorously denounced, i.e., a federation of factions independent of each other and acting in common only on questions on which they were in agreement. After the split, he devoted himself principally to commenting on events; therefore he favored using mass movements as they are rather than building new revolutionary parties.

The Degeneration of the Ceylonese Section

One of the most painful questions facing the united leadership was that of the Ceylonese section. This is the place to discuss the entire problem.

The Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP) was a section of the Fourth International with very special characteristics in comparison with all the other sections, by reason of its origin, its composition, its function and influence in its own country. To a large extent, this stemmed from certain characteristics of the political and social situation in Ceylon itself. Although neighbor to India, this island had had no bourgeois movement for independence, as was the case for India, whose Congress party even dared to organize an uprising against British colonialism during the second world war, in British colonialism's most difficult days.

Ceylon's struggle for independence was launched by young intellectuals of bourgeois origin who, in the course of their sojourn in British universities during the 1930s, had been won over to Communist ideas. Moreover, the most outstanding of these young people, moved by the defeat of the second Chinese revolution and seeking the reasons for that defeat, became aware of Trotsky's positions on China and adopted the theory of permanent revolution. Returning to Ceylon, they created the LSSP and began to organize the workers into trade unions. During the war, the LSSP got rid of the Ceylonese Stalinists who, because of the alliance between the Soviet Union and British imperialism, refused to wage a struggle against colonialism.

Imprisoned as a result of the repression, these young Trotskyists managed to escape and make their way to India, where they took part in that country's struggles and helped found the Indian section of the Fourth International. Back in Ceylon after the war, their wartime attitude earned them enormous popularity among the working-class masses. The Ceylonese bourgeoisie, more exactly its comprador part strongly attached to British capitalism, benefited from the latter's retreat and obtained independence in India's wake in 1948, without having to wage the slightest struggle for it. The political party of this comprador bourgeoisie, the UNP (United National party), came to power. The LSSP then surged forward as the island's second party—the party of the workers.

Thus this party, which had gotten rid of its Stalinist wing and had joined the Fourth International, did not arise out of crises within the working-class movement and struggles against the old leaderships—as did the other sections of the Fourth International. It was rather the fruit of courageous action by a team of young, revolutionary intellectuals who, the first to do so in Ceylon, had organized the working class and demanded the

32. To mention only a few examples of his most impressionistic positions: he counted on imperialism's rapid retreat from Vietnam early in 1965, which attested to his belief in "peaceful coexistence"; he saw "political revolution" in Yugoslavia when Rankovic was eliminated; he made an abrupt change on China, in favor of the Soviet leadership; he made a series of political zigzags on Ceylon, etc.

country's independence from British imperialism.

Heading the party was a team composed for the most part of men like Colvin R. de Silva, Leslie Gunawardene, Bernard Soysa, Doric de Souza, Edmund Samarakody, men of great intellectual worth and great fighting spirit. There were also other elements in the leadership, such as N.M. Perera, far less attached to theoretical questions, opportunistic in character, whose authority stemmed from his systematic trade-union work. These elements were held in check by the leading nucleus. The ranks of the party were composed of very militant workers, very devoted to their class.

But for objective reasons, there had from the start been quite a big gap between the political education of the leadership and that of the rank and file. The overwhelming majority of the workers do not know English. In the absence of adequate material in the Sinhalese or Tamil languages for their political education, the workers had only a rudimentary notion of Marxist principles and the theories of Trotsky and the Fourth International. In its mass, the LSSP was not really Trotskyist in origin.

The party also went through internal struggles, and petty-bourgeois elements were fought and eliminated by the LSSP leadership, which for years acted as a true revolutionary leadership, working to advance its organization toward Trotskyism. Its attitude on August 12, 1953, when a *hartal* (general strike) paralyzed the country, was remarkable, and later it most courageously opposed the communalist currents which for a time set one of Ceylon's main nationalities against the other.

Nevertheless, despite their intellectual qualities, members of this leadership were not without weakness. The party did not have a real Bolshevik organizational structure; its congresses were actually general assemblies in which eloquent oratory often outweighed sound political argument. After a while, when the organization had made electoral gains, political education was neglected in favor of superficial activism, and growing parliamentary tendencies in the party could be observed. While acknowledging these tendencies, the leadership did not fight against them hard enough, and eventually it itself became infected.

Finally, while the party had a solid working-class base, it barely had a toehold in the rural masses that constitute the majority of the island's population. The party hardly had a program for them—and this proved to be an important factor in leading to its political debacle. For a long time, the party had taken hold only among the Sinhalese workers (workers in the port city of Colombo, transport workers, clerical workers, etc.); only with difficulty did the party reach the biggest part of Ceylon's proletariat, the plantation workers made up of Indians "imported" long ago by the British for the latter's needs. These workers still have no citizenship, neither Ceylonese nor Indian.

The International had frequently called the LSSP leadership's attention to these weaknesses and to the necessity for remedying them. But the International's efforts were limited to those members who could understand English, and under the circumstances, this meant the most advanced section, i.e., the leadership of the party.

For many years, there had been only two opposing parties on the national level, the UNP and the LSSP. During the 1950s, however, the Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) arose out of a split in the UNP. To the surprise of the LSSP leaders, the new party's success in the 1956 election brought it to power. Instead of proceeding to a profound analysis of the causes for this electoral victory, the LSSP's leaders, who very correctly characterized the SLFP as a bourgeois party with a wider base than the UNP, judged that the new party, like the UNP, would rapidly wear out its credit and that the LSSP would then have a clear field.

It was with this perspective that the LSSP approached the March 1960 elections, in which it hoped to win a parliamentary majority. The tremendous effort the party put into these elections made its defeat all the more painful. From that time on, the LSSP's leadership found itself politically disoriented. It began to vacillate politically; the influence of N.M. Perera, who became more open in advancing reformist positions, began to spread. Right after these elections, N.M. Perera proposed that the LSSP enter a government coalition with the SLFP. This proposal was rejected, but the LSSP's parliamentary group practically gave the bourgeois government of the SLFP a vote of confidence. The Fourth International publicly disavowed that vote.³³

Later on, when the masses went into action against some of the new government's measures, the LSSP went over to the opposition, but without making a serious

self-criticism of its previous attitude. The relative consolidation of the SLFP in the 1960 elections resulted in accentuating the vacillation of the LSSP leadership. It had to suffer the political consequences of neglecting the problems of the Ceylonese agricultural workers. It did not understand that this new bourgeois party, unlike the comprador UNP, was based on the "national bourgeoisie" and that this party had been able to win support among the rural masses neglected by the LSSP.

Nevertheless, there was another partial turn to the left by the party in 1962-63, when the masses again went into action. Together with the Ceylonese Communist party and a small, radical-seeming bourgeois organization, the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP), the LSSP formed what was called the United Left Front. This organization was well received by the Ceylonese masses and could have, were it not for the inadequacy of its program, constituted the point of departure of an extraparlimentary struggle for power. But a half-fought fight paved the way for disaster.

Inside the leadership, N.M. Perera, for a long time held in check by the intellectual authority and political strength of the other members of the leadership, gained free rein as a result of the latter's vacillations. The leadership, disoriented and unsure, was divided: on one side, the main nucleus, including Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Gunawardene, adopted a conciliatory position toward the SLFP; on the other, Edmund Samarakody and Bala Tampoe defended correct, principled positions, but in a political form that the International considered sectarian and hardly likely to convince the rank and file to oppose the party's political concessions. In this troubled situation, N.M. Perera entered into negotiations with the prime minister, without the party's knowledge, then demanded the immediate calling of a special congress of the party to answer the proposals for a government coalition that the prime minister had made to him. By then the Ceylonese organization had reached an advanced stage of political degeneration. At the congress, about 25 percent of the members rejected in principle any participation in the government, any participation in a bourgeois regime. The old Colvin R. de Silva-Leslie Gunawardene team, which for twenty-five years had led the party, received only 10 percent of the votes on an amendment to the Perera resolution, and in the final vote only retained 4 to 5 percent—the remaining votes going to Perera who became head of the organization. With certain of his friends, he entered the government.

After the Sixth World Congress's condemnation of the 1960 budget-vote—a condemnation independently supported by the position publicly taken in *The Militant* by the U.S. Socialist Workers party—the LSSP leadership still had not sufficiently rectified its orientation. Its oscillations continued. In numerous interventions, the International tried to change the LSSP's line in a more vigorous and thoroughgoing fashion. At the Seventh World Congress, which preceded the reunification of the International, Ceylon was represented by Comrade Samarakody. At that time, the left wing to which he belonged had dissociated itself from the centrist majority of the leadership, but without deeming it necessary as yet to organize a faction for waging the struggle. The LSSP had just organized the United Left Front. The congress forwarded a long letter to the LSSP, in which it stressed the inadequacies of this policy on four fundamental points:

- a) Insufficient critical analysis of the 1960 error;
- b) Lack of clarity with respect to the extraparlimentary nature of the potentialities of the United Left Front, in contrast with its parliamentary aspects;
- c) Failure to publicly criticize the opportunistic policy of its allies (the CP and the MEP);
- d) Failure to include the Tamil plantation-workers' trade-union organizations in the United Left Front.

Later, on April 23, 1964, when the United Secretariat of the Fourth International was informed of N.M. Perera's moves, it condemned them, declaring that accepting such a policy would be tantamount to betrayal. At the congress held in Colombo June 6-7 of the same year, the Fourth International's delegate denounced the policy of coalition from the speakers' platform. To all the Ceylonese people who were following the congress's proceedings, he publicly declared that if such a policy were adopted, it would cause a split between the LSSP and the International. Immediately after the vote, the break was effected by the United Secretariat.

Supporters of the Fourth International regrouped after the congress's vote for the purpose of reestablishing the Trotskyist organization. Unfortunately, Trotskyism had suffered a severe blow in Ceylon, and the Trotskyist movement in that country has never since regained a firm foundation.

(To be continued)

33. See installment No. in our issue of Translator

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THE WORLD REVOLUTION

Socialist Alternative In US Elections

BY DAVE HOLMES

Shortly after we go to press the United States will go to the polls. Already the result is clear - Richard Nixon will win another four year term. There are differences between Nixon and his Democratic opponent George McGovern, but they are simply tactical. Both represent the interests of the American imperialist bourgeoisie - their differences are on the level of how to best preserve "the American (capitalist) way of life" from all the domestic and international challenges facing it.

As a matter of principle, socialists never support capitalist candidates in elections. But there is a socialist alternative to Nixon and McGovern and their system in the American elections. It is the campaign of the American Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP is running Linda Jenness for President and Andrew Pulley for Vice President. The SWP is also running 100 local candidates across America.

There are many obstacles in the path of a small revolutionary socialist party trying to mount a campaign. A tremendous effort has to be made first to get on the ballot in the various states. (Of course the Republicans and Democrats automatically get on to the ballot in all states.) This involves legal battles in the courts and the obtaining of large numbers of signatures. As of September the SWP and

its supporters had collected over 450,000 signatures in 27 states. About 90,000 were collected in Massachusetts alone.

To date the SWP has won a place on the



Linda Jenness

ballot in 25 states. (This was almost twice as many as the American Communist Party.)

The bourgeois parties have other advan-



Andrew Pulley

tages. They have enormous campaign chests to buy advertising time on radio, television and the press. Also, their partisans monopolistically control the media and help them in a variety of ways. Through the media, campaign propaganda pours out in a great flood called "news". The "equal time" provision on radio and television has been seriously eroded with a view to denying parties like the SWP the chance to present their views.

Despite such obstacles the SWP has run a very successful campaign and has made a considerable impact. Jenness and Pulley have spoken at over 500 campaign meetings and rallies. More than 2,500,000 pieces of campaign literature have been distributed, publicising the revolutionary socialist position on labor, women, blacks, chicanos, other minorities and the youth. Despite its bias the press have had to pay some attention to the SWP campaign. In the quiet first three weeks of August articles about Jenness and Pulley appeared in 67 newspapers in 23 states. Over 12,000 people have formally endorsed the SWP campaign as a positive alternative to the Republican and Democratic slates.

Very reluctantly some capitalist candidates have been forced to debate Jenness and Pulley and other SWP candidates. George McGovern's persistent refusal to accept Jenness's call for a debate has unsettled many of his youthful supporters who think he is "different". The SWP campaign has scored McGovern's continued slide to the right away from the positions he expressed early in his candidacy to win the rebellious youth to his side. He sent an irate letter to Jenness, accusing her and her supporters of making him a "special target" and charging them with "irrational and unwise argumentativeness".

The Stalinist Communist Party is running an "independent" campaign in response to the growing impact of the SWP on radical youth. But this "independent" campaign notwithstanding, the Stalinist press openly supports McGovern, the "lesser evil" candidate!

SWP campaigners have no illusion about the likelihood of rolling up a big vote in the elections. Restrictive ballot laws, the capitalist monopoly of the media, and the continuing illusions most Americans have about bourgeois parties rule out such a possibility. So tight is the control of the electoral apparatus by the defenders of the status quo, that anticapitalist votes more often than not go uncounted.

The SWP candidates and their supporters will be well satisfied if their election campaign makes it possible to reach more people than ever before with the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

Interview with Greek Trotskyist

(The following interview with Theologos Psaradelles, a member of the KDKKE (Kommunistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados - Internationalist Communist Party of Greece), Greek section of the Fourth International, appeared in the September 30 issue of the French revolutionary-socialist weekly "Rouge". Psaradelles had just arrived in France shortly after escaping for the third time from Greek jails. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.)

Question. In the years before coming to Paris, you have gone through quite a bit. Could you briefly tell us about it?

Answer. The Greek police arrested me for the first time in 1967. I was tortured, but released for lack of evidence. The second time, in May 1969 they had evidence. After being beaten for days on end, I was stuck in a neighborhood police station. Actually, escape was not really very difficult. After getting hold of a little money, I took the boat to Mytilene. From there I got to Turkey on a stolen boat by rowing for eighteen hours.

The political asylum granted by the Turkish authorities meant living under surveillance in an isolated spot 300 kilometers east of Ankara. I escaped twice with the idea of going to Bulgaria and, if everything went all right, to Western Europe. The first time I was caught a few kilometers from the border. The second time I succeeded and turned myself in at the first Bulgarian outpost.

After being transferred from prison to prison, I was interrogated at great length. Without telling them that I was a member of the Fourth International, I asked them to let me go to Western Europe if they did not want to keep me. Their answer came on the train that was apparently supposed to be bringing me back to Turkey when I saw Greek policemen get on board. At that point, I jumped from the train and walked and ran for forty kilometers in a freezing rain. But since I have rheumatism, and since the border area with Greece is tightly controlled (the people who live there belong to para-

military organizations), I was finally arrested, and shortly afterward, sent to Athens.

Q. What is the situation facing our Greek comrades?

A. The dictatorship hit our organization very hard and, in spite of the real growth we experienced during the sixties, we were neither numerically strong enough nor politically mature enough to resist. And so, a sizeable split occurred just after the coup d'etat, and a large number of our members left to get involved in violent activities - without attempting to consol-

idate the organization - and allied themselves with the centrists and the activists of the EDA (Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras - Union of the Democratic Left, legal form of the Greek Communist Party prior to the coup). They were convinced that their actions would bring down the regime.

The main tasks for the comrades who, like me, remained in the section was to reorganize our forces and to sink roots in the masses.

Q. Where do things stand with the political forces on the Greek left?

Theologos Psaradelles



A. All the political forces in Greek society were completely shaken up by the dictatorship. The pre-1967 bourgeois parties no longer amount to anything, and yesterday's "liberals" are today carrying on a dialogue with the regime. The Greek Communist party has split and lost all credibility. The only ones who in the final analysis have been able - even though weakened numerically - to survive politically are the Trotskyists.

In the aftermath of the April 21 coup, because of the crisis of both bourgeois liberalism and Stalinist reformism, the dominant tendency on the Greek left has become the spontaneist organizations that hoped to mobilize the masses through terrorist activity.

Today this tendency is in retreat, not only because of its inability to resolve the unprecedented crisis of leadership in the working class through its methods but also, paradoxically, because of the beginning signs of mobilizations, which present the vanguard with problems of a much more precise character.

Q. What tasks confront the vanguard in the present situation in Greece?

A. The political crisis unquestionably persists - and with it the inability of the dictatorship to gain a popular base. Indeed, the dictatorship is unable, without undermining its very existence, to satisfy even the slightest economic and political demands of the workers or to grant political freedoms to the masses.

Recently, in April and May, mobilizations took place at the university. They were, in fact, only the first after a long period during which the masses took no part in politics, and they will not be the last.

In view of the decomposition of the Greek Communist party, more and more newly radicalized young militants are being drawn toward revolutionary Marxism. Our comrades, by taking advantage of the growing radicalization among Greek youth and by preparing for coming struggles, are actively working to build the Greek section of the Fourth International.

Further Crisis for Allende in Chile

BY PAUL KEIG

Since August the right-wing opponents of President Salvador Allende, both inside and outside the state apparatus have mounted increasing pressure on the popular-front regime. In this campaign they have been able to exploit popular discontent created by rising prices for consumer goods and shortages of essential items. Faced with imperialist economic reprisals and the sabotage of local capitalists, retailers, and big farmers, the government has found itself in worsening economic difficulties.

Trying to remain within the framework of capitalist legality, Allende has been unable either to take decisive measures against rightist subversion or to meet the demands of the masses who hopes for a better life were aroused by the popular-front victory on September 4, 1970, and who have been hardest hit by rising prices and shortages. This September prices rose again by more than 22 percent.

In the second week of October, the pressures on the Allende government jumped to a new level. A nationwide truck strike beginning October 10 brought serious shortages of gasoline and flour, forcing the regime to declare martial law in an area from Valparaiso province, 85 miles north of the capital, to Bio-Bio province, 315 miles to the south. (About 70 percent of the population lives in this belt.)

It was a small businessmen's strike that provoked the last crisis of the regime in August.

In the night of October 13-14, the government seized all of the radio stations in the country, reportedly to prevent rightists from spreading alarmist rumors. The regime and its supporters have often complained about right wing stations and commentators inciting fears of coming shortages and of "Communist atrocities".

Just after midnight on October 13, Allende broadcast a message denouncing fascists and profascists who he said, were trying to paralyze Chile. But "he also called on the Government's left wing supporters to abstain from any moves - such as the occupation of factories, communication centres, or public buildings - that could be interpreted as a 'provocation' and cause the army to stand against the Government," an A.P. dispatch reported October 13.

Allende had good reason to worry about the attitude of the army. The state of emergency decreed by the minister of the interior, a member of the Communist

Party, put the military in effective control of the country.

In its anxiety to defend itself by "constitutional" means, the popular-front government denied freedoms not only to the militant right but to the left and to the workers' and people's organizations. Moreover, since the state apparatus remains under bourgeois control and the right is already well organized, these restrictions can be expected to be much more effective against the left than against the reactionary opponents of the regime.

In fact, by ordering harsh administrative measures against the rightists and at the same time repressing the masses and preventing them from taking control of the society, Allende risked infuriating the petty bourgeois layers supporting the parliamentary right and, in the last analysis, leaving himself defenceless against them.

One of the dangers facing the country was pointed out by Edgardo Enriquez, a member of the Political Committee of the MIR, in the October 10 "Punto Final": "Historical

experience shows that while fascist movements develop in prerevolutionary situations or in situations with prerevolutionary features, it is no less true that fascism can grow and spread in a situation where there is a prolonged and persistent working class upsurge but where, because of a vacillating and conciliatory policy by the reformist political leaderships of the popular movement, the workers fail to take power into their own hands".

Allende finds himself in a rather tight bind as a result of his dogged adherence to the norms of bourgeois law. Thus, while on the one hand his government issued an appeal to "the people" to "respond with organization, unity and mobilisation to the provocations of the seditious right", on the other hand it stripped the working class of its right to mobilize by placing the country under a form of martial law. Meanwhile, the right continues to mobilise in open violation of the law, and the popular-front government urges the working masses to trust not in their own strength but in the generals who command the bourgeois armed forces.

NZ Socialist Campaign for Labor

BY DAVE HOLMES

The New Zealand Trotskyists of the Socialist Action League (SAL) are conducting a vigorous campaign to return a Labour government in the November 25 elections. However, the SAL's Socialist for Labour Campaign differs markedly from the conservative, lacklustre official party campaign.

The SAL campaign is a socialist alternative to that of right wing Labour leader Norman Kirk. (Kirk is so right wing that during the government's fight earlier this year with the seamen's union he attacked the government, from the right, for not acting strongly enough.) The Socialists for Labour Campaign calls for support for union struggles, and end to the wage freeze, strict price and rent control, the repeal of all antiabortion laws, an end to all sporting contact with apartheid South Africa, an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and the nationalisation of all basic industry and the banks under workers control.

New Zealand's Labour Party has lost every election but one since 1949. The essential reason is the timid and rightist policies of its leaders who don't project Labour as a clear, fighting, socialist alternative to the ruling big business National Party.

The Socialists for Labour Campaign was launched at the May Labour Party national conference in Wellington. The SAL's intervention there had a considerable impact and was reported in most of the major newspapers. The SAL intervention fitted in well with the radical mood of many of the delegates. The Kirk leadership attempted to avoid discussion of any critical motions, especially many that came from the Labour youth conference held just prior to the party meeting.

Shortly after the conference, Labour's National Executive proscribed the SAL saying that "membership of the League is incompatible with membership of the Party." Such antidemocratic actions reflect the bureaucracy's fear of criticism. But the SAL has mounted a vigorous defence campaign and many party activists and parliamentary candidates have signed a petition defending the right of SALers to be Labour members and put forward their oppositional views. At least one party branch has said it will not reject SALers but welcome them as dedicated socialists.

Kirk has developed an acute case of paranoia about the SAL campaign. When Labour's Wellington regional body invited SAL activist and feminist Kay Goodger to speak at a seminar it ran in September, Kirk successfully applied

maximum pressure to have her barred. As other radicals still remained on the speakers platform Kirk barred all Labour candidates from attending. All complied. For the SAL this leadership conservatism and timidity underlines the need for socialists "to do what the party leadership categorically refuses to do: Bring into the election the real issues people are concerned about and acting on today".

As the revolutionary socialist paper "Socialist Action" stated September 29 in calling for a Labour victory against National: "... Labour's chances are not enhanced by the Kirk leadership's 'don't rock the boat' approach, which these days seems to consist mainly of frequent addresses to businessmen's gatherings in a pathetic attempt to convince them that Labour parliamentarians will better protect their interests than the National Party.

"Labour can become the government in November, only if it mobilises support among the working people of this country, by taking up the demands of the unions and the movements of social protest, and providing a clear alternative to National and its big business backers."

The pioneering campaign of the New Zealand Trotskyists shows what can and must be done.

Canada: The Elections and Labour

BY DAVE HOLMES

Canada's Federal elections, held on October 30 resulted in a crushing defeat for the ruling Liberal Party of Pierre Trudeau. The Liberals lost something like 37 seats and it is problematical whether Trudeau will be able or will try to form a (minority) government. The likely line up of the parties in the new parliament is: Liberals 109, Conservative 109, New Democratic Party 30, Social Credit 15, and Independent 2.

Above all the Liberals were dumped because of massive unrest over the soaring unemployment - 7.1%, the highest figure in 11 years - and the rising cost of living - inflation is currently running at 5.3% annually.

Trudeau, quite characteristically for the slick bourgeois politician that he is, didn't address himself to such mundane issues. A typical piece of Trudeau's campaign style is quoted in "Newsweek" (6/11/72): "In 1968 Canada wasn't exactly fair Verona. It was a pretty troubled Canada... Now Canadians are no longer looking for their identity. It's arrived. It's here. Perhaps we haven't boasted enough." In the face of their real and unresolved problems masses of Canadians evidently feel the Liberals had nothing to boast about.

The election results and the ensuing parliamentary crisis make somewhat dubious Trudeau's bombastic pre-election claim that the Liberal Government had solved the problems of Canadian Federalism - "This is happening just in time", Trudeau told an Ontario rally. "After 100 years of confederation, we had to pull it together." ("Australian" 30, 10, 72).

Neither is Federal Canada united behind Trudeau's Liberals nor has his "permanent solution" to the drive of the Quebec for self-determination achieved much acceptance. Bilingualism hasn't satisfied the oppressed Quebecois (the Liberals lost their popular vote majority in Quebec but hold a majority of seats) and it apparently isn't wildly

popular in English speaking Canada. Federation remains in crisis.

Roy McCartney in the "Sydney Morning Herald" (1/11/72) interpreted the Liberal slump and Conservative gains as a "swing to the right". This claim seems a dubious one. Later in his article a more likely answer is given - "Mr. Stanfield (the Conservative leader) campaigned on putting in a team that would 'govern' and do something about unemployment and inflation."

Canadian Federal parliamentary politics is still very much a capitalist shell game. The two biggest parties - the Liberals and Conservatives - and the smaller Social Credit Party, who between them hold 232 of the 264 seats, are all capitalist through and through. It is thus quite explicable that dissatisfaction with the Liberals should in part boost the Conservatives.

The only party of any size that is not tied to big business is Canada's 11 year old Labour Party - the union based New Democratic Party (NDP) led by David Lewis. The NDP model modest gains, adding 5 seats to its previous 25. This advance follows its great success in the recent British Columbia provincial elections (see Direct Action No. 27) where it swept the ruling Social Credit Party from a 20 year term of office.

Lewis, while hardly the socialist that the Australian press has termed him, did score the responsibility of the Liberals and their big business friends for the dire problems facing Canadian workers. As the "Australian" (30, 10, 72) reported: "All parties agreed that Mr. Lewis has built up NDP strength by attacking 'corporate welfare bums', companies that have become rich on government grants and tax concessions without creating as many jobs as Canada needs".

The NDP holds the balance of power in the new parliament. Lewis has said that the NDP will not form any coalition but will support any minority government that deals with the problem of unemployment, the high cost of living and government favoritism

towards big business.

The Canadian Trotskyists campaigned in English-speaking Canada for an NDP victory under the slogan "Labor to Power with the NDP". As the revolutionary socialist biweekly Labor Challenge editorialised September 11: "The real issue in this election is what class will hold the reins of political power in Ottawa and what class interests will be defended and advanced by the next government... Only the NDP stands for the interests of the working people".

However, the Canadian Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action / Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSA/LSO) have criticised the NDP leadership for failing to present a clear cut programmatic challenge to the bosses' parties. In fact, the NDP even supports federalism and has little mass support in oppressed Quebec. There the LSA gave it limited support only and called on the Quebec labour movement to form a labour party that could mobilise the Quebec workers and their allies against their class and national oppression.

Dissatisfaction with the basically conservative NDP leadership extends deep

In Memory of Trelew Martyrs

The following statement was issued September 23 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the international revolutionary socialist party. The Trelew massacre refers to the August 22 shooting of 19 guerrilla prisoners by prison guards at the Trelew naval-air base in Argentina. The ERP is the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (People's Revolutionary Army) and the PRT is the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party).

At the opening of this first meeting of the United Secretariat after the Trelew massacre, the leadership of the Fourth International on behalf of all revolutionaries throughout the world honours the memory of the comrades of the ERP-PRT

and the comrades of the other organizations who were vilely murdered by the Argentine military dictatorship.

The reaction of the Argentine revolutionary youth and the vanguard of the labour movement against this massacre proves that these comrades did not fight and die in vain.

The United Secretariat expresses its solidarity with the PRT in its struggle against the repression of which it is a victim and appeals to all the sections to intensify their campaign in defense of the persecuted Argentine revolutionaries, a campaign that has already achieved results with the asylum granted first in Chile, and then in Cuba, to Comrade Santucho and his comrades.

Labor & Socialism: A Letter & A Reply

The Editors
Direct Action,

I was somewhat puzzled to read in DA No. 27 of what the editors thought was a necessary program of action (a "program of struggle" as you put it,) for effective government by the sham workers' party, the A.L.P.

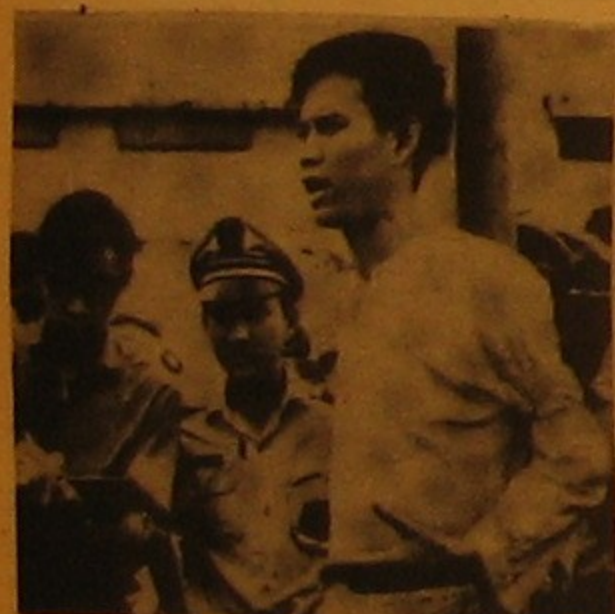
Your talk of a sliding scale of hours and a sliding scale of wages, as honourable as those innovations themselves may be, did not for one moment question the structure of the vehicle for putting those measures into effect i.e. the Australian Labor Party.

This came as a surprise to me, since I had thought that you would have been among the first to realise the intrinsic relationship between Australian corporate capitalism and its representatives: those two parties which dominate the Australian political arena, the Liberal and Labor parties. Any knowledge of the Australian ruling-class exposes at once the structural integration of Big Business with the leading political institutions, and it is certainly not an integration which can be explained away by a condemnation of "conservative opportunism A.L.P. leadership", or any other leadership. It is an integration which acts as a living testimony to the sway which corporate capitalism holds over Australian society as a whole, and any attempt to remedy the situation by struggling within a structure, acknowledged

Garry Cousins' letter raises some very basic questions of revolutionary policy. His essential mistake is to take a one-sided and hence false view of the Labor party and thereby fail to see the road Australian revolutionaries must travel.

To clear up any possible doubts on where we stand, we begin with an ABC of revolutionary politics. Socialism will only come about when the vast majority of the labour movement and its allies, in their tens and hundreds of thousands mobilise in direct struggles to fight the exploitation and oppression that is their lot in capitalist society. Furthermore, history has shown repeatedly that such mobilisations can only be ultimately successful in effecting the transition from capitalism to workers' power and socialism if a revolutionary party stands at the head of the mass movement.

Such a party, like the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky which in 1917 in Russia led the world's first successful socialist revolution, has yet to be built in Australia. The forces around DIRECT



LABOR'S VIETNAM RECORD
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

after being accused (or so he thought) of unpatriotism. And do his block he might, for he had held his end up during the Great Patriotic War Against Fascism.

The Liberals won Kooyong with a reduced majority, which, under the circumstances (the seat belonged to Menzies before) gave neither party any real comfort.

Calwell pushed the debate a little further at the Tasmanian Conference in April: "I will live or perish" on the conscription issue. "If and when we become a Government all conscripts then serving overseas... will be immediately brought home." What, asked Holt, Fairhall, and "The Sydney Morning Herald", and let down our regular troops in Vietnam?

Whitlam, speaking in a television debate, said he thought a Labor Government would give national servicemen serving in Vietnam "a free opportunity of withdrawing from active service". When asked was he publicly disagreeing with Calwell, he said "It's up to you to put

ged as an indirect instrument of capital, must be abortive, to say the least.

This contradiction on the part of the editors was heightened by the content of two other articles in the same issue.

First, in your article describing the secondary-school students' action on September 20th, you reprimanded the QSSU for failing to realise that the students who demonstrated were sick and tired of registering their discontent with the appropriate "official" bodies. I agree wholeheartedly with your stand here.

Secondly, in your round-up of world affairs on page 12, you reprimanded President Allende of Chile for attempting to steer the Unidad Popular away from the revolutionary cause, "and against all Marxist logic to fight for socialism through the parliamentary structures". Again I agree with you.

However, the fact remains that when we compare the tone of these two articles with that of the editorial, we are left with a gaping inconsistency, and one which I believe is serious: advocating both revolution and revisionism, opportunistic reformism (and in the same issue at that) seems to me an obstinate and irresolute contradiction. But perhaps you can explain why it is not.

Yours etc.,
Garry Cousins.

ACTION see this task as the most urgent one facing socialists in Australia today. Our policy, which we shall outline in relation to the ALP, is a concrete answer to the burning questions — how do we build that party; how does a tiny movement grow to become, for the mass of workers, a real alternative to their present leaderships.

Garry Cousins describes the ALP as a "sham workers' party" and says it is "acknowledged as an indirect instrument of capital". This is not the whole truth. From the point of view of the policies of its leaders, the ALP doesn't challenge capitalism in any way and never has. Afraid and made timid by the power of big business and its system, the Labor leaders lack confidence in the power of the workers and try to restrain and defuse the militancy of the labour movement and its allies among the rebellious students, women, blacks, etc. They also attempt to restrict the struggle to the parliamentary arena, and away from the streets, factories, campuses, schools, etc. Thus, from this aspect, the ALP is an obstacle

your interpretation on it. I am not commenting on it at all." He didn't need to, the press did that for him.

Tony Mulvihill, NSW Labor Senator, fired the next shot for Whitlam. He gave Caucus notice of a motion calling on Calwell and Whitlam to place their positions in the hands of the Parliamentary Labor Party.

Hounded by the press, Calwell modified his Tasmanian statement: "A Federal Labor Government would not withdraw Australian troops from Vietnam and leave the United States there alone".

In the Caucus ballot for power on 27 April, Calwell beat Whitlam 49 to 24, but undertook to resign if Labor lost the elections. Whitlam obviously had the numbers even at that stage, but many of his supporters would not accept a change of leaders so close to the elections.

To settle the confusion, the Federal Caucus issued its final statement for the election year on Vietnam:

"The ALP opposes the sending of Australian troops to Vietnam and is especially opposed to the sending of conscript troops.
"An Australian Labor Government will direct the Army to bring home without delay the conscripted men who are already there, acting with full regard to the safety and security of the Australian forces.

"For all other Australian forces in Vietnam the Government will have regard to the situation in Vietnam as exists at the time and to the importance of maintaining future co-operation with the United States.

"Whilst it will take no action without consultation with the United States it will work for, and insist upon, the return of all Australian forces from Viet-

across the road to radical social change.

But there is another side to the Labor party. And for us it is the most important side, which to ignore is not only a recipe for disaster and isolation but a profound distortion of historical reality. The ALP is the greatest achievement of the Australian workers' movement. The formation of a party of their own, based on their unions, to fight the bosses and their parties was an historic step forward. Every worker who looks to Labor has achieved a certain class consciousness and it is on that we must build.

This point is more easily seen if we look at the American labour movement. There the world's most powerful working class remains tied to the capitalist two-party swindle. In America labour votes capitalist, i.e., Democratic. For this reason, the formation of a labour party based on the unions would be a great step forward. Whether that party would have a reformist or revolutionary programme cannot be determined in advance. But that is not the point: the labour party is a necessary class experience for the American workers in their political development along the road to independent political action and the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

Because the ALP is historically and structurally based on the workers and their unions it is — conservative and reformist leadership notwithstanding — qualitatively different to the Liberal Party which is based totally on big business and serves their interests alone. Because Labor is a mass workers' party socialists must relate to it. It can and does reflect pressures from all the sectors of the mass movement (the emergence of the Socialist Left caucus in Victoria, the stand of the Victorian ALP on abortion, etc.). The workers don't see Labor as an "acknowledged" weapon of capital not at all! Advanced workers who see through Whitlam and Co want to stay in and fight for a better policy, i.e., a socialist programme.

Precisely because of Labor's relation to the workers and the unions the ALP leadership is limited in how far it can go in curbing the general mass movement. In times when the employers feel the need of harsh and decisive measures they will turn, not to the ALP, but to the Liberals — the favoured dependable instrument of parliamentary, democratic capitalism in Australia.

Rejecting all forms of sectarianism, revolutionary socialists must work in all the mass organisations of the class, no matter how reactionary their leaderships. The masses of ordinary people will only see the need for a socialist alternative

DAVE HOLMES

nam as soon as practicable".

It could be said that with the declaration of this policy the Australian Labor Party had made a significant break with pragmatism and cold war mythology and was, for the first time since its stance on the independence struggle of Indonesia, considerably in advance of the mass of the population. The voting public still remembered Korea and before that the "log" of China to the Communists. The ranks of the ALP were not immune to this ideology. During the split in the party, Calwell and his fellows had had to prove that they were anti-communist as the founders of the Democratic Labor Party.

The policy declaration of 12 May 1966 was the result of a compromise between the ideologies and aspirations of a diversity of forces. Calwell was the undisputed leader by virtue of his solid support from the left and the unwillingness of some of the right to rock the boat in an election year. The policy therefore bore aspects of his position, which could be said to be that Vietnam was American folly and should not belong to Australia as well, coupled with a more principled opposition to conscription. Chamberlain's view was that the war was a war of national liberation and "that no legal or moral justification exists for the presence of foreign troops in Vietnam". ("The Western Sun", April 1967.)

Whitlam and the right and centre thought the whole Vietnam affair was a messy job: "The Government appears to have ambled its way in without appearing to have even an inkling on what it intended to do". (Cyril S. Wyndham, ALP General Secretary, in "Australian Quarterly", June 1966, quoted in Playford and Kirsner, "Australian Capitalism", Penguin Books, 1972). They (Whitlam and Co.) were of the view that a strong Labor opposition would lose them votes,

when they test, in action, their present reformist leaders and find them wanting. And we must go through this experience with them so that the correct conclusions can be drawn from it. A tragedy of Australian politics is that for so long the biggest forces on the left (CPA) have rejected such a concept — a by-product of their Stalinisation. Hence, fifty years after the founding of the CPA it remains isolated and people like Whitlam and Hawke dominate the labour movement.

Our programme is aimed at crystallising a left wing in the unions and the ALP. Demands for a sliding scale of wages and hours, an immediate price freeze, repeal of all anti-abortion laws, and to the war, etc., aren't just "innovations" as Garry Cousins says, but a part of a programme of concrete demands around which an alternative left wing leadership will be built. People fight for concrete demands that relate to their deeply felt needs. The function of a programme is to mobilise people in struggle. Our programme is based on the immediate needs of the workers and leads toward the establishment of socialism.

However, it is our firm opinion that the ALP cannot be transformed into a revolutionary party. The leadership will not surrender. It would split the party rather than submit to a revolutionary left wing leadership.

Garry Cousins implies that we estimated that a thorough-going social transformation can come about by parliamentary means. Not at all! — but it is essential for us to utilise parliament and parliamentary elections as a means of reaching people with our ideas. The current Federal elections are a tremendous opportunity for socialists to reach masses of Labor people and supporters with their ideas. While the formula for this is "Labor to power!" we conduct a fighting campaign that aims to mobilise people in struggle. Thus the Socialist Youth Alliance and the Socialist Workers League campaign for a Labor victory on the basis of a class struggle programme involving support for workers' struggles, for women fighting for an end to their oppression, for blacks struggling for self-determination, and so on.

The return of Labor to power is only a beginning. Labor in office presents socialists with a better opportunity to expose the nature of the present leaders, build a mass socialist alternative to them inside the unions and the ALP, and build the revolutionary party which is needed before workers' power and socialism become a reality in Australia.

They were probably right, considering the racist and chauvinist attitudes they attributed to the electorate.

After all, 1966 was the year when the NSW Liberals narrowly rejected an election poster depicting an Australian coolie drawing a cross Sydney Harbour Bridge a rickshaw containing a whip-wielding Chinese fondling a blonde woman ("Sydney Morning Herald", 10 November 1966, quoted in "Australian Capitalism"). They were right in their estimation of the attitude of the masses only insofar as they assumed a correlation between the daily editorials and the voting public and insofar as they assumed that a forthright and unwavering commitment to principles would not find any support among the workers who look to them for guidance.

Any illusions about a left turn on the part of the ALP were, however, soon dispelled. On 13 May the ship boom-aroo was refused a crew, by the Executive of the Seamen's Union, to take supplies to the Vietnam forces. Five days later, when asked should he be forced that a Australian seaman should be don't believe any Australian should be compelled to go to Vietnam. But neither do I believe that any section of the Australian community, the Seamen's Union or anybody else, has the right to prevent any of its members or anybody else from taking supplies to our soldiers in the field if they want to go."

I have outlined only one small period in this history of the Australian Labor Party's attitude towards the Vietnam conflict and conscription, and even that outline is all too brief. But I would submit that an understanding of this period is essential to the development of an adequate critique of the Australian Labor Party.

IN BRIEF.

TRADE UNION BASE EMBARRASSES ALP BRASS

Recently top members of the ALP have criticised trade union leaders like Bob Hawke for playing too large a role in the ALP election campaign. They made criticisms, they said, because they feared that the role of the unionists would leave the Labor Party open to charges of outside control. The ALP must reject such notions, the workers have a right to organise politically and no amount of bluster from the parties of the exploiters must be allowed to obscure this fact.

SO LONG AS THEY'RE WHITE

Attacking the ALP's immigration policy recently, Federal Treasurer Snedden said "The Liberal Party values the contribution of migrants." That is true, the Liberals have brought thousands of immigrants to this country, dumped them in substandard housing in "migrant hostels", provided virtually no migrant classes, crowded immigrant children into sub standard schools and in return the immigrants have contributed to the paymasters of the Liberal Party a cheap pool of labour, which cannot be anything but unskilled because of the language training which is denied them; clearly the Liberals value the contribution of the immigrants greatly — so long as their skins are white.

RED BAITING

The Sydney inner suburban newspaper, "The Glebe" has recently been carrying on a scurrilous smear campaign against the Mayor of Leichhardt City Council, Nick Origglass. Every pretext has been used to attack Origglass, including the fact that he has encouraged activities against the building of expressways which threaten to decimate the inner suburbs, and the fact that for many years he was a Trotskyist. An editorial in a recent issue of "The Glebe" proclaims: "The philosophy of Trotsky is destruction. Of property, of body, of mind, of soul, and of morals." Anyone familiar with Trotsky's writings will recognise the

falsity of "The Glebe's" hysterical slanders. Trotsky devoted his life to the abolition of the system of destruction which is capitalism, he fought for socialism leading masses of people in struggles generated by the oppressive corruption of the capitalist system. Time and time again he rejected the idea that a new social order could be achieved by individuals committing acts of destruction in isolation from the masses of the people, such acts he considered could only isolate socialists from the mass of the working people.

"The Glebe" also attempts to lay the blame for a recent fire in a disused flour mill in Glebe on anti-expressway activists. Two men were killed in the fire. In fact the fire resulted from the fact that the area of Glebe in which the factory is located is at present largely composed of derelict houses as a result of the Department of Main Roads having bought the houses and made them uninhabitable by half wrecking them and leaving the area strewn with piles of rubble. The piles of rubble constitute a grave fire hazard and there have been several fires in the area in recent months. The DMR refuses to remove the fire hazards which it has created, insisting instead that the area will not be safe until large numbers of houses will be demolished. It is attempting to overcome the resistance of local residents by making the whole area unlivable.

SLL CHALLENGES HARRY M. MILLER

The Socialist Labour League, a small sectarian group claiming to be Trotskyist, unable to recruit to its political programme has recently taken to organising apolitical stunts in an attempt to draw young workers into its orbit. It has taken to organising dances and sports afternoons which they hope will attract young people in a way which their sectarian politics will never be able to do. If their recent dance in Redfern is any indication, this attempt to make contact with the masses will flop just as miserably as their political activities. The Redfern function attracted 30 people, most of whom were SLL members. Apparently the SLL was

expecting more response to its entrepreneurial efforts as they had hired a huge hall which looked quite bleak with so few bodies to fill it.

Another preoccupation of the SLL is turning up to anti war and women's liberation actions (actions which they refuse to support) and attempting to photograph SYA and CPA members in the same picture. According to the SLL such pictures "prove" that the politics of SYA are centrist or contain adaptations to Stalinism. Distortion of photographic material has been used to spread lies in the socialist movement before. Stalin was an exceptionally proficient exponent of the art.

UNIQUE?

Reporting the annual "Tribune" dinner, the October 31 issue of the CPA paper "Tribune" says that in his speech, Communist Party National Secretary Laurie Aarons "recalled the unique role of 'Tribune' in the anti war struggle." This comment is a little puzzling. "Tribune's" role has not been unique in its consistently putting forward a position which reflected a clear understanding of the war. Nor has it been unique in that the CPA has been the only group confused by the recent developments in Vietnam. Perhaps what the CPA National Secretary meant was that the "Tribune" and the CPA have held more different opinions and analyses of the war than any other group or paper. The CPA has put forward positions as varied as: "Stop the Bombing-Negotiate", "Victory to the NLF", "Peace Now" and even "Out Now". Its position at the present time is to call for Nixon to "Sign Now". The only way the CPA's role in the anti war movement could be considered unique would be the manner in which it has consistently fallen for each new manoeuvre of the imperialist politicians and because of this, spread illusions which have helped diffuse the anti war movement. Some might characterise the CPA's role as "unique", a more accurate description however would be "opportunistic".

LIBERALS STEP UP PRE-ELECTION UNION BASHING

In an attempt to employ a variation of the traditional Liberal Party red scare election tactics, NSW Premier Askin has threatened to launch a Royal Commission to investigate the functioning of the Builders Labourers Federation. Askin

claims that because the membership chose to elect a Communist (CPA member Jack Munday) as secretary of the union, it is "Communist dominated". If a capitalist stooge is elected, democracy prevails, if a Communist is elected the democratic process has been perverted.

BLACKS IN QUEENSLAND

A report by the Queensland Institute of Medical Research recently tabled in the Queensland Parliament states that black people living on the state government communities on the Edward and Mitchell Rivers suffer from severe overcrowding, poor health and a high death rate. The report goes on to reveal that at the Mitchell River settlement 546 people live in 69 three bedroom houses, 50% shared their quarters with more than nine people. Almost none of the Black children at the settlement slept in their own beds and it was common for younger children to share their parents' room and bed. In one case a grandmother shared a bed with five grandchildren.

Malnutrition at the settlement was general and because of the living conditions, epidemics of infectious diseases were frequent. As yet Bjelke-Petersen's government has not commented on the report.

POLITICAL CENSORSHIP OF ABC

The latest move toward political censorship of the ABC was announced recently. The ABC management plans to break up the current affairs programmes "This Day Tonight" and "Four Corners". The main reason behind the move is pressure from Liberal, Country Party and DLP politicians who have been embarrassed by some of the ABC's political reporters. The programmes will be broken up into state segments so that their scope will no longer encompass regular reports of Federal politics.

BASHING BLACKS TOO TAME

The Queensland Police Union is pressing for the arming of the state's 3,200 police. Apparently the noble upholders of the law are getting bored with bashing black people and drunks, they need an occasional shooting to lighten the tedium.

... STEVE PAINTER

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MUNDEY CASE

Dear Comrade,

As you probably know, Jack Munday is presently under a charge of contempt of court, for statements he made outside the court after Jack Phillips and Bob Pringle were fined \$500 each and put on bonds of \$1,000 dollars to be of good behaviour for three years.

This committee, formed to support Jack Munday, has issued two public statements, and sought and obtained hundreds of signatures to both of these.

The statements and signatories at that date were delivered on Wednesday, 13th October, to Attorney-General McCaw and Justice Minister Addison, and copies were given to the press.

The daily press has published nothing at all about these statements, and "The Australian" even refused to publish an advertisement of one of these.

To assist in publicising our campaign, we ask whether your paper is prepared to publish the enclosed statement, along with the signatories' names and addresses. We think this "Challenge to Attorney-General McCaw" (signed by hundreds of people who directly associate themselves with the statements which Jack Munday is alleged to have made and for which he is being prosecuted) will help expose the obvious political motivation behind the prosecution of Munday, and help our campaign to thwart the Askin Government's intention to jail him.

Yours sincerely,
R. Pringle
Convener.

(Lack of space prevents us printing the whole list: the Defence Committee may be contacted at Rm. 28, Trades Hall-Ed.)

CHALLENGE TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL MCCAW

We the undersigned believe that the charge of contempt of court against Mr. Jack Munday is a political and racist act. We affirm that we believe that, in the trial of Jack Phillips and Bob Pringle on malicious damage to goiposts in July 1971, Judge Head's penalty was: a) a miscarriage of justice; b) that Judge Head acted in a racist manner; c) that the action of workers walking off the job, solidarity from the Black community and the union threat of a national stoppage stopped the Judge sending the two men to jail.

NO SPLIT

Comrade Editor,

After reading references to the activities of the S.U.C.C. in the October 13 issue of "D.A.", I am writing to discuss your suggestions of a split in the Club. Your university correspondent seems to base assertions of splits on indications which he claims appeared in recent editions of our weekly news-sheet "Red Letter". While it seems to us this report is a case of projecting one's own organisational experiences onto others we nevertheless trust that you will grant us space to reply to these assertions.

Firstly the fact that one of our leaflets early in the term bore the authorisation of "L. Trotsky" does not we believe, conflict with our strong held opposition to the modern "Trotskyist" ideology. While recognising Leon Trotsky as a great revolutionary leader and architect of the Red Army we feel that to view his pronouncements of 30 years ago as being universally applicable today is as foolish as doing the

same thing with the writings of Stalin. We see many of Trotsky's criticisms of Stalinism in the 1930's as being formally correct but believe that as long as Socialists tie themselves to 30 year old controversies and continue to look to outdated quarrels which grew out of historical situation quite different from our own for set answers to today's problems their influence on the masses will remain marginal. The task which confronts us is to formulate a strategy for the challenge of the 1970's.

We did not say, as your correspondent suggested, that the policy of the Communist Party has been wrong for the last 50 years. We see periods of both success and failure in its history but what we did say is that unlike other left groupings in Australia the C.P.A. has no illusions about having the definite line for the achievement of Socialism but is now only in the process of formulating a far-reaching policy based on an objective analysis of Australian conditions. By this we mean that the mouthing of revolutionary sounding clichés does not indicate a real revolutionary force but rather history shows that it is those who are prepared to leave the safe backwater of dogmatism and embark upon a rigorous marxist analysis of the present situation who have been most successful.

Finally, as regards Internationalism, the S.U.C.C. like the Communist Party of Australia proudly upholds this principle as we understand it. For us Internationalism does not mean slavishly following the line of overseas parties be they Russian, Chinese or American. We give full support to all anti-imperialist forces and on numerous occasions those in the forefront of the battle against imperialism have expressed appreciation of C.P.A. support. We continue to hold, however, that the best way to help these comrades is to build a Socialist Australia.

Far from having splits the S.U.C.C. is, at the present time growing in numbers and becoming more active. I hope that these few points will serve to clarify for yourself, and in the minds of your readers, the actual position of the S.U.C.C. in regard to the observations of your correspondent.

Venceremos,
Brian McGahen (Sec.)

D.A. REPLIES

Brian McGahen is quite correct to point out that the experience of the revolutionary movement in the past cannot be applied mechanically in analysing present situations. There are however alternatives between looking mechanically to the past for solutions and turning one's back on history because the lessons it has to offer are unpalatable.

Why does the writer say, as if it is a good thing, "that unlike other left groupings in Australia the CPA has no illusions about having the definite line for the achievement of socialism?" Could it be that he thinks that there is nothing wrong with the fact that after a history of more than 50 years the CPA still has not arrived at an analysis of Australian capitalism which enables it to offer decisive leadership in the struggle for socialism? Could it be that he, like many others in the CPA, having rejected the "dogma" of Marxism is floundering helplessly in the morass of bourgeois liberalism unable to understand the role which the past plays in shaping the present? Could it be that he does not understand the reasons behind the unintended decline of the CPA since the early 1950's? Could it be that in rejecting Stalinism, the CPA by refusing to examine the role of Trotskyism seriously, made itself unable to understand why it should not also reject the whole experience of the revolutionary socialist movement junking, in its attempts to break with Stalinism, the Leninist concept of the party as well as large slabs of Marxist theory?

The paragraph in D.A. 28 that the Communist Club takes exception to was not very serious in suggesting that there was a split in the SUCC — in fact we were merely making the point, that seems to have escaped Brian McGahen, that the CPA does not have a political line. The CPA at the present time avoids splitting by refusing to adopt binding positions on most of the vital issues confronting the socialist movement. In this way it is able to incorporate Zionists, Stalinists, bourgeois liberals and many other types without difficulty. With such an amalgam what is there to split from?

GENEVA 1954, PARIS 1972

WHY AUSTRALIAN SOCIALISTS SHOULD NOT LEND THEIR SUPPORT TO CONCESSIONS EXTRACTED FROM THE VIETNAMESE UNDER U.S. ATTACK

BY GORDON ADLER

The struggle for land reform, democratic freedoms, and national independence in Indochina has been long and bitter, and since 1930 has taken the form of armed insurrection interrupted by short intervals of unstable cessation of military conflict. One Imperialist power after another has sought to impose its rule on Indochina by armed force. In every case the imperialist armies have been defeated by the popular liberation forces, and in every case the imperialist powers have then attempted to maintain their control over the area by diplomatic means, by obtaining compromise agreements backed up by the strength of outside powers less interested in justice for the Vietnamese than in the preservation of the status quo throughout the world.

Until 1936 the Communist Party of Indochina had called for the direct seizure of power by the workers and peasants, but in 1936 it replaced this slogan with the aim of an Indochinese Democratic Front embracing all the democratic, anti-fascist elements in the country, including sections of the French colonial population. This was a response to the decision of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International calling for the formation of popular front alliances between Communist parties and sections of the bourgeoisie opposed to fascism. The formation of a popular front government in France strengthened the illusion that a "patriotic", or "national" bourgeoisie existed in various countries, and that this national, patriotic, "good" bourgeoisie was prepared to ally itself with the working class and fight against the international, imperialistic, "bad" bourgeoisie represented by fascism. The political differences between the various sections of the capitalist class, however, did not arise from any mere sentiments of nationalism, or from fear of Hitler, but from real differences in assessment of the most effective means of preserving their power in a world deep in the grip of economic depression and stirred by revolutionary currents among the working classes. Could capitalism be preserved best by resorting to the open terror of nazism, or by making a temporary alliance with Communist parties that had agreed to forewear revolutionary aims? When the economic crisis had passed, the French bourgeoisie had no further use for the popular front, the government fell, and in Indochina a period of reaction and revenge by the French colonialist ultras set in. The trade unions were dissolved, their leaders imprisoned, working hours were lengthened, democratic newspapers closed down, and all the gains of the Popular Front period destroyed. The armed struggle had to be resumed once again.

With the outbreak of the second world war and the collapse of France, the revolutionary forces in Indochina encountered a new enemy in Japanese imperialism, which had come to an agreement with the French colonialists. The French continued to administer the country with the aid of the Japanese army of occupation, and the country was plundered in the interests of both the Japanese and the French colonialists. A period of extreme hardship for the workers and peasants then followed, which aroused a corresponding intensification of the armed struggle. Despite savage repression by the Japanese the Vietnamese revolution triumphed, and in 1945 with the defeat of Japan the French government recognised the victory of the liberation forces and agreed to the formation of a government of national independence headed by Ho Chi Minh. There were, however, 200,000 Nationalist Chinese troops in the country at the time, and the new government agreed to a return of French troops in small numbers as part of the

settlement, in return for the evacuation of the large Chinese army. The new nation was to be an independent state within the French Union on similar lines to the independence of India and Burma.

No sooner had the Chinese left, however, than French colonial rule was reestablished, and a period of nine more years of revolutionary war commenced. During this phase the French colonial regime resorted to every form of brutality known to the exploiting classes, who had clearly profited from the example of their ill-fated Nazi tutors. The French government expended enormous resources, and employed an army of 250,000 men supported by massive artillery and air power. But by 1954 this army had been defeated, militarily, on the battlefield, and on May 7 a major section of this army, surrounded by the Viet Minh, surrendered at Dien Bien Phu. French military power in Indochina had been broken, and the victory of the revolutionary armies gave promise of the realisation of the goals of national independence and land reform at last.

The story of the international manoeuvring that finally led to the Geneva conference of 1954, and the means by which people of Indochina were cheated is long and complex, but its fundamental feature is that the Geneva agreements were forced on the Indochinese by the intervention of outside powers. In accord with their policy of peaceful coexistence the Soviet Union and Poland joined with Canada and Britain in imposing a settlement on the people of the former French colonies. The United States, specifically, did not

by any of the other powers that had guaranteed the agreements, and the United States assumed the role of the chief imperialist power in South East Asia.

Why did the Soviet Union allow the Vietnamese revolution to be thwarted at the very moment of its victory in battle at Dien Bien Phu? Why did it lend its weight to the imposition of a compromise on the Viet Minh? Why did it fail to mobilise world opinion against the United States when the Geneva accords were broken, the elections cancelled and the puppet regime established in Saigon under American protection? Throughout those years the main emphasis of the peaceful coexistence line was the avoidance of world war, which, it contended, must necessarily involve nuclear weapons. War with the United States had to be avoided at all costs. But the encouragement of aggression by yielding to the demands of imperialism has been shown, many times, to increase, rather than to diminish the danger of nuclear war. Had the Soviet Union, at any time, made it absolutely clear to the United States and to the whole world that an attack on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, or the engagement of U.S. military forces in the Indochinese revolutionary struggle, would be met by military retaliation against the United States with all the means at its disposal, would the U.S. have dared to have sent troops to Vietnam? Had the Soviet Union made this declaration in 1963 would the U.S. have undertaken the bombing of North Vietnam? Had it made the same commitment in 1970 would the United States

from Indochina. This is still the principal issue of the struggle. The United States has no right to be in Vietnam. We, in the antiwar movement, do not recognise any right of the United States to impose a settlement on the people of Indochina. Our demand is the only principled demand the antiwar movement can adopt. We say, simply, to the United States: GET OUT! Whatever agreements the national liberation forces are forced to make through military, economic, and political pressures they cannot avoid, our duty is clear. We make no demands on the Indochinese whatever. We direct our demands to the aggressor state. All U.S. troops OUT NOW is still the most vital and the most principled demand we can make and it is still the demand capable of mobilising the greatest forces in support of the Indochinese liberation forces.

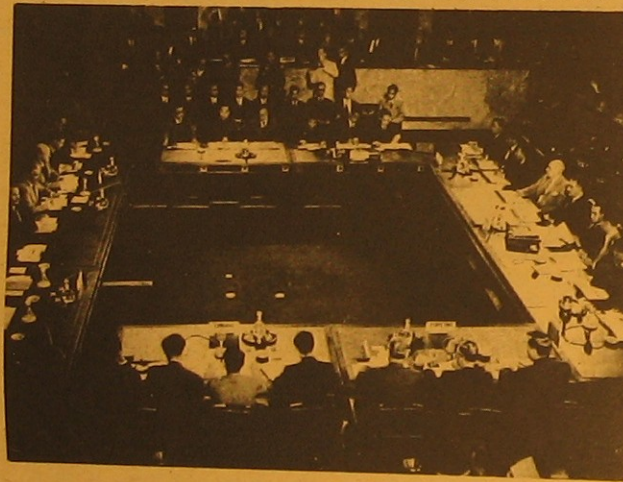
The nine-point peace proposal certainly provides for the withdrawal of U.S. forces, but only on the condition that the Saigon regime forms part of the coalition government. It guarantees the right of the Saigon forces to remain armed, and in possession of the areas they now hold. It is NOT an agreement arrived at by the Vietnamese themselves. It is a settlement IMPOSED on them by agreement among the great powers. It calls for a return to the Geneva agreement, itself an unjust settlement imposed on the Vietnamese by outside powers, a settlement that divided the country and created the seeds of further armed conflict.

The nine-point plan is an unjust compromise settlement. It will not solve the political problems of the war, and can only provide the basis for a further protracted and bloody phase in the struggle.

The Communist Party of Australia, the Worker Student Alliance, the Communist League, and other sections of the antiwar movement, have criticised this stand, and have claimed that we are trying to tell the Vietnamese how to conduct their struggle. Such a claim could only be made by people who have lost all capacity for objective analysis of political events. We do not criticise Hanoi for entering into an agreement with the United States under all the pressures to which the Hanoi regime is subjected. What we do say is that irrespective of what they have been forced to accept as a compromise, it is our clear obligation to mobilise the antiwar movement to apply pressure on the United States to force it out of Indochina. The Bolsheviks were forced to accept the treaty of Brest-Litovsk over the barrels of the German guns, but Lenin sharply criticised those socialists who hailed the agreement as a victory for peace.

The CPA has made much of the refusal of the Saigon regime to sign the agreements, and has called for an antiwar campaign against Thieu under the slogan "SIGN". But the Thieu regime is only a pawn of the United States. It will survive only so long as this serves Nixon's purpose. The Thieu regime is no real obstacle to the United States. Its refusal only enables Nixon to confuse and divide the antiwar forces further. The capitalist press have poured out a barrage of lies to convince people that the war is over, and that everyone can now forget the napalm, the bombing of the dykes, the massacres and all the horrors of the last forty years. The war has not yet ended, the demands of the United States for a settlement have been raised, the bombing continues.

The call for a campaign to force the Thieu regime to sign the agreements is a diversion, and an extremely shabby and unprincipled diversion at that. OUT NOW is still the main objective of the antiwar movement, and the march on November 18 is still as important as any antiwar march in the past.



Geneva Conference, 1954

support the agreements, for the reason that it was resolved to impose its own domination on Indochina at the first opportunity, and it saw the Geneva agreements as a hindrance to this aim. The United States had given massive economic support to the counter-revolution in Indochina, and U.S. interests were closely linked to those of French colonialism.

The Geneva agreement required the withdrawal of the armies of both sides into two zones in the north and the south, as a temporary measure pending the convening of elections throughout the whole of Vietnam and the formation of a representative government of the whole country. The Viet Minh withdrew from liberated areas in the south and surrendered these areas to French administration. It was forced to do this by the Geneva powers. The proposed elections, of course, never took place. The French established a new puppet regime in Saigon, the Geneva accords were violated without any effective action by either the Soviet Union or

have attempted the invasions of Laos or Cambodia? The National Liberation Front forces stood poised for a military victory over the Saigon army in 1963 before the massive escalation of the war by the United States. It was only the intervention of the United States that protracted the war, and it is only the presence of U.S. military forces that has allowed the Saigon government to exist. To those who deny that the Soviet Union and China have betrayed the Vietnamese, certain simple questions must be asked. Where are the Vietnamese bombers, their aircraft carriers, their minefields, their bases in neighbouring lands, their anti-aircraft missiles in numbers equal to the air power of their enemy? Where is their political support? Why was Nixon toasted in Moscow and Peking immediately after the Haiphong mining?

The antiwar movement, from 1966 onwards, has adopted, as its principal demand, the withdrawal of all the military forces of the U.S. and its allies

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE!